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# How the Edo Bakufu Established the Yushima Confucius Temple

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### I. Introduction

This article will consider some previously overlooked circumstances behind the foundation of the Yushima Confucius temple (Yushima Seidō 湯島聖堂) under the auspices of the Tokugawa Bakufu in 1690, based mainly on personal records left by Hayashi Hōkō. The temple complex was of considerable importance as the forerunner of the later official school under the direct control of the Bakufu, the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo 昌平坂学問所 (or Shōheikō 昌平覺), which in turn set the model for the domain schools (*hankō* 藩校) in the rest of Japan.

The central component of the Yushima complex was the temple at which the ritual sacrifices to Confucius were conducted. This was established by the fifth Tokugawa Shōgun Tsunayoshi (1646–1709, r. 1680–1709) in 1690, who decreed the move of the Hayashi family's "Hall of the Former Sage" (Senseiden 先聖殿) at Shinobugaoka 忍岡 in Ueno – originally constructed in 1632 by Hayashi Razan 林 羅山 (1583–1657) inside the grounds of his Confucian school – to Yushima in Kanda, renaming it the "Hall of Great Perfection" (Taiseiden 大成殿). Alongside the temple, lecture halls and dormitories for students were also built, to which the Hayashis moved their family school, calling it the 'place of learning' (*gakumonjo* 学問所). The overall complex of the Taiseiden and subsidiary teaching buildings was referred to collectively as the "Hall of the Sage" (Seidō 聖堂). At this time the temple and school were not yet completely under the control of the Bakufu, but it enjoyed Tsunayoshi's support and was in practice a semi-official educational institution strongly influenced by the Bakufu. Later, in 1797, it was brought under the direct control of the Bakufu as its official school and expanded, renamed the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo after the name of Confucius's birthplace (Shōhei, Ch. Changping 昌平).

### II. Tsunayoshi's Early Contacts with Hayashi Hōkō

Tsunayoshi's promotion of Confucianism is well known, and has received much scholarly attention. In the current article, the focus will be on his relationship with the third head of the Hayashi family, Hayashi Hōkō 林 鳳岡 (1645–1732).

Tsunayoshi's accession as Shōgun came very suddenly: on 1680/5/6,<sup>(1)</sup> immediately before the death of the fourth Shōgun Ietsuna (1641–1680, r. 1651–1680), he was named Ietsuna's adopted son and heir;<sup>(2)</sup> at approximately 10 a.m. on 5/7 he entered the inner citadel of Edo Castle into Ietsuna's presence to receive a sword, and was recommended for appointment to the court as Imperial Counsellor (Dainagon 大納言).<sup>(3)</sup> Ietsuna died on 5/7, the next day.

Three days earlier, on 1680/5/5, the second Hayashi family head, Hayashi Gahō 林 鷺峰 (1618–1680) had also died, and Hayashi Hōkō was now the family head.<sup>(4)</sup>

The Hayashi family had before this had a long association with the Tokugawa Bakufu, as is well known, going back to the early years of the first three shōguns, when the Bakufu was imposing its rule by military force. In 1630, Hayashi Razan, who had previously served Ieyasu, received approximately 4,500 square metres of land at Shinobugaoka and 200 *ryō* of silver from the third Shōgun Iemitsu (1604–1651, r. 1623–1651) for a school and library. The lord of Owari, Tokugawa Yoshinao 徳川 義直 (1600–1650) gave Razan statue images of Confucius and the four sages worshipped alongside him as correlates (Yan Hui 顏回, Zengzi 曾子, Zi Si 子思, and Mengzi 孟子), and in 1632 Razan erected a temple for the worship of Confucius, the “Hall of the Former Sages” (Senseiden). The next year, on 1633/2/10, Razan performed the first Sekisai 積菜 sacrifice in this hall.<sup>(5)</sup>

The reign of the fourth Shōgun Ietsuna was a transitional period of increased social and political stability, and saw an increased emphasis on civil administration, with active measures such as the compilation of a history of Japan, and the promotion of education. For most of this time the Hayashi school was headed by Razan's son Gahō, who actively expanded the Confucian project begun by his father, with the aim of passing it on to his descendants. He systematized the organization of the school and its curriculum, and also made adjustments to the Sekisai ritual to Confucius, which he continued to perform in the Senseiden temple.

In the early years of the Kanbun era (1661–1673), Gahō was instructed to continue the compilation of the *Honchō hennenroku* 本朝編年録 project begun by Razan. A compilation

- (1) I.e. the sixth day of the fifth lunar month according to the Japanese calendar, in the Western calendar year 1680; this date format will be used throughout.
- (2) *Jōkenin zō Daishōkokukō jikki* 常憲院贈大相国公實紀 (Tokyo: Kyūkosho, 1983), Enpō 延宝 year 8 entry, p. 6 (this text is more commonly cited as *Kenbyō jitsuroku* 憲廟實録, this shorter title will be used below).
- (3) *Ibid.*, p. 7. For more general accounts of the wider circumstances surrounding the accession of Tsunayoshi as Shōgun see the two most extensive studies of Tsunayoshi: Tsukamoto Manabu 塚本 学, *Tokugawa Tsunayoshi* 徳川綱吉 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998), pp. 45–58; and Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shogun: The Personality and Policies of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp. 69–78.
- (4) *Chōsan Daibu Naishi Hōkō Hayashi sensei nenpu* 朝散大夫内史鳳岡林先生年譜, in *Hōkō Hayashi sensei zenshū* 鳳岡林先生全集, ed. Tokuda Takeshi 徳田 武 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013) vol. 4, pp. 290–291.
- (5) The most detailed study of the foundation of the Hayashi family school is by Ishikawa Ken 石川 謙, see his “Shinobugaoka jidai no jukusha to kōdō 忍岡時代の塾舎と講堂,” in Ishikawa Ken, *Nihon gakkōshi no kenkyū* 日本学校史の研究 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1960), p. 169.

