The Private Academies of East Asia: Research Perspectives and Overview

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Introduction

Recently, research taking on the broader regional perspective of East Asia has become more prevalent. Regardless of where one anchors one's perspective, China, Korea, and Japan formed definite relationships and a loose state-level network, and these connections led to points of cultural contact. Recent research recognizes these connections. Even Edo Japan, though it closed off the country to outside contact, had contacts with the other countries of East Asia through Nagasaki and Tsushima, the Ryukyu Archipelago, the Chosŏn goodwill missions to Japan, and occasional shipwrecks, and the culture of other regions was imported through these routes. Indeed, without considering the perspective of East Asia, it might be said that one cannot determine the place of the traditional cultures of China, Korea, Vietnam, and the Ryukyu Archipelago, not to mention Japan.

In April 2005, the Center for the Study of Asian Cultures was established as an Academic Frontier Promotion Center under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. Following this, in September 2007, the Institute for Cultural Interaction Studies was established as a Global Center of Excellence. These institutes promote the idea that a regional perspective is needed in the study of East Asia. The present study takes this perspective as its starting point.

Take, for example, one element of the traditional culture of this region: Chinese characters. In the past, Chinese characters and classical Chinese in which Chinese characters were used served as the lingua franca of this region. Chinese characters clearly brought a cultural cohesion to the region that we call the Chinese Character Cultural Region. Recently, Koyasu Nobukuni, in his work *Kanjiron: Fukahi no tasha* (Chinese Characters: The Unavoidable Other), asserted that Chinese characters are the "unavoidable other" in the Japanese language. But in the sense that Chinese characters and Chinese loan words form an indispensable part of the Japanese language, Chinese loan words have been naturalized and are not a foreign "other."

The same is true of Korean and Vietnamese. At present, Hangul is used in North and South Korea for writing Korean, and the National Language Script (a variant of the Roman alphabet) is used in Vietnam for writing Vietnamese. In these countries Chinese characters have almost entirely disappeared from daily life. Yet in fact, Chinese loan words comprise about 70 percent of the vocabulary of modern Korean and also about 70 percent of the vocabulary of modern Vietnamese. Without this imported

vocabulary, Korean and Vietnamese would clearly cease to be adequate for life.

Something similar can be said with regard to Confucianism. Confucianism arose in ancient China and was later widely transmitted to the countries of East Asia, where it contributed to the formation of traditional culture. In the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters) there is the story that during the reign of Emperor Ōjin (early fifth century), Wang In (Wani) of Paekche brought the *Analects* and the *Thousand Character Classic* to Japan. Whether or not this story is true, it shows that Confucianism was transmitted early on to the Korean Peninsula and Japan for the cultivation of the intellectual class. What I wish to call attention to is the fact that the Confucian tradition not only did not die out, but was actually strengthened, especially in the early modern period. The Neo-Confucian doctrines of Zhu Xi (1130–1200) exerted a tremendous influence in Korea, Vietnam, and Japan. If we consider just Japan, there is probably no historian who discusses the culture of the Edo period without mention of Confucianism.

Well, then, what about private academies, the topic of this paper? Private academies also helped shape the traditional culture of East Asia. Private academies (書院) are places of learning in the private sector. These schools are also called private schools (私塾) in Japan. At a glance, these terms convey a different impression, but they both designate private-sector establishments for learning and education. It is interesting that these private academies and schools became widely established throughout East Asia by the early modern period. Here I use the term "early modern" to designate that period before the modern period when the social system achieved a stability that endured for an extended period of time. For China, this would be the period from the Song dynasty (tenth century); for Korea, the late Yi dynasty (after the seventeenth century); for Vietnam, from the Le dynasty (fifteenth century); and for Japan, the Edo period (after the seventeenth century).

One can surmise that private academies and schools had a profound connection with the development of traditional education in East Asia. Previously, this fact was not adequately appreciated. Noting this circumstance, the Institute for Cultural Interaction Studies had its Northern East Asia Research Team pursue private academies as a common research topic.

Here I would like to express my own understanding of the prospects for research on private academies and of the relationship of private academies to the formation of East Asian traditional education. I cannot, of course, discuss such matters in detail as they pertain to such a wide region as East Asia, and rather than raise a few examples for consideration, I would like to discuss freely what I see as common themes and footholds for future research.

1 Why Study Private Academies?

The wide establishment of private academies throughout East Asia in the early modern period is directly related to issues concerning education and culture. This is because the thought and learning that spread in a society through education make up the culture of the region. Today we often say things like "That's just like a Russian" or "an Italian," etc., but we should keep in mind that national intellectual traditions, morals, and customs are formed through education.

