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研究課題名 (和文) Confucian Dress Regulations in Tokugawa Japan: Negotiating Alternative
Conceptions of the Social and Political Order between the Seventeenth and Early
Nineteenth Century

研究課題名 (英文) Confucian Dress Regulations in Tokugawa Japan: Negotiating Alternative
Conceptions of the Social and Political Order between the Seventeenth and Early
Nineteenth Century

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研究成果の概要 (和文) : 日本の17世紀から19世紀前半にかけて江戸時代の服制論に関する一次資料を数多く全国の図書館や文庫から集めた。また、約50分の一次資料は分析し、部分的に英語に翻訳された。その上に、本研究の方法論を深めるために日本・東アジア・西洋の衣服研究に関する先行研究を数多く検討した。さらに、本研究の結果は国際学会で報告され、専門家と議論された。最後に、本研究の研究成果を国際学界に英語での研究論文と本によって報告するために、出版の準備を始めた。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

- Making accessible to the international research community primary sources and concepts regarding dress regulations in early modern Japan for the first time in English language.
- Contributing to a deeper understanding of premodern traditions of thought in Japan in the global community.

研究成果の概要 (英文) : An extensive search in libraries and archives throughout Japan for primary sources with regard to intellectual discourses about dress regulations in the Edo period was conducted. Over fifty primary sources from the period between the early 17th century to the early 19th century were analyzed, and categorized with regard to their thematic focus and key concepts, as well as partly translated into English. Furthermore, essential secondary research literature about the history of dress in Japan, other East Asian countries, as well as Europe and America were outlined to apply as a theoretical framework for the present research project. The results of the present research project were presented at international conferences and discussed with specialists in the field. Various publications based on the results of the present research projects have been prepared and will soon be published.

研究分野 : History of Political Thought in Early Modern Japan

キーワード : Dress regulations Normative Order Political Thought Confucianism Symbol

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1. 研究開始当初の背景

Dress regulations are a highly political issue. This holds true for our present as well as for premodern times. However, what separates the discourses about dress regulations from one another are the normative conceptions which are sought to be symbolically represented through them. Dress regulations drafted and discussed by Confucian scholars of the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) are a particular interesting case. The assimilation of Neo-Confucianism during the early modern period resulted in tensions between the ideals of a civic political order discussed by Confucians and the militaristic values held by the ruling warriors.

The proposed research project explored these complex discourses and sought to answer the following key scientific question: What are the normative conceptions of the social order exploited by Tokugawa Confucians in their discourses about dress regulations and how did these conceptions change between the seventeenth and early nineteenth century?

The initial idea for the proposed research project (scientific background) originated during the applicant's research for his dissertation project (completed in 2017), which focused on the political thought of Yamaga Sokō. When discussing the findings of his in-depth analysis of Sokō's primary sources, the present applicant discovered a major shortcoming of previous research in the field of Tokugawa Confucianism: The dominant research orientations, such as modernization theory, reception theory etc., had led to a one-sided interest in the reception of Chinese Neo-Confucianism and its theoretical concepts. At the same time, practical discussion like those regarding dress regulations, embedded in complex normative contexts characteristic for Tokugawa thought, received almost no attention.

However, in recent years, methodological developments in the field of early modern Japanese intellectual history (both in Japan and overseas) have led to an increasing consideration of the complex contextual conditions of intellectual discourse. Therefore, the proposed research project sought to answer a second key scientific question: What are the methodological consequences, which must be drawn from a study of dress regulations in the framework of Tokugawa Confucianism regarding the symbolic representation of normative conceptions in the intellectual history of early modern Japan?

2 . 研究の目的

The purpose of the proposed research project was, first, the reconstruction of a central discourse in Tokugawa Confucianism revolving around the issue of dress regulations and the symbolic representation of normative conceptions of the social order. Second, the analysis of normative concepts exploited by Tokugawa Confucians as well as conceptual changes occurring between the seventeenth and early nineteenth century. Finally, while previous research on Tokugawa Confucianism focused on the reception of Chinese Neo-Confucianism and its theoretical concepts, the proposed research project recovered the meaning of its practical discourses.

Tokugawa society and its normative order was perpetuated by a “culture of presence”. In particular, the ruling warriors maintained a complex symbolic language in support of their governmental system, in which dress regulations assumed pivotal importance. The scientific significance of the proposed research project derived from its special focus on Confucian discourses about alternative normative conceptions of the social order and its symbolic representation by dress regulations. Thereby, it contributes to a better understanding of the complex structure of normative contexts, in which Tokugawa political culture and thought developed.