office was set up, and this became the main focus for Gahō's efforts, with the assistance of his students and two sons; this in the end would result in the *Honchō tsugan* 本朝通鑑, completed in 1670. During this time he also compiled the *Shinobugaoka kajuku kishiki* 忍岡家塾規式, dedicated in large part to setting forth the organization of the Hayashi family school and the form and content of the teaching conducted within it.<sup>(6)</sup>

Hōkō's encounters with Tsunayoshi for discussions on Confucianism began early. Hōkō was in attendance on 1680/8/23 for the grand ceremony of Tsunayoshi's appointment as Shōgun by imperial decree, even though he was in mourning for his father.<sup>(7)</sup> Hōkō records the event as follows:

On the 23rd day, our new lord underwent the ceremony of [the emperor's] edict of appointment as Shōgun. Feudal lords, officials, and samurai all entered the castle; I too was commanded to observe the ceremony.

On 1680/8/27 Hōkō once again entered the castle to attend the ceremony marking the passing of the retired emperor Gomizunoo 後水尾.<sup>(8)</sup> However, on both these occasions Hōkō was commanded to attend at the castle in his own right as a Bakufu official; there is no record of his having met Tsunayoshi on these occasions.

However, on 1680/9/11 Hōkō and Tsunayoshi met for the first time. The *Kenbyō jitsuroku* 憲廟實録 records that Tsunayoshi

Summoned the Confucian officials (*jushin* 儒臣) Hayashi Shunjō 林 春常 (Hōkō) and Hitomi Yūgen 人見 友元 (1638–1696) to discuss the Confucian canonical texts (*keisho* 經書). After this the same happened two or three times each month.<sup>(9)</sup>

Hōkō himself records:

On the 11th day of the 9th month, I was summoned to the castle to attend the royal presence and explain the meaning of the [Confucian] canons. From this time on I was summoned two or three times each month to the place of royal repose to explain the canons and discuss principles (*ri* 理).<sup>(10)</sup>

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(6) Zenan Shu, "Edo zenki ni okeru Bakufu no kyōiku taisei ni tsuite: Rinke *Shinobugaoka kajuku kishiki* no seitei o megutte 江戸前期における幕府の教育態勢について——林家「忍岡家塾規式」の制定をめぐって," in *Seisaku jōhōgaku no shiza: aratanaru "chi to hōhō" o motomete* 政策情報学の視座: 新たなる「知と方法」を求めて (Tokyo: Nikkei Jigyō Shuppan Sentaa, 2011), pp. 355–371.

(7) The accession ceremony is recorded in *Kenbyō jitsuroku*, Enpō year 8 (1680)/8/23, p. 17.

(8) Both events are listed in *Jisen* 自撰, by Hayashi Hōkō (*kanbun*, unpaginated autograph ms. of c. 1731 in the Waseda University Library), *jō* 上, Enpō year 8 (1680), 8th month.

(9) *Kenbyō jitsuroku*, Enpō year 8 (1680), 9th month, p. 25.

(10) *Jisen*, *jō* 上, Enpō year 8 (1680), 9th month.

By way of background, it should be explained that in the reign of Ietsuna there had been two Bakufu Confucian scholars, Hayashi Gahō and Hitomi Yūgen. Gahō had retired from his post before his death in 1680, and Hōkō was then acknowledged as the third head of the Hayashi family and appointed as Bakufu Confucian scholar in Gahō's stead. The early encounters between Tsunayoshi and Hōkō should therefore be understood as consultations between the new Shōgun and the new head of the Hayashi family; both were assuming new roles, and it seems reasonable to assume that each was keen to fulfil his responsibilities to the best of his ability.

This meeting between Tsunayoshi and Hōkō is widely cited as evidence of Tsunayoshi's keen interest in Confucianism early in his reign. An additional meeting between the two six days later on 1680/9/17 for Hōkō to explain the Confucian text "Daxue / Daigaku" 大学 is recorded in the *Kenbyō jitsuroku*, but not by Hōkō himself.<sup>(11)</sup>

At around the same time that Tsunayoshi was holding his early discussions on Confucianism with Hōkō and Yūgen, he was also initiating another project related to Confucian learning. This was the reordering and a second cataloguing of the Shōgun's library, the Momijiyama Bunko 紅葉山文庫, and also editing of Confucian texts. A first catalogue had been compiled seventy-eight years previously, in 1602, at the time the archive was created as the Fujimitei Bunko 富士見亭文庫 by Tokugawa Ieyasu as a collection of Chinese texts related to governance, the year before he received the formal title of Shōgun. The first catalogue was prepared by Kanshō 寒松, the tenth head (Shōshu 庠主) of the Ashikaga School; a third catalogue would be compiled in 1720 by Hōkō's son Hayashi Ryūkō 林 榴岡 (1681–1758).<sup>(12)</sup>

The *Kenbyō jitsuroku* entry for the 10th month of 1680 records: "On the 16th day Hayashi Shunjō (Hōkō) and Hitomi Yūgen checked and inspected the [Shōgun's] archive and submitted a catalogue," from which we know that Hōkō and Yūgen had completed this task by this date.<sup>(13)</sup> Hōkō's own record of this under the year 1680 omits the month and day, saying: "During this year [I] led students from the school into the Shōgun's archives to check and inspect the items there, and in accordance with the [Shōgun's] command we also submitted several tens of new (revised) editions (*shinkan* 新刊)."<sup>(14)</sup>

In 1681, the next year, Hōkō was ordered to add *kunten* 訓点 punctuation markup to Confucian canons and other Chinese texts. Here we find some discrepancies between Hōkō's own record and that of the *Kenbyō jitsuroku* relating to dating and the nature of the work done. Hōkō himself says: "In the 9th month [of 1681] I accorded with the

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(11) *Kenbyō jitsuroku*, Enpō year 8 (1680), 9th month, p. 26. See also the account of this in Tsukamoto Manabu 塚本 学, *Tokugawa Tsunayoshi* 徳川綱吉 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998), p. 79.