R. P. Dore, in the Preface to the Japanese edition of his *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (*Edo jidai no kyōiku*), has written as follows:

> In the final chapter of this work I have already discussed how the legacy of the merits and demerits of Tokugawa education affected Meiji Japan. In light of the emergence of modern Japan, two aspects, I think,

> bear emphasizing: the importance of the concept of education in traditional society and the importance of how education is socially realized. A different concept of education can be found entrenched in traditional society *prior* to the takeoff of economic development, the bureaucratization of society in general, and the great pressure that these developments bring to bear on education, making it into an institution for conferring status and achieving social mobility. Under the traditional concept of education, education seeks to create individuals that delight in the learning itself and that derive satisfaction in applying the knowledge learned to one's work. Where this notion of education is widespread, that nation is happy indeed. This is what I wish to emphasize.[1)]

Dore wrote this passage when he was investigating Tanzania in Africa. Compared to the impoverished circumstances of developing countries, Japan during the Edo period had a well-established system and concept of education that supported people as they pursued their stable livelihoods. In this sense, Japan was indeed a happy nation. And as pointed out, the legacy of the Edo period was used, from the Meiji period on, in the basic education of the Japanese. Of course, the notion that in Japan of the Edo period, "education seeks to create individuals that delight in the learning itself" cannot avoid the suspicion that it is an idealization, but this is a problem to be considered for another time.

Not only in Japan, but also throughout East Asia during the early modern period, government and private schools were established widely throughout the region. But here, in studying the relation of education to the formation of culture, I wish to limit myself to considering private schools.

The first reason for this limitation is that during the early modern period, private academies and schools for the first time spread widely throughout East Asia and underwent considerable development. This change gave rise to a new situation, namely, that knowledge instruction was no longer the province of the privileged elite (royalty, the nobility, and the governing class, as well as priests), but rather spread to the ordinary populace.

The second reason is that private academies maintained a distance from the civil-service-examination system. All East Asian nations other than Japan had instituted this system by the early modern period. Though one cannot deny that the civil-service-examination system contributed to the development of learning and education, its contribution was markedly less than that of private academies and schools. Hence, to discuss the topic of the formation of culture and education, it seems better to consider private-sector education facilities, which were established apart from the civil-service-examination system, rather than discussing civil-service examinations and government schools, which were established to help students pass these examinations.

The third reason is that comparative research is possible. Private academies and schools were a common cultural feature in East Asia in the early modern period. Moreover, in China, Korea, Vietnam, and Japan, they developed in different ways, according to the circumstances in each country. As will become clear in the other papers presented this time, these different paths of development are not adequately reflected in simple claims of transmission of, or the influence of, Chinese culture. What were the common features of their development? How was their development different? Such cultural comparisons become possible in research on private academies.

In this way, through the study of private-sector education facilities, namely, private academies and schools, we will become clearer, I believe, on the formation of traditional education in the countries of East Asia during the early modern period. And, I believe, we will attain a new perspective on the past.

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1) R. P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan*. Translated by Matsui Hiromichi, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970.

2 The Neo-Confucian Doctrines of the Zhu Xi School and Education

Here I would like to point out the influence of the Neo-Confucian doctrines of the Zhu Xi school during the early modern period. Though there were differences in strength among the countries of East Asia during this period, they all accepted the teachings of the Zhu Xi school. Kishimoto Mio, in his paper "Higashi Ajia, Tōnan Ajia dentō shakai no keisei" (The Formation of Traditional Society in East Asia and Southeast Asia), traces the formation of traditional societies in East and Southeast Asia to the chaotic period before and after the sixteenth century and finds that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these societies gradually became stable. This masterly essay is highly suggestive, but his hardly touching on the thought, especially Confucianism, of the period is problematic. For during this period, the teachings of the Zhu Xi school widely penetrated the thought of China, Korea, Vietnam, the Ryukyu Archipelago, and Japan, giving birth to a new form of wisdom, bringing about changes in the cultures of these areas, and contributing to the formation of traditional society. Thus, these facts bear emphasizing. More so, Zhu Xi's philosophy had a great influence on the education of this region.

A detailed discussion of Zhu Xi's views on education is better taken up on another occasion, but here I wish to raise a few relevant points in passing. This, I think, will make clear the epochal effect of the doctrines of the Zhu Xi school on learning and education.

1) View of humans and view of learning

Education, in a word, is fostering the latent abilities of a person. Zhu Xi and other like scholars of the Way (the Zhu Xi school) thought that it was possible for *everyone* to be thus improved. Here we have a variety of the view that humans are equal. Prior to the Neo-Confucianism of the Song dynasty, that is, from the Han dynasty to the Tang dynasty, the predominant theory of human nature was that humans at birth were divided into three ranks, the so-called "three-ranks theory of human nature." Humans of the lowest rank are by nature incorrigible, and no amount of education will improve them. The Zhu Xi school did away with this prejudicial view of human nature and reintroduced Mencius's high ideal that humans are by nature good, that everyone, through instruction, can become a sage. This can be clearly seen in the following quotations: Cheng Yi (1033–1107) wrote, "Anyone can become a sage. The education of a gentleman never ceases until he becomes a sage. Whoever ceases learning before becoming a sage forsakes himself."[2] Zhu Xi wrote, "The ultimate goal of learning is to be a sage. If one does not study, one is no better than a boor. How can one not apply oneself?"[3]