The originality of the proposed research project is defined, first, by its analysis of primary sources from the Tokugawa period, which received little or no attention so far. The reason for this

lies in the methodological orientation of previous research in the field of Tokugawa Confucianism. Second, due to its methodological approach, symbolic aspects of Tokugawa Confucianism are systematically analyzed for the first time. Finally, by presenting its results together with extensive translations from the period primary sources in English language, central concepts of early modern Japanese intellectual history are introduced to the international research community for the first time.

3 . 研究方法

The proposed research project reconstructed discourses by Tokugawa Confucians about dress regulations between the seventeenth and early nineteenth century. Because of the dominant methodological orientations of previous research in the field of Tokugawa Confucianism, primary sources related to the issue of dress regulations were often not included in modern text collections. Therefore, a key task of the proposed research project was the systematic compilation of primary sources from Japanese archives and databases. Furthermore, for the text-based analysis of the primary sources the philological method of close reading was exploited, paying great attention to intellectual and historical contexts. The proposed research project was divided into three research phases, respectively focusing on the early, mid, and late Tokugawa period. For each historical period a set of representative texts was selected and then analyzed with regard to topics and key concepts as well as underlying normative sources. Subsequently, additional primary sources were consulted in order to detect argumentative tendencies of the discourse. Finally, for the English translation of representative passages from the primary sources, the direct translation approach was exploited. Moreover, extensive annotations to the translations served the purpose to clarify the discursive structure of the primary sources.

4 . 研究成果

(1) Conference paper: “Konfuzianische Kleiderregularien in der Edo-Zeit: Eine Bestandsaufnahme von Begriffen und Konzepten in Nakai Rikens *Shin’i zukai* (1765)” (engl.: *Confucian Robes in the Edo period: Key Concepts in Nakai Riken’s Shin’i zukai* (1765)), presented at the 18th Deutschsprachiger Japanologentag 2022 (Duesseldorf, Germany)

This conference paper discussed key concepts in the treatise “Explanation to the Tables of the Long Robe” 深衣図解 (*Shin’i zukai*, 1765) by the Confucian scholar, Nakai Riken 中井履軒 (1732–1817). The focus was directed to the scholar’s interpretation of the collar *jin* 衿 on the front of the Confucian robe “long robe” 深衣 (Chn. *shenyi* / Jpn. *shin’i*). It was possible to show that for Riken the dress of the *long robe* was only of secondary importance compared to his central concern with the normative basis of the Confucian tradition. The paper highlighted the importance of intellectual discourses about norms and their conceptual resources in intellectual discourses of the mid 18th century in Japan.

(2) Conference Paper: “Edo no fukusei ron to sono shisō keifu” 江戸の服制論とその思想系譜 (transl.: *The Genealogy of Discourses regarding Dress regulations in the Edo Period*), presented at the 46th International Research Symposium for Japanese Literature 第46回国際日本文学研究集会, 2023 (National Institut of Japanese Literature 国文学研究資料館, Tōkyō)

The “Short Sleeve-Dress” 小袖 (*kosode*) is considered to be most important dress in the sartorial history of the Tokugawa period, its designs and ways of production representing social and political changes. This conference paper reconstructed a genealogy of discourses about the *kosode*-dress that developed since the mid 17th century. With a focus on primary sources by the Confucian scholars, Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622–85), Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728),

and Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680–1747), the analysis illustrated that these critical discourses all related to the issue of the symbolic representation of the political system of the Tokugawa.

(3) Conference paper: “‘Seeing this, I was stunned and shed tears’: Ogyū Sorai’s Critical Discourse on Ceremonial Dress and the Normative Order in 18th Century Japan”, presented at the 27th Asian Studies Conference 2023 (Sophia University, Tokyo)

The eminent Confucian scholar, Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728), criticized the Tokugawa state for its lack of proper governmental institutions. Instead, he proposed a fundamental reform that included the introduction of new regulations for the ceremonial dress of the warrior elite. This conference paper discussed the normative vision that underlied the scholar’s reform proposals. With a focus on his famous treatise “Talks about Government” 政談 (*Seidan*, 1726/27) it was possible to illustrate that Sorai promoted dress regulations that would introduce a strict hierarchical differentiation of offices and ranks, that takes economical dynamics as well as value orientations of the warrior class into account. Moreover, the analysis showed that the scholar’s concept of a “system” 制度 (*seido*) was central to his normative vision of standardized ceremonial dress for the government.

