

〔論 説〕

The Transformation of the Temple-School Complex in the Mid-Edo Period: The Example of the Owari Domain Meirindō School

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I. Introduction

Research on the Owari domain school, the Meirindō 明倫堂, has come within a disparate range of academic fields, including political history, social history, and intellectual history. A substantial proportion of this scholarship has related to the first Director of Teaching (Tokugaku 督学) at the school, Hosoi Heishū 細井 平洲.⁽¹⁾

The Meirindō had long antecedents, going back to the first lord of Owari, Tokugawa Yoshinao 徳川 義直 (1601-1650; ruler of Owari 1610-1650). He was renowned for his love of study, and was particularly accomplished in Confucian learning. Up until he entered his own domain in 1616, he lived with his father Ieyasu at Sunpu, and studied Confucian learning with Hayashi Razan 林 羅山 (1583-1657), the Confucian scholar who at that time was in service to Ieyasu.⁽²⁾ As a result of Yoshinao's Confucian learning, and his veneration of Confucianism, the Sekiten 積奠 sacrifices to Confucius and his disciple correlates were performed rather earlier in Owari than they were by the Bakufu. The precise date that Yoshinao built the Owari Confucius temple is unclear, but at the very latest it existed by 1629, when Hayashi Razan met with Yoshinao in Owari and visited the Confucius temple there, which he described in his memoir "Hai Biyō Seidō 拝尾陽聖堂" ("Worshipping at the Owari Confucian Shrine").⁽³⁾

Soon after, in 1630, the third Shōgun Iemitsu gave Razan 5353 *tsubo* of land (approximately 17,665 square metres) and 200 *ryō* of funding to build a school and personal residence, and in 1632 a private school for Confucian learning and a library had been completed at Shinobugaoka 忍岡 in Ueno, though this was without a temple for the worship of the Sage. Yoshinao then provided a temple for the Shinobugaoka site, with a plaque reading "Hall of the Former Sage" (Senseiden 先聖殿) written in his own hand, along with a statue image of Confucius and ritual vessels required for the Sekiten

(1) Two of the most detailed studies of the Meirindō domain school in Owari are: Aichi-ken kyōiku iinkai 愛知県教育委員会, *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* 愛知県教育史 vol. 1 (Tokyo: Daiichi Hōki Shuppan, 1973); Nagoyashi 名古屋市, *Nagoyashi shi* 名古屋市史 vol. 10 (Nagoya: Nagoyashi, 1915). A detailed study of Heishū is Takase Daijirō 高瀬 代次郎, *Hosoi Heishū* 細井平洲 (Tokyo: Matsuoka Tatsu 松岡達, 1913).

(2) *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* vol. 1, pp. 79-80.

(3) Hayashi Razan, "Hai Biyō Seidō 拝尾陽聖堂," *Razan sensei bunshū* 羅山先生文集 vol. 2 (Kyoto: Heian Kōko Gakkai 平安考古学会, 1918), p. 321.

sacrifice. In the following year 1633, on the tenth day of the second month, Razan performed the Sekiten ritual in the new Senseiden.⁽⁴⁾

The Hayashi family school at Shinobugaoka was an institution founded with close links to the Bakufu. After Iemitsu's initial gift, the Bakufu continued their support for the Hayashi school through the time of the fourth Shōgun Ietsuna. Then, during the Genroku period, the fifth Shōgun Tsunayoshi (1646–1709) built a much larger school and temple at Yushima and moved the Hayashi school and Senseiden temple there. The name of the new temple was changed to Taiseiden 大成殿, and the overall school-temple compound was referred to collectively as the Yushima Shrine (Yushima Seidō 湯島聖堂). The third Hayashi family head, Hayashi Hōkō 林鳳岡, was appointed as the head of the school (Daigakunokami 大学頭). Tsunayoshi came in person to attend the Sekiten ritual, and also convened assemblies of Daimyo to deliver lectures on the Confucian canons.⁽⁵⁾ Through this, the Bakufu's policy of civil, non-martial education (*bunkyo* 文教) became immediately more conspicuous, as did the institution of the temple-school complex, in which teaching venues and a shrine were contained within a single compound. The design of the Yushima Seidō became a model for the domains when they established their own schools and for the education programmes in them. From the time the Yushima Seidō was completed through the first half of the eighteenth century, the fortunes of domain schools rose; almost all of them followed a standard pattern in imitation of the model in Edo of lectures on the Confucian canons as the core of the teaching curriculum, establishing shrines to Confucius, and performing the Sekisai 積菜 sacrifice to Confucius twice a year.⁽⁶⁾