Why can anyone become a sage? Because everyone has a good nature within. This is clearly stated in the following quotation from Zhu Xi: "Human nature is good. Hence, anyone can become a Yao or a Shun."[4] Here the Zhu Xi school is reviving the legacy of the Confucianism of the classical period, the Confucianism of Confucius and Mencius. Confucius said, "In education there are no class distinctions."[5] In the *Mencius*, there is the following exchange, "Can anyone really be a Yao or a Shun? Mencius replied, Yes."[6] Such thought, which attaches a positive value to education, stands in stark contrast with

2) 人皆可以至聖人，而君子之學必至於聖人而後已。不至於聖人而後已者，皆自棄也。(『河南程氏遺書』卷一五-16)
3) 學之至則可以爲聖人，不學則不免爲鄉人而已。可不勉哉。(『論語集注』公冶長篇，十室之邑章)
4) 性善，故人皆可爲堯舜。(『朱子語類』卷五五-2)
5) 有教無類。(『論語』衛靈公篇)
6) 人皆可以爲堯舜，有諸。孟子曰，然。(『孟子』告子篇下)

that of the Daoists, who cast a basically suspicious eye on the value of learning and education (see, for example, the *Laozi*, chap. 20, where it is asserted, "If you cease studying, there is nothing to worry about").

2) The purpose and method of study

The sage that the Zhu Xi school sought to produce was basically a person of high moral character. However, it takes more than just cultivation to perfect an individual; one must also improve the world through social practice. In the preface to *Daxue zhangju* (Commentary on the *Great Learning*), by Zhu Xi, the phrase "Cultivate oneself, govern people" shows how cultivating the self and social practice are united in Zhu Xi's thought. Zhu Xi's "Bailudong Shuyuan jieshi" (Precepts of the White Deer Grotto Academy) (*Zhu Wen gong wenji* [Collected Prose Works of Zhu Xi], vol. 74) became widely established as a guide for instruction in private academies in China, Korea, and Japan. In it we find the following precept: "Study widely, ask in detail, consider carefully, discuss clearly, and carry things out sincerely."[7] The exhortation to "study, ask, consider, discuss, and carry out" in *The Doctrine of the Mean* was better known as an exhortation to "study widely, ask in detail, consider carefully, discuss clearly, and carry things out sincerely." According to Zhu Xi, studying, asking, considering, and discussing belong to the investigation of principles, whereas carrying out is concerned with practice. Here too, it is advocated that learning should be directly connected with social practice.

Thus, the main way of studying is to exhaust principles. And, when one exhausts principles, the proper attitude is asserted to be maintaining reverence. Simply put, exhausting principles is investigating affairs and knowing the principles and rules that one derives from such investigation. And, maintaining reverence is being calm and rational at all times. By means of these methods, one seeks to cultivate oneself and govern people.

3) Confirming convictions: Resolving

Because one can attain sagehood through study, one should resolve to realize such an ideal. Zhu Xi wrote as follows:

> The most important thing for the student is to form resolve. The resolve I am talking about is not impressing this spirit onto others, but rather simply directly studying Yao and Shun. "Mencius says that human nature is good. His words are no doubt intended to commend Yao and Shun" [*Mencius*, "Teng Wen gong" chap., pt. 1]. This is the truth: If the student forms resolve and is resolute and courageous, he will naturally make progress. Insufficient resolve is the greatest shortcoming of students.[8]
>
> Friends of today indeed love hearing lore about sages and worthies, but their being unable in the end to rid the world of vile practices is due to none other than their inability to form resolve. What is important for students is to form resolve. The purpose of studying is to be none other than to be a sage.[9]

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7) 博學之，審問之，愼思之，明辨之，篤行之。

8) 學者大要立志。所謂志者，不道將這些意氣去蓋他人，只是直截要學堯舜。「孟子道性善，言必稱堯舜」，此是眞實道理。……學者立志，須敎勇猛，自當有進。志不足以有爲，此學者之大病。(『朱子語類』卷八-28)

9) 今之朋友，固有樂聞聖賢之學，而終不能去世俗之陋者，無他，只是志不立爾。學者大要立志。纔學，便要做聖人是也。(『朱子語類』卷八-29)

If one is resolute in one's convictions, study will naturally follow. These quotations express well the idealism of the Zhu Xi school of thought.

4) View of education: Renovating the people

What is important, along with personal cultivation, is the will to improve oneself and others. This is shown by the phrase "to renovate the people" in the passage that opens the *Great Learning*: "The way of great learning is to clarify true virtue, to renovate the people, and to rest only upon attaining the highest level of goodness." The original text of the *Great Learning* (in the *Book of Rites*) had "to cherish the people" (親民), but Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi revised this to "to renovate the people" (新民), clearly calling for reform not only of oneself, but also of others. Though the change was of a single character, the import of the change was great indeed.

