

## Confucianism in Japan: Historical Evolution and Historical Figures

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### Abstract

*Confucianism's journey in Japan spans centuries, evolving alongside the nation's shifting cultural and political landscape. Confucianism traditionally emphasizes communal harmony and social hierarchy; however, its influence on individualism in Japan cannot be overlooked. While Zhu Xi Confucianism, closely intertwined with the ruling class and their political ideology, the practical emphasis of Yangming Confucianism became intertwined with the Sonno jōi ideology, leading to a unique development in Japan. Over time, Japanese interpretations of neo-Confucian teachings fostered a balance between collective duty and personal growth. This paper is an attempt to shed light on this 'duality' of Confucianism that facilitated the emergence of a unique brand of individualism during Edo period when personal development and moral integrity coexisted within the framework of societal expectations. Confucian principles continue to resonate in modern Japan, contributing to its distinctive cultural ethos and societal norms.*

### Keywords

*Shushigaku, yōmeigaku, "Learning of Mind and Heart," 'ri'(理), chiryōchi (知良知)*



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## Introduction

The East Asian cultural sphere has long revered the Chinese empire as its suzerain and actively embraced its Han character and Confucian culture as advanced civilizations. In particular, Japan, from the early stages of civilization until the end of the Edo period, actively absorbed the contemporary Chinese culture with great admiration and pure respect, adapting it flexibly to Japanese culture. While looking into a historical overview of absorption of Chinese civilization in Japan, one can find specific examples of the unique development of Confucianism in Japan. Introduced to Japan around the same time as Buddhism, Confucianism became widely taught in institutions like private academies and *terakoya* (temple schools) during the Edo period, extending its influence beyond the samurai class to the general populace and significantly shaping the trajectory of Japanese culture.

The early Edo period witnessed the advocacy of Confucianism as a political ideology. Scholars like Hayashi Razan, who succeeded the teachings of Fujiwara Seika, served as policy advisors to the Tokugawa shogunate for three generations, wielding significant influence as scholars of the Enlightenment period in Confucianism. Similarly, in the early Edo period, there emerged directions attempting to depart from Zhu Xi's teachings, such as the Yangming scholars like Nakae Tōju and Kumazawa Banzan, and Yamazaki Ansai, who advocated for the incorporation of Shinto into National Studies.

During the mid-Edo period, there was the era of “*Kansei Igaku no Kin*” 寛政異学の禁, Kansei Edict<sup>1</sup> and ideological unity under Zhu Xi's teachings. Kansei Edict, viewed critically as ideological control by the shogunate, aimed to suppress alternative ideologies. Indeed, as economic power began to accumulate among the commoners (merchants, townspeople), and even impoverished farmers, ideologies other than Zhu Xi's Confucianism emerged, some of which evolved into political criticisms capable of unsettling the regime (such as the rebellions led by peasants influenced by Yangming scholars like Oshio Heihachiro).

In the latter part of the Edo period, various schools of thought emerged concurrently, and textual interpretation reached a mature stage. The scholarly aspect of Confucianism exhibited

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<sup>1</sup> The “*Kansei Igaku no Kin*” was a policy that prohibited academic pursuits other than “*Shushigaku*,” implemented as one of the significant reforms during the Kansei era by the senior councilor, Matsudaira Sadanobu (1759-1829)



significant depth during this period, with schools heavily influenced by the likes of Sorai Ogyū and Ito Jinsai flourishing. Three main intellectual currents characterized the late Edo period: Zhu Xi Confucianism, closely intertwined with the ruling class and their political ideology; the *Kokugaku* movement, which emphasized the purity of academic pursuits and classical Japanese literature; and an Eclectic School that incorporated aspects of both. These three streams of academic thought defined the intellectual landscape of the late Edo period. Additionally, the practical emphasis of Yangming Confucianism became intertwined with the *Sonnō jōi* ideology, leading to a unique development in Japan.

