

#### Japanese Confucianism

For more than 1500 years Confucianism has played a major role in shaping Japan's history – from the formation of the first Japanese states during the first millennium CE, to Japan's modernization in the nineteenth century, to WWII and its still unresolved legacies across East Asia today. In an illuminating and provocative new study, Kiri Paramore analyzes the dynamic history of Japanese Confucianism, revealing its many cultural manifestations as religion and as political tool, as social capital and public discourse, as well as its role in international relations and statecraft. The book demonstrates the processes through which Confucianism was historically linked to other phenomenon, such as the rise of modern science and East Asian liberalism. In doing so it offers new perspectives on the sociology of Confucianism and its impact on society, culture, and politics across East Asia, past and present.

KIRI PARAMORE teaches History and Asian Studies at Leiden University.



#### New Approaches to Asian History

This dynamic new series publishes books on the milestones in Asian history, those that have come to define particular periods or to mark turning points in the political, cultural and social evolution of the region. The books in this series are intended as introductions for students to be used in the classroom. They are written by scholars whose credentials are well-established in their particular fields and who have, in many cases, taught the subject across a number of years.

#### Books in the series

- 1 Judith M. Brown, Global South Asians: Introducing the Modern Diaspora
- 2 Diana Lary, China's Republic
- 3 Peter A. Lorge, The Asian Military Revolution: From Gunpowder to the Bomb
- 4 Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, The Partition of India
- 5 Stephen F. Dale, The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals
- 6 Diana Lary, The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937–1945
- 7 Sunil S. Amrith, Migration and Diaspora in Modern Asia
- 8 Thomas David DuBois, Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia
- 9 Susan L. Mann, Gender and Sexuality in Modern Chinese History
- 10 Tirthankar Roy, India in the World Economy: From Antiquity to the Present
- 11 Robin R. Wang, Yinyang: The Way of Heaven and Earth in Chinese Thought and Culture
- 12 Li Feng, Early China: A Social and Cultural History
- 13 Diana Lary, China's Civil War: A Social History, 1945-1949
- 14 Kiri Paramore, Japanese Confucianism: A Cultural History
- 15 Robert Peckham, Epidemics in Modern Asia



# Japanese Confucianism

A Cultural History

Kiri Paramore

Leiden University, the Netherlands





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107635685

© Kiri Paramore 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2016 Reprinted 2017

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Paramore, Kiri, author.

Japanese Confucianism: a cultural history / Kiri Paramore.

Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. | Series: Asian

connections | Includes bibliographical references and index. LCCN 2016004898 | ISBN 9781107058651 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781107635685 (paperback)

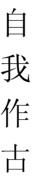
LCSH: Confucianism – Japan | Japan – Civilization. LCC BL1843 .P37 2016 | DDC 181/.12–dc23 LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2016004898

ISBN 978-1-107-05865-1 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-63568-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.





## Antiquity is constructed by us.

Liu Zhiji (661–721), Historian and Confucian, Tang China. Kagawa Shūan (1683–1755), Confucian and Medical doctor, Tokugawa Japan. Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), Liberal public intellectual and educator, Meiji Japan.



### Contents

	List of figures	page viii
	List of maps	ix
	Acknowledgments	X
	Notes on the text	xii
	Timeline	xiii
	Introduction	1
1	Confucianism as cultural capital (mid-first millennium CE–late sixteenth century CE)	16
2	Confucianism as religion (1580s-1720s)	41
3	Confucianism as public sphere (1720s-1868)	66
4	Confucianism as knowledge (1400s-1800s)	94
5	Confucianism as liberalism (1850s–1890s)	118
6	Confucianism as fascism (1868–1945)	141
7	Confucianism as taboo (1945–2015)	167
	Epilogue: China and Japan: East Asian modernities and Confucian revivals compared	183
	Notes	192
	Works Cited	201
	Index	225

vii



## Figures

1.1	Sekitenzu: a picture of the Shidian Rite	
	(Shibunkai collection)	page 37
3.1	Matsudaira Sadanobu self-portrait	79
3.2	A meeting of the Sorai School (Historiographical Institute	
	of the University of Tokyo)	85
4.1	Floorplan of the Shogunal Confucian Academy, early	
	nineteenth century (Shibunkai collection)	112
4.2	Graphic representation of the number of domain state	
	academies associated with different Edo Confucian	
	schools during the Tokugawa period	116
6.1	The former Confucian Academy transformed into an	
	"Exhibition Hall" - early Meiji period (Shibunkai collection	) 144
6.2	South Korean military dictator President Park Chung-hee	
	fighting the communists in an earlier manifestation	
	as uniformed officer of the Japanese Imperial Army	165
7.1	Mishima addressing Self-Defense Force troops shortly	
	hefore his suicide	171

viii



## Maps

1. East Asia 1590–1650	page xiv
2. Japan 1700	XV
3. East Asian trade connections to Japan 1650–1850	xvi
4. Japan in East Asia 1934	xvii
5. Japan in East Asia 1942	xviii
6. Japan in East Asia 1952	xix