Zhu Xi made the following comment about the term "renovate": "'To renovate' means to reform the old vices. That is to say, when one is clear on true virtue, one should then recommend it to others and make them rid themselves of old vices."[10] And he explicated the phrase "to renovate the people" (*Great Learning*, transmission, chap. 2) as "to encourage the people to renovate themselves." People who develop and realize their own abilities should then take on the responsibility to encourage others to reform old vices.

It seems that Zhu Xi's concern for others stems from an empathy for others that makes him unable to overlook others' unhappiness. In *Daxue huo wen* (Questions on the *Great Learning*), he wrote that when a person sees others tempted by this vile, corrupt world, he should no doubt want to save them: "Now I fortunately am enlightened, but when I see that the masses are likewise capable of becoming enlightened, yet fail to become so on their own, but rather are tempted by corruption and baseness without knowing themselves, is it not natural that I should sadly wonder whether there is not some way to save them?"[11] That is, education that is based on the theory that human nature is good and that seeks to improve others is regarded as an obligation.

Thus, the Zhu Xi school seeks to internalize in people the need for learning and education. The Zhu Xi school was concerned not just with members of a family or clan, but with humanity in general—a much broader concern than previously.

5) The educational curriculum and texts: the Four Books and the Five Classics

In the educational curriculum, a distinction was made between advanced studies and elementary studies. As Zhu Xi indicated in the preface to his *Daxue zhangju*, students ideally begin elementary studies at age eight and advanced studies at age fifteen; elementary studies consisted of such virtuous conduct as cleanliness, responding to others, and entering and leaving a room, and such social skills as etiquette and music, archery and horseback riding, writing and arithmetic; and advanced studies consisted of such courses of study as investigating principles, rectification of the heart, self-cultivation, and governing people.[12] In the language of today, children learned by rote such basic skills as cleaning,

10) 新者，革其舊之謂也。言既自明其明德，又當推以及人，使之亦有以去其舊染之汚也。(『大學章句』經)

11) 今吾既幸有以自明矣，則視彼衆人之同得乎此而不能自明者，方且甘心迷惑沒溺於卑汚苟賤之中而不自知也，豈不爲之惻然而思有以救之哉。

12) 人生八歲，則自王公以下至於庶人之子弟皆入小學，而敎之以灑掃應對進退之節，禮樂射御書數之文。及其十有五年，則自天子之元子・衆子以至公卿大夫元士之適子與凡民之俊秀皆入大學，而敎之以窮理・正心・修己・治人之道。此又學校

greetings, deportment, etiquette, reading and writing, physical education (archery and horseback riding), and arithmetic, while juveniles studied and investigated more advanced matters such as theory, self-cultivation, politics, and society. There was thus a progression from training in daily matters to theory and social conduct.

Appropriate texts were selected for this curriculum. For elementary studies, Zhu Xi's newly compiled text *Xiaoxue* (Elementary Studies) was used, and at the advanced level, students read the Four Books and the Five Classics. The Four Books were read in the following order: *The Great Learning*, *Analects*, *Mengzi*, and *The Doctrine of the Mean*.[13)]

6) The liberation of education

Zhu Xi did not limit education to the privileged elite; rather, he expanded education to commoners. This is a natural consequence of the view of humanity of the Zhu Xi school, mentioned above. Thus, for example, in discussing elementary and advanced studies in the preface to *Daxue zhangju*, Zhu Xi wrote, "Upon attaining eight years of age, sons from all backgrounds, from nobility on down to commoner households, begin elementary studies. At age fifteen, all sons from the crown prince and other princes to the legitimate sons of nobility, ministers, grandees, and servicemen, as well as superior students among commoners, begin advanced studies."[14)] Hence, elementary education was appropriate not only for the children of nobility, but also those of commoners, and superior students of commoners could receive advanced education.

One source on the educational system of premodern China is the *Shangshu dazhuan* (Great Commentary on the *Book of Documents*), written by Fu Sheng in the Former Han period. Such ancient sources do not consider the common people at all. For example, Fu Sheng, in the "Jinteng" chapter of the *Shangshu dazhuan*, wrote, "The kings of ancient times invariably established elementary and advanced studies and had princes and the legitimate sons of nobility, ministers, grandees, and servicemen enter elementary study at age fifteen and observe elementary virtue and practice elementary justice there. At age twenty, they entered advanced studies and observed more sophisticated virtue and practiced more sophisticated justice there."[15)] Similar statements can be found in the Former Han works *Da Dai Liji* (Writings on Etiquette Compiled by the Elder Dai), "Baozhuan" chap., and Ban Gu's *Baihu tong* (Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall), "Piyong" chap. The notes in these works say that these respective schools are for the sons of the elite (the royal family, the nobility, ministers, grandees, and court officers) (see Wang Pinzhen, *Da Dai Liji jiegu* (Commentary on *Da Dai Liji*), and Chen Li, *Baihu tong shuzheng* (Commentary on *Baihu tong*). This is no doubt a correct understanding of the premodern Chinese school system, but that is not the point here. What is important is that in premodern China, Zhu Xi advocated admitting commoner sons to schools and held this up as the ideal.