(12) See the entry on the Momijiyama Bunko in *Nihonshi daijiten* 日本史大事典 vol. 6 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994).

(13) *Kenbyō jitsuroku*, Enpō year 8 (1680), 10th month, p. 29.

(14) *Jisen, jō* 上, Enpō year 8 (1680), month and date not given.

[Shōgun's] command and added *kunten* to the Five [Confucian] Canons, the *Shōgaku* (*Xiaoxue* 小學), and the *Kinshiroku* (*Jinsilu* 近思錄).<sup>(15)</sup> By contrast the *Kenbyō jitsuroku* under the second month of the year has: “In this month Hayashi Shunjō (Hōkō) accorded with [the Shōgun's] command to correct the *kunten* punctuation (*kunten o tadasu* 訓點ヲ正ス) of the Four Books, the Five Canons, the *Shōgaku*, and the *Kinshiroku*.<sup>(16)</sup> Most scholars seem to accept the *Kenbyō jitsuroku* account, though as someone directly involved in events, as Hōkō was, he would seem to be the more reliable witness. But, regardless of any discrepancy, these records afford a clear glimpse of Tsunayoshi's interest in Confucianism during this time.

In the 10th month of 1681 Hōkō mentions participating in “consultations” (*shijun* 諮詢),<sup>(17)</sup> and as a result his contacts with Tsunayoshi were becoming more frequent. As his son Ryūkō said in his chronological biography of his father, “From this time the Master (*sensei* 先生, Hōkō) in personal attendance [on Tsunayoshi] frequently received special favour, more than there is space to record here.”<sup>(18)</sup> In 1682/7, Hōkō's elder son Hayashi Keihō 林 鷄峯 (who died soon afterwards) entered the castle for the first time and had audience with Tsunayoshi. In the following month a Korean embassy came to Japan, and in audience with Tsunayoshi Hōkō brought his son with him to engage in an exchange of Chinese poetry with three Korean scholars. Hōkō also composed letters on behalf of Tsunayoshi and his heir Tokumatsu 徳松 (1679–1683) in reply to the Korean king. As a reward for his achievements, Tsunayoshi granted Hōkō two sets of formal dress (*jifuku* 時服).<sup>(19)</sup>

As Tsunayoshi's contacts with Hōkō increased, he began to entrust Hōkō with ever more important roles. On 1683/7/25 and 26, when the Bakufu promulgated a new version of the *Buke shohatto* 武家諸法度, Hōkō was commanded to mount the platform to read it out loud. Hōkō's chronological biography records:

On 1683/7/25, [Hōkō] was granted the favour of being ordered to read the clauses out loud, and was rewarded with two sets of clothing, and on the 26th day was ordered to read them out once again. On the first day over ten thousand aristocracy and daimyō / feudal lords (*kizoku rekkō* 貴族列侯), and on the second day *hatamoto* and officials, heard him.<sup>(20)</sup>

From this it is evident that Hōkō's value to the Bakufu as Confucian scholar was steadily

(15) *Jisen, jō* 上, Enpō year 9 (1681), 9th month.

(16) *Kenbyō jitsuroku*, Enpō year 9 (1681), 2nd month, p. 35.

(17) *Jisen, jō* 上, Tenna 天和 year 1 (1681, the change of reign title came in the 10th month), 10th month.

(18) *Chōsan Daibu Naishi Hōkō Hayashi sensei nenpu, Hōkō Hayashi sensei zenshū* vol. 4, Tenna year 1, p. 292.

(19) *Ibid.*, Tenna year 2, p. 292.

(20) *Ibid.*, Tenna year 3, p. 292.

rising. Their first meeting on 1680/9/11 was the beginning of what became frequent sessions together for the study of Confucian learning. One of the best-known episodes at their meetings was on 1684/11/14 when Hōkō was able to compose an extemporaneous poem at Tsunayoshi's request: this occurred during a time when Hōkō was in regular personal attendance upon Tsunayoshi, as Hōkō's son said in his chronological biography, "At this juncture he would go to the castle to be in personal attendance at any time, regardless of whether it was morning or evening, day or night."<sup>(21)</sup> Hōkō himself describes the encounter:

On the night of 1684/11/14, the summons came to attend at the royal bedside, and the jade voice said, "I have never beheld your talent at poetry." The jade hand pointed at a candle. "Swiftly recite a poem [on that]!" In immediate response I said, "Silent in the royal palace the winter night is long, / The nine-branched shadows move and tremble, / The chill flowers display the beauty of virtue's radiance, / A flicker of red cloud circles through the Jianzhang [Palace]."<sup>(22)</sup> The command came, "I am impressed by your preternatural speed."<sup>(23)</sup>

In the twelfth month of that same year the Bakufu Confucian scholars, now three – Hōkō, Hitomi Yūgen, and Kinoshita Jun'an 木下 順庵 (1621–1699) sat with daimyō of ten thousand *koku* and above in attendance at an issuing ceremony of red-seal deeds confirming the land rights of Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines; all three were given gifts of clothing and silver.<sup>(24)</sup>

By this time it is clear that Tsunayoshi felt the need to keep Hōkō constantly near him. In the third month of 1685, he gave Hōkō a new residence so that he would be less far away. Hōkō records:

In the third month I was given a special gift of land for a residence near the castle, at Yaesugashi 八重洲河岸. The Councillor conveyed [the Shōgun's] command: "In recent years your duties have been frequent, sometimes daily, sometimes every other day, extending even into the evening and night; at every summons you have come at speed, and greatly supported me in my concerns. Yet Shinobugaoka where you reside is isolated and distant, thus I grant you another residence, to which you may move with your aged mother, wife, and children."<sup>(25)</sup>

So frequent were Tsunayoshi's summons that he had decided to move Hōkō to a more

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(21) *Ibid.*, Jōkyō 貞享 year 1, p. 292.

