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## Foreword

TO MARK the publication of the fourth issue of *Religious Studies in Japan*, the English-language periodical of the Japanese Association for Religious Studies, I would like to take a brief look back at the association's history and highlight the role of this journal.

As is well known, from the Meiji period the development of science in Japan relied on the energetic importation of various Western sciences, emphasizing deliberation and absorption. Encouraged by calls for civilization and enlightenment, the large amount of traditional knowledge focusing on Chinese classics that had been accumulated until the Edo period was now devalued. In its place various sciences of Western origin, such as the natural sciences and philosophy, were comprehensively imported and eagerly studied. I would argue that the establishment of a department for religious studies at the University of Tokyo (then Tokyo Imperial University) in 1905, although occurring after the Westernization policies of the Meiji government had come to an end, still strongly reflected the academic situation of the Meiji period.

Today, almost ninety years after its establishment, the research conducted by the Japanese Association for Religious Studies is changing considerably. Membership now exceeds two thousand, and every year more than six hundred scholars come together for the annual conference, with its many presentations and lively discussions. These presentations and discussions do not stop at merely introducing Western ideas and discourses. To the contrary, most of them have come to convey the originality of religious studies in Japan. But is it sufficient to

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assume that the Japanese Association for Religious Studies has proceeded from the level of “import” to the level of “transmission”? The answer to this question is not that simple. As there is still some ignorance towards overseas research development and a tendency toward introversion with regards to the awareness of problems, a look at the overall situation shows that there are still not enough opportunities and places for productive academic exchanges with overseas scholars. On the other hand, it seems that overseas scholars are expressing their wishes to learn from religious studies in Japan more explicitly. I feel that in the midst of the development of post-secularization there is a movement towards the reconstruction of religious studies from a new perspective—one that transcends Eurocentric paradigms that are based on Western modernization and Christianity.

In this context, this journal fulfills a very important role, because it constitutes an extremely helpful tool for the transmission of our members’ research and activities for an overseas audience. Furthermore, this journal provides more opportunities for bilateral exchange between scholars from Japan and overseas through the world language of English, the kind of exchange that will help to close the aforementioned gaps in their respective awareness of problems. On behalf of the Japanese Association for Religious Studies, I would like to express our intention to eagerly transmit knowledge accumulated throughout the long history of religious studies in Japan by further improving this English-language journal so that it may contribute to the construction of a new field of religious studies befitting the age of globalization. I wish the journal continued success.

Yamanaka Hiroshi  
Tsukuba, January 2018

SAKAMOTO Naoko

## The Key Attribute of *Shinme*

### Sacred Horses Dedicated to Ise Jingū since 1865

This paper examines the attribute of “maleness” found in the sacred horses dedicated to Ise Jingū since 1865. Called *shinme*, horses kept at the Shinto shrine (*jinja*) are signified as mounts for the kami. Among the Japanese it is an ancient custom to offer horses to kami in return for asking blessings that their wishes come true. Previous studies highlight the whiteness of the horse. However, by analyzing records of *shinme* kept in Jingū I prove that maleness takes precedence over whiteness. I suggest that the concept of *tane* (seeds) informs the choice of male horses as *shinme* because the Shinto rituals strongly relate to Japanese agricultural traditions. As such, *shinme* may signify the embodiment of vigor. In light of the long-standing relationship between Shinto rituals and horses, I contend we should examine the underlying significance of horses in the Shinto tradition.