It is often thought that medieval China lacked a clear notion of universal education not restricted to a particular social status or privileged class. If we call opening a privilege up to everyone, not everyone "liberation," then Zhu Xi advocated educational liberation.

Zhu Xi's *Jia li* (Family Rituals) led to a similar expansion of the practice of family rituals from the

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之教大小之節所以分也。

13) 『朱子語類』卷一四-1。

14) See foot note 12.

15) 古之王者，必立大學小學，使王子公卿大夫元士之適子十有五年始入小學，見小節焉，踐小義焉。二十始入大學，見大節焉，踐大義焉。

houses of the privileged elite to commoners. In *Jia li* there was a liberation of family rituals.

7) Criticism of the civil-service examination

Zhu Xi severely criticized study for the civil-service examination. An example is the following: "Generally, study for the civil-service examination leads one's thinking astray and gives rise to harmful intentions. The more capable one is in the examination, the greater the harm."[16] For Zhu Xi, who sought to develop the path to sagehood, study for the civil-service examination was totally useless.

He also criticized government-established schools. This is because ever since Wang Anshi (1021–1086) of the Northern Song, government schools mainly functioned as schools that trained students for the civil-service examination. Government schools included the School for Sons of the State (Guozijian) in the capital, as well as local schools established in prefectures, departments, and districts.

> Faculty at the government schools has titles suggesting teaching and fostering students, but they do not function in this capacity. Students conceal notes on themselves and play during their time there. Outstanding students make it their business to land high-paying government positions. However, when it comes to discussing the teachings of sages and worthies, to pursuing the original intent of education, all are at a total loss. Their behavior and attitude are no better than those of commoners, and some are even worse. Alas, this is the teachers' fault. How can it be the students' fault?[17]

About the School for Sons of the State, Zhu Xi had this to say: "The national university is totally useless. Where is there any effort made to enlighten the citizenry?"[18] Again: "The so-called national university is merely a place to seek fame and fortune. Faculty seeks to excel at writing essays for the civil-service examination. And, students only seek to pass the civil-service examination."[19] As for local government schools he had this to say: "For several years there have been no rules for education. Teachers and students look indifferently upon one another, like strangers. Hence, the spirit of the place deteriorates day by day, and morale cannot be lifted."[20] He thus was of the opinion that these government schools were failures as institutes of learning.

8) Instruction and private academies

Seeing such stagnation in government schools, Zhu Xi placed his hopes on, and promoted, private-sector centers of learning and education:

> I think of how in the past when there were no schools and students worried about not having a place to study, they would often select an attractive site and build a retreat for communal living and study. A

16) 大抵科擧之學，誤人知見，壞人心術。其技愈精，其害愈甚。(「答宋容之」,)『朱文公文集』卷五八
17) 學校之官，有敎養之名，而無敎之養之之實。學者挾筴而相與嬉其間，其傑然者乃知以干祿蹈利爲事。至於語聖賢之餘旨，究學問之本原，則罔乎莫知所以用其心者。其規爲動息，擧無以異於凡民，而有甚者焉。嗚呼，此敎者過也，而豈學者之罪哉。(「諭諸生」,『朱文公文集』卷七四)
18) 太學眞箇無益，於國家敎化之意何在。(『朱子語類』卷一〇九-6)
19) 所謂太學者但爲聲利之場，而掌其敎事者不過取其善爲科擧之文，而嘗得雋於場屋者耳。(「學校貢擧私議」,『朱文公文集』卷六九)
20) 比年以來，敎養無法，師生相視漠然如路人。以故風俗日衰，士氣不作。(「福州州學經史閣記」,『朱文公文集』卷八〇)

government official would then visit and commend the place. Places like this include this private academy, the Yuelu Academy, and the White Deer Grotto Academy.[21)]

This quotation is from a letter to a friend who restored the Shigu (or Stone Drum) Academy in Hengzhou (the present Hunan Provence). As in the present case, Zhu Xi himself built retreats, or private places of instruction, for the pursuit of learning and research, and he restored the Yuelu Academy and the White Deer Grotto Academy.

Moreover, Zhu Xi left behind a vast quantity of records of lectures that he gave at retreats and private academies. These are contained in the 140 volumes of *Zhu Xi yulei* (The Collated Teachings of Zhu Xi). This work consists entirely of Zhu Xi's lectures, along with students' questions and Zhu Xi's answers, vividly presented in a colloquial style. This massive collection of lectures is perhaps unmatched in history. One can thus get an idea of how Zhu Xi and his students thrived in the stimulating academic environment of private academies, in contrast to that of government schools.