It is no exaggeration to say that whether or not an individual domain had a school and Confucius temple was a measure of how closely aligned it was with the Bakufu in terms of politics and policy. And yet almost no research has been done to explicate the circumstances of this phenomenon in Owari, the very first domain in the Edo period to establish a Confucius temple.

The current article will consider how the founding of the Meirindō domain school

(4) Miyake Yonekichi 三宅 米吉, *Seidō ryakushi* 聖堂略誌, ed. Nakayama Kyūshirō 中山 久四郎 (Tokyo: Shibunkai 斯文会, 1935), pp. 1–4; Hayashi Razan, “Bushū Senseiden keishi 武州先聖殿經始,” *Razan sensei bunshū* vol. 2 (Kyoto: Heian Kōko Gakkai 平安考古学会, 1918), pp. 321–2; Zenan Shu, “Before the Meirindō: Investigating the Early History of Education in Owari Domain,” *Chiba Shōdai Kiyō* 千葉商大紀要 56.2 (2018), pp. 41–54.

(5) Tsukamoto Manabu 塚本 学, *Tokugawa Tsunayoshi* 徳川綱吉 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1998).

(6) For example, the lord of the sub-domain of Taku (Takuyū 多久邑) in Hizen 肥前, Taku Shigefumi 多久 茂文, for the purpose of educating his subjects founded a school in 1699, and ordered a bronze statue image of Confucius from the Confucian Nakamura Tekisai 中村 惕斎 in Kyoto, which was completed in the following year. In 1708 he constructed a Confucius temple for performing sacrifices to Confucius. Ever since that time twice-yearly Sekisai rites have continued more than three centuries, right down to the present day. In Hagi domain, when the ruler Mōri Yoshimoto 毛利 吉元 founded the domain school Meirinkan 明倫館 in 1718, he followed the pattern of the Yushima Seidō in constructing the school and temple at the same time.

in Owari was related to the development of the Bakufu educational system within the Bakuhan order. It will focus in particular on clarifying the historical circumstances behind the establishment of the Confucius temple, and, taking into account previous scholarship, make a close examination of primary sources to verify the circumstances around the construction of the school and temple. From this close examination of the Meirindō, it will be possible to offer some considerations on how the temple-school complex as a physical manifestation of the Bakuhan civil educational enterprise from the Genroku-era Yushima Seidō onward underwent substantial change over the course of the eighteenth century.

II. Civil Education in Owari before the Meirindō

The Meirindō school opened in the fifth month of 1783, as a culmination of a project of civil education in Owari going back to the time of the first domain lord Yoshinao. In a previous article, “Before the Meirindō: Investigating the Early History of Education in Owari Domain,” I presented records and essays by Hayashi Razan and his successors describing how the Owari rulers from Yoshinao to the second lord Mitsutomo 光友, the third lord Tsunanari 綱誠, and the fourth lord Yoshimichi 吉通 during their respective reigns maintained a continuous association with the Hayashi family as a result of their interest in Confucian learning and civil education; this part of the story will be omitted here.⁽⁷⁾ The current study will focus mainly on aspects of civil education in Owari domain throughout its history up to the foundation of the Meirindō.