## Acknowledgments

This book tries to engage Confucianism not as dead tradition, but as history alive in the contemporary politics of East Asia. This approach is influenced by my time as a student at the University of Tokyo, where Confucianism was engaged in seminars on politics, history, philosophy and social studies taught by professors like Kurozumi Makoto, Mitani Hiroshi, Watanabe Hiroshi, Karube Tadashi, Kojima Yasunori, Kojima Tsuyoshi and Hiraishi Naoaki, in an intellectual environment which encouraged cross-disciplinary and socially engaged analysis. I thank them for creating that environment and my fellow graduate students who enriched it with a multi-cultural breadth of experience and opinion. Among fellow students, Lan Hung-Yueh, Ōta Hideaki, and Kōno Yūri have been steadfast comrades; Koh Heetak, Sekiguchi Sumiko, Nakada Yoshikazu, Han Dongyu, and many others inspiring examples. The book's outlook has since been enriched by conversations with Milinda Banerjee, Benjamin Elman, Matsuda Kōichirō, Sugawara Hikaru, Ōkubo Takeharu, Chen-Tao Shih, Barak Kushner, Hans Martin Krämer, Mark Teeuwen, Fuyuko Matsukata, Patrick O'Brien, David Mervart, James McMullen, Hung-Yueh Lan, David Ambaras, Mark Driscoll, Morgan Pitelka, and Barbara Ambros. For invaluable criticism on late-stage drafts, I would particularly like to thank Bill Callahan, Barend ter Haar, Yuan-Kang Wang, and Hans van Leeuwen. I also thank Machi Senjurō and Karube Tadashi for important ideas as I was finishing the book. At Leiden I thank colleagues who discussed the project with me - Wim Boot, Marc Buijnsters, Oliver Moore, Anna Yeadell, Alice de Jong, Daan Kok, Nadia Kreeft, Paul Wijsman and Jeroen Wiedenhof - others who even read sections - Ethan Mark and Ivo Smits - and particularly, Joep Smorenburg who drafted the maps and tables. Research for this book was assisted by the awarding of visiting fellowship grants from Academia Sinica, Taipei, and Rikkyo University, Tokyo. I thank both institutions and particularly Chen Weifen and Matsuda Kōichirō. I also acknowledge the assistance of the Shibunkai in provision of access to Yushima Seidō and material for illustrations. The cover image of the book was supplied

X



#### Acknowledgments

хi

courtesy of the Chapman University, Orange, California. The early conceptualization of this book was greatly aided by discussions with Roger Malcolm Haydon of Cornell University Press, Emily Andrew of UBC Press, Anne Routen of Columbia University Press, and Marigold Acland of Cambridge University Press. Others at CUP, notably Lucy Rhymer, have helped immensely through the whole project. Last but not least, I am immensely grateful for the intellectual acumen and relentlessly critical nature brought to bear on discussion of this book, as on everything else, by my daily conversation partner Ya-pei Kuo.



#### Notes on the text

This book uses Pinyin for the Romanization of Chinese, the Hepburn system for Japanese, and McCune-Reischauer for Korean. Exceptions are made for readings established in English using other systems, or nowadays accepted as English words. For instance, Chiang Kai-shek stays as is, as does KMT, Choson, ronin, etc.

Chinese, Japanese, and Korean names are given with the surname first, except where the name is commonly established in another order in English. When using a single name to refer to an already established figure, the book universally gives the surname. This goes against a common practice of early modern Japanese history writing, both in Japanese and in English, where the  $g\bar{o}$  name rather than the  $my\bar{o}$  surname is commonly used. Thus, in many publications Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) is simply referred to as Sorai. But in this book he is referred to by his surname as Ogyū. This method of naming allows us to use the same standard system cross-period (into the modern period), conforming to general English usage, and also reflecting more up-to-date editorial guidelines of major journals in the field, notably the *Journal of Japanese Studies*.