KEYWORDS: Horse—Jingū—*jinja* (Shinto shrines)—kami (deities)—*shinme* (sacred horses)—*tane* (seeds)

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IN JAPAN TODAY, horses are rarely seen. If you want to see a horse, you have to go to a zoo or a racetrack. Horse riding is not a popular sport. However, it is a different matter at *jinja* 神社 (Shinto shrines). There you often encounter horses. Most are not living animals but rather images of horses on wooden votive tablets that hang in *jinja*. The votive tablets are called *ema* 絵馬, meaning “a picture horse.” This is an ancient custom among the Japanese to offer horses to kami (deities) in order to ask that their wishes come true. There are about eighty thousand *jinja* in Japan and many of them provide *ema* for worshippers to offer to kami. People write their wishes on the back of *ema* which now include images other than horses. Wishes seem more personal these days, but in older days when national matters were a concern, devotees made offerings of living horses. The custom of horse dedication dates back 1,300 years. Back in the seventh century, there was a practice of dedicating a black horse when asking for rain and a white horse when praying for the end of rain to certain *jinja* housing kami believed to control water (SATŌ 1969).

The established explanation for the practice of dedicating horses to *jinja* is that the horses provide “mounts for kami” (SATŌ 1969). This explanation is understandable in relation to the speed and power of horses; because horses run very fast they serve as the driving force of kami. The traditional view of why horses are dedicated to *jinja* is best summarized in a paper by Nakamura Naokatsu. Observing that horses serve as mounts for kami, he writes, “cows are too slow, dogs are too small, deers or wild boars are useless. The best for a ride is a horse” (NAKAMURA 1932). While his view is correct that horses are the animals most suited for riding, I believe there are deeper meanings of the sacred horses presented to kami. To consider this question, I examine the actual record of the sacred horses presented to Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮 to determine the characteristics of the horses.

The sacred horses kept at *jinja* are called *shinme* 神馬 (kami’s horse). Some *jinja* keep a living horse or a horse sculpture representing the kami’s mount. For example, Kamigamo Jinja 上賀茂神社 keeps a white horse as their *shinme* for the ritual of purification at the beginning of a new year. Also, Fushimi Inari Taisha 伏見稲荷大社, which represents the Inari faith, has a white horse sculpture decorated with special ornaments of gold, silver, and jewels. At Shimogamo Jinja 下鴨神社, the adorned *shinme* is carefully prepared for its most important ceremony to welcome the birth of kami (ARAKI 2009). The *shinme* is treated with utmost care due to its role in the coming of the kami.

There are various Shinto rituals using horses that are most often white. It is suggested that the reason for using white horses is that they accord with Shinto rituals. For example, there was a ritual called *aoumano sechie* 青馬節会 (The Annual Banquet of the White Horse). It used to be held on the seventh of January at the Imperial Court. Yamanaka Hiroshi explains that the ritual was for the purification of the New Year (YAMANAKA 1951). Nakada Takeshi presumes the ritual was created in the eighth century with the old belief of expecting good luck and a long life when seeing white horses (NAKADA 1998). Kojima Yoshiyuki points out that the horses have been used as symbols of purification in Shinto rituals (KOJIMA 1998). He also observes a correlation between the kami of the sun and white horses behind the sacred power upon rice production (KOJIMA 1992, 24–25).

Most of the white horses are classified as *ashige* 芦毛／葦毛 (grey). An *ashige* horse does not have a white coat when born but becomes white through growth. *Ashige* horses have been popular as *shinme* for a long time. For example, they appear in the ancient sacred songs called *kagurauta* 神楽歌. A sacred dance is enacted when a *kagurauta* is sung about feeding a dappled grey horse in a certain Shinto ceremony of the Imperial House (ĪJIMA 1998, 46–47). Here we see the relationship between Shinto tradition and horses. To understand Shinto, we cannot avoid studying *shinme* because they are considered the traditional mounts for kami. In Shinto rituals, a kami's presence is often signified by the appearance of their mounts. *Mikoshi* 神輿 (portable shrines), as well as horses, serve as their conveyances. Previously the trait of whiteness has been highlighted since white horses are often used in Shinto rituals. However, we maintain that another feature is more significant, namely the maleness of the horses.