(22) Jianzhang 建章 Palace was a Chinese imperial palace of the Western Han dynasty.

(23) *Jisen, jō* 上, Jōkyō year 1 (1684).

(24) *Kenbyō jitsuroku*, Tenna year 4 (1684), 2nd month, p. 109; *Jisen, jō* 上, Jōkyō year 1 (1684), 12th month.

(25) *Jisen, jō* 上, Jōkyō year 2 (1685), 3rd month.

convenient residence nearby. This suggests a degree of closeness between the two men, to the point where Tsunayoshi felt special concern for Hōkō's welfare.

In the fourth month of the same year, Hōkō explicated the Confucian canons for Tsunayoshi at his place of repose (*gokyūsho* 御休所). Hōkō describes this as follows:

In the fourth month [of 1685] I explicated the Zhu [Xi] commentary to the *Shikyō* (*Shijing* 詩經), and was granted three sets of clothing, and received the command to be at three or four lectures each month, and that over the years [the Shōgun] would listen to the whole of the Five Canons.<sup>(26)</sup>

It was five years later, in 1690, that Tsunayoshi would begin delivering his own lectures to daimyō and high Bakufu officials on the *Daigaku* / *Daxue*.

An even more striking event illustrating the close link between the two men occurred in the sixth month of 1685, when Tsunayoshi gave Hōkō an image of Confucius that he had painted himself:

In the sixth month he summoned me and said, “For three generations you have dedicated yourselves diligently to your family enterprise and performed your public duty, and fulfilled your responsibilities most capably. This is worthy of praise and reward. Thus I have personally painted an image of the Sage to give you. You may keep it as a family heirloom down the generations.”

So great was this special kindness that I broke out in a sweat of fear piercing through my flesh. Not knowing how to thank him, I took it with a bow and withdrew. On the next day I made offerings of glutinous cakes, vegetables, wine, tea, fruits and other items, composed an invocation, and made a simple sacrifice to it.<sup>(27)</sup>

There is no record as to whether Hōkō's descendants actually did preserve this image in later times.

In the twelfth month Tsunayoshi's personal retainers (*sobayōnin* 側用人) Makino Narisada 牧野 成貞 (1635–1712) and Kitami Shigemasa 喜多見 重政 (1651–1693) came to Hōkō to deliver a command from Tsunayoshi granting leave for Hōkō to spend the night in the Shōgun's castle whenever necessary owing to the rigour of his duties. Then, on 12/25 Tsunayoshi granted Hōkō land generating 200 *roku* of income in recognition of his dedication to his duties.<sup>(28)</sup>

Contacts between the two became even closer the following year. On 1686/2/3 Hōkō was summoned to watch a Nō performance with Tsunayoshi, and on the 9th day he lectured to Tsunayoshi on the *Shijing*, in accordance with the annual schedule decreed

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(26) *Ibid.*, 4th month.

(27) *Ibid.*, 6th month.

(28) *Ibid.*, 12th month.



by Tsunayoshi. In the fourth month, in recognition of Hōkō's work in preparing the *Bukkiryō* 服忌令 funerary regulations, Tsunayoshi gave him four sets of palace clothes. Hōkō then says:

After this, whenever he listened to me lecturing in his presence, either I would be given gifts of cakes and tea, or sets of clothes, or silks and the like, I do not know the number.<sup>(29)</sup>

On 1687/2/11, Hōkō was given the title of Kōbun'in Scholar (Kōbun'in Gakushi 弘文院学士), which had previously been held by his father,<sup>(30)</sup> and was granted the status of a Buddhist cleric (*hō'in* 法印).<sup>(31)</sup> Hōkō records the command from Tsunayoshi to receive these honours, which he says was transmitted in the presence of several of the highest ranking Bakufu officials (presumably Tsunayoshi himself was not present):

Your service has been performed with integrity and to the utmost, and you have participated in my consultations and worked hard in explicating [texts] to me, thus I grant your house the title of Kōbun'in Scholar, and to be entered into the status of a Buddhist cleric,<sup>(32)</sup> and your second son Shichisaburō 七三郎 shall become your legitimate heir.<sup>(33)</sup>

Hōkō has recorded many other instances of his teaching Tsunayoshi and receiving gifts and favours, more than it is necessary to detail here. The sources do give a sense of Tsunayoshi's keen interest in studying Confucianism and the texts that he read under Hōkō's direction, and also the increasing closeness of the relationship between the two men. These circumstances, which continued to develop, were an essential precursor to the establishment of the Yushima Confucius temple.

### III. From Shinobugaoka to Yushima

Much research has been done on the Confucius temples in Japan and the Sekiten 積奠

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(29) *Ibid.*, Jōkyō year 3 (1686), 2nd–4th months.

(30) For an account of the significance of this title, and how Gahō came to receive it in 1663, see Zenan Shu, "Kōbun'in gakushi gō shutoku ni miru Rinke no taibō: Bakufu bunkyō shisaku to no kanrensei no shiten kara 弘文院学士号取得にみる林家の大望——幕府文教施策との関連性の視点から," *Chiba Shōdai Kiyō* 千葉商大紀要 50.1 (2012), pp. 21–35.