A. Temple and School in the Time of Yoshinao

The first Owari lord Yoshinao was the ninth son of the Shōgun Tokugawa Ieyasu. As previously mentioned, Yoshinao lived with his father Ieyasu when he was young and had Hayashi Razan as his main teacher. In 1607 he was enfeoffed as Castellan (Jōshu 城主) of Kiyosu 清洲 in Owari, and in 1616 moved to Nagoya Castle as the lord of Owari. As a consequence of his interest in Confucian learning, the Owari Confucius temple was the first to be established in the Edo period, which Hayashi Razan visited while passing through the domain in the sixth month of 1629.⁽⁸⁾

According to the *Bihan seiki* 尾藩世紀, the first Sekisai sacrifice in the Owari Confucius temple took place on 1633/2/18. The location of the temple at that time is not known.⁽⁹⁾ The Owari ceremony took place eight days later than that performed by Razan in Ueno.

(7) See Shu, “Before the Meirindō,” cited above.

(8) See note 3 above.

(9) *Bihan seiki* 尾藩世紀, in Nagoyashi Hōsa Bunko 名古屋市蓬左文庫 comp., *Nagoya sōsho sanben* 名古屋叢書三編 vol. 2 (Nagoya: Nagoyashi Kyōiku Inkai 名古屋市教育委員会, 1987), p. 54.

In respect of Yoshinao's promotion of civil education, the school, or study venue (*gakumonjo* 学問所) he established in Ootsuchō 大津町 is often mentioned, and attention has been drawn to the fact that this venue was not just for the domain lord himself, but for the education of domain samurai; this has been identified as the earliest antecedents of a publicly accessible education system in Owari.⁽¹⁰⁾ Much about the early temple and school is unclear owing to the scarcity of sources, but we can be certain of the provision of teaching for domain samurai and the Sekisai ceremony held in the Confucius temple. The school and temple were not constructed at the same time, and were not on the same site, but there can be no doubt that both were a part of Yoshinao's strategy for civil education, based on his ideas for how the domain should be governed. However, the Ootsuchō school was closed after Yoshinao's death.⁽¹¹⁾

Overall, the supportive attitude toward learning did not change during the time of the second lord Mitsutomo 光友 (1625–1700; r. 1650–1693) and the third lord Tsunanari 綱誠 (1651–1699, r. 1693–1699).⁽¹²⁾ As described in greater detail in my previous article, the next record of a school, Confucius temple, and the Sekiten ritual after the disappearance of the Ootsuchō school came in the time of Tsunanari. Back in 1622, Yoshinao had appointed Hayashi Razan's fellow student Hori Kyōan 堀 杏庵 to the post of Confucian scholar (*jusha* 儒者).⁽¹³⁾ Kyōan's pupil Namikawa Rozan 並河 魯山 (1629–1711) was greatly trusted by the second Owari lord Mitsutomo, and served as tutor to his heir, the third lord Tsunanari. At some point during the Genroku period (1688–1703), Rozan was commanded by Tsunanari to establish a Confucius shrine within his private family school. In it was a statue image of Confucius lent by Tsunanari, and the Sekisai sacrifice was performed there. When Rozan died, his student Adachi Motonaga 安達 元長 continued the Sekisai ceremonies.⁽¹⁴⁾

The school teaching in Razan's family school and the Sekisai ceremony in the Confucius shrine mandated by Tsunanari began during the Genroku period. Rozan's student Adachi Motonaga served as tutor to the fourth Owari lord Yoshimichi 吉通 (1689–1713; r. 1699–1713).⁽¹⁵⁾ Yoshimichi was on close personal terms with Hayashi Hōkō, third Hayashi family head and head of the Yushima Seidō; Hōkō records that he and his two sons were frequently summoned by Yoshimichi to explicate the Confucian canons.⁽¹⁶⁾ It seems likely that Yoshimichi's tutor Adachi Motonaga continued the Sekisai ceremony for as long as the former was alive.