### *The Shinme*

The classic study of *shinme* is Satō Torao's *Shinme no kenkyū* 神馬の研究 (A Study of *Shinme*) (SATŌ 1969). He found alternate ways to interpret the expression *shinme*. One refers to the horse itself. Such a horse is of a rare color or has other qualities that embody and express divinity. A second meaning refers to its dedication. When a horse is dedicated for the kami's ride it becomes *shinme*. This second interpretation is understood widely when one talks about the practice of keeping *shinme* at *jinja*. Satō pointed out that the practice of horse dedication came from Japan's agricultural past. He observed that "because Japan was an agricultural state, people prayed to the kami of the water, kami of the river, and a dragon king for rain" (SATŌ 1969). In his study he catalogued the horses (and the color of their coats) that were dedicated to the *jinja* in the seventh to ninth centuries when praying for rain. Satō gave us the historical study of *shinme*, but did not give us the religious significance of why *shinme* were found in *jinja* and

treated with reverence. For example, is it significant that horses are often used in Shinto rituals to pray for a good harvest? Do horses convey other meanings important to Shinto thought? Those are the questions I address here.

At present there are four living *shinme* in Ise Jingū. Ise Jingū (officially called “Jingū”) is the central Shinto shrine in Japan. Jingū includes 125 *jinja* centered in Kōtaijingū 皇大神宮 (simply called the Naikū; the inner shrine) that is dedicated to Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大御神 (often translated as the Sun Goddess), and Toyōuke daijingū 豊受大神宮 (simply called the Gekū; the outer shrine), dedicated to Toyōuke no Ōmikami 豊受大御神. The sacred area of Jingū is about the same size as Paris and more than 1,500 Shinto rituals are conducted yearly (Ise Jingū) there.

Horse dedication at Jingū has over 1,200 years of history. The first record appears in the *Shoku nihongi* 續日本紀 which is the second imperial chronicle of the Japanese nation published in the eighth century. Two *akage* (chestnut-colored) horses were dedicated on 1 August in 770 AD. The next record appears in the *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku* 日本文德天皇実録, which contains the veritable records of Montoku Tennō (Emperor Montoku). Five fine horses were presented on 11 September in 850 AD. In the *Engishiki* 延喜式, which detailed the laws and regulations in the tenth century, two horses each should be kept in Naikū and Gekū. The horses were traditionally dedicated by the Tennō 天皇 (the emperor), though in some instances the dedication came from the Shogunate. For example, Minamoto no Yoritomo in the twelfth century and Tokugawa Iemitsu in the seventeenth century dedicated horses to Jingū (ŌNISHI 1960, 101–102). In principle, however, the Tennō is the agent who offers the horse, following the understanding that he is a descendant of Amaterasu.

The horse dedication ceremony is solemn and once a horse is dedicated, he will no longer be ridden (OZU 1976, 80). If and when the horse is bred, it will be done with utmost care. When the *shinme* dies, he will be moved immediately from Jingū and buried with appropriate ritual propriety (OZU 1976, 79). Then, a new horse is prepared for the kami. According to Ōnishi Gen’ichi, the practice of the horse dedication at Jingū continued from the eighth century to today with the periods of decline and subsequent revival (ŌNISHI 1960, 97–103). The *Kanname-sai* 神嘗祭, which thanked the kami for the good harvest of 1865, presented the opportunity to revive the horse dedication by the Imperial Family after a period of lapse (JINGŪSHICHŌ 1929, 494). Since 1869, the custom has been that a new horse should be dedicated on the occasion of the *shinme*’s passing (JINGŪSHICHŌ 1929, 495). The most recent consecration was held in 2011 (JINGŪSHICHŌ 2011, 13) and currently Jingū keeps two living horses, one each in Naikū and Gekū.

