

Zhu Shunshui's Plans for the Confucian Ancestral Shrines (*Zongmiao* 宗廟) in Kaga Domain

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Introduction

This study centres around an examination of a document entitled *Zongmiao tu xu* 宗廟圖序 ('Preface to the Diagrams for Ancestral Shrines'), composed in Edo-period Japan by the Chinese émigré Zhu Shunshui 朱舜水 (1600–1682). This originally accompanied a pictorial design, now lost, for ancestral shrines (*miao* 廟) drawn up by Zhu at the request of Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀 (1643–1724), daimyō of Kaga 加賀 domain. Zhu Shunshui's influence on Tokugawa Mitsukuni's 德川光圀 (1628–1701) domain of Mito 水戸, is well known; Mitsukuni retained Zhu to provide technical advice on Chinese Confucian ritual forms. Less well known is Zhu's relationship with Tsunanori, and his influence on Confucian forms in Kaga, but it was in fact at Tsunanori's insistence that Zhu first began formulating the ritual forms relating to Confucian ancestral shrines for Japanese daimyō, whom Zhu regarded as equivalent to the feudal lords (*zhuhou* 諸侯) of ancient China.

It is important to stress that this study is not primarily about Japan, but rather China. The Japanese context cannot of course be excluded, but the primary focus is Zhu Shunshui as a typical representative of the 'gentry' (*shi* 士) class in late Ming China: what he knew, how he thought, and in particular how he responded to Tsunanori's request to provide a practical design for the construction of ancestral shrines according to the Chinese model. For Zhu, the particular problem of designing the shrines was a complex one. Surprisingly —

given his personal mission to promote Confucianism in Japan, and his keenness to formulate instructions for other Confucian ritual forms, such as the temple of Confucius — he was reluctant to take on this task. This reluctance seems to have stemmed from the sheer importance of the ancestral shrines in Chinese ritual. The 'Five Shrines' (*wumiao* 五廟) of the feudal lords were a counterpart of the imperial ancestral shrines, similar in significance, if lower in status. They were complex, and made up an important component of the ritual institutions of rulership. Zhu's lack of confidence in taking on such responsibility makes sense, given the conceptual framework within which he operated.

Zhu Shunshui attached great importance to the technicalities of the ancestral shrines, and he devoted a great deal of effort to reconstructing a version of the shrines which no longer existed in China. This particular case sheds light on what we are accustomed to call Confucianism, and in particular those aspects of Confucianism governed by *li* 禮, commonly translated as 'ritual', which arguably have more to do with what Confucianism actually was than the abstract ideas and values so commonly used to classify it as a philosophy. The symbolic meaning of the shrines was deeply embedded in Zhu's conceptual world, and his understanding of their significance was instinctive; it would have been difficult for him to see that the Japanese counterpart was fundamentally different. In the end, it is perhaps not surprising that the shrines seem never to have been built, despite Tsunanori's keen interest in Confucianism.

Conceptual Background

On a methodological level, the current study has been informed by secondary scholarship on sacrificial ritual in China, particularly with reference to the practice-based, ritualized, and religious aspects of Confucianism. Some of the highlights of such scholarship may be summarized briefly as follows, the more general first.

Some scholars in the West have proposed a substantial revision of the understanding of what Confucianism actually is. They emphasize practice-based

forms, such as cults and sacrificial rituals, to counter what they regard as an unbalanced characterization of Confucianism in most modern scholarship (both Western and Chinese) as primarily a secular ethical philosophy or ideology of government. In fact, these scholars argue, Confucianism as it actually existed cannot be understood without taking into account its ritual practices and institutions, and it has its genuinely religious side, conspicuous for example in the temples and sacrifices to Confucius.⁽¹⁾ Others, arguing more on doctrinal grounds and methods of self-cultivation, identify a Confucian spirituality, and classify Confucianism as a religion in itself.⁽²⁾

Another important area of research for the current study is Chinese ritual generally, analyzed as ritual in the modern academic sense, within the often highly theoretical field of ritual studies as it has developed in the West.⁽³⁾ In the case of Chinese ritual, sacrificial rituals of all sorts, whether Confucian or not, are a major area of consideration. There have been theoretical debates on large ritual-studies sorts of questions, such as whether the correct performance of rites, or orthopraxy, takes priority over belief, or orthodoxy.⁽⁴⁾ More usefully,

1 See the collection of studies on the Confucius cult in Thomas A. Wilson, ed., *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 217 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002).

2 See, for example, Tu Wei-Ming, *Centrality and Commonality: an Essay on Confucian Religiousness* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), and Rodney L. Taylor, *The Religious Dimensions of Confucianism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).

3 A classic account of the history of ritual studies in the West is Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997; rpt. 2009). The book is about Ritual Studies generally, but Bell was also interested in China, and spent time in both Japan and Taiwan.

4 See James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), especially the opposing views of the two editors on pp. 3–19 and 20–34.

there have been pragmatic studies of Chinese state ritual, family ritual, and death ritual; most of these categories of ritual are associated in some way with sacrificial ritual, and as actually practiced are to a greater or lesser extent defined by, or influenced by, the Confucian ritual canons.⁽⁵⁾

In Confucian terms, the ancestral shrines and sacrificial ritual come under the category of *li* 禮, which is often translated into the English word ‘ritual’, though of course the two are not coterminous. The many philosophical studies of *li* in Confucianism are not of direct relevance here, but it is worth noting that some have considered what mastery of *li* means in practical, physical terms, as an aspect of smooth social relations, or even a sort of behavioural conditioning.⁽⁶⁾

5 An oft-cited study is the wide-ranging account of Tang dynasty state ritual, including the imperial ancestral shrines, and its connection with political authority in Howard Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the Tang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). A classic study of family ritual is Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); this includes discussion of family (but not imperial) ancestral shrines (*jia miao* 家廟, see especially pp. 53–6). See also her translation of Zhu Xi’s *Jia li* 家禮: Ebrey, trans., *Chu Hsi’s Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). Aspects of funeral rituals are covered in Watson and Rawski, *Death Ritual*, see especially chapter 10, which includes discussion of the imperial ancestral shrines during the late imperial period: Evelyn S. Rawski, “The Imperial Way of Death: Ming and Ch’ing Emperors and Death Rituals,” pp. 228–253.

6 An influential study emphasizing the physical aspects of *li* in the context of social interactions in early Confucianism is that of the non-sinologist philosopher Herbert Fingarette, *Confucius: the Secular as Sacred* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972). Robert Eno takes similar ideas even further, arguing that the ‘ritual mastery’ of the pre-Qin Confucians involved a high degree of physical skill which shaped their cognition and teachings in fundamental ways; see Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven: Philosophy and the Defense of Ritual Mastery* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990),

There are a great many scholarly works on ancestral shrines and related sacrificial rituals in Chinese and Japanese. Generally speaking, these deal with specific details regarding the correct forms of the shrines, particularly the imperial, as they were continually readjusted throughout the ages, perhaps most famously under the Ming dynasty Jiajing 嘉靖 emperor in the sixteenth century. Important conclusions arise from such detailed studies, such as the nature of scholarship on the ritual canons and its role in determining the constantly changing forms of the imperial ancestral shrines and associated ritual, and the implications this has for the nature of imperial authority itself.⁽⁷⁾

For purposes of the current study, two conceptual points need to be highlighted, both of which are germane to Zhu Shunshui's understanding of what he was doing, and explain why his writings on his proposed ancestral shrines for Kaga domain have been chosen here as the specific object of study.

The first point, a rather obvious one, is the extent to which Confucianism shapes the conceptual world of its adherents, which in late imperial China meant the great majority of those of the *shi* 士 class and above. Whether or not Confucianism is a religion is a question that will not be addressed here, except to note that the very English word 'Confucianism' is problematical, and suggests more of a coherent entity than in fact exists. However, I would suggest that it is meaningful to speak of Confucian 'believers'. Such 'believers' express their identity through adherence to *li* in rituals, in manners, and in their appearance (such as clothing), and they revere and master a textual canon which they regard as being endowed with truth and authority. Zhu Shunshui, as a man from the *shi*

especially pp. 8–10. Such ideas might have a certain resonance with what it meant to be a Confucian 'believer', as for example in the case of Zhu Shunshui, for whom observance of the correct forms of *li* was an important first step in the transmission of Confucian teachings in Japan.