## Confucius on *Innate Nature* of Human

Born in one of the most advanced and longest continuing civilizations in the history of the world, Confucius (541-479 BC), the sage-philosopher of China, grew amidst the turmoil of the society when stability had turned to chaos. It was an age when the whole of China was trapped in a ruthless cycle of war. Tribal invasions from the west along with rebellion amongst the lords splintered the empire into independent states. Spurred by the arms race, it was a time when excellence in the development of weaponry led to a situation where weapons could be mass produced, and thus, families attacked families. It was a complete state of war. This collapse in society became a catalyst for Confucius's groundbreaking philosophy. He was a teacher, politician, philosopher and never thought of establishing a school of philosophy, rather he endeavoured to recreate the social order that prevailed at the very beginning of Zhou dynasty (1027-256 BC). Though he could not find a patron for his political ideas, many people were interested in his beliefs and looked upon him as a political figure. There is no existence of any treatises that he wrote, yet, his students, recorded his sayings that are known as *Rongo* in Japanese and *Lunyu* in Chinese.<sup>2</sup>

The most important notion to be attributed to Confucius is the idea of humaneness. Rather than focus on the attributes of a deity, Confucius's teachings focussed on strict moral code for human behavior. The Analects of Confucius propose that this element of human behavior suggests, "*not treating others in a way that one would not want to be treated himself.*"<sup>3</sup> This notion is the center of his moral philosophy. Another important concept developed in the Analects is the notion of the *jūnzǐ*, a term which can be translated as the "Prince." Confucius considered that the "prince" refers to the son of a ruler who is cultivated as the son of the leader, the only one who

<sup>2</sup> Daoism, Monism can be said to have been influenced by Confucius as they all appeared around the same time as the new school of philosophies shortly after Confucius passed away

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm, Richard, *Confucius and Confucianism*, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013



knows the truth and who can bring the nation to harmony. Therefore all people can be considered as sons of the prince if they cultivate their personality appropriately. In terms of politics, Confucius suggests in the *Analects* that moral rule, or rule by virtue, is far more effective than rule by law. Rule by virtue brings forth compliance when the coercive power of the ruler is manifest, but also when it is not. It means that it would be right for a father to conceal the crimes of a son rather than turn him over to the authorities.<sup>4</sup>

## Renaissance of Confucianism as Neo-Confucianism: Zhu Xi vs. Wang Yang Ming

Confucius's teachings were developed by his disciples like Mencius (371-289 B.C.). Confucius is said to have edited the various classics of ancient Chinese writing that supposedly existed prior to his day. These books consisted of some treatises from the Han Era (221–206 BC): the *“Book of Changes”*, the *“Book of History”*, the *“Book of Poetry”*, the *“Book of Rites”* and the *“Spring and Autumn Annals”*. Confucius's texts were read widely and became the standard for the civil services examination of that time. During the same time another philosophical system, *Buddhism* entered China. With the fall of the Han dynasty, Buddhism gradually expanded, especially in association with the ruling power of non - Chinese elites. To them, the more spiritual and metaphysical aspects of Buddhism and Daoism that believed in a spiritual force were much more appealing than the strict moral code that Confucianism offered. As a consequence, Confucian teachings were reasserted under the form of neo-Confucianism, to preserve the spirituality that was very indigenous to Chinese. Neo-Confucianism explained that human nature was a rational principle behind the rational structure of a world that characterized humanity through human nature.

Neo-Confucianism refers to the renaissance of Confucianism during the Song dynasty (960–1271) following a long period in which Buddhism and Daoism had dominated the philosophical world of China. Neo-Confucianism had its roots in the late Tang period (618-907), came to maturity in the Song period (960-1270), and continued to develop in the Yuan (1271-1368), Ming (1368-1644), and Qing (1644-1912) periods. Zhu Xi (1130-1200)<sup>5</sup> under neo-Confucianism developed two trends of thought, *“Learning of Principle”* and the *“Learning of Mind and*

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<sup>4</sup> Nicolas Levi, “The Impact of Confucianism in South Korea and Japan”, ACTA ASIATICA VARSOVIENSIA, No. 26, 2013



*Heart.*” Both philosophies emphasize the common notion that the myriad elements of the universe are manifestations of a single “li” (Principle), which governs everything. By comprehending this principle, individuals can apply moral principles within themselves to establish harmonious families, thereby contributing to the formation of a well-ordered state. This organized state, in turn, supports effective governance, ultimately leading to the maintenance of peace under heaven. This concept gained popularity in Japan as “Shūshin seikachikoku heitenka.” (終身正家治国平天下) .