These horses are used for the *shinme kenzan* 神馬牽参 ceremony which is held in both Naikū and Gekū. It is practiced every first counting day during the

month, that is, the first, the eleventh, the twenty-first, but not the thirty-first. The ceremony involves a Shinto priest bringing the *shinme* to the kami's residence. The first *shinme kenzan* was held in 1916 (JINGŪSHICHŌ 1986, 73) so it has a history of over one hundred years. On the counting day, the *shinme*, or sacred horse, is adorned with a robe bearing the Japanese imperial crest. The horse is then led from its stable by a stableman. A Shinto priest joins them and leads them to the gate in front of the residence of the kami. At the site of the kami, the priest bows deeply. Then, when the presentation is done, the horse is undressed and led into his stable. It is significant that this ceremony is done on the first counting days. As we remember, the first record of horse dedication was on 1 August in 770 AD and the second was on 11 September in 850 AD. It can be assumed that there was an underlying belief associating those days with the kami's state of being. Bringing a horse to the kami effected a change in stasis, from that of quiescence to action.

I observe that the concept of *hatsu* 初 is shown on the ceremony days of *shinme kenzan*. For Japanese, *hatsu-mono* 初物, which means the things regarding *hatsu*—the first, new, start, begin—is a very important idea. For example, we go for *hatsu-mōde*, the very first visit to *jinja* or temples on the day of a new year. Or if we have a newborn baby we go to *jinja* for *hatsu-miyamairi*, the first visit. If you go to *jinja* and ask for a blessing, you offer money called *hatsu-ho-ryō*, which refers to the fee of the first ear of rice or any other items, presented to kami in gratitude. *Shinme kenzan* could be understood as leading a mount ceremony on the days of *hatsu*.

Documentation about the recent *shinme* of Jingū is recorded in a study by Ozu Shigeo 小津茂郎 (1904–1987). Ozu worked for the department of horse policy in the Imperial Household Ministry and later became the legal counsel of Jingū. We are fortunate to have the horse records of Jingū preserved by Ozu who was well acquainted with the horses and various affairs of the Imperial Household. His study, *Shinme retsuden* 神馬列伝 (A Series of Biographies of *Shinme*), is especially valuable as it provides records of the horses drawn from the consecration documents from 1860 to 1975. He provides clear data on the horses kept in Jingū (Ozu 1976). However, his records stop in 1975. The year 2014 marks the 150th year since the revival of the practice of horse dedication at Jingū. To extend the study of *shinme*, I brought the information up to date, and in so doing have gained some insight into the choice of sacred horses. I now turn to the records of these *shinme* to examine the characteristics of the horses.

### *Characteristics of Shinme*

According to my research based on Ozu's work, a total of fifty-seven horses have been presented to Jingū since 1865. List 1 and List 2 show the horses dedicated to