(10) *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* vol. 1, p. 82.

(11) *Bihan seiki* (cited in note 9), p. 54.

(12) *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* vol. 1, p. 83.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 80. The office of Confucian Scholar had been institutionalized in Owari very early in the domain's history; see *ibid.*, p. 94.

(14) Nagoyashi Kyōiku Iinkai 名古屋市教育委員会 comp., *Nagoya sōsho* 名古屋叢書 vol. 1 (Nagoya: Nagoyashi Kyōiku Iinkai 名古屋市教育委員会, 1960), p. 222.

(15) *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* vol. 1, p. 83; here Adachi's name is written as 足立 元長 instead of 安達 元長.

B. The Habashita School

In the seventh month of 1713 the young Yoshimichi died at the age of 23 *sai*, and the fifth lord Gorōta 五郎太 briefly succeeded him, only to die himself in the eleventh month of that same year at the age of 3 *sai*. There were no further developments of note during the period of the sixth lord Tsugutomo 継友 (r. 1713–1730) and his successor Muneharu 宗春 (r. 1730–1739); the latter is famous for his conflicts with the Shōgun Yoshimune, but this complex story is not relevant to the current study. We move forward therefore to the eighth lord Munekatsu 宗勝 (1705–1761; r. 1739–1761), who succeeded Muneharu in the first month of 1739 by order of the Shōgun.⁽¹⁷⁾ From the start of his rule Munekatsu followed a policy of supporting Confucian officials and reviving civil education. In a document titled “Senseibyō chōshūki 先聖廟重修記” (“Memoir on the Rebuilding of the Temple of the Former Sage”) composed by the domain Confucian Kinoshita Rankō 木下 蘭皐 in 1733, regarding the Hall of the Former Sage previously built by Namikawa Rozan at Tsunanari’s command, we find: “It still exists there now... It is said that [Namikawa’s] descendants lost their office through ineptitude, so that the sacrifices were neglected and the temple is now falling into ruin.”⁽¹⁸⁾ After Rozan’s death, his student Adachi Motonaga had continued the sacrifices to the statue image of Confucius that Tsunanari had lent, but when Motonaga’s son took over he asked to relinquish this statue. A new home was needed for it, and so a Confucius Hall (Kōshidō 孔子堂) was designated within the lord’s castle, and on 1743/8/17 Munekatsu formally installed the statue there and performed the Sekisai ceremony to it. However, the Sekisai was not conducted there again, and the expanding progress of civil education in Owari was not linked to this shrine in any way.⁽¹⁹⁾

The educational institution that was the most direct antecedent of the Meirindō domain school founded in 1783 came about in the second month of 1748, when a scholar of Chinese learning, Kani Yōsai 蟹 養斎, who had founded a private family school in the town, sought permission from the domain government to establish an officially supported school. The domain granted this permission, and support in the form of an allocation of 300 *tsubo* of land (approximately 990 square metres), 30 *ryō* of funding for expenses, and an exemption from taxes on the land, for the purpose of constructing the school. However, this official permission came with the condition that Yōsai would be held responsible for the operation of the school, and that the funding would be stopped if the school’s educational function were to fail.

(16) *Hōkō Hayashi Sensei zenshū* 鳳岡林先生全集, ed. Tokuda Takeshi 徳田 武 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2013) vol. 2, *kan* 28, p. 63, Kyōhō 享保 year 16 (1731).

(17) *Bihan seiki* (cited in note 9), p. 362, entry dated Genbun 元文 year 4 (1739).

(18) Kinoshita Rankō, “Senseibyō chōshūki 先聖廟重修記,” in *Nagoya sōsho* 名古屋叢書 vol. 1 (cited in note 14), p. 235.

(19) *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* vol. 1, pp. 95–6.