In the 11th century, the Chinese philosopher Zhu Xi sought to systematize Confucianism, emphasizing the importance of social order and the virtue of *Shūkochijin* (修己治人) (self-cultivation and governance of others), while also promoting a philosophy that revered ritual propriety. This development opened the way for Neo-Confucianism, which became instrumental in supporting the feudal society. During the Kamakura period, an increase in exchanges between Japan and China occurred as monks travelled back and forth between the two countries, facilitating close interaction among their people. Japanese monks such as Eisai, Dogen, and Sorai journeyed to Song China, while Chinese monks like Jōan, Rankei, Daikyū, Issan Ichinei, and Shigen visited Japan. In this milieu, the teachings of Neo-Confucianism from China were transmitted to Japan by Zen monks, and during the Edo period, as Christianity was prohibited, Confucianism assumed the position of the national doctrine in Japan. Under the directive of the Tokugawa shogunate, Hayashi Razan introduced Zhu Xi’s teachings to Japan, aligning Japan’s societal structure with that of China’s. (献洲, 2002) The stability achieved by the Tokugawa shogunate for around 260 years was partly due to the fact that the social organization at that time, based on Zhu Xi’s teachings, did not demand significant changes or reforms from the populace.

In China, throughout its history, there have been frequent revolutions leading to changes in dynasties, resulting in unstable relationships between rulers and subjects, making it difficult to fully uphold both loyalty and filial piety. In contrast, in Japan, due to the Emperor’s “unbroken line for ten thousand generations,” loyalty and filial piety are aligned, constituting one of the distinctive moral characteristics of Japan.

### Adoption of Zhu Xi’s Teachings as *Shushigaku* in Japan



Japan spent much time culturally and politically under the influence of China. However, Confucianism in Japan achieved its own unique development without a heavy civilian bureaucracy based on an imperial state examination system such as the one that China, Korea, and Vietnam had. The reason being having no much appetite for abstract, grandiose ethical and theoretical systems such as the Zhu Xi school of the neo-Confucianism. The first patron of Confucianism in Japan was prince Shōtoku Taishi who lived during the 6th century. He enacted a Constitution of 17 Acts in 604A.D. which established Confucian ideals and Buddhist ethics as the pillars of Japan.

The interpretation of Song learning in the Japanese imperial court began with the monk Genne (1279-1350). Although deeply versed in the Tendai and Zen schools of Buddhism, Genne also extensively studied Neo-Confucianism. He transformed the Confucian studies of the Han and Tang dynasties into Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism, replacing the old Confucianism centered on the Five Classics. This marked a significant change in the history of Japanese Confucianism.

Genne's Song learning comprised two main aspects: classical studies and historical studies. Classical studies followed Zhu Xi's teachings, while historical studies focused on comprehensive historical understanding. The Neo-Confucianism advocated by Wang Yangming was further disseminated by Zen monks of the Gozan monasteries during the Edo period, eventually giving rise to independent schools of Zhu Xi's Confucianism. (荒川紘、2008 年)<sup>6</sup> Amidst the propagation of Zhu Xi's Confucianism by Zen monks of the Gozan, Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1701), originally a distinguished Zen monk, emerged as the pioneer of Zhu Xi's Confucianism during the Tokugawa period. he recruited the scholars mentioned above from the private sector, solidifying the foundation of the domain's governance and earning a reputation as a wise ruler. In this way, Confucianism and its modern form, Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism, came to lead the intellectual currents in both governmental and civilian spheres.( 吾妻重二、2015 年)<sup>7</sup>

When Tokugawa Ieyasu<sup>8</sup> (1543-1616) rose to prominence, Japan was decentralized and power was divided among the feudal domains. Therefore, in order to create a centralized society

<sup>6</sup> 荒川紘、「儒教教育の日本的展開」、静岡大学、2008 年、頁 6

<sup>7</sup> 吾妻重二、「水戸藩の儒教喪祭儀礼文献について」、関西大学東西学術研究所紀要、2015 年、頁 31 ~ 32

<sup>8</sup> First shogun of the Tokugawa Shogunate of Japan, which effectively ruled Japan from the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 until the Meiji Restoration in 1868



which can work according to the will of the Shogunate, Ieyasu drew from the teachings of Fujiwara Seika<sup>9</sup> (1561-1619), in utilizing neo-Confucianist ideas to draw the country together. With this, neo-Confucianism completely broke from the moral, spiritual and religious supremacy of Buddhism and opened towards the rational, secular movement. Hayashi Razan<sup>10</sup> (1583-1657) was Seika's most important disciple and was hired by the Shogunate as its Confucian ideologist.