(4) Conference paper: “Scholarly Networks and Confucian Dress in Tokugawa Japan”, presented at the Annual Conference of the Association of Asian Studies 2024 (Seattle, WA)

This conference paper explored intellectual networks in early modern Japan with a focus on the reception of the Confucian “long robe” 深衣 (Chn. *shenyi* / Jpn. *shin’i*). The first part of the analysis concentrated on the relationship and practices between the two Confucian scholars, Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561–1619) and Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657). It was illustrated that the main source of knowledge about the Confucian robe were Confucian scholars accompanying embassies from Korea in the early 17th century. The paper argued that this authoritative knowledge together with other cultural practices, e.g. the remaking of *long robes* according to Korean models, the production of portraits of Seika and Razan dressed in the *long robe* as well as the performance of the Confucian *sekiten* rite, reinforced a distinction between the member of the network and its contemporary social and political environment. In the second part of the analysis the focus was directed to the intellectual network with the Confucian scholar and political refugee from China, Zhu Zhiyu 朱舜水 (1600–1682), at its center. It was illustrated that a lack of practical resources for the production of the *long robe* in combination with the conceptual ambivalence in the Confucian tradition, which Zhu highlighted in his teachings to Japanese scholars at the time, prevented the network to materialize its central object. An outlook on reception of the long robe in the 18th century, exemplified with two examples from Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭 (1683–1759) and Nakai Riken 中井履軒 (1732–1817), indicated that its material and conceptual characteristics still initiated activities in intellectual networks of the early modern period.

The results of the present research project, which have been presented at international conferences and discussed with specialists in the field, are the foundation for forthcoming publications. The work on a translation of Nakai Riken’s “Explanation to the Tables of the Long Robe” 深衣図解 (*Shin’i zukai*, 1765) into English together with an introduction to the reception of Confucian dress in the Edo period and comprehensive annotation has been almost finished and is expected to be published in 2025. Moreover, the genealogical study of discourses about the *kosode*-dress is going to be published in Japanese language prospectively in the same period of time. Finally, all results of the present research project will be used for a lengthy book publication in English, which is expected to be edited and published in 2026.

(5) Discovery of two important primary sources for the study of intellectual discourses on dress regulations in early modern Japan

A search for primary sources regarding the discourse about dress regulations in the Edo period has been conducted as part of the present research project. This has led to the discovery of two sets of important primary sources, which will be presented to the international research community for the first time. *Description of Primary Source (1)*: The library of Waseda University keeps a primary source ascribed to the Confucian scholar, Hattori Nankaku (1683–1759), an important disciple of the eminent Confucian school of Ogyū Sorai. In this archive small paper model of the *long robe*, probably made by Nankaku, was found (title of the primary source: *Kamisei shini* 紙製深衣). This finding contributes to an understanding of the reception of Confucian dress in early modern Japan in important ways. The results of the analysis are planned to be presented in a journal article. *Description of Primary Source (2)*: The library of Ōsaka University, Ōsaka, keeps the archive of the Confucian scholar, Nakai Riken 中井履軒 (1732–1817), who was associated with the famous merchant academy *Kaitoku Dō* in Ōsaka. Riken produced a life-size model of the long robe out of paper. This model has not been discussed in previous research so far, although it's obvious importance regarding Riken's scholarly practices as well as the model's meaning in the broader context of the reception of Confucian dress in early modern Japan. The results of the analysis are going to be presented in Japanese in the journal *Kaitoku Dō kenkyū* (chief editor, Yuasa Kunihiro) and be integrated in a later book publication.

- Image 1: Paper model of the Confucian long robe presumably produced by Hattori Nankaku



- Image 2: Paper model of the Confucian long robe produced by Nakai Riken



5 . 主な発表論文等

〔雑誌論文〕 計0件

〔学会発表〕 計4件（うち招待講演 4件 / うち国際学会 4件）

1 . 発表者名 Linnepe, Andre
2 . 発表標題 Konfuzianische Kleiderregularien in der Edo-Zeit: Eine Bestandsaufnahme von Begriffen und Konzepten in Nakai Rikens Shin ' i zukai (1765)
3 . 学会等名 18. Deutschsprachige Japanologentag in Duesseldorf (招待講演) (国際学会)
4 . 発表年 2022年

1 . 発表者名 リネベ、アンドレ
2 . 発表標題 江戸の服制論とその思想系譜
3 . 学会等名 第46回国際日本文学研究集会、国文学研究資料館 (招待講演) (国際学会)
4 . 発表年 2023年

1 . 発表者名 Linnepe, Andre
2 . 発表標題 “Seeing this, I was stunned and shed tears”: Ogyu Sorai ' s Critical Discourse on Ceremonial Dress and the Normative Order in 18th Century Japan ”
3 . 学会等名 27th Asian Studies Conference (ASCJ), Sophia University (招待講演) (国際学会)
4 . 発表年 2023年

1 . 発表者名 Linnepe, Andre
2 . 発表標題 Scholarly Networks and Confucian Dress in Tokugawa Japan
3 . 学会等名 The Annual Conference of the Association of Asian Studies, Seattle WA (招待講演) (国際学会)
4 . 発表年 2024年

〔図書〕 計0件

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織

	氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号)	所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号)	備考
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7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

〔国際研究集会〕 計0件

8. 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

共同研究相手国	相手方研究機関
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