(31) *Kenbyō jitsuroku*, Jōkyō year 4 (1687), 2nd month, p. 158.

(32) The characters "entered into the status of a Buddhist cleric" 叙法印位 have been crossed out with a red line in the manuscript. Hōkō was eventually to be given the Daigaku no Kami title in his own right, so may not have wished this Buddhist qualification to remain in the record.

(33) *Jisen, jō* 上, Jōkyō year 4 (1687), 2nd month. Shichisaburō was the son of a concubine, but Hōkō had no surviving sons by his principal wife.

sacrifices performed in them. The principal source for the Sekiten / Sekisai sacrifices in the Senseiden temple in the Hayashi school grounds at Shinobugaoka has been the *Shōheishi* 昌平志 compiled by Inuzuka Innan 犬塚 印南 (1750–1814), who had himself been a student at the Shōheikō. The current study will carry forward research on the Hayashi Confucius temple by taking instead Hōkō's own record as a basis of comparison with previous scholarship and with the *Shōheishi*.

As outlined above, Hōkō became the Hayashi family head in 1680/2, when Gahō became ill and resigned his post, soon before his death in the 5th month of that year. Hōkō's first experience of the Sekisai at Shinobugaoka had been long before this, in 1655 at the age of 12 *sai*, participating in the ceremony presided over by Gahō.<sup>(34)</sup>

Meanwhile, before Tsunayoshi became Shōgun and was still the lord of Tatebayashi 館林, he must have heard of the rituals at Shinobugaoka, which were widely known in Edo, though there is no record of his ever having attended. After becoming Shōgun, as he interacted with Hōkō on a frequent basis and studied Confucian texts with him, it would only have been natural for him to take an interest in the Sekisai sacrifices presided over by Hōkō.

There is a question as to when Hōkō began presiding over the Sekisai ceremonies as family head. The *Shōheishi* records that this was in the 8th month of 1681.<sup>(35)</sup> However, no record of the Sekisai in this year can be found in Hōkō's own records. His first performance of the Sekisai seems to have been in 1683, two years later, recorded in two places. The first is his invocation text for the Sekisai (“Sekisai kōmon” 釋菜告文) in spring 1683, which says “The season is the middle *tei* 丁 day of middle spring (the second month). The sacrificial ritual is not complete, but I cannot endure for it to be abandoned. I reverently make the meagre offerings in accordance with the old regulations.”<sup>(36)</sup> The second record is in his autobiography for 1684/2, which he said was observed by various notables, including the heir apparent of Mito domain. There he explains: “Because I encountered a period of mourning (for Gahō), the sacrificial ritual had been suspended for a long time. In spring of last year I conducted an abbreviated version of the ceremony; this year I performed it according to the ritual regulations.”<sup>(37)</sup> From this it seems that the *Shōheishi* record for 1681 is incorrect; Hōkō suspended the Sekisai in 1681 and 1682, and performed only a simplified version in 1683, while observing the three-year Confucian period of mourning for his father. The full ceremony was restored only in 1684.

It is likely that the Shinobugaoka Sekisai was performed every year from 1683 onwards. In what follows, we will first explain how Tsunayoshi first came to visit the Senseiden

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(34) *Jisen, jō* 上, Meireki 明曆 year 1 (1655), 2nd month.

(35) *Shōheishi* 昌平志, in *Nihon kyōiku bunko: gakkō hen* 日本教育文庫. 学校篇 (Tokyo: Dōbunkan, 1911) vol. 2, p. 85.

(36) “Sekisai kōmon” 釋菜告文, Tenna year 3, in *Hōkō Hayashi sensei zenshū* vol. 4, p. 78.

(37) *Jisen, jō* 上, Jōkyō year 1 (1684), 2nd month.

Confucius temple in Shinobugaoka, and then trace the events which led to the founding of the Yushima Seidō, and argue that the two are linked. There are significant documentary records relating to both areas which seem not to have been explicated in previous scholarship.

In the *Shōheishi*, there is a gap after the 8th month of 1681; the next record is the first year of Genroku 元禄, 1688.<sup>(38)</sup> Nothing is mentioned at all during this interval. Ishikawa Ken in his *Nihon gakkōshi no kenkyū*,<sup>(39)</sup> which covers the Sekiten in the Shinobugaoka school and in the Shoheizaka school in great depth, likewise does not comment on whether the Sekiten was held during these years, nor does Sudō Toshio in his detailed account of the Shinobugaoka Sekiten in his *Kinsei Nihon Sekiten no kenkyū*.<sup>(40)</sup> Hōkō in his own writings mentions three ceremonies, in 1683, 1684, and 1687.<sup>(41)</sup> Another was performed in the 2nd month of 1688;<sup>(42)</sup> in the 11th month of that same year Tsunayoshi visited the Shinobugaoka Confucius temple for the first time, as will be described below. Further ceremonies continued in 1689<sup>(43)</sup> and 1690<sup>(44)</sup> before the Yushima Seidō was completed in 1691. This means Hōkō presided over at least six sacrifices in Shinobugaoka between 1683 and 1690.

Tsunayoshi's visit to the Shinobugaoka Senseiden temple did not come about through sudden impulse. He had beforehand received from Hōkō glutinous rice cakes (*shitogi* 糰) and meat (*himorogi* 胙) used as offerings for the ceremony, in accord with Chinese sacrificial practice as a way of indicating that the recipient is included in the group making the sacrifice. This is mentioned both in the *Shōheishi* and in Tsukamoto's and Sudō's studies.<sup>(45)</sup> However, there are discrepancies between these two sources and Hōkō's accounts of this period which require clarifying. The two sources say that the gift of offerings occurred in the 2nd month of 1688 (Genroku 1), whereas Hōkō's equivalent record is for 1687/2/11 (Jōkyō 4):

On the 21st day Kitami Shigemasa, Governor of Wakasa 若狭, was commanded to receive the sacrificial glutinous cakes and meat in the [Shōgun's] place of repose.