However, though the neo-Confucian ethics were against the militaristic government, yet in case of Tokugawa bakufu the restructured Zhu Xi's ideologies included violent measures in the administration. Through the aid of various prominent Japanese Neo-Confucians, the Shogunate was able to manipulate and modify tradition of Neo-Confucianism into something that was distinctly Japanese, in order to legitimize its authoritative rule over the people.

## Adoption of Wang Yang Ming's teaching as *Yōmeigaku* in Japan

The introduction of Wang Yangming's Neo-Confucianism to Japan began during the Muromachi period with the monk Ryōan Keigo (1425–1514). Ryōan and Wang Yangming were contemporaries, and Ryōan traveled to China, where he resided for nearly a year. Upon his return to Japan, Wang Yangming composed a poetic preface to bid him farewell. Consequently, during this period, Wang Yangming's writings circulated among the monks of the *Gozan* (Five Monasteries)<sup>11</sup>. However, at that time, the teachings of Wang Yangming and Zhu Xi were not clearly distinguished, and it was not until the Edo period, starting with Nakae Tōju, that the distinction became apparent. During the Edo period, criticism of Zhu Xi's Confucianism, which emphasized political integration and dominant ideology, began with Toshiki, leading later to the promotion of Wang Yangming's Neo-Confucianism by figures such as Bansan Kumazawa, Itō Jinsai, and Sorai Ogyū

Nakae Tōju initially adhered to Zhu Xi's teachings, but gradually began to question them. His scholarly pursuits emphasized the importance of experiential learning and contemplation over

<sup>9</sup> Regarded as the father of Tokugawa neo-Confucianism, lecturing even to Ieyasu himself

<sup>10</sup> A Japanese neo-Confucian philosopher, serving as a tutor and an advisor to the first four shoguns of the Tokugawa Shogunate

<sup>11</sup> The monks of the Five Mountain System utilized their cultivated knowledge gained through the Five Mountain Edition not only in temple activities but also in secular endeavors, leveraging their strong ties with the Ashikaga shogunate to serve as advisors to the warrior class, demonstrating their expertise as China-literate intellectuals in worldly affairs.



rote memorization. At the age of twenty-nine, his introspective nature and quest for new ideas became evident. It was from this spirit that he turned to the philosophy of Wang Yangming.

## Identification of Zhu Xi's Philosophy by Wang Yang Ming's Thought

Wang Yang Ming's Bamboo Plant Experiment to understand *li*

Wang Yang Ming dominated China during his lifetime and for many years thereafter. The reason for his strong impact lies in the dynamic quality of his philosophy. According to Wang, the source of the trouble for the mind that leads it to lose direction is the erroneous theory of investigation of *li* ('*ri*' in Japanese) in everything outside the mind propagated by Zhu Xi.

There is an apocryphal story that says that Wang, as a young scholar began undertaking a study of Zhu Xi's idea of "nature of things" where one gains knowledge of *li* with the direct investigation of things. In that way, meditation and inquiry would go hand in hand, and thus, he and his colleagues meditated on a bamboo plant for days and weeks, only to end up on no production of any authentic knowledge of *li*. They even began to fall ill. It was then that the revelation of the failed experiment was crystal clear for Wang. Seeking *li* in the external world was equal to separate it from the mind that is actually its creator.

Wang argued that every living thing is a manifestation of *li*, and therefore, one does not have to inquire outside in order to understand it. Rather, one should consult one's own heart, wherein *li* lies. According to Zhu Xi's philosophy, one needs to use his mind to understand the *li* that lies in every individual, thereby separating mind and *li*. For example, Wang argues that if the *li* of filial piety has to be sought in parents, in that case, when the parents pass away, the mind will create a void out of the lack of filiality. However, such is not the case. The filial piety survives even after the parents pass away and continues to take form according to the situation. Our actions are based on *li* that is already there in our mind, more correctly that is the mind. Here, Wang's assertion is directly on the intuitive moral consciousness of human beings which can be cultured by *unifying inner<sup>12</sup> and the outer world<sup>13</sup>* that affects the righteousness within the individual.