7 See, for example, Kojima Tsuyoshi 小島 毅, "Kasei no reisei kaikaku ni tsuite 嘉靖の礼制改革について," *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 117 (1992), pp. 381–426.

士 class of seventeenth century Ming China, was just such a believer, and, not surprisingly, he expressed himself according to the discourse and values of the Confucian canon.

The second point is that the Confucian concept of *li* was regarded in China (and beyond) as a marker of civilization. It appears in the discourse of distinction between Chinese and non-Chinese, where the latter are said to lack *li*, or 'li and right behaviour' (*liyi* 禮義). Not surprisingly, Zhu Shunshui, who had experience of other cultures in Japan and Vietnam, employs such discourse, drawing a distinction between 'nations which know *li*' (*zhi li zhi guo* 知禮之國) and 'nations which do not (yet) know *li*' (*wei zhi li zhi guo* 未知禮之國).⁽⁸⁾ And, in the context of the current study, he regards Confucian forms as defined by *li* (clothing, Confucius temples, sacrificial rituals, funerals) as the leading edge in the introduction of Confucianism into Japan.

Why study Zhu Shunshui? Zhu (original name Zhu Zhiyu 朱之瑜) is well known, especially in Japan; the most detailed account of his life is still that of Ishihara Michihiro.⁽⁹⁾ He was a Chinese refugee from the fall of the Ming, who

8 Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之 ed. and comp., *Zhu Shunshui ji* 朱舜水集 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981), pp. 37 and 83; Inaba Kunzan 稻葉君山 comp., *Shu Shunsui zenshū* 朱舜水全集 (Tokyo: Bunkaidō Shoten, 1912), pp. 48 and 174.

9 Zhu did not take the courtesy name 'Shunshui' until after taking service with Mitsukuni in 1665. The biography is that of Ishihara Michihiro 石原道博, *Shu Shunsui* 朱舜水 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1961, reprinted 1989). An extensive bibliography of primary materials and secondary scholarship on Zhu in Japanese, Chinese, and English may be found in Lü Yuxin 呂玉新, "Youguan Zhu Shunshui yanjiu wenxian mulu 有關朱舜水研究文獻目錄: Collected Bibliography on Study of Zhu Shunshui." *Hanxue Yanjiu Tongxun* 漢學研究通訊 23.4 (2004), pp. 21–37. Julia Ching has a study which includes more details on Zhu's time in Vietnam than most; see Ching, "The Practical Learning of Chu Shun-shui (1600–1682)," in Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, eds., *Principle and Practicality: Essays in Neo-Confucianism and Practical Learning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), pp. 189–229.

went first to Nagasaki in 1645, and travelled between there, Vietnam, and southeast China before eventually returning to settle permanently in Japan in 1660 (not 1659 as is usually stated).⁽¹⁰⁾

Zhu has attracted most attention either from the perspective of his influence on Japan, or, from the Chinese side, as a Ming patriot and emissary of Chinese culture in Japan.⁽¹¹⁾ Here, we will take a somewhat different tack. Zhu's story is a remarkable one, and he was clearly well educated and displayed an amazing range of talents, but in fact he spent the first half of his life in China without leaving a trace, and in modern scholarship he has never been held up as a great thinker, man of letters, or statesman in his own right. For purposes of the current study, his value lies in the fact that he may be regarded as a typical member of the *shi* 士 class in the late Ming, and in the fact that his students in Kaga and Mito domains carefully preserved his writings, to an extent that would have been unusual in China.⁽¹²⁾ Especially in his letters, and in 'brush conversations' (Ch.

Another account particularly useful for the current study is in the doctoral thesis by Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters with Chinese Language in Early Modern Japan: The Case of Kinoshita Jun'an (1621–1698)," D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2009, which contains much useful detail about Zhu's contacts with Japanese students and scholars of Chinese learning in Kaga domain.

- 10 See the discussion of this in Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters," pp. 119–121, based on evidence in the writings of Andō Seian 安東省庵 (1622–1701). This also seems to be confirmed in a letter from Zhu to the Japanese monk Dangai Gensho 釋斷崖元初, if the numbers Zhu gives are reliable: he says that he has been casting about on the waves for seventeen years after China fell into chaos, which I would take as being from 1645 to 1661, and then in winter of the previous year (1660) he was finally granted permission to stay. See *Zhu Shunshui ji*, 1.62–3; *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 18.

- 11 See Ishihara, *Shu Shunsui*, p. 105.

- 12 The earliest collection of Zhu's writings was the *Min Shu Chōkun shū* 明朱徵君集 in 10 *kan* 卷, compiled by Zhu's student Isogawa Kōhaku 五十川剛伯 of Kaga domain in 1684. A more extensive collection, the *Shu Shunsui sensei bunshū* 朱舜水先生文集 in

bitan, J. *hitsudan*: 筆談), he explained things that often would have been taken for granted and not mentioned in a Chinese environment.

A final point worth mentioning is that Zhu Shunshui's mindset, or conceptual world, reflects profound conditioning according to the discourse and tropes of the Confucian canon. His perception of his own status and worth was defined entirely in Chinese terms, according to his Confucian moral and scholastic training, and he seems to have been particularly inflexible in this attitude in his dealings in Japan and Vietnam. In Japan, for example, in a letter of protest to the Nagasaki commissioner in 1651, he complained that his worth as a 'wise man and a gentleman' (*xianren junzi* 賢人君子) and a 'great treasure for the nation' (*wei guo zhongbao* 為國重寶) was ignored, and he was being cast aside 'like a worn shoe'.⁽¹³⁾ When invited to serve under Tokugawa Mitsukuni in 1665, he portrays himself in a Mencian way, as a man of worth who would avoid official position unless he encountered an enlightened ruler worthy of his service, a ruler

28 *kan* was published in 1715 under Mitsukuni's name. These two collections form the basis of the two best modern editions, both of which are cited here: Inaba Kunzan 稻葉君山 comp., *Shu Shunsui zenshū* 朱舜水全集 (Tokyo: Bunkaidō Shoten 文會堂書店, 1912), and Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之 ed. and comp., *Zhu Shunshui ji* 朱舜水集 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1981). The Beijing edition contains fewer textual errors, includes some material not in the other, and has the advantage of being readily available, but it is considerably reorganized, does not reproduce the Ming character forms used by Zhu, and does not identify the source of the texts in the original Kaga or Mito editions. Inaba's edition gives the complete table of contents for the Kaga collection (pp. 599–616), but only the text of items not already in the Mito version. Further writings by Zhu in archives around Japan not included in the above collections have been compiled and published in Xu Xingqing 徐興慶 comp., *Xinding Zhu Shunshui ji buyi* 新訂朱舜水集補遺 (Taipei: Taiwan Daxue Chubun Zhongxin 臺灣大學出版中心, 2004), a revised edition of Xu Xingqing, *Zhu Shunshui ji buyi* 朱舜水集補遺 (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1992).

13 *Zhu Shunshui ji*, pp. 37–9; *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 174–6.

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committed to practicing the 'Way of the King' (*wangdao* 王道).⁽¹⁴⁾ In the current study, keeping Zhu's Chinese-defined conceptual world and Confucian conditioning in mind, we are interested with how he responded to the request to provide a design for a Japanese daimyō's ancestral shrines.

In what follows, the documents produced by Zhu relating to the Kaga ancestral shrines will be examined, with a view to clarifying the working methods of a typical *shi* 士 of the late Ming, and what such a man said about the significance and function of the shrines and the rituals to be conducted in them.

Zhu Shunshui and the Kaga ancestral shrines

Zhu Shunshui regarded himself in Chinese terms as serving in a role equivalent to a minister (*xiang* 相), assisting the enlightened ruler Mitsukuni in the implementation of Confucian institutions. It is less well known that he had a significant secondary association with Maeda Tsunanori 前田綱紀 (1643–1724, r. 1645–1723), daimyō of Kaga, the largest and wealthiest of the Edo-period domains, and it was at Tsunanori's behest that Zhu first began his researches into the appropriate forms of ancestral shrines and related sacrificial rituals for Japanese daimyō.