## List 1: The *shimme* of the Naiko

ID	Name	Breed	Birthyear	Birthplace	Imperial S. Farm	Sex	Color	Dedicated	Age	Ended	Age	Served
N1	Unknown					Unknown	Unknown	1865/9/17		1890/9/4		24yr. 11mth.
N2	Unknown					Unknown	Unknown	1869/3/16		1886/7/21		17yr. 4mth.
N3	仲春 Nakaharu	Domestic	1880			Unknown	Age (black)	1884/2/16	4	1910/3/21	30	26yr. 1mth.
N4	岩川 Iwakawa					Unknown	Age (black)	1886/10/5		1892/5/19		5yr. 7mth.
N5	騎鞍 Okinadake					Unknown	Tsukige (palomino)	1889/10/?		1906/3/2		16yr. 5mth.
N6	驪圃 Rēen					Unknown	Age (black)	1892/10/7		1908/9/24		15yr. 11mth.
N7	初花 Hatsuhana		1902	Miyagi	-	Unknown	Kage (bay)	1906/5/12	4	1924/9/27	22	18yr. 4mth.
N8	星月 Hoshitsuki	Mixed	1888	Chiba	○	Stallion	Ashige (grey)	1908/10/29	20	1915/1/17	27	6yr. 2mth.
N9	成澄 Narusumi	Mixed	1894	Chiba	○	Stallion	Ashige (grey)	1910/4/24	16	1916/12/6	22	6yr. 6mth.
N10	幸敏 Kōbin	Mixed	1911	Hokkaidō	○	Gelding	Kurige (che-stnut)	1915/5/22	4	1942/3/29	31	26yr. 10mth.
N11	深雪 Fukayuki	Mixed	1897	Hokkaidō	○	Unknown	Tsukige (palomino)	1917/1/25	20	1928/8/23	31	11yr. 6mth.
N12	朝子鳥 Asachidori	Mixed	1905	Chiba	○	Gelding	Kurokage (dark bay)	1924/11/22	18	1935/6/30	29	10yr. 6mth.
N13	三欣 Sankin	Mixed	1910	Aomori	-	Gelding	Kage (bay)	1928/9/21	18	1936/10/19	26	8yr.
N14	千本松 Senbonmatsu	Foreign breed	1919	Tochigi	-	Gelding	Kage (bay)	1935/9/15	16	1945/3/8	26	9yr. 5mth.
N15	香蓮 Kōkin	Mixed	1921	Hokkaidō	○	Gelding	Kage (bay)	1936/11/18	15	1944/11/12	23	7yr. 11mth.
N16	黒江 Kōkō	Orlov-Rostopchin	1921	Hokkaidō	○	Gelding	Kage (bay)	1942/5/21	21	1946/7/16	25	4yr. 1mth.
N17	牛霜 Toshishimo	Anglo-Arabian	1940	Chiba	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1945/5/10	5	1963/5/18	23	18yr.
N18	神雲 Kamikumo	Anglo-Arabian	1938	Chiba	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1946/9/26	8	1947/3/14	9	5mth.
N19	初雪 Hatsuyuki	Anglo-Arabian	1934	Chiba	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1952/12/18	18	1957/5/28	23	4yr. 5mth.
N20	松天 Matsuten	Mixed	1954	Chiba	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1957/7/9	3	1957/11/24	3	4mth.
N21	初霜 Hatsushimo	Anglo-Arabian	1937	Chiba	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1958/11/7	21	1967/3/7	30	8yr. 4mth.
N22	白松 Shiramatsu	Anglo-Arabian	1953	Hokkaidō	-	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1963/7/3	10	1964/2/2	11	7mth.
N23	高陵 Takayū	Anglo-Norman	1958	Chiba	○	Gelding	Kurige (che-stnut)	1964/4/26	6	1975/10/16	17	11yr. 5mth.
N24	五十鈴 Itsuzu	Anglo-Arabian	1952	Hokkaidō	-	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1967/6/20	15	1982/5/24	30	14yr. 11mth.
N25	種霧 Tanetaka	Thoroughbred	1962	Gumma	-	Stallion	Ashige (grey)	1976/10/27	14	1985/11/1	23	9yr.
N26	鉄霧 Sagiri	Anglo-Arabian	1962	Chiba	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1984/6/6	22	1992/8/24	30	8yr. 2mth.
N27	桜鈴 Sakurasuzu	Anglo-Arabian	1980	Tochigi	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1986/6/6	6	2004/3/10	24	17yr. 9mth.
N28	橋澤 Hashisawa	Anglo-Arabian	1982	Tochigi	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	1996/7/4	14	2009/11/27	27	13yr. 4mth.
N29	晴勇 Hareisamu	Anglo-Arabian	1989	Tochigi	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	2004/12/8	15	2011/4/?	22	6yr. 4mth.
N30	国春 Kuniharu	Anglo-Arabian	1988	Tochigi	○	Gelding	Kage (bay)	2010/7/2	22			
N31	空勇 Soraisamu	Anglo-Arabian	1993	Tochigi	○	Gelding	Ashige (grey)	2011/9/27	18			