In the meantime, Yamaga Soko (1622-85), a Japanese philosopher and strategist under the Shogunate and Itō Jinsai (1627-1705), an Edo townsman, in the early years of the Tokugawa period,

<sup>12</sup> One's consciousness

<sup>13</sup> The world that can be perceived on the basis of its physical dimension





began a school of Confucianism, *Kogaku* (Ancient Learning), that gave importance to understanding the meaning of its ancient origins and the school began to be well known. It attempted to revive the original thought of the Chinese sages Confucius and Mencius, which they felt had been distorted by the other Japanese neo-Confucian schools. In a quite similar way, yet one step further was taken by Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728), Edo scholar, who rejected the very existence of cosmic principle in Neo-Confucianism, which is the very essence of it. He dismissed the presence of morality in either human consciousness or as a natural phenomenon. Instead, he saw morality as a historical body of rules and regulation invented by early Kings of China and hence, without seeking to develop individual consciousness, according to him, the whole society should be regulated for its development through set rules and regulations. In this way, perceiving 'root of virtue' as a natural cosmic principle, or historical institution remained the central issue of all the developing Confucian schools of the time. By the last century of the Edo Period, *Yōmeigaku*, unlike the other schools, provided a thoroughly new vision of understanding the *self* before attempting to understand the universe.

A man of many means, who faced greatest personal and professional challenges that went to the extent of his banishment to Guizhou on the charge of unjust public flogging, Wang Yang Ming made his ways through the adversities of life to finally rise as the governor of Jiangxi Province. He experienced many ways through Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism and finally through his own experiment, he convinced himself and the world that within man lays the answers to all and everything and to know them, man needs to look within himself. Years of self-inquiry, deep introspection and true conviction made him a man of vision who sought to provide the philosophical basis for a benevolent and harmonious society in which all members contributed and found satisfaction in their individual contribution.

Wang believed in the *oneness* of the universe and as evidence for this “, he observed the nourishment we receive from plants and animals and the curative power of herbs and minerals. They all become one in man”.<sup>14</sup> The school of neo-Confucianism based on the teachings of Wang Yang Ming, came to be known as *yōmeigaku* in Japan which emphasized the inseparability of knowledge and practice, *chikōgōitsu* (知行合一) that explained learning old classics cannot give us an insight into life's situations. True knowledge does not stand different from the action and does

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<sup>14</sup> P.J. Ivanhoe, *Ethics in the Confucian Tradition: The Thought of Mengzi and Wang Yangming*, Hackett Publishing, 2002



not go by Zhu Xi's explanation that things have to be learned first and then used in practice. True knowledge is gained through practicing knowledge. And therefore, *knowledge* and *action* are manifestations of each other, i.e., they are one.

Neo-Confucianism produced a number of outstanding thinkers including Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859), etc. Against the interpretation of Zhu Xi studies that was perceived as a controlling ideology of Tokugawa government, encouraging a hierarchical system that kept individuals in their proper places and 'inducing' loyalty and obedience to the *bakufu*, *yōmeigaku* attracted common mass with its quest of asserting the innate goodness and freedom of human by not escaping from the *self*, rather by penetrating into one's own nature to activate the innate humaneness. "Our mind itself is *li*" (心即理), was Yang Ming's core philosophical message to men and women that had a profound role in awakening their reverie. It was under the light of *Yōmeigaku* that Tōju too, preached the *chiryōchi* (知良知) as he believed that every man was born with a beautiful mind *ryōchi* (good heart or conscience), which unfortunately gets covered by evil desires as the man gets accustomed to this world. Tōju's interpretation of *ryōchi* was extending the innate knowledge as a method of training the mind, as he writes, "*Within all human beings there is a spiritual treasure with which nothing in the world can be compared to, known as the supreme virtue and the essential Way. The most important thing is to make use of this treasure, keeping it in our hearts and practicing it with our bodies.*"<sup>15</sup> The disciples mentioned in Tōju's biography describe his views on Wang's philosophies as "*For a long time I have acted according to the formal codes of conduct. I have recently come to understand that such codes are wrong. Abandon the form of desire which causes you to adhere to formal codes, have faith in your essential mind; do not be attached to the mere convention.*"<sup>16</sup>