Tsunanori was from a ruling house with a longstanding interest in Confucianism.⁽¹⁵⁾ The first Kaga daimyō, Maeda Toshinaga 前田利長 (1562–1614,

14 He quotes Mencius 3b/2 in a letter to one of Mitsukuni's Confucian scholars, Oyake Seijun 小宅生順, before he made the decision to take service under Mitsukuni, using Mencius's characterization of a 'great man' (*dazhangfu* 大丈夫) to say that he cannot be induced by wealth and high status, or intimidated by threats; *Zhu Shunshui ji*, p. 311, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 89–90. He mentions the 'Way of Kings' and the merit of serving as minister to a worthy ruler in 'brush conversations' with Oyake Seijun when the latter was sent to Nagasaki to interview Zhu for the first time in 1664; *Zhu Shunshui ji*, pp. 406–7, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 446–7.

15 For a detailed discussion of the Maeda family's longstanding contacts with Kyoto Confucians such as Sasaya Sōkan 篠屋宗磯, Matsunaga Sekigo 松永尺五 and

r. 1599–1605), had appointed a Chinese Confucian scholar, Wang Guoding 王國鼎, early in the Keichō 慶長 reign period (1596–1615).⁽¹⁶⁾ Toshinaga's successor, the second daimyō Maeda Toshitsune 前田利常 (1594–1658, r. 1605–1639), was advised by the Kyoto Confucian Sasaya Sōkan 篠屋宗磧 (or Iguchi Sōkan 井口宗磧, d. 1625). Sōkan is not well known now, but in his own time he was a prominent cultural figure in Kyoto, well connected in the imperial palace, and a noted book collector.⁽¹⁷⁾ He was noted for his *waka* poetry, but the testimony of another Kyoto Confucian, Matsunaga Sekigo 松永尺五 (1592–1657), makes clear that Sōkan had been invited to Kaga to teach Confucianism.⁽¹⁸⁾ Sōkan took Sekigo to Kaga late in 1623, and Sekigo appears to have taken over as the main Confucian advisor to Toshitsune when Sōkan died in 1625, and to Toshitsune's

Kinoshita Jun'an 木下順庵, and also, around 1620, the Chinese scholar Wang Guoding 王國鼎, see Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters," pp. 59–90. For Tsunanori's own interest in Confucianism see also the late Meiji-era biography and compendium of primary source materials on Tsunanori in Kondō Iwao 近藤磐雄, *Kaga Shō'un kō* 加賀松雲公 (Tokyo: Hano Tomoaki Shuppan 羽野知顯出版, 1909) vol. 1, pp. 40–45.

16 This according to Kondō Iwao, who says Toshinaga 'appointed the Ming Confucian scholar Wang Guoding' ... 'in the early years of the Keichō reign period' ... 'more than sixty years before the appointment of Zhu Shunshui by Mitsukuni'; *Kaga Shō'un kō* vol. 2, p. 26; a reproduction of a colophon to the *Lunyū* in Wang's own hand follows p. 26.

17 See the studies of Sōkan by Nagasaka Shigeyuki 長坂成行: "Sasaya Sōkan oboegaki: kinsei shoki keiraku no ichi jusei no jiseki o megutte (jō) 篠屋宗磧覚書——近世初期、京洛の一儒生の事績をめぐって (上)," *Nara Daigaku kiyō* 34 (2006), pp. 41–61; "Sasaya Sōkan oboegaki: kinsei shoki keiraku no ichi jusei no jiseki o megutte (ge) 篠屋宗磧覚書——近世初期、京洛の一儒生の事績をめぐって (下)," *Nara Daigaku daigakuin kenkyū nenbō* 奈良大学大学院研究年報 11 (2006), pp. 1–19; "Sasaya Sōkan to Tafuku Bunko kyūzōbon 篠屋宗磧と多福文庫旧蔵本, *Kyūko* 汲古 62 (2012), pp. 20–26.

18 See Sekigo's eulogy of Sōkan in Tokuda Takeshi, comp., *Sekigo-dō sensei zenshū* 尺五堂先生全集, *Kinsei juka bunshū shūsei* 近世儒家文集集成 vol. 11 (Tokyo: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 2000), main text, p. 186.

son Mitsutaka 光高 (1616–1645, r. 1639–1645), until his own death in 1657.⁽¹⁹⁾ In 1660 Tsunanori, Mitsutaka's son, formally appointed Sekigo's student, the well-known Kinoshita Jun'an 木下順庵 (1621–1698), as his Confucian scholar.⁽²⁰⁾ Tsunanori continued his predecessors' interest in Confucianism, studying Confucian texts with Jun'an, and with two friends and contemporaries, Hayashi Gahō's 林鷲峯 sons Baidō 梅洞 and Hōkō 鳳岡.⁽²¹⁾ Three years after Zhu Shunshui arrived in Edo, in 1668, Tsunanori sent two young students to study with him, intending that they would acquire Confucian learning and introduce Confucian institutions in Kaga: these were Isogawa Kōhaku 五十川剛伯 (d. 1699), who among other things was charged with learning about ancestral shrines and Confucius temples, and Hattori Kichū 服部其衷 (n.d.).⁽²²⁾ Zhu for his part took this charge seriously, telling Kinoshita Jun'an that he would do his best to teach Kōhaku, and that the future of Confucianism in Kaga depended on whether or not he was successful.⁽²³⁾

Zhu Shunshui could not serve two masters at once, but he did give Tsunanori detailed technical advice on ritual forms, accepted students from Kaga (including Tsunanori's high-ranking vassal Okumura Yasuhiro 奥村庸礼, 1626–1687, and Yasuhiro's son Okumura Yasuteru 奥村德輝, 1653–1705), and he helped choose the name 'Tsunanori', which the Bakufu gave Tsunanori

19 Sekigo describes his visit to Kaga with Sōkan in his eulogy; *Sekigo-dō sensei zenshū*, p. 186. Kondō Iwao says that Sekigo was Mitsutaka's teacher; *Kaga Shō'unkō* vol. 2, p. 26. For Sekigo's long association with the Kaga rulers, and a list of his many visits there, see Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters," pp. 75–80; this shows that Sekigo visited Kaga much less frequently after Mitsutaka's untimely death.

20 Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters," chapter 2.

21 For a list of texts read by Tsunanori see *Kaga Shō'unkō* vol. 3, p. 40; for his studies with Baidō, Hōkō, and Kinoshita Jun'an see pp. 41–5; and for evidence of his conviction that Confucianism should be used in government see p. 47.

22 *Kaga Shō'unkō* vol. 2, pp. 72 and 444.

23 Letter to Kinoshita Jun'an (probably written in 1668), in *Zhu Shunshui ji*, pp. 201–2, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 36–7.

permission to adopt in 1684, replacing the name Tsunatoshi 綱利 originally given him by the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan 林羅山.⁽²⁴⁾ Zhu's close relationship with Tsunanori may in part be attributable to the fact that Tsunanori was close to Mitsukuni, his maternal uncle, with whom he shared common aims. It is clear that from the start Zhu had high hopes for the young Tsunanori, who was only twenty-two when Zhu first arrived in Edo in 1665; he describes him as a ruler in the prime of life who, like Mitsukuni, could be encouraged to establish a school and play a key role in the transmission of Confucianism in Japan.⁽²⁵⁾ Tsunanori's high regard for Zhu is evident in the fact that he initiated the earliest version of Zhu's collected writings in 1684, the *Min Shu Chōkun shū* 明朱徵君集, compiled at his request by Zhu's student from Kaga, Isogawa Kōhaku;⁽²⁶⁾ the larger Mito version of Zhu's collected works was not published until 1715.

The principal documents by Zhu on the ancestral shrines for Tsunanori are three pieces under the overall title *Zongmiao tu xu* 宗廟圖序, 'Preface to the Diagrams for the Ancestral Shrines.' A note beneath the title states 'Composed for the Middle General of Kaga, Sugawara Tsunatoshi' (*wei Jiahe zhongjiang Jianyuan Gangli zuo* 爲加賀中將菅原綱利作).⁽²⁷⁾ In the table of contents to the Kaga collection, the *Min Shu Chōkun shū* compiled by Isogawa, the title is slightly different: *Wumaio tu xu* 五廟圖序, 'Preface to the Diagrams for the Five Shrines', with a note stating that it consists of three documents (*san pian* 三篇).⁽²⁸⁾ (The

24 For a detailed account of Zhu's relationship with Tsunanori and his various students from Kaga, see Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters," pp. 158–68. Zhu wrote an explanation of the significance of 'Tsunā' and 'nori' in the name, see *Zhu Shunshui ji*, pp. 441–2, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 254. See also the account of Tsunanori's names in Kondō Iwao, *Kaga Shō'unkō* vol. 1, pp. 315–20, and vol. 3, pp. 175–82.