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(38) *Shōheishi* vol. 2, p. 58.

(39) Ishikawa Ken, *Nihon gakkōshi no kenkyū* 日本学校史の研究 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1960).

(40) Sudō Toshio 須藤 敏夫, *Kinsei Nihon Sekiten no kenkyū* 近世日本釈奠の研究 (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001).

(41) The third of these is recorded in "Sekisai kōmon" 釋菜告文, Jōkyō year 1, in *Hōkō Hayashi sensei zenshū* vol. 4, p. 79.

(42) *Jisen, jō* 上., Genroku year 1 (1688), 2nd month.

(43) "Sekisai kōmon," Genroku year 2, in *Hōkō Hayashi sensei zenshū* vol. 4, p. 83.

(44) "Sekisai kōmon," Genroku year 3, in *Hōkō Hayashi sensei zenshū* vol. 4, p. 84.

(45) *Shōheishi*, Genroku 1, p. 58; Tsukamoto, *Tokugawa Tsunayoshi*, p. 164; Sudō, p. 43 (though he reads incorrectly that the sacrificial foods are a gift from Tsunayoshi to Hōkō; Tsukamoto on the other hand understands the passage correctly). For a discussion of the significance of the sharing of sacrificial foods in ancient China, see Mark Edward Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990), pp. 17-52.

When this was finished, I was granted a cup in the Shōgun's presence and sat in attendance upon his mat. When the banquet was finished I explicated the *Shijing*, and received the gift of five sets of clothing, whereupon I withdrew.<sup>(46)</sup>

In the next year, 1688, Hōkō records:

In the 2nd month, we held the Sekisai in the Shinobugaoka Hall of the Sage (Shinobugaoka Seiden 忍岡聖殿), with the sacrificial glutinous cakes and meat we received on the altar. The ritual followed was as last year.<sup>(47)</sup>

Little by little Tsunayoshi was reaching the point of making a personal visit to the Shinobugaoka Senseiden temple. As to the question of the date Tsunayoshi's intent to visit was transmitted to Hōkō, and who decided the date of the visit, are recorded differently in the *Shōheishi* and in Hōkō's own records.<sup>(48)</sup> Given that all of those involved had been dead for around a century when the *Shōheishi* was compiled, we must consider the likelihood of inaccuracies in the later record, thus for purposes of the current study we will concentrate exclusively on Hōkō's account.

On 1688/11/12 Hōkō records that he was summoned to the castle, where a number of high officials were in attendance, and transmitted to him a command from Tsunayoshi:

The Venerable Lord has since childhood been fond of study, and reverently believes in the Way of the Sages (*seidō* 聖道, Confucianism). Since the time of your father and grandfather the sacrifices in the Sage Temple have never been cut off. Every time [Tsunayoshi] hears of the sacrificial offerings there, he is inspired to develop himself. Thus, having twice received sacrificial glutinous cakes and meat, and the 21st day of this month being an auspicious time, he wishes to pay a visit to the Hall of the Sage at Shinobugaoka.

Hōkō says, "I bowed low in gratitude, and broke out into a sweat of fear which soaked my clothes." In order to help him prepare to receive Tsunayoshi, Bakufu officials used government funds to repair the residences at Shinobugaoka so that they looked like new.<sup>(49)</sup>

On the 21st day Tsunayoshi made his formal visit to the Shinobugaoka Hall of the Sage. Hōkō records the occasion as follows:

On the 21st day of the same month the Venerable Great Lord came at dawn in full

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(46) *Jisen, jō* 上, Jōkyō year 4 (1687), 2nd month.

(47) *Jisen, jō* 上, Genroku year 1 (1688), 2nd month.

(48) *Shōheishi*, Genroku 1, 11th month, 21st day, p. 59.

(49) *Jisen, jō* 上, Genroku year 1 (1688), 11th month.

formal dress, inclining his body with utmost ritual propriety, to pay a humble visit to the Hall of the Sage. Prior to this moment his personal vassals had brought a silver *zun* wine cup decorated with ox and elephant and a stick of aloeswood incense to present before the Sage. The Venerable Great Lord lit the incense, performed ritual obeisance, offered the wine libation, and presented sacrificial meat, with formal ritual posture of utmost respect. His personal vassals, functionaries, and administrators all escorted him at every step with profound solemnity, from the Hall of the Sage to the Kōbun Academy (Kōbun Shoin 弘文書院), where he commanded me to lecture on the “Yaodian” 堯典 [of the *Shang shu* 尚書].

Hōkō provided refreshments, and Tsunayoshi gave all the members of the family rich gifts, and personally performed a dance. Hōkō subsequently went to Tsunayoshi’s place of repose to present him with an edition of the Four Books, a punctuated *Shōgaku / Xiaoxue*, and a collection of *waka* poetry.<sup>(50)</sup>

In the next year, Hōkō again records: “On the 10th day of the 2nd month, we held the Sekisai in the Shinobugaoka Hall of the Sage. On the 21st day the royal carriage (the Shōgun) again made a formal visit to the Hall of the Sage, with ritual usages all the same as the previous year.”<sup>(51)</sup> Virtually the same record appears yet again for 1690/2/16, with a further record of being feasted by Tsunayoshi on the 26th day of the same month.<sup>(52)</sup>

For Tsunayoshi to have made personal visits to pay respects to the Shinobugaoka Senseiden three years in a row would, in the society of that time and place, caused quite a stir. And, his personal experience of doing this must have given key impetus to his decision to found the Yushima Seidō.