Matsudaira Sadanobu (1787-1793), was another earnest Confucian scholar who led *Kansei Reforms*<sup>17</sup> (1789-1791) when bakufu was going through financial stress during the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. To improve administration, he attempted to control the education system by making Zhu Xi's ideologies the official doctrine. Re-coinage, forced loans, dismissal of officials to reduce costs, and sumptuary laws intended to preserve morals and save money, peasants forced to return to their lands, was done with the Confucian view of the primacy of agriculture and with the

<sup>15</sup> Okina Mondō, Nakae Tōju, *nihon Shiso Taikei*, vol. 29, Tokyo Iwanami Shoten, 1974

<sup>16</sup> Ryūji Yamashita, "*Nakae Tōju's Religious Thought and Its Relation to 'Jitsugaku'*", Institute of Philosophy, Columbia University Press 1979

<sup>17</sup> A series of reactionary policy changes and edicts which were intended to cure a range of perceived problems which had developed in mid-18th century Tokugawa Japan



Tokugawa policy of strict class separation. However, forced loans and 19th-century currency devaluations brought only temporary relief and the systematic fiscal ills did not take long to reappear by 1800. As the time unfolded, Japan became the stage for the complex interplay of innumerable institutions of thoughts. At that point of time, under the patronage of Tōju, Wang Yang Ming studies expanded its influence amidst the time's turmoil and unlike Zhu Xi schools that stressed obtainment of knowledge before acting, Wang Yang Ming gave priority to concrete action over obtainment of knowledge. The loftiness and the unselfish character of Wang's teachings attracted many activists such as Ōshio Heihachirō (1793-1837) and Yoshida Shōin (1830-59) and provided a philosophical base for their actions as the political activists.

Ōshio Heihachirō's manifesto for the revolt during the great famine of 1837 begins with a reminder to his countrymen, "*The Heaven's blessings would be withdrawn from the ruler if the people were driven to desperation. Appealing to the benevolent founding principles of the government established by Ieyasu<sup>18</sup>, it condemns the self-seeking corruption and immorality that had spread throughout the ranks of the government since the establishment of the Tokugawa peace, claiming that the entire populace now burned with rancor against the government*".<sup>19</sup>

## Conclusion

*Yōmeigaku* was a thought that was directing people to cleanse their consciousness amidst a social situation where the officials of the *bakufu* were forgetting the humaneness that unites all being together and were just busy conducting the government to meet their own selfish ends. It had offered an intuition-based alternative to the rationalism of the long-dominant Zhu Xi School and hence had the potentiality to induce a rebellious and revolutionary dimension into Japanese thought. The intuitionist philosophy under *yōmeigaku* was seen as a danger to the strict hierarchical social order formed by the *bakufu* and hence was suppressed in order to prevent it from establishing itself as a social movement. However, before it could be suppressed, intuitionism under *yōmeigaku* that taught sincerity towards one's own intuition had already touched many lives to their core. In *yōmeigaku*, people found a way to stand up against external forces of evil, by going with what they found was right for themselves. *Yōmeigaku* had appealed in the context of samurai

<sup>18</sup> The military General who established Tokugawa Shogunate

<sup>19</sup> Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, Arthur Tiedemann, *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600 to 2000*, Columbia University Press, 2005



tradition of martial valor and resolute fearlessness. Many of the leading *shishi*<sup>20</sup> patriots in the radical loyalist movements of the 1850s and 1860s were influenced by *yōmeigaku*<sup>21</sup>, as they were the people frustrated by the Tokugawa policies of pacification and bureaucratization, and in *yōmeigaku*, they had found a way to redirect their aggressive energies from vengeance and violence towards Confucian ethical and political goals.

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<sup>20</sup> They were a group of Japanese political activists of the late Edo period (1603-1868). The term *shishi* translates as "men of high purpose". It is usually applied to the anti-shogunate, pro-*sonnō jōi* (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians) samurai primarily from the south western clans of Satsuma, Chōshū, and Tosa.

<sup>21</sup> Geremie R. Barme, Helen Lo, *East Asian History*, Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University, Goanna Print, Fyshwick, Act, 2000