25 See Zhu's letters to Hayashi Baidō 林梅洞 (written in 1665 or 1666; Baidō, elder son of Hayashi Gahō 林鷲峯, died in 1666) and Kinoshita Jun'an, in *Zhu Shunshui ji*, pp. 287 and 201–2, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 181 and 36–7.

26 *Kaga Shō'unkō* vol. 3, pp. 549–50.

27 *Zhu Shunshui ji*, pp. 480–83, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 319–22.

28 *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 610. The actual text of the Kaga version is not given; Inaba

'Five Shrines' refers to the number of active ancestral cults; according to the Confucian ritual canons, the emperor (*tianzi* 天子) was permitted seven, and feudal lords (*zhuhou* 諸侯) five; this will be outlined in greater detail below.) The content of each of the three pieces is different: in the first Zhu sets out his working methods in creating the diagram of the shrines and layout (the diagram itself no longer survives); in the second he discusses the general nature and significance of the rites associated with the ancestral shrines; and in the third he discusses the project from a personal point of view, his unworthiness to fulfil it, and how he came to agree to making the plans.

In addition to the *Zongmiao tu xu*, Zhu mentions ancestral shrines and associated rituals in a number of other documents. These include four letters, one to the Mito scholar Fujii Tokuaki 藤井徳昭, and three to Kaga vassals; these add useful detail and will be cited below. Also relevant is a document titled *Feng shenzhu yi miao yi qin yi* 奉神主宜廟宜寢議, 'Proposal that the Ancestral Tablets be Served in the Main Shrine [Hall] and Side Chamber as Appropriate', which in the table of contents of the Kaga edition of Zhu's works is listed as *Wumiao tu yi* 五廟圖議, 'Proposal on the Diagram of the Five Shrines'.⁽²⁹⁾ This relates to Mito rather than Kaga, and will not be discussed in detail here, but it sheds light on Zhu's working principles and methods in reconstructing technicalities of the architectural features and ritual usages related to the ancestral shrines. There is also a series of four documents under the title *Taimiao dianli yi sikuan* 太廟典禮議四款, 'Four Proposals for the Canonical Rituals of the Grand [Ancestral] Shrines', relating to specific issues of how to situate Mitsukuni's mother, principal wife, and heir apparent within the Mito shrines. The documents related to Mito are longer and more detailed than the earlier ones for Kaga, presumably

has his usual note that it is already included in the *Bunshū* 文集 (i.e., the Mito version) to indicate that the two are the same.

29 Zhu Shunshui *ji*, pp. 463–9, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 282–9; the Kaga version table of contents entry is in the latter, p. 604.

reflecting Zhu's ongoing work on the issue.⁽³⁰⁾

Zhu's biography (*gyōjitsu* 行実), compiled by his Mito students Imai Kōsai 今井弘濟 (1652–1689) and Asaka Tanpaku 安積澹泊 (1656–1738) soon after his death, records that he composed a document with the slightly different title *Zhuhou wumiao tu shuo* 諸侯五廟圖說, 'Diagrams with Explanations for the Five Shrines for Feudal Lords', and says that he did so in 1669.⁽³¹⁾ Kaga is not mentioned, and since no surviving text with this title exists, we cannot be sure what this was, but I think it likely that it is in fact the same *Zongmiao tu xu*, especially given that Kaga documents record that Tsunanori redesigned the altars to his ancestors Toshiie 利家 and Toshitsune 利常 in the Hō'en-ji 宝圓寺 temple that same year.⁽³²⁾

According to Zhu's own account of events, Zhu's student from Kaga, Isogawa Kōhaku, was deputed by Tsunanori to ask him to produce a design of the ancestral shrines.⁽³³⁾ Zhu was initially unwilling to take on the task, and explains his reasons for this in the third of the three documents of the *Zongmiao tu xu*, as follows:

If one examines all the deliberations and debates among wise men of the past recorded in the canons and commentaries, one finds that in regard to the emperor's shrines, there has been an endless cacophony of inconclusive argument and debate, but for those of the dukes and marquises (feudal lords), seldom can the accounts be complete and detailed. With no sources

30 Zhu *Shunshui ji*, pp. 453–9, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 271–8.

31 Zhu *Shunshui ji*, p. 619, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 575. Ishihara Michihiro also translates the *gyōjitsu* entry and says that the *Zhuhou wumiao tu shuo* is likely to have something to do with Zhu's Mito ancestral shrine documents, but does not mention the Kaga documents, or any connection with Kaga at all; *Shu Shunsui*, pp. 151–2.

32 Kondō Iwao, *Kaga Shō'unkō* vol. 3, p. 242. Kondō also says that the initial request for the shrine documents came to Zhu through Isogawa in 1668; vol. 2, p. 444.

33 Kondō Iwao says that Kōhaku was initially sent to Zhu by Tsunanori specifically to study ritual forms, including the ancestral shrines; *Kaga Shō'unkō* vol. 2, p. 444.

to rely on, how can one formulate a coherent description?

Isogawa Kōhaku conveyed [Tsunanori's] shining command, desiring that I compose the Five Shrines diagrams for him. Composing such a thing is not difficult, but if, once composed, it could not be carried out in practice, it would be no more than worthless chaff. Unworthy though I am, how could I be willing to make worthless chaff of myself? If I were to compose something without due care, and it were in the end put into practice, this would effect a formal change in court ceremony. Any contravention of institutions or violation of ritual [on my part] might deceive the ears and eyes of a single era, but could it escape the derision and denunciation of a hundred generations or more of worthy men? Thus, in trepidation and shame, I repeatedly declined the task, but they would not allow it.

I then said to them: 'If you insist that I compose this, you should have several Confucians (*ru* 儒) come and stay here, to deliberate back and forth, to discuss among each other, so that we may formulate a solemn ritual canon.' But again they would not allow this, so I had no choice...⁽³⁴⁾

In a letter to the Mito Confucian Fujii Tokuaki 藤井徳昭, Zhu says much the same:

The lord of Kaga (*Jiahe gong* 加賀公) wants to establish ancestral shrines (*zongmiao* 宗廟), and has commanded [Isogawa] Kōhaku to ask me about the design (*shi* 式). I think this is a matter of great importance (*shiti zhongda* 事體重大); the least mistake in it will result in derision from those who come after. We need to bring in two or three Confucian masters (*rusheng er sanren* 儒生二三人) of wide learning and a clear understanding of principles (*li* 理), to debate and refute back and forth in order to research the most suitable. In such a way, perhaps, people of future generations will not jeer. If I did produce a rough approximation to satisfy [Tsunanori's] demands, it might

34 Zhu Shunshui *ji*, p. 482, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 321–2.

be cosmetic enough to cover the current situation. But if anyone were to comment on this a century from now, or in a few decades, how could I escape the shame of it? It is my humble wish that you, sir, report my intent to the High Lord [Mitsukuni], so that you can bring me back a reply when you come.⁽³⁵⁾

This letter was written before Zhu finally agreed to undertake the task. It tells us that Mitsukuni was aware of the project, and, given his own interest in implementing Confucian burials and ancestral shrines, he would have been interested in the result.⁽³⁶⁾ In the end, though, he seems not to have approved Zhu's request for the assistance of other Confucian scholars.

The 'Five Shrines' are also mentioned in Zhu's letters to two Kaga vassals. In these, it is apparent that the topic is not the design of the shrines themselves, but rather a planned rehearsal of the rituals to be performed in them, and that this was happening some years after he compiled the shrine designs. The rehearsal was to take place at Mitsukuni's behest, rather than Tsunanori's, but the letters show that Zhu was also in communication with Kaga vassals about this, and assumed that they would be interested in viewing it. In one letter to Okumura Yasuteru 奥村徳輝, son of the major Kaga vassal Okumura Yasuhiro, Zhu says the following:

35 Zhu *Shunshui ji*, p. 105, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 201; for a full translation of the relevant section of this letter see Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters," p. 161.