References are given using name and date in in-text bracket citation, with full bibliographical references for each entry in a list at the end of the book. This means that many references to premodern primary sources in modern printed compilations will have a twentieth-century date, even though the actual text is much older. For instance, some quotes from the late eighteenth-century writings of Shibano Ritsuzan (1736–1807) appear referenced as "(Takimoto 1914)," giving the name of the editor who oversaw the modern printed compilation. The referencing system is thus designed primarily to facilitate a reader being able to find the source themselves in the commonly available modern compilations through a library catalog. Abbreviations are used for a number of large compendium series used extensively in the book. The key to abbreviations is at the beginning of the Bibliography.

xii



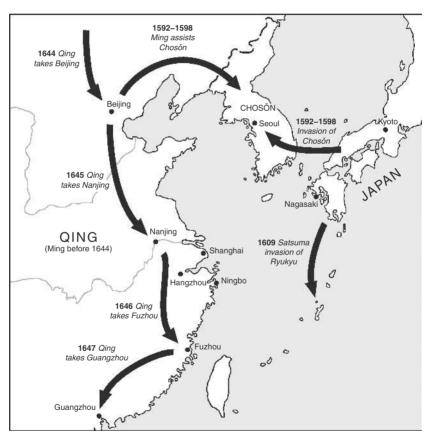
# **Fimeline**

Chapter of book	Chapter 1	ter 1							
									Chapter 2 →
							Chapter 4		<b>↑</b>
Years AD	200		1200		1300	1400		1500	1600
Japanese period name		Nara	Nara Heian	Kamakura	ura		Muromachi		Warring States
Chinese period name	Sui	Tang		Song	Yuan		N	Ming	$\uparrow$
Historical period (Jpn)	Early		Mec	Medieval					
Events (East Asia)			_	Shogunate	Mongols defeated by Japan	ed by Japan		Japan in	Japan invades Korea
				established	Mongols conquer Song China	er Song China		Wang Yangming born	Ľ.
			Z	Zhu Xi born			Chosŏn established	Yi Toegye born	n
Events (global)	Bir	Birth of Islam	lam		Peak of Mongol Empire	Empire		Protestant F	Protestant Reformation
				2	Mamluk defeat Mongols	slogu		Magellan	Magellan circles globe
								Ser	Jesuits established
								Galileo bom	

Chapter of book	← Chapter 2			Chapter 5	
		Ö	Chapter 3	Chapter 6	
	← Chapter 4				Chapter 7 →
Years AD	1600	1700	1800	1900	2000
Japanese period name		Tokug	Tokugawa (Edo)	Meiji	Taishō Shōwa Heisei
Chinese period name	← Ming		Qing		Republic People's Republic
Historical period (Jpn)	Early Modem			Modern	Modern ( <i>kindai</i> ) Post-War ( <i>gendai</i> ) →
Events (East Asia)	Manch	Manchus take Beijing		Opium Wars	Xinhai Revolution
		Ogyū Sorai born		Kang Youwei born	orn
	•		Meiji Re	Meiji Restoration     First	First Sino-Japanese War
Events (global)	Thirty Years War		Industrial Revolution	British Raj	First World War
	Pear	Peace of Westphalia	American Revolution		Bolshevik Revolution
			French Revolution	lution	Second World War
			Maratha sack Mughal Delhi	Revolutions of 1848	18

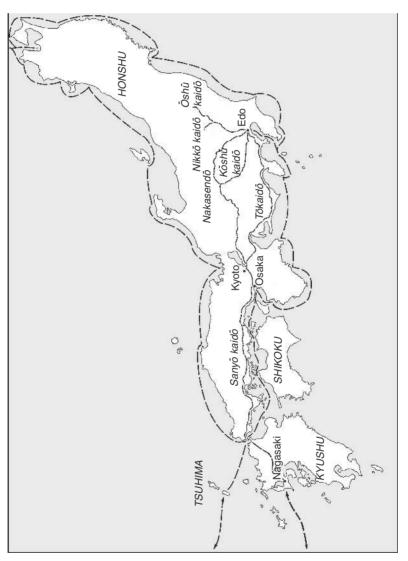


xiv List of maps



1. East Asia 1590-1650





2. Japan 1700



xvi List of maps



3. East Asian trade connections to Japan 1650-1850



List of maps xvii



4. Japan in East Asia 1934



xviii List of maps



5. Japan in East Asia 1942



List of maps xix



6. Japan in East Asia 1952