It was after Tsunayoshi had paid his respects for the third time at the Shinobugaoka Senseiden in 1690 that he first broached his intention of moving the temple to a new location. In the 7th month of 1690, several months after his visit, Hōkō received a summons to the castle, where Tsunayoshi’s intent was communicated to him through several Bakufu officials. The *Shōheishi* records this in some detail, but here again we will focus on the records of Hōkō as a participant in events:

On the 8th day of the 7th month, I was summoned to the castle. Senior ministers and Councillor Makino transmitted the [Shōgun’s] command: “The Sage Temple at Shinobugaoka is within the precincts of Ueno, and its eaves are side by side with those of Buddhist buildings. And, it was built by the Marquis of Owari, Genkei[kō] 尾張侯原敬[公] (Tokugawa Yoshinao). Going there year on year I have felt unease. Thus I wish to choose a site of spiritual potency and construct a new Sage Temple. You shall

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(50) *Ibid.*

(51) *Ibid.*, *jō* 上, Genroku year 2 (1689), 2nd month.

(52) *Ibid.*, *jō* 上, Genroku year 3 (1690), 2nd month.

consult on this and report back.”

Astonishment and joy filled my heart. I bowed low in acknowledgement of the graciousness of this command.

Again I was summoned to the castle into the presence [of the Shōgun himself]. His kindly regard was great. Subsequently, a site of spiritual potency was identified near Surugadai, which testimony indicated was an excellent precinct. [The Shōgun felt] it would be good to move the Hall of the Sage to this place. The site was renamed “Shōheizaka”.

Bakufu officials were appointed to take charge of the construction project: the personal attendant Matsudaira Terusada 松平 輝貞 (1665–1747) in charge as Commissioner (*bugyō* 奉行), and Hachisuka Takashige 蜂須賀 隆重 (1634–1707) to supervise on the ground.<sup>(53)</sup>

The *Shōheishi* account of the temple move is largely in accord with Hōkō’s record, though of course does not reflect his personal rejoicing. The *Shōheishi* likewise does not mention Hōkō’s meeting with Tsunayoshi after the official announcement, or Tsunayoshi’s personal affection for Hōkō. Hōkō’s own testimony reflects what seems to be genuine trust and liking for Hōkō on Tsunayoshi’s part.

There are differences between the *Shōheishi* and Hōkō’s accounts of how the Confucius temple came to be moved from Shinobugaoka to Yushima, but it is clear that a fundamental factor was the steady efforts at developing the Confucian project on the part of both Tsunayoshi and Hōkō from 1680 onwards. This raised the awareness of Bakufu officials towards Confucianism, and made easier the proposition that the Shinobugaoka temple should be replaced by a larger and more splendid venue suitable for the Shōgun’s sacrifices to Confucius. It was not by coincidence that in the 8th month of 1690 Tsunayoshi lectured on the Sankōryō 三綱領 in the *Daigaku* 大学 to Bakufu officials, and decreed monthly lectures to Bakufu officials and daimyō from that time on.<sup>(54)</sup>

What in the end were Tsunayoshi’s motives for acquiring Confucian learning and lecturing on it, for establishing a magnificent new Confucius temple at Yushima, or, put another way, why did he wish to found a Yushima temple embodying civil values in the warrior society of Japan?

The answer can be found in Tsunayoshi’s own words, as he explained on 1690/8/21 before an assembly of Bakufu officials and daimyō, as recorded by Hōkō:

On the 21st day of the month, the Venerable Great Lord went to the Kuroshoin 黒書院, and summoned all of the officials and administrators in his command. He said to them, “Use the civil and the military in tandem; this is the administration of Great Peace. All

(53) *Ibid.*, *jō* 上, Genroku year 3 (1690), 7th month.

(54) *Ibid.*, *jō* 上, Genroku year 3 (1690), 8th month.

of you address yourselves with great diligence to martial affairs, but greatly neglect civil learning. From now on, you must dedicate yourselves to the Way of learning, the words of this [civil Way] surely must not be neglected. Thus I command the Kōbun Scholar (Hōkō) to explicate the *Rongo* (Ch. *Lunyu* 論語, *Analects* of Confucius), a practice to be followed in perpetuity.”

I therefore obeyed this command and explained the first stanza “Xue er” 學而 [of the *Analects*]. Over two hundred people were listening, all in great expectation at this remarkable move.<sup>(55)</sup>

On 1690/11/21, Tsunayoshi prepared a plaque with “Hall of Great Completion” (Taiseiden 大成殿) written in his own calligraphy, and summoned Hōkō, saying: “The Sage Temple will soon be finished. You may use this as the plaque for it.”<sup>(56)</sup>

In the 12th month a roof-beam topping ceremony for the new temple was held. The various gates were all completed, as well as a seat for Tsunayoshi to observe.

As the temple neared completion, on 1691/1/13 when Hōkō was in attendance on Tsunayoshi, Hōkō was named to preside over the dedication ceremony. Before then, an auspicious day would be identified by divination, and the statue images of Confucius and his disciples transferred to their new location. Also, it was at this time that Tsunayoshi allowed Hōkō to bind his hair in the Confucian fashion and adopt Confucian clothing (rather than shaving his head and wearing Buddhist garb), and gave him the official post of Head of the Academy (Daigaku no kami 大学頭), at Lower Rank Five.<sup>(57)</sup>

For a Confucian scholar to be given an official post in this way marked a major turning point in the history of civil education in early modern Japan, signifying the advancement of the principles of civil government in the warrior society of the time. There had been no civil officials in the Bakufu administration until then, and all the Bakufu Confucian scholars had been forced to adopt Buddhist hair and dress. From this time on, all Confucian scholars appointed to office were, like Hōkō, no longer forced to adopt the Buddhist manner. The introduction of civil officials into the Bakufu meant that the institutions of education were now assured. The long-cherished desire of three generations of the Hayashi family had at last been fulfilled.