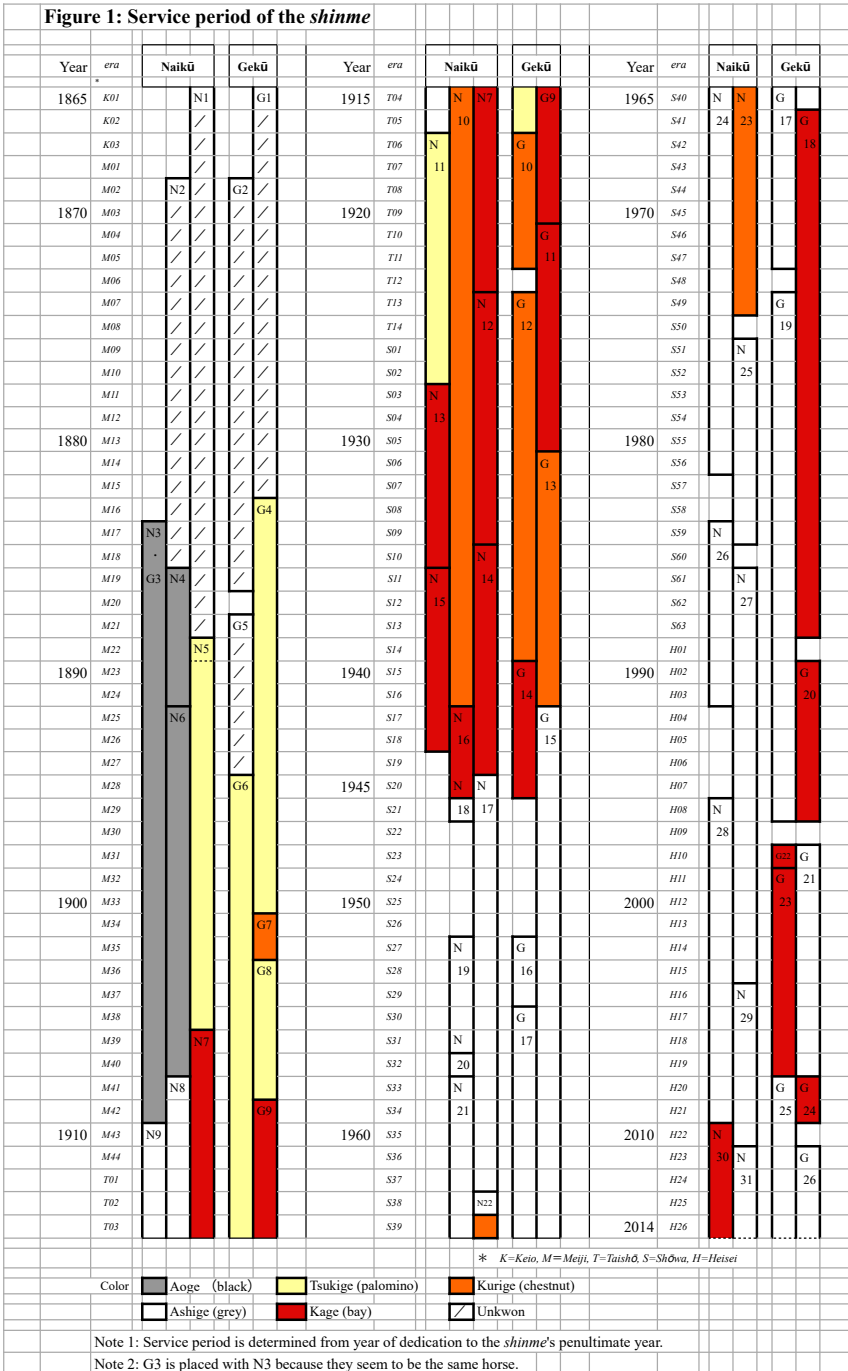


## List 2: The *shimme* of the Gekū

ID	Name	Breed	Birthyear	Birthplace	Imperial S. Fann	Sex	Color	Dedicated	Age	Ended	Age	Served
G1	Unknown					Unknown	Unknown	1865/9/16		1883/8/2		17yr. 11mth.
G2	Unknown					Unknown	Unknown	1869/3/16		1887/10/11		18yr. 6mth.
G3	Unknown					Unknown	Aoge (black)	1884/2/?		1910/3/21		26yr. 1mth.
G4	桜川 Sakurakawa		1877	Aomori	-	Unknown	T sukage (palomino)	1883/10/3	6	1901/4/24	24	17yr. 6mth.
G5	百石 Hyakkokoku					Unknown	Unknown	1888/2/16		1895/4/17		7yr. 2mth.
G6	初城 Hatsushiro	Mixed				Stallion	T sukage (palomino)	1895/10/3		1917/11/28		22yr. 1mth
G7	真龍 Shinryū	Domestic				Stallion	Kurige (chestnut)	1901/6/26		1903/5/14		1yr. 10mth.
G8	白雲 Shirakumo	Mixed	1890	Kagoshima	-	Stallion	T sukage (palomino)	1903/6/6	13	1909/5/23	19	5yr. 11mth.
G9	大桜 Daō	Mixed	1893	Chiba	○	Stallion	Kage (bay)	1909/6/14	17	1921/11/18	28	12yr. 5mth.
G10	蝦夷 Ezo	Mixed	1903	Hokkaidō	-	Stallion	Kurige (chestnut)	1917/12/25	14	1923/12/7	20	5yr. 11mth.
G11	藤園 Fujizono	Foreign breed	1900	Australia	-	Stallion	Kage (bay)	1921/12/27	21	1931/3/31	31	9yr. 3mth.
G12	連風 Rinpū	Foreign breed	1913	Iwate	-	Cebling	Kurige (chestnut)	1924/2/18	11	1940/5/13	27	16yr. 2mth.