On 1748/2/23, Yōsai took possession of the 300 *tsubo* of land at the Habashita Gate (Habashitamō 巾下門) for the construction of the school. Construction began in the middle of the sixth month, and was completed on 1748/9/4. A Sekisai sacrifice and opening ceremony were held on 9/10. On 1749/9/15, Munekatsu wrote the characters “Meirindō” in his own hand, which were carved onto a plaque and given to the school.⁽²⁰⁾

The educational curriculum at the Habashita school is described in detail in the *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi*, so will not be included here, though it is worth making one observation about the school buildings themselves. Not many sources exist for this, except for a diagram of the school compound, the “Habashita Meirindō no zu 巾下明倫堂之図,” contained within the *Kan'en kisō* 寛延記艸 authored by the Owari domain Confucian scholar Nakamura Shūsai 中村 習斎, one of Yōsai's students.

This diagram shows a number of buildings employed for educational activities contained within the compound, including a central hall, an eastern hall, a western hall, two dormitories, and a refectory. What it does not show is a Confucius temple for the Sekisai ritual. It is of course entirely possible that the Sekisai was held in one of the teaching buildings, such as the central hall. There were school buildings there and no Confucius temple, but this does not necessarily mean that the Sekisai was not performed.

The Habashita school ceased operations in 1751 due to financial and other problems, and was closed. It existed for only three years, but it is fair to say that it was the direct forerunner of the Meirindō domain school as resurrected in 1783.

III. The Reopening of the Meirindō

A. The Establishment of the Meirindō School

For a long period after the Habashita school was closed there was no official educational institution in Owari domain. Munekatsu died on 1762/6/24, and his designated heir Munechika 宗睦 succeeded him by order of the Shōgun on 8/5.⁽²¹⁾ Munechika addressed himself vigorously to reforms in domain governance, and in 1775 set out a clear plan for a school for the purpose of civil education as part of these reforms,⁽²²⁾ which was realized in 1783 with the opening of the Meirindō domain school.

In the progress toward realizing Munechika's plan for the restoration of civil education, he was greatly assisted by a capable official, one Hitomi Kiyū 人見 璣邑 (1729-1797); it was his efforts which made the restoration of the Meirindō possible. Munechika trusted him completely, and selected him and other competent officials for high office during the time of his Tenmei period administrative reforms (1781-1788).⁽²³⁾

(20) *Bihan seiki* (cited in note 9), pp. 379-80; *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* vol. 1, pp. 97-100.

(21) *Bihan seiki*, pp. 393-4.

(22) *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* vol. 1, p. 140.

The restoration of the Meirindō domain school required the recruitment of prominent scholars, and for this Hitomi Kiyū's attention was drawn to the example of Yonezawa domain, where reforms in governance had already achieved positive results. The ninth ruler of Yonezawa, Uesugi Harunori 上杉 治憲 (or Yōzan 鷹山, 1751–1822; r. 1767–1785), who at that time had achieved a reputation as an ideal ruler (*meikun* 名君), had been supported by the scholar Hosoi Heishū 細井 平洲 (1728–1801), who played a principal guiding role in the foundation of the Yonezawa domain school, the Kōjōkan 興讓館. Heishū was in fact a native of Owari, and Hitomi Kiyū regarded him as the most suitable choice to take charge of the Meirindō school. Kiyū recommended to Munechika that Heishū be appointed. The domain physician Hattori Sōgen 服部 艸玄, a friend of Heishū's, acted as go-between to persuade Heishū to come.⁽²⁴⁾

In 1780 Heishū came in response to Munechika's invitation to lecture on the *Documents* (*Shang shu* 尚書). Munechika listened in wonder, so deeply impressed that he immediately appointed Heishū as tutor.⁽²⁵⁾

In 1782, construction of school buildings began at a site called Okunikata Yakusho-ato 御国方役所跡 on the east side of Nagashimachō 長島町 in Jōnan-katawa 城南片端, and the works were completed in the fourth month of 1783. On 1783/4/21, the appointment of the school head and other officers was announced. On 4 / 25 Munechika personally attended at the school, and on the next day gave the school a plaque reading "Meirindō" in his own hand. On 5/1 the school began operation, with Hosoi Heishū lecturing on the *Canon of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經).⁽²⁶⁾ This sequence of events is covered in detail in *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi*, *Nagoyashi shi*, and Takase Daijirō's *Hosoi Heishū*.