Surprisingly, however, Zhu Xi wrote hardly anything on the operation of private academies. As in "Bailudong Shuyuan jieshi" (Precepts of the White Deer Grotto Academy), he limited himself to stating briefly the basic philosophy of instruction and touched on neither the organization nor the operation of the academy. Rather, he was opposed to establishing detailed academic regulations: "In recent decades schools have instituted regulations, but they do little to support study. Moreover, they may not fulfill the intent of the ancients."[22)] Zhu Xi's ideas on the structure of the educational system were weak compared to his philosophy of education. This is perhaps owing to the fact that he freely lectured and instructed students without having to conform to rigid regulations. Though I cannot go into detail, I suspect that Zhu Xi held out more hope for a willingness to learn over coercive instruction.

Indeed, Zhu Xi recommended the school rules of Cheng and Dong (*Cheng Dong er xiansheng xueze*) for elementary studies ("Ba Cheng Dong er xiansheng xueze," *Zhu Wen gong wenji*, vol. 82). This still extant set of school rules establishes detailed rules covering greetings, posture, facial expressions, and attire during study. Zhu Xi, it seems, recommended such academic regulations for elementary students.

Above I roughly summarized the notable features of Zhu Xi's philosophy of education. It is essential to keep these points in mind when considering private academies and private-sector education in early modern East Asia. As is well known, in China from the Southern Song period on, the Zhu Xi school of Neo-Confucianism spread among the populace, and from the Yuan period, private academies such as the Yuelu Academy and the White Deer Grotto Academy sprang up everywhere. In the Ming period the Wang Yangming school of Neo-Confucianism established private academies and schools all over the land and promoted education down to the lower levels of society.

In Korea, the ideas of the Zhu Xi school led to the growth of private academies. In Vietnam as well, Zhu Xi's ideas led to the opening of private schools throughout the country—a development spurred, one can infer, by the acceptance of Zhu Xi's *Jia li* (Family Rituals). In Japan as well, private-sector education during the Edo period received much impetus from the Zhu Xi school, as shown by Dore and by Emori Ichirō (*"Benkyō" jidai no makuake* [The Raising of the Curtain on the Age of Study]).

Of course, the intellectual world of early modern East Asia was not uniformly colored by the Zhu

21) 予惟前代庠序之敎不修，士病無所於學，往往相與擇勝地立精舍以爲群居講習之所，而爲政者乃或就而褒表之。若此山，若嶽麓，若白鹿洞之類是也。(「衡州石鼓書院記」，『朱文公文集』卷七九)

22) 近世於學有規。其持學者爲已淺矣，而其爲法又未必古人之意也。(「白鹿洞書院揭示」，『朱文公文集』卷七四)

Xi school of thought. Yet one can say that in considering the culture and thought of China, Korea, and Japan during this period, the thought of Zhu Xi is a factor that one cannot overlook.

3 The Place of Private Academies

Originally, *shuyuan* (書院) meant a place for storing books. During the reign of Emperor Xuanzong (712–756) of the Tang dynasty, *shuyuan* was a place for collating and storing books, and sometimes a place where a person could read books. The term first became the appellation of a private-sector educational facility with the establishment of the White Deer Grotto Academy early in the Northern Song period. Thereafter, *shuyuan* was used to designate private academies established all over China. The term was meant to contrast with government schools (the School for Sons of the State and prefectural, departmental, and district schools). The term continued in use all the way up to the end of the Qing dynasty, when these schools were reorganized as colleges (*xuetang*) for the study of Chinese and Western learning.

In Korea, the term took hold in the middle of the sixteenth century with the founding of the White Cloud Grotto Academy, modeled after the White Deer Grotto Academy revived by Zhu Xi. Thereafter, it became a common term for private schools, as opposed to government schools such as the Seonggyungwan and local country schools. The term remained in use through the late Yi dynasty to the Japanese colonial period.

In Japan, during the Edo period private academies (*shoin*) developed alongside private schools (*shijuku*) as schools of basically the same character. Representative private schools are Nakae Tōju's Tōju-shoin (Tōju Academy), Itō Jinsai's Kogidō (Hall of Ancient Meanings), Ogyū Sorai's Ken-en-juku, Nakai Chikuzan's Kaitokudō (Hall of Embracing Virtue), and Hirose Tansō's Kangien (Garden of Harmony). Such private schools developed alongside government schools.

In Vietnam, though much remains unclear, there is no doubt that after the Le dynasty established the civil-service examination in the fifteenth century, Vietnam imported much Chinese culture and formed its traditional educational system.

Table 1 shows the place of private academies in the educational systems of the countries of East Asia during the early modern period.