On 1691/2/7, the statue images of Confucius and the four correlates were moved from Shinobugaoka to Shōheizaka. Hōkō went to direct the operation, accompanied by Bakufu officials, and the task was completed with a formal procession to the new location. The proceedings are described in great detail elsewhere, so will not be described here.<sup>(58)</sup>

Now that everything was in place, the first Sekisai ceremony in the Shōheizaka Seidō

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(55) *Ibid.*, *jō* 上 - *ge* 下. Genroku year 3 (1690), 8th month.

(56) *Ibid.*, *ge* 下. Genroku year 3 (1690), 11th month.

(57) *Kenbyō jitsuroku*, Genroku year 4 (1691), 1st month, p. 209; *Jisen*, *ge* 下. Genroku year 4 (1691), 1st month.

(58) A full account is given in Sudō Toshio, *Kinsei Nihon Sekiten no kenkyū*. Hōkō's own account of the procession is in *Jisen*, *ge* 下, Genroku year 4 (1691), 2nd month.

was held on 1691/2/11. Tsunayoshi observed the rite from a temporary separate pavilion that had been built for him. The ritual is said to have been conducted with great solemnity, and large numbers of people came to watch. After the ceremony Tsunayoshi granted an income of 1,000 *koku* to support the Yushima Seidō, and further personal gifts of silver for Hōkō and his family. Hōkō secretly gave Tsunayoshi gifts of texts and a gold screen. Hōkō lectured on the Confucian canons, then Tsunayoshi did so as well, and performed a dance.<sup>(59)</sup>

On 1691/7/6 Hōkō lectured on the opening passage of the “Kyokurai / Qu li” 曲礼 of the *Raiki / Li ji* 礼記 at the Shōheikō school. He states that five or six hundred people came to listen, and that not an inch of space was left to sit, so that an unknown number of people went away disappointed.<sup>(60)</sup> And, on 9/10, Tsunayoshi lectured on the first section of the *Rongo / Lunyu* in the castle, attended by more than 280 Bakufu officials.<sup>(61)</sup>

The large numbers of people attending the Sekisai ceremony and Hōkō’s lectures suggest that the appearance and physical properties of the Yushima Seidō buildings themselves were intended to have an educative function. Many times larger in scale than the old Shinobugaoka Senseiden had been, they attracted wide attention and aroused interest in Confucianism.

#### IV. Conclusion

The Yushima Seidō, which has been called the birthplace of school education in Japan, was as we have seen founded by the fifth Shōgun Tsunayoshi in the early part of the Genroku era. Most studies of it have focused on such areas as the significance of its establishment, the architecture of the building, or the Sekisai ceremonies of the time and the ritual vessels used for it. Far rarer have been detailed evidential studies of the founder Tsunayoshi’s motives, and the actual sequence of events which led him to the decision to found the Yushima Seidō. And, almost nothing has been done on Hayashi Hōkō and his connection with the project; this was the man who had been the head of the Hayashi school and Senseiden temple at Shinobugaoka – the respective forerunners of the Taiseiden temple and school at the Yushima Seidō – the man who at the time of the completion of the Yushima project received official appointment as the head of the school.

The current study has focused on previously neglected accounts left by Hōkō himself, and analysed them against the findings of previous research. This material shows that starting in 1687, four years before the completion of the Yushima Seidō, Hōkō twice presented to Tsunayoshi the sacrificial food offerings used in Sekisai ceremonies, and that from 1688 onwards Tsunayoshi made formal visits to the Senseiden temple at the Hayashi school. From this it is evident that the close contact between Tsunayoshi and

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(59) *Jisen, ge* 下. Genroku year 4 (1691), 2nd month.

(60) *Ibid.*, 7th month.

(61) *Ibid.*, 9th month.



Hōkō was a factor in the establishment of the Yushima Seidō, and in particular that Hōkō played a role in inspiring Tsunayoshi to the planning and execution of the project, which should not be ignored. And, Hōkō's records provide a new perspective from which it is possible to correct errors of detail in generally-accepted accounts of the Yushima Seidō.

In the wider context, this study's historical analysis of how Tsunayoshi's attitude toward Confucianism developed has shown how founding the Yushima Seidō was one strand of Tsunayoshi's efforts to create a civil, non-military order, and that the temple was an inevitable consequence of the changing historical circumstances at the time.

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## Abstract

This study explores the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Yushima Seidō temple and school in 1690, concentrating on the relationship between the shōgun Tsunayoshi and the third head of the Hayashi school, Hayashi Hōkō. Little-studied writings by Hōkō himself show that the personal relationship between the two men was closer than previously thought, beginning soon after Tsunayoshi took power in 1680. Hōkō records Tsunayoshi's promotion of civil governance and study of Confucian canons, including his lectures to daimyō and Bakufu officials, at which Hōkō was given a prominent role. Tsunayoshi took an interest in the Confucius temple at the Hayashi's original Shinobugaoka school and made three formal visits to pay respects at the temple before deciding to found the new temple and school at Yushima. Hōkō's record is likely to be more reliable than later sources when considering discrepancies in the dates and details of certain events. On the basis of the materials considered in this study, it would seem that the interaction between Tsunayoshi and Hōkō, and their joint efforts, should be given greater weight in explaining how the Yushima temple came to be founded.