B. When Was the Meirindō Confucius Shrine Constructed?

In the above we have offered a brief summary of how Munechika re-established the domain school Meirindō in 1783. However, on the question of what became of the Confucius temple and the Sekiten (Sekisai) ceremony which had been so prominent in the earlier Owari tradition, previous accounts have arrived at different conclusions. Ever since the time of the fifth Shōgun Tsunayoshi, the pattern of school and temple integrated on the same site as embodied in the Yushima Seidō had been the most common model for the official schools in most of the domains. In view of this, it is necessary to reconsider the differing accounts of the founding date of the Meirindō Confucius temple.

The most important of these accounts can be divided into four categories, as

(23) *Nagoyashi shi* vol. 10, pp. 397–9 ("Munechika no hansei kaikaku 宗睦の藩政改革"); *Bihan seiki*, p. 426, with Hitomi Kiyū's grave inscription.

(24) Takase, *Hosoi Heishū*, p. 585 ("Bihan no jii Hattori Sōgen 尾藩の侍医服部艸玄").

(25) *Ibid.*, p. 407.

(26) *Aichi-ken kyōiku shi* vol. 1, p. 151 ("Hankō no saiken 藩校の再建").

follows:

- (1) Construction of the Confucius temple on a site east of the Meirindō was started in 1785, and completed in the next year. On 1786/2/13, Hosoi Heishū as Saishu 祭酒 ('Libationer', i.e. school governor) performed the Sekisai. This is according to the "Seidō ki 聖堂記".⁽²⁷⁾
- (2) Construction of the Confucius temple on a site east of the Meirindō was started in 1785, and in 1786 Hosoi Heishū as Saishu performed the Sekisai in the Meirindō (i.e., there is no mention of the Confucius temple construction being completed). This is the version recorded by Kitō Yūichi and the *Nagoyashi shi*.⁽²⁸⁾
- (3) Construction of the Confucius temple on a site east of the Meirindō was begun in 1785, but because this had not been completed by the following year 1786, Hosoi Heishū as Saishu performed the Sekisai in the Meirindō. This is according to Takase, *Hosoi Heishū*.⁽²⁹⁾
- (4) According to the *Bihan seiki*, in 1794/11 the Temple to the Two Sages (Nisei Seidō 二聖堂) was built, and on 1795/2/5 the Sekiten was performed there for the first time.⁽³⁰⁾

With regard to the Sekiten ceremony recorded as having been performed in the Meirindō on 1786/2/13, the frequently-cited "Preface [to a Poem] Offered to Saishu Hosoi" ("Hosoi Saishu ni okuru jo 贈細井祭酒序") by Hitomi Kiyū says, "Because the Hall to the Former Sage (Senseiden 先聖殿) had not yet been completed, on the thirteenth day Hinoeuma 丙午 of the second month of Tenmei year 6 (1786) a temporary spirit altar was set up in the hall in order to conduct the Sekisai rite..." (*Hitomi bunsō* 人見文艸 7).⁽³¹⁾

The source of the account of the Sekiten in 1795 as recorded in the *Bihan seiki* is not clear, so its reliability cannot be verified.

However, at the very least, we can be certain that no Confucius temple existed in the Meirindō in the three-year period from the opening of the school in 1783 and the performance of the Sekisai in 1786. There is no record of such a temple being finished subsequently. Furthermore, up until 1795 there is no record of the Sekisai being performed in a Confucius temple. Given that Yoshinao had so long before introduced

(27) *Nagoya sōsho* vol. 1, p. 242.