Table 1. Schools in early modern East Asia

	China	Korea	Vietnam	Japan
Government schools	School for Sons of the State; prefecture, department, and district schools	Seonggyungwan, local schools	School for Sons of the State; province, prefecture, and district schools	Shōheizaka School, domain schools, local schools
Civil-service examination	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Private schools 1	Private academies	Private academies	Private schools	Private schools and private academies
Private schools 2 (for commoners)	Elementary schools, free private schools, family schools	Writing schools	Private schools	Local schools, schools attached to temples (writing schools)

Government schools in China included the School for Sons of the State and prefecture, department, and district schools. Following this model, Korea established Seonggyungwan and local schools, and Vietnam had its School for Sons of the State and province, prefecture, and district schools. All of these schools had some sort of connection with the civil-service examination in these countries. Further, in Korea, local schools (鄕校) were government schools, in contrast to the local schools of Japan. They were the equivalent of the prefecture, department, and district schools in China.

Private-sector schools included private academies (書院) in China and Korea and private schools (私塾) in Vietnam and Japan. These are the schools labeled "private schools 1" in table 1. It is these schools that I wish to encourage research on. Schools labeled "private schools 2" were schools that taught reading and writing and proper behavior to the lower classes of society. These were elementary schools (小学), free private schools (義学), and family schools (家塾) in China, writing schools (書堂) in Korea, and private schools (私塾) in Vietnam. In Japan, schools in this category included local schools and schools attached to temples (寺子屋) and writing schools (手習所), which were frequently established from the eighteenth century on.

Thus, the distinction between government-established and private-sector schools is useful when considering education in early modern East Asia, but the situation is somewhat different in Japan, and the situation there requires some explanation. Because a civil-service examination was not instituted in Japan, there was no national orthodoxy. As a result, even the domain schools established by the feudal domains were free to carry out instruction as those authorities saw fit. Even the Shōheizaka School, run by the Tokugawa bakufu, was originally the private school of the Hayashi clan. In Japan, the distinction between government-established and private-sector schools is not as clear as that of schools in China and Korea.

There are those who think that the 1790 (late Edo period) promulgation of the Kansei Edict prohibiting schools of thought other than that of Zhu Xi was a form of national orthodoxy similar to that of China and Korea, but this is a misconception. The Kansei Edict was limited chiefly to the Shōheizaka School, which educated the sons of bakufu officials, and did not seek to control the content of instruction throughout the nation. Accordingly, the domain schools did not follow the educational policies of the bakufu and the Shōheizaka School. Rather, they freely taught various schools of thought—such as those of Zhu Xi, Itō Jinsai, Ogyū Sorai, etc.—in accord with the circumstances of each domain. The domain schools were established by the domain governments, but in terms of instruction, they were similar to private-sector schools. This is also true of Japanese local schools, many of which were semi-governmental and semi-private.

There have been numerous studies about private academies. On private academies in China, there is the research of Sheng Langxi, Okubo Hideko, Hayashi Tomoharu, Chen Yuanhui, Gao Mingshi, Li Guojun, and Deng Hongbo, and in their monographs of the history of education, Taga Akigorō and Mao Lirui touch on private academies. On private academies in Korea, notable work is that of Yu Hong-nyŏl, Watanabe Manabu, Chŏng Sun-mok, Yi T'ae-jin, Chŏng Man-jo, and Yamauchi Kōichi. Fujiwara Riichirō, Shimao Minoru, and Tsuboi Yoshiharu study private schools in Vietnam. Numerous authors have produced outstanding works on private-sector schools and education in Japan, among them Ishikawa Ken, Ishikawa Matsutarō, Umihara Tōru, R. P. Dore, Kawamura Hajime, and Emori Ichirō. Confucians who managed private schools have left behind numerous philosophical works, and among them are Yamazaki Ansai, Nakae Tōju, Itō Jinsai, Ogyū Sorai, and Yoshida Shōin.

There is therefore an abundance of individual studies on sundry topics and of philosophical research, but it must be said that there is a dearth of literature that considers the development of traditional educa-

tion from the viewpoint of the spread of East Asian culture. As I have expressed above, I believe that interdisciplinary research on the common theme of the blossoming of private schools in the early modern period (namely, from the Song to Qing dynasty in China, the late Yi dynasty in Korea, the Le and Nguyen dynasties in Vietnam, and the Edo period in Japan) has great potential.

4 Research Perspectives

Here I would like to list and give the outlook for worthy research topics, while bringing to bear the points mentioned above.

First I will mention a general topic of interest. With a focus on the early modern period in China, Korea, Vietnam, and Japan, we should clarify, through research on private academies and schools, how traditional education formed and developed in East Asia. I would hope that scholars of various fields clarify, from the perspective of cultural interaction in East Asia, the common and divergent features of the intellectual tradition. They might do this by exploring such areas as the facilities of private academies, their manner of operation, form and content of instruction, curriculum, educational texts and their editions, library conditions, character of instructors, formation of schools of thought, expansion of education among different classes of society, connections with the national orthodoxy, and special features of thought.

There are thus many themes for research, but I hope that researchers pay attention to the following areas of interest.