36 For studies of Confucian funeral, burial, and ancestral shrines in Mito under Mitsukuni see Kurakazu Masae 倉員正江, "Mito-han ni okeru sōsai girei ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu: Tokugawa Mitsukuni no sōsai, byōsei o chūshin ni 水戸藩における葬祭儀礼についての一考察——徳川光圀の葬祭・廟制を中心に," *Ningen kagaku kenkyū* 人間科学研究 9 (2012), pp. 287–271; and Azuma Jūji 吾妻重二, "Mito Tokugawa-ke to Jukyō girei: sairei o chūshin ni 水戸徳川家と儒教儀礼——祭礼を中心に," *Higashi Ajia bunka kōshō kenkyū* 東アジア文化交渉研究 3 (2008), pp. 219–245.

The rehearsal (*xi* 習) of the *shidian* 釋奠 (offering to Confucius) is a minor ritual, which, in approximate (or 'abbreviated', *lue* 略) form is not worth any dissatisfaction.⁽³⁷⁾ The Chief Minister, the High Lord (Mitsukuni) wants to rehearse the ritual of the Five Shrines, and since last year and the year before, I have strenuously declined many times, but the High Lord is determined to rehearse this one time, so in autumn or winter of this year it will take place. This is a major sacrifice; the forms of the ritual are complex and elaborate, and the stages of the ritual highly varied. Even if many men are able to apply themselves to this, it is not something that can be achieved in one try. Only after a year or two [of preparation] can it be performed correctly. However, as long as I still have any breath left [in my body], I will most certainly participate in this convocation next year. And, fortunately, since Hattori Kichū 服部其衷 is quite able to perform the technical details of the ceremony, we will have nothing we need be ashamed of.⁽³⁸⁾

In another letter to Yasuteru, Zhu again mentions the rituals of the five shrines, and this time complains of people interfering with his plans:

Among the men of your exalted land there are some to be sure who are capable and intelligent, but the rest, unaware of their own incompetence, open their mouths casually to find fault; in the end jealousy triumphs. I must meet face to face with the Chief Minister, the High Lord (Mitsukuni) to confirm each item one by one before implementing it. Listing them out provisionally in draft form, we already have sixty-two [such] items. Investigating them in the records, I have found that there are still a great many omissions. This is simply not something that we can research fully in

37 *Bu zu wei kuai* 不足為快 seems to be a textual error for *bu zu wei yang* 不足為陽, a phrase Zhu uses elsewhere.

38 Translation adapted from Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters," p. 162. *Zhu Shunshui ji*, p. 284; this letter is not in the *Shu Shunsui zenshū*.

one or two months!

Zhu goes on to say that he has been ill through the summer, which has hindered his work, and estimates that the rehearsal will be performed in the following year when Yasuteru returns to the capital. He also says that he is now nearly eighty (*nian chui bashi* 年垂八十), and becoming increasingly enervated and forgetful: 'This is no time to put on a major ceremony'. Then he complains of having no one to help him:

Since ancient times [it has been said] that it is difficult for one string to make a melody; it is simply unreasonable not to have a single person of good understanding to work in concert with me and discuss matters with me. Even though I can rely on my student Hattori Kichū to write out fair copies of the texts, tabulate the arrangement [of ritual implements], and call out the ritual instructions in the arena — and in all of these matters I have received a great deal of assistance from him — how can I expect his learning to be deep enough to ask him to challenge and question me?⁽³⁹⁾

The mention of Hattori Kichū is significant; he was a youth from Kaga sent to study with Zhu not long after Isogawa Kōhaku, which means he would probably have arrived in 1668 or 1669, and he returned to Kaga in 1673 or 1674; a letter he wrote to Zhu from Kaga mentions Mitsukuni's preparations for sacrifices to Confucius over a period of two years, and must have been written in 1675.⁽⁴⁰⁾ He was younger than Kōhaku, learned to speak Chinese well, and came to excel at the physical performance of Confucian ritual. Zhu says of him that 'Even among Confucians who have studied ritual for many years there are none who

39 *Zhu Shunshui ji*, pp. 282–3, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 157–158, consulting the translation and summary in Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters," pp. 162–3.

40 This letter is included in Xu Xingqing comp., *Xinding Zhu Shunshui ji buyi*, pp. 125–126.

can compare to him.⁽⁴¹⁾ This letter must have been written somewhat later than 1669 (when Zhu composed the *Zongmiao tu xu*) for Kichū to have progressed enough to be of such help to Zhu in specialist ritual matters. The letter, and the preparations for the ancestral shrine rehearsal, likely date from sometime between 1670 and 1674. Zhu's statement that he was 'nearly eighty' must be taken as something of an exaggeration, since Zhu did not reach eighty until 1679.

Yet another letter to Furuichi Kanemoto 古市務本 (Kazue 主計, 1642–1677), son-in-law and adopted son of Okumura Yasuhiro and another of Zhu's students, also mentions the sacrificial rituals of the five shrines (*wumiao jili* 五廟祭禮), their importance and complexity, and the likelihood that Kanemoto would be back in the capital in the following year to witness the rehearsal in a more complete form.⁽⁴²⁾

Before proceeding to a closer examination of Zhu's description of his plans, and his general principles and working methods, more needs to be said about the overall background of Tsunanori's requests.

The first point to mention, a fundamental one, is that Japan had ancestral shrines, but these were always associated with the remains of the dead. There was no tradition of separate shrines in or near people's homes as there was in China.⁽⁴³⁾ Japanese religious practices must remain outside the scope of this study, but it is important to bear in mind that when Confucian-minded daimyō were seeking to implement ancestral shrines according to the Chinese pattern,

41 *Ji duonian xue li zhi ru, yi wu you neng ji zhi zhe* 卽多年學禮之儒，亦無有能及之者；
Zhu Shunshui *ji*, p. 329, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 682 (this letter is preserved only in the Kaga edition). See the discussion of Hattori Kichū in Zenan Shu, "Cultural and Political Encounters," pp. 177–81.

42 Zhu Shunshui *ji*, pp. 335–6, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 161.

43 See the discussion of this in Inoue Tomokatsu 井上智勝, "Kinsei Nihon ni okeru sōbyōkan 近世日本における宗廟觀," Proceedings of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Japanese Association for Religious Studies, Section 12 第十二部会, <特集> 第六十八回學術大会紀要 (2010), pp. 440–441.

they were attempting to introduce a practice which had no real native counterpart. Under such conditions, it is not surprising that so few examples of purely Chinese-style ancestral shrines and offerings are found among the daimyō of Japan.

The record of Confucian ancestral shrines and offerings in Kaga is unfortunately limited. The long interest in Confucianism there from early in the domain's history has been discussed above, and we know also that Tsunanori restored the shrines of two of his ancestors in the Hō'en-ji 宝圓寺 Buddhist temple in 1669, the same year that Zhu furnished him with the shrine designs. However, the account of Zhu's shrines given by Kondō Iwao, Tsunanori's Meiji-era biographer, is based almost entirely on Zhu's own writings.⁽⁴⁴⁾ There is no evidence that Zhu's designs were ever implemented; it seems that the ancestral shrines of the Maeda ancestors continued to be housed in Buddhist temples, in 1669 and thereafter. Tsunanori did take observances to his ancestors seriously, and there is even a document with the title 'Seasonal Fruits and Vegetables Offered at the Ancestral Shrines' (*Zongmiao fengxian zhi shi guocai* 宗廟奉獻之時果菜) written in Tsunanori's own hand, but the content makes clear that these offerings were made at shrines in the Buddhist temples where his ancestors' remains were kept.⁽⁴⁵⁾ This, for him, was a sufficient expression of veneration to his ancestors; there was no need to have additional shrines at separate locations according to the Chinese pattern.

