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The Confucian Ritual System and the Imperial Mausoleum Reforms  
in the Late Former Han Period

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Despite being one of the major issues in the late Former Han period, no common consensus has been established regarding the relationship between Confucianism and the Former Han emperors from the perspective of the ritual system reforms. This paper examines the mausoleum system reforms to propose that Confucianism transformed the concept of “emperor” through the ritual system reforms, requiring emperors to realize this modified concept on a personal level. However, each individual emperor encountered different circumstances that affected their responses to these Confucian demands.

Emperor Yuan (r. 48 BCE–33 BCE), who initiated the mausoleum reforms, attempted to establish the authority of the emperor (and the emperor’s descendants) over the wider imperial lineage, the Liu, using the Confucian classics about rites as its main foundation. However, this undermined the authority of later emperors who ascended the throne from collateral lines. As a result, emperors who later ascended to the throne from these collateral lines protected themselves by planting their private companions and relatives (mainly maternal relatives) in the political world while using their own ances-

tral mausoleums to guarantee these relationships as symbols of unity.

The reform of the ritual system intended to deny the concept of the “emperor” based on the “Han family tradition” and to instead situate the emperor as a human being in the Confucian concept of the word. This idea of “emperor,” recognized by Confucians as having supreme authority, was itself formed through their ritual system. At the same time, however, it constantly restricted the emperor’s words and deeds within the limits tolerated by Confucianism, forcing them to follow the Confucian ritual system instead of the Han family tradition.

## Role of the Female Conferment System and the Tianxia Order in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms

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The conferment of titles upon women has been long regarded as adjuncts to men’s official positions or peerages and has scarcely been discussed. However, when considering the conferment of titles upon women during the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods, particularly in the Wu-Yue state of the Five Dynasties era, it becomes evident that while women’s titles depended on those of men, the system of conferment exhibits its distinct characteristics.

The regulations in the *Six Codes of the Tang* regarding the designation of the mother or wife of a king as a “concubine” (*fei* 妃) can not apply to the “non-related kings” (*yixing wang* 異姓王) of the later Tang and Five Dynasties periods. The emergence of a large number of non-related kings did not lead to the emergence of a large number of those kings’ concubines, instead, the mothers or wives of these kingdom rulers remained in the highest conferred position available to them, that of “Lady of the State,” typically obtained by women from bureaucratic clans.

However, the conferment system witnessed a transformation during the

Five Dynasties period in the Wu-Yue Kingdom. During this period, while the central dynasties continued to use the conferment system of bureaucratic clans for the wives of monarchs in other states, the wives of Wu-Yue monarchs were given the title of “Lady of Wu-Yue” (*Wuyue Guofuren* 吳越國夫人), a position higher than the wives of monarchs from other states. This indicates the positioning of the Wu-Yue Kingdom in the hierarchy of the Five Dynasties’ state order, i.e., the Tianxia order.

Furthermore, after Qian Hongchu, the last king of Wu-Yue, submitted to the Song Dynasty, for the first time, the traditional conferment regulations were disregarded, and the founder of Song bestowed upon Qian Hongchu’s wife the title of “Queen Concubine of Wu-Yue” (*Wuyue Guowangfei* 吳越國王妃). Very likely, by conferring a title upon Qian Hongchu’s wife, the Song founder aimed to appease him. This act utilized the conferral of titles for women to blur the lines between familial relations and those of ordinary subjects, thereby fostering a stronger sense of allegiance to the Song Dynasty within Qian Hongchu. In other words, by treating the family of the Wu-Yue monarch as members of his kin, the Song founder likely sought to publicize Wu-Yue’s submission to the Song Dynasty widely.

Chinese Merchants in the Modern Sino-Japanese Coal Trade:  
Focusing on the Shanghai Market

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Previous studies have often overemphasized the importance of Japanese merchants in the coal trade between Japan and China. In contrast, this paper focuses on Chinese merchants and examines their pivotal role in the Sino-Japanese coal trade, using the Shanghai market as a case study. Initially, Zhejiang coal merchants in Shanghai established branch offices in Nagasaki, which significantly facilitated the market expansion of Japanese coal into the

Shanghai market. Meanwhile, in response to the rapid increase in direct coal exports by Japanese trading companies, Chinese coal merchants assumed a new role as brokers in the Shanghai coal market. They adeptly navigated through seasonal fluctuations and effectively controlled the market for affordable coal aimed at small and medium-sized consumers. Consequently, Chinese coal merchants strategically transitioned from traders to brokers, thereby, in the Shanghai coal market, Japanese trading companies dominated the sale of high-grade coal, while Chinese merchants adeptly controlled the market for medium- and low-grade coal.

Furthermore, this paper presents a new perspective on the role of Chinese merchants in Shanghai within the context of Sino-Japanese trade history. Contrary to the prevailing notion that Chinese merchants primarily dealt in goods other than coal and copper, it highlights that Zhejiang merchants, particularly those from Ningbo, had long been active participants in the Sino-Japanese coal trade. These merchants operated independently of the networks of Chinese merchants in Japan and exerted significant influence in the Shanghai coal market. They skillfully maintained a complex relationship of cooperation and competition with Japanese trading companies, securing their substantial presence and impact in the industry.

The Perception of China of Yoshioka Bunroku (Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun)  
during the Second Sino-Japanese War: Focus on a View toward  
Chiang Kai-shek

SHIMADA Daisuke

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the changes in Yoshioka Bunroku's analysis of China from around 1934, through the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July 1937, to the establishment of the Wang Jingwei administration in 1940. Yoshioka is a reporter specializing in China working

for the Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun. Since he was an expert on Chiang Kai-shek, his view of Chiang is the main focus.

Yoshioka's view of Chiang Kai-shek and China was seemingly contradictory in that he regarded Chiang as an enemy as a threat to Japan, while fairly observing Chiang's achievements and appealing for the imitation of his dictatorial methods.

Yoshioka's view of Chiang Kai-shek, which is the outcome of this thesis, is characterized by the following two points.

First, Yoshioka gave a high evaluation of Chiang Kai-shek based on realism. The contempt for China that was seen in many Japanese experts on China had disappeared from Yoshioka's view after the autumn of 1936. Rather than seeing China as an object of contempt, he came to see it as a realistic threat that was gaining the economic and military strength to compete with Japan. He analyzed Chiang's governing system from a realist perspective, and when his expectations were not met, he led a new perception in light of the new situation. He also added deep insights into the wartime regime of the Chongqing regime. Even after the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out, he had the capacity to fairly evaluate Chiang's achievements.

Second, Yoshioka consistently took a confrontational stance toward China (Chiang Kai-shek). He consistently denied any compromise or alliance with the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Before the Second Sino-Japanese War, while acknowledging the trend of Chiang Kai-shek's national unification, he denied the Sino-Japanese economic tie-up. During the Second Sino-Japanese War, he advocated the destruction of the Chiang regime and insisted on military operations without delay. Yoshioka's proposal to strengthen the Wang administration was ultimately aimed at establishing a new administration to replace the Chiang regime.