1) **School rules and regulations.** To discover the educational policies of private academies, we can look at school rules and regulations. Famous sets of rules and regulations include Zhu Xi's "Bailudong Shuyuan jieshi" (Precepts of the White Deer Grotto Academy), *Cheng Dong er xiansheng xueze* (School Rules of Cheng and Dong) of the Southern Song period, Cheng Duanli's *Cheng-shi jiashu dushu fennian richeng* (Mr. Cheng's Yearly Schedule of Reading for Family Schools) of the Yuan period, and *Xuegui leibian* (School Rules, Organized by Category), edited by Zhang Boxing in the Qing period. Korea and Japan also made their own school rules. Hence research in this area is important. These materials can also inform us about the curricula and texts used.
2) **Texts.** Well-known works used as texts in private academies were Zhu Xi's *Xiaoxue* (Elementary Studies) and *Sishu jizhu* (The Four Books, with Collected Annotations). A variety of other texts were also used. This topic is related to publishing culture and deserves greater consideration in the future.
3) **The relationship with publishing culture.** In China, with the development of printing in the Song period, books were published in large quantities from then on. In previous ages, before the development of printing, knowledge was transmitted orally or by writing and was limited to a portion of the privileged elite. In contrast, printing suddenly made it possible to disseminate knowledge widely. It is not possible to consider the spread of instruction in private academies within China and from China to other East Asian countries without considering the circumstances of book publishing. In Korea, Vietnam, and Japan as well, the development of schools is related to rapid advances in printing. Many book collectors boasting collections of 10,000 volumes and private printers (booksellers) also cropped up from around at this time. We thus also have to take a look at the connections of private-sector education with book-publishing culture.

4) The formation of schools of thought. Private academies also served as the base of activity for some schools of thought. This is especially apparent in Korea, but it also applies to some extent to China and Japan. Hence, we need to explore the connection between the formation of schools of thought and the development of private academies.

5) Connections with national orthodoxies. When considering education in the private academies, one cannot ignore connections with national orthodoxies. That is, we need to pay attention to the cooperation and resistance of private academies to the civil service examination and government schools, such as the School for Sons of the State and the prefecture, department, and district schools in China, the Seonggyungwan and local schools in Korea, the School for Sons of the State in Vietnam, and the Shōheizaka School and domain schools in Japan. However, as mentioned above, though domain schools in Japan were government schools, because there was no civil-service examination in Japan, these schools were not uniform and were like private schools. Especially from the latter half of the eighteenth century, the samurai class came to view education as a matter of course, and "Among 210 domain schools, none viewed Confucian studies as dispensable" (Tsujimoto Masashi, *Kyōiku no shakai bunka shi* [A Social-Cultural History of Education], p. 57). Domain schools alone are a vast research topic, but here I would like to keep the focus on private academies and schools, and encourage researchers to consider their various connections with domain schools.

6) The education of commoners. The education of commoners, especially the teaching of reading and writing, was undertaken by family schools, free private schools, and community schools (社学) in China, by writing schools in Korea, and by schools attached to temples (writing schools) in Japan. We should also look at the education of commoners at the lower strata of society. Texts used for this beginning level of education include Zhu Xi's *Xiaoxue* (Elementary Studies), Cheng Ruoyong's *Xingli zixun* (Definition of the Terms of Neo-Confucianism), and, in Korea, Pak Se-mu's *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* (Primer for Children). Also well known is Kaibara Ekiken's *Wazoku dōji kun* (Precepts on Japanese Customs for Children). Comparing these texts would be a useful exercise, I believe.

7) Confucian education and non-Confucian education. Most schools during the Edo period were private schools of Chinese learning, especially Confucianism, with Zhu Xi studies having a large influence. Late in the Edo period, schools were established for Japanese classical studies (*kokugaku*), medicine, and Western learning, whereas Buddhist education continued from the past. We need to explore what Confucian and non-Confucian education was like not only in Japan, but also in the other countries of East Asia.

8) The ancient and medieval periods. To clarify the position of private academies in the history of education, we must also look at education in the ancient and medieval periods.

9) The modern period. From the nineteenth century, mission schools and schools of Western learning were established in China (such as Yinghua Academy and Gezhi Academy). We should explore the content of their instruction, their student bodies, their influence on society, as well as their transitions to the new educational system. We should also consider changes to the content of traditional education in modern Japan.

10) Cooperation with researchers abroad. Since the theme of private academies in East Asia spans a large area, we should regularly cooperate with researchers in China, Taiwan, Korea, and Vietnam.

11) A survey of the Hakuen Collection. An additional item on the agenda is a survey of the Hakuen Collection. The library of Kansai University houses the Hakuen Collection, the collection of books formerly belonging to the Hakuen Academy. Hakuen Academy was a private school established by Fujisawa Tōgai late in the Edo period during the Bunsei period (1818–1830) to teach Ogyū Sorai

studies. It, along with Kaitokudō, prospered as a school for Chinese studies in Osaka. We would like to survey the books in the Hakuen Collection, compile bibliographic information on important books, and construct a database.

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