(28) Kitō Yūichi 鬼頭 有一, "Owari-hankō Meirindō nenpyō 尾張藩贊明倫堂年表," *Tōyō bunka* 東洋文化 (Komaki: Tōyō Bunka Shinkōkai 東洋文化振興会) 26 (1983), pp. 34-77; *Nagoya shishi* vol. 10, p. 213.

(29) *Nagoyashi shi* vol. 10, p. 213.

(30) *Bihan seiki*, p. 425.

(31) *Hitomi bunsō* 人見文艸 7, ms. in the Nagoya Library Digital Archive, Nagoya Collection.

the very first domain Confucius temple and Sekisai ceremony of the Edo period, the fact that in the Meirindō the Confucius temple and Sekisai ceremony performed in it came so much later than the school itself is quite striking, and seems to reflect a profound transformation in how people perceived the temple.

IV. Conclusion

When we consider the sequence of events in the establishment of the Meirindō in the light of the standard integrated temple/Sekiten-school complex, the long gap in time between the establishment of the school and the much later Confucius temple is striking, as are the several problems existing within previous scholarship on this question. Almost all earlier accounts say that the Sekisai of 1786/2/13 took place in the newly-constructed Confucius temple on the Meirindō site, but in fact this seems to be incorrect. Reading Hitomi Kiyū's original account of events reveals that the temple had not in fact been completed in 1786, and that the 1786/2/13 ceremony was held not in the temple but in one of the Meirindō school buildings. And, there is no evidence that the Sekisai was even continued in the years after 1786. Only for 1786 is there any record which mentions both the Meirindō Confucius temple and the Sekisai, and it makes quite clear that the temple did not yet exist. The next such record mentioning a new temple in the Meirindō grounds appears only in 1794, and it is impossible to establish precisely when this temple was built.

When we consider the establishment of this domain school in the mid-Edo period, it is clear that the school buildings for teaching appeared first, and that for a considerable period they did not coexist with a temple for the observances to the founding teacher of Confucian learning. In other words, the existence of the part of the school dedicated to practical education was deemed to be perfectly sufficient, and the part devoted to human feelings, or piety, was considerably less prominent. From this, we can glimpse something of how the original temple-school pattern expressed by Tsunayoshi in the Yushima Seidō had lost its force. This is a reflection of the changing times, and of a new era in which the culture of values was becoming ever more diverse. In other words, control over ideology in society was becoming far looser.

In the domain of Owari where the very first Confucius temple was founded, and the domain which had donated the Confucius temple for the Hayashi school at Shinobugaoka which was the forerunner of the Shōheizaka Gakumonjo under the direct control of the Bakufu, the late establishment of the Confucius temple in the later Meirindō is a clear reflection of profound changes in the culture underlying the implementation of civil governance.

(2019.6.17 受稿, 2019.7.15 受理)

Abstract

This study examines the history of the temple-school complex of the Meirindō, the domain school in Owari. Owari was the first domain to establish a Confucius temple in 1629 or earlier under the first Owari lord Tokugawa Yoshinao, though this was not integrated with the separate school also started by Yoshinao. The third lord of Owari, Mitsutomo, ordered his Confucian scholar Namikawa Rozan to build a Confucius temple in the grounds of the latter's private school. In 1748 the Meirindō was first established with official support at the instigation of the Confucian scholar Kani Yōsai, but this school was closed after only three years, and seems not to have included a Confucius temple. Only in 1783 was the Meirindō school properly established by the ninth Owari lord Munechika. Significantly, the Confucius temple in the Meirindō was not added until some years after the school itself, at an unknown time in 1794 or earlier. This gap in timing reflects the diminished importance of the temple in the school complex, and a significant shift in attitudes as compared to the earlier time when the exemplar of the temple-school complex, the Yushima Seidō, had been founded by the fifth Shōgun Tsunayoshi.

The research for this article was supported by a period of research leave in 2017 granted by the Chiba University of Commerce.