However, records on funerals, graves, and ancestral shrines in Okayama and Mito at about the same time do show efforts to establish shrines separate from graves, and shed additional light on the context within which Zhu was working. In Okayama, in 1655, the daimyō Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 (1609–1682) installed tablets according to the Confucian pattern to his ancestors in his residence, and began making offerings to them there, replacing his previous

44 Kondō Iwao, *Kaga Shō'unkō* vol. 3, pp. 235–50.

45 See the transcription of this document in Kondō Iwao, *Kaga Shō'unkō* vol. 3, pp. 248–9.

practice of observances to them at altars in Buddhist temples. In 1659 he constructed a new ancestral shrine (*sobyō* 祖廟) outside the Okayama city walls and moved the tablets there.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This shrine combined multiple chambers in a single building (*tong tang yi shi* 同堂異室).⁽⁴⁷⁾ In 1665, Mitsumasa prepared a burial site on Waidaniazuchi 和意谷敦土 mountain, in 1666 had his ancestors' remains retrieved from a Buddhist temple in Kyoto, and in 1668 reinterred them in Confucian graves at the new site. In this case Zhu Xi's *Jia li* appears to have been the main source for the design of graves and stele, but with differences designed to reflect the status of the daimyō as feudal lords.⁽⁴⁸⁾

In the case of Mito, in 1661 Mitsukuni created a burial ground on Zuiryūsan 瑞龍山, where he gave his father Yorifusa 頼房 (1603–1661) a Confucian funeral and burial. He also created a Confucian shrine separate from the grave to his father inside the Mito capital, the Ikōbyō 威公廟.⁽⁴⁹⁾ When Mitsukuni himself died, both Confucian and Buddhist spirit tablets were used.⁽⁵⁰⁾

A significant point in all of this is the textual basis for the Confucian ritual

46 Ishizaka Zenjirō 石坂善次郎 comp., *Ikeda Mitsumasa kōden* 池田光政公伝 (Tokyo: Ishizaka Zenjirō, 1932) vol. 1, p. 705.

47 See also Azuma Jūji 吾妻重二, "Ikeda Mitsumasa to jukyō sōsai girei 池田光政と儒教喪祭儀礼," *Higashi Ajia bunka kōshō kenkyū* 東アジア文化交渉研究 1 (2006), pp. 79–104, especially the account and original sources cited on pp. 85–7, and the diagram of the building on p. 104.

48 Azuma, pp. 80–85. Azuma argues that suggests that design of the stele incorporated markers of high status according to Ming Chinese sumptuary regulations for high officials as laid out in the (*Guochao*) *jigu dingzhi* (國朝) 稽古定制; Azuma, p. 84. Kurakazu Masae, based on records relating to the Mito graves, suggests the possibility of different sources for these design elements in Tang dynasty 'willow leaf 柳文 patterns; see Kurakazu, "Mito-han ni okeru sōsai girei ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu," pp. 287–271, and especially the discussion in footnote 9.

49 Kurakazu, "Mito-han ni okeru sōsai girei ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu," pp. 283–2.

50 See the primary sources reproduced in Kurakazu, "Mito-han ni okeru sōsai girei ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu," pp. 283–2, and her own conclusions on p. 282.

forms in ancestral shrines, funerals, and graves. In Mito and Okayama, the primary authority was Zhu Xi's *Jia li*, and specifically the *Wengong jia li yijie* 文公家禮儀節 commentary edition compiled by Qiu Jun 丘濬 in 1474. Ritual manuals based on the *Jia li* were compiled and circulated in both domains, in the same year 1666.⁽⁵¹⁾ The *Jia li* gives precise, practical instructions on, for example, making ancestral tablets, with exact dimensions, and the 'recessed centre' (*xian zhong* 陷中) and 'painted front surface' (*fen mian* 粉面) mentioned in the Mito records.⁽⁵²⁾ However, there was an awareness that the *Jia li* had been compiled for 'gentry and commoners' (*shi shuren* 士庶人). Daimyō in Japan were thought to be equivalent to 'feudal lords' (*zhuhou* 諸侯) in China, and other sources had to be found. Mitsukuni's followers were interested in the *Yi li jingzhuan tongjie xubian* 儀禮經傳通解續編 (hereafter cited as *Xu tongjie*) compiled by Zhu Xi's student Huang Gan 黃幹 (1152–1221), which added the sections on burials and sacrifices not included in Zhu Xi's original *Yi li jingzhuan tongjie* 儀禮經傳通解; a Japanese printing in 1662 of Zhu Xi's original compilation was readily available, but Huang Gan's addendum was not printed until much later, in 1782. A letter from the Mito Confucians Asaka Tanpaku and Nakamura Kōkei 中村篁溪 (1647–1712) in 1696 mentions that they wished to borrow a Korean edition of the *Xu tongjie* owned by Matsudaira Masahisa 松平正久 (1659–1720), daimyō of Tamanawa 玉縄. Nakamura's son, Nakamura Yoshinao 中村良直, also wrote that material on ritual forms for feudal lords was to be found in the *Xu tongjie*. From this, Kurakazu Masae concludes that establishing appropriate Confucian ritual

51 These were the *Sōsai giryaku* 喪祭儀略 in Mito, and the *Sōsai no gi* 葬祭の儀 in Okayama; see Azuma, "Ikeda Mitsumasa to jukyō sōsai girei," p. 91. For a detailed study of the *Sōsai giryaku* and its derivation from the *Jia li* see Den Seimin (Tian Shimin) 田世民, "Mito-han no jurei jūyō: Sōsai giryaku o chūshin ni 水戸藩の儒礼受容: 『喪祭儀略』を中心に," *Kyōto Daikaku Daigakuin Kyōikugaku kenkyūka kiyō* 京都大学大学院教育学研究科紀要 53 (2006), pp. 137–149.

52 English translations following Patricia Ebrey, trans., *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals*, p. 112; Kurakazu, "Mito-han ni okeru sōsai girei ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu," pp. 283–2.

forms for the shōgun and daimyō is likely to have been a pressing issue at this time.⁽⁵³⁾ As noted above, one solution seems to have been to consult Ming Chinese sumptuary regulations on the forms of funerals and graves, but this was not Zhu's approach.

In a letter written by the Mito scholars Sakaizumi Chikuken 酒泉竹軒 (1654–1718) and Asaka Tanpaku to Nakamura Kōkei in 1701, immediately after Mitsukuni's death, they say that the explanations given by Zhu Shunshui differed from the prescriptions in the *Jia li*.⁽⁵⁴⁾ They were at that moment concerned specifically with the correct form of the stele to be erected at Mitsukuni's grave, but this comment is revealing. How, and why, did Zhu Shunshui's ritual instructions differ from those of the *Jia li*? Zhu's writings on the Kaga ancestral shrines give some suggestions on how we might answer this question.

Zhu never mentions the *Jia li* in the *Zongmiao tu xu*, though he does identify other writings by Zhu Xi on shrines as one of his sources. He refers to the *Jia li* in his writings for the Mito shrines and burials, once in his *Mu ji yi* 墓祭議 on sacrificial observances at graves, and twice in the *Feng shenzhu yi miao yi qin yi* 奉神主宜廟宜寢議, but in a negative way: in each case it is to rebut the relevance of the *Jia li* instructions for feudal lords. In one case he makes the reason for this particularly clear: "This is to be extraordinarily unaware that the *Jia li* is [for] the rituals of the ordinary gentry and officials (殊不知家禮乃庶士官司之禮) ... How could this be the way to be applied to feudal lords (豈所以施於諸侯者哉)?"⁽⁵⁵⁾

Zhu's use of the term 'five shrines' shows that he accepted the idea that the daimyō of Edo-period Japan were equivalent to the feudal lords (*zhuhou* 諸侯) of ancient Zhou-period China, rulers at least nominally subordinate to the Zhou king but who reigned autonomously within their own states. Several texts in the *Li ji*

53 See the discussion and quotations from the relevant primary sources in Kurakazu, "Mito-han ni okeru sōsai girei ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu," pp. 287–6.

54 See the extracts from this letter reproduced in Kurakazu, "Mito-han ni okeru sōsai girei ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu," p. 278.

55 Zhu Shunshui *ji*, p. 468, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 288.

禮記 lay out a numerological scheme, in which the number of shrines indicates the number of ancestors with active cults: the 'Son of Heaven' (*tianzi* 天子) has seven shrines (*qi miao* 七廟), feudal lords have five (*wu miao* 五廟), great officers (*dafu* 大夫) have three (*san miao* 三廟), gentry (*shi* 士, or direct lineal gentry, *shi shi* 適士) have one, and ordinary people (*shuren* 庶人, and sometimes also non-lineal gentry, *shu shi* 庶士) have none, and instead make offerings to their ancestors in the inner chambers (*qin* 寢).⁽⁵⁶⁾ There is no evidence that such a system was ever actually practiced in ancient times, though through much of Chinese history the imperial ancestral shrines were designed to conform with the 'seven shrines' in one way or another. But, as we have seen, Zhu Shunshui says in his *Zongmiao tu xu* that while there are many (conflicting) sources on the form of the imperial shrines, he could find very little if any information on those of the feudal lords.

According to Zhu, feudal lords of a sort did exist in the Ming, but in all his life he had only ever known eleven people in China with this status, who were either marquises (*hou* 侯 or *zhuhou* 諸侯) or 'kings' (*wang* 王 or *wangzhuhou* 王諸侯), presumably imperial princes (*qin wang* 親王). More than half of these were newly enfeoffed, and did not yet have shrines. Even such shrines as did exist he had never entered, not being a participant in the rituals conducted within. High officials in the Ming (*qing xiang* 卿相) were not the same, he says, since their sons would become commoners if they did not study. High officials of the Tang and Song dynasties of the third rank and above (*san pin yishang* 三品以上) had been permitted to establish shrines to three or four ancestors, but they were still not the same as feudal lords. Only the five grades of landed lords (*you tu zhi jun* 有土之君), Zhu said, who inherited their land and titles generation after generation, 'were allowed to establish true ancestral shrines to founding

56 The most elaborate expositions of this system are in the *Jifa* 祭法 and *Liqi* 禮器 texts; a simpler but influential version is that of the *Wang zhi* 王制. See *Li ji*, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經註疏 (rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980), 46.8a–b, 23.6a–b, and 12.13b.

ancestors, and to make shrines for removed ancestors and accompanying relatives' (*de jian taizu zhi miao, wei tiao wei fu* 得建太祖之廟。爲桃爲祔). Zhu explains that he has never made a study of such shrines.⁽⁵⁷⁾

It seems that Zhu set out to reconstruct the ancient form of the five shrines as best he could. In doing so, he encountered the same problems as faced by previous scholars responsible for defining ritual forms throughout the history of imperial China: how to reconcile the gap between the need for precise practical instructions on how to construct buildings and other ritual objects, and how to perform rituals, on the one hand, and the ancient canonical texts, which mandated one or another form as correct (and sometimes contradicted one another) but gave little or no detail on the other. In Zhu's case, we do not have the actual diagrams he drew, but he does tell us something about how he derived them.

Zhu's first strategy was to identify the shrine design that he regarded as being the closest he could find to the feudal lords' shrines. This was the ancestral shrine of a high official of the Song dynasty. As he states in the first of the three documents in the *Zongmiao tu xu*, Zhu's basic model was the 'shrine diagram' (*miao tu* 廟圖) of the Northern Song statesman Wen Yanbo 文彥博 (1006–1097), consulting also the writings of Zhu Xi on shrines, and the Tang ritual compendium *Kaiyuan li* 開元禮.⁽⁵⁸⁾ No such diagram exists from Wen himself, nor have I found any mention of it in China or Japan, but Wen did construct a family shrine (*jia miao* 家廟), and this was well known to his contemporaries, in particular Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086), who composed an inscription to commemorate it.⁽⁵⁹⁾ From this inscription, it appears that Wen followed Song

57 Zhu Shunshui *ji*, p. 482, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 321.

58 Zhu Shunshui *ji*, p. 480, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 319.

59 Most of what is known about Wen's shrine comes from Sima Guang's inscription, the "Wen Lu gong xian maio bei ji" 文潞公先廟碑記, see *Qin ding gujin tushu jicheng* 欽定古今圖書集成 (Shanghai: Shanghai Tushu Jicheng Qianban Yinshuju 上海圖書集成鉛版印書局, 1884) 724.7. The diagram consulted by Zhu was likely a drawing of the

regulations allowing high officials to have shrines to four ancestors. Both Sima Guang and Zhu say that Wen derived his design from the remains of the Tang dynasty shrines built by Du, lord of Qi (Du Qi Gong 杜岐公, i.e., Du You 杜佑, 735–812).

As we have seen, Zhu states that officials of the Tang and Song were not the same as true hereditary landed feudal lords, which meant that certain adaptations needed to be made to Wen's plans. Zhu explains something of his principles and working methods as follows:

The two lords (Wen Yanbo and Du You) were the emperor's teachers, included among the Three Ministers of state (*san gong* 三公), which does not quite correspond to a major feudal lord (*yuan hou* 元侯). However, a minister (*qing* 卿) of the emperor is comparable to a marquis (*hou* 侯), and a great officer (*dafu* 大夫) comparable to an earl (*bo* 伯); [the officials] are only one grade lower [than the corresponding feudal lords], and I had no other option but to take this (Wen's shrine) as a standard. Furthermore, the shrines of the two lords are both in ruins, and there is no way to recover the design of their inner chambers (*qin* 寢). But if even the shrines of great officers [in antiquity] had inner chambers, then how could the shrines of dukes and marquises not have had them?

From the front area of [Wen's] shrines, every feature is complete: [places for] the *shi* 釋 offerings and (seasonal) *zheng* 蒸 offerings, for butchering and cooking, lines and ranks even and orderly, for hosts and guests, for invocators, and close rows of purification chambers. However, the

partially ruined shrines made by someone later; Zhu says that the shrines of both Wen and that of Du You 杜佑 of the Tang were in ruins (*er gong zhi miao jie qing pi* 二公之廟皆傾圮), so that the design of the inner chambers (*qin* 寢) had been lost, from which it is evident that the 'shrine diagram' could not have been the actual plans formulated by Wen himself.

outer passages⁽⁶⁰⁾ are circuitous and winding, which distorts the hearing and vision [of those involved in the rituals]; the sheltered path (*yongdao* 甬道) is too long, which will make it troublesome and difficult for those running back and forth [along it]. Probably the two lords had not made an earth altar (*she* 社), so there was little impediment in such a design. But in the current case [of Kaga], this is a state established with a formally enfeoffed feudal lord (*fen mao jian guo* 分茅建國), and the rituals are elaborate and of greater weight; the case is different. Furthermore, the shrines of the two lords have a single hall and separate chambers (*tong tang yi shi* 同堂異室), and that of the Lord of Lu (Wen) has three gates and angled paths: this is not appropriate according to ritual regulations (*lizhi fei yi* 禮制非宜), so I have had no choice but to add some features and remove others.

According to ritual, the inner chambers do not have double outer corridors (*qin wu liang wu* 寢無兩廡).⁽⁶¹⁾ The *Shi jing* 詩經 says, 'Grand and beautiful are the inner chambers and shrines' (*yi yi qin miao* 奕奕寢廟).⁽⁶²⁾ *Yi yi* is a word signifying that things are joined together, so how is it possible for the inner chambers alone to have been isolated and exposed? According to ritual, the stove (*zao* 竈, for cooking ritual offerings) is south of the main gate and a little to the east,⁽⁶³⁾ which fails to capture the meaning of how the rite is actually conducted. This is the route by which major guests enter the gates, and even though [the *Shi jing* mentions] 'The keeper of the stove is swift and deferential' (*zhi cuan jiji* 執爨蹇蹇, i.e., his presence is a visible

60 The *Zhu Shunshui ji* text reads *kuo wu* 廓廡, whereas Inaba's text has *lang wu* 廊廡, which is the more likely reading.

61 It is not clear which ritual authority he is alluding to here; no such pronouncement appears anywhere in the three ritual texts of the Confucian canon.

62 This line is from the *Xiaoya* 小雅 ode 'Qiao yan' 巧言.

63 This regulation appears to be derived ultimately from the *Yili* 儀禮, which says that the stove (*cuan* 爨) for animal offerings is located 'outside the gates to the shrine, to the southeast' (牲爨在廟門外東南); see *Yili* 46.12a (*ji* 記 commentary in the *Tesheng kuishi li* 特牲饋食禮 section).

part of the ritual),⁽⁶⁴⁾ I fear this would invariably be a noisy distraction, and so have provisionally moved it within the [shrine] chamber. In all else I have followed the examples of ancient and modern ritual, not daring to interfere according to my own ideas.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Key points of Zhu's basic assumptions are clear from this. First is the principle that Tsunanori is a full feudal lord, and thus certain aspects of Wen Yanbo's shrine designs are inappropriate. He rejects the 'single hall and separate chambers' (*tong tang yi shi* 同堂異室) configuration, which had been used, though apparently not without misgivings, by Ikeda Mitsumasa.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Other design features are modified because of inconvenience caused to those performing the rituals or guests, but the 'single hall and separate chambers', along with Wen's 'three gates and angled paths', are only said to be 'inappropriate' according to ritual regulations. In his advice on the Mito ancestral shrines, he says that there should be 'five shrines interconnected, all wide and open, without walls' (*miao wu jian, jie tong chang* 廟五間, 皆通廠), with only a single wall with windows and doors in the middle, which suggests a larger and grander design, so perhaps it was something like this he had in mind.⁽⁶⁷⁾

A second principle is the primacy of canonical texts, often not the three ritual texts. In the above example he deploys the *Shi jing* to demonstrate that the inner chambers in the ancient shrines must have had outer corridors or enclosed verandas. He uses such reasoning many times in the documents relating to the

64 A line from the Xiaoya 小雅 ode 'Chu ci' 楚茨.

65 Zhu Shunshui ji, pp. 480–81, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, pp. 319–20.

66 Mitsumasa's own description of the shrine in the invocation he made when it was opened says apologetically that 'the design is with single hall and separate chambers, narrow and lowly in the extreme' (其制同堂異室隘陋之至), which might have been more than polite self-deprecation. See the text of the invocation in Ishizaka Zenjirō comp., *Ikeda Mitsumasa kōden* vol. 1, p. 705.

67 Zhu Shunshui ji, p. 464, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 283.

Mito shrines, appealing in particular to the *Shi jing* and to *Chun qiu* 春秋 commentaries (such as the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 and *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳) as reliable witnesses to ancient practice. This is a further indication that he is attempting to revive what he regards as genuine ancient practice whenever possible.

A third principle is flexibility. In the first of the three documents in the *Zongmiao tu xu* he says that the design and location of the shrines may vary according to features of the terrain, and gives examples of shrines in the ancient states of Lu 魯, Qi 齊, Song 宋, and Zheng 鄭 being differently arranged and situated, presumably according to the *Zuo zhuan* or other *Chun qiu* commentaries.⁽⁶⁸⁾ In the third of the three documents he says that he has attempted to find a balance between ancient and modern, between grandeur and simplicity, and omitted features which were obscure or difficult to put into practice.⁽⁶⁹⁾ He also says that his plans are only a rough draft (*caoben* 草本), awaiting refinement by a scholar truly capable of understanding the intentions of the ancient sage kings when they established their models.⁽⁷⁰⁾ This may have been partly modesty on his part, but it also reflects the fact that this design for Kaga was his first study of the buildings and rituals for the ancestral shrines for Japanese daimyō, and he would have been conscious that more detailed research remained to be done.

A final point made by Zhu is that the architecture of the shrines need not conform to the Ming style, which would have been grand, elaborate, and colourful, and would have required Chinese craftsmen to supervise the construction work. Japanese-style architecture would do just as well, and be more in keeping with the simpler style of antiquity. He left it up to Tsunanori to decide on this.⁽⁷¹⁾

68 Zhu Shunshui ji, p. 481, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 320.

69 Zhu Shunshui ji, p. 482, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 322.

70 Zhu Shunshui ji, p. 483, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 322.

71 Zhu Shunshui ji, p. 483, *Shu Shunsui zenshū*, p. 322.

We have yet to mention the second of the pieces contained in the *Zongmiao tu xu*, the general description of the function of the ancestral shrines and associated rituals within the state, which is the shortest of the three. No mention is made of Zhu's shrine designs, or of the specific context of Kaga or Japan. The shrine's function is moral, conducive to the hierarchical social order, and will ensure the smooth governance of a state, and, Zhu says, applies just as much to the states of the feudal lords as it does to the empire as a whole. The language draws heavily from canonical discourse, in particular quoting words and phrases from the *Zhong yong* 中庸 and other texts in the *Li ji*, from the *Zuo zhuan*, and from the *Shang shu* 尚書. Specific ritual forms are mentioned, for example the feasts held after ancestral sacrifices (the *lǚ chōu* 旅酬 and *yan mao* 燕毛), at which the participants observe protocol according to a strict hierarchical order of age and status, for the moral edification of the younger generation and the ruler's subjects; also the various ritual announcements by which rulers report their comings and goings from the state and victories in battle to their ancestors. At the end Zhu quotes a line from the *Zhong yong*, stating that if a ruler has a clear understanding of the rituals of the soil and suburban altars, and of the offerings to the ancestral shrines, then 'Governing his state will surely be like displaying it on his palm' (*zhì guó qí rú shì zhū zhāng hū* 治國其如示諸掌乎).⁽⁷²⁾ This, surely, is a clear message to Tsunanori — the way to enlightened, effective government is through Confucian institutions.

The importance of this second document lies not in Zhu's designs for the ancestral shrines, but in what it tells us about the significance of the shrines according to his mind-set and conceptual world as a typical Confucian 'believer' from late Ming China. For him, the shrines embodied a complex of symbolic meaning, and it would not have been entirely clear to him that this had no counterpart in Japan.

72 *Li ji* (*Shisanjing zhushu*), 52.16b.

Conclusion

This has been a narrowly focused study, concentrating on Zhu Shunshui's first attempt to formulate ritual instructions for the ancestral shrines for a daimyo in Japan. Much about Zhu's later plans for shrines in Mito has not been covered here, and of course the proposition that Zhu's ideas for the shrine reflect the conceptual framework of a typical member of the *shi* 士 class in late Ming China is one that could be examined much more extensively.

However, this one example does reveal much of significance about Zhu's conceptual world. For him, the ancestral shrines of a ruler were not just a place for sacrifices to deceased ancestors, but an ancient institution redolent with symbolic meaning. The shrines defined a hereditary ruling lineage and were a tangible expression of its identity; additionally, they embodied the authority and status of a sovereign, and the hierarchical order which he headed. They were solid, real buildings, and the details of their design, and the forms of the rituals performed within them, were subject to elaborate rules, normally to be established through complex negotiation between scholars versed in canonical studies (*jingxue* 經學). And, unlike many other forms of imperial ritual perpetuated in artificial form on the strength of their inclusion in the ancient ritual canons — such as the imperial household cults, for example⁽⁷³⁾ — the imperial ancestral shrines (and by extension those of the feudal lords formulated by Zhu) had living counterparts in the family ancestral shrines and lineage halls among the Chinese population at large. In the Chinese context, ancestral shrines had elaborate cultural significance which would have resonated in the minds of all.

Thus, when Zhu was asked to furnish a practical design for such shrines, he

73 These were the 'seven sacrifices' (*qi si* 七祀) or 'five sacrifices' (*wu si* 五祀), studied in Robert L. Chard, "The Imperial Household Cults," in Joseph McDermott ed., *State and Court Ritual in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 237–266.

faced not only the technical problems of finding the ritual forms appropriate for a Japanese daimyō, but also a burden of responsibility for defining an institution he regarded as a counterpart to a major component of imperial ritual in China, slightly lesser in status but identical in kind. As keen as he was to see the spread of Confucian institutions in Japan, he seems to have felt strongly that a task of this magnitude should not rest on the decisions of one person working alone.

Zhu was of course aware that Japan was different, but in his mind the difference was substantially a matter of different stages in a civilizing process: through transformation by means of *li* 禮, and through education in Confucian schools, a social and political order in accordance with Chinese ideals could be achieved in Japan. On the Japanese side, daimyō such as Tsunanori and Mitsukuni were genuinely interested in Confucianism as a source of institutions for good government and the transformation of the populations under their control, and were keen to find out from Zhu how to implement correct ritual forms. But they were not 'believers' in the way that Zhu Shunshui was; their cultural background was different, and they could not have grasped the full symbolic complex of ideas associated with the ancestral shrines in the way that Zhu did at an instinctive level. In effect, they were attempting to extract Confucian ritual forms from their original cultural complex and insert them into their own. Tsunanori, despite his dedication to Confucianism and extensive study of its canonical texts, in the end found that venerating tablets of his ancestors in the Buddhist temples where their physical remains were kept to be a satisfactory equivalent to the ancestral shrine observances.