G13	群玉 Gungyoku	Mixed	1914	Gumma	-	Cebling	Tochikunige (dark chestnut)	1931/4/24	17	1942/6/20	28	11yr. 1mth.
G14	仲明 Nakaaki	Foreign breed	1921	Hokkaidō	○	Cebling	Kage (bay)	1940/7/1	19	1946/4/21	25	5yr. 9mth.
G15	神雪 Kamiyuki	Anglo-Arabian	1938	Chiba	○	Cebling	Ashige (grey)	1942/7/25	4	1966/8/6	28	24yr.
G16	西徳 Nishitoku	Mixed	1933	Aomori	-	Cebling	Ashige (grey)	1952/12/17	20	1955/10/9	22	2yr. 9mth.
G17	朝義 Asayoshi	Anglo-Arabian	1951	Chiba	○	Cebling	Ashige (grey)	1955/12/8	4	1973/9/12	22	17yr. 9mth.
G18	益央 Masuō	Mixed	1955	Hokkaidō	-	Cebling	Kage (bay)	1966/10/6	11	1989/12/8	34	23yr. 2mth.
G19	山勇 Yamaisamu	Anglo-Arabian	1963	Chiba	○	Cebling	Ashige (grey)	1974/5/29	11	1997/7/5	34	23yr. 1mth.
G20	星勇 Hoshiisamu	Anglo-Arabian	1969	Chiba	○	Cebling	Kage (bay)	1990/5/18	21	1997/12/30	28	7yr. 7mth.
G21	勇 Okaaki	Mixed	1979	Tochigi	○	Cebling	Ashige (grey)	1998/7/2	19	2008/4/28	29	9yr. 9mth.
G22	坂霜 Sakasurimo	Anglo-Arabian	1976	Tochigi	○	Cebling	K.unokage (dark bay)	1998/7/2	22	1999/5/21	23	10mth.
G23	桜澤 Sakurasawa	Anglo-Arabian	1980	Tochigi	○	Cebling	Kage (bay)	1999/10/8	19	2008/1/29	28	8yr. 3mth.
G24	踏新 Michishin	Anglo-Arabian	1985	Tochigi	○	Cebling	Kage (bay)	2008/10/1	23	2010/7/?	25	1yr. 9mth.
G25	草音 Kusao to	Anglo-Arabian	2001	Tochigi	○	Cebling	Ashige (grey)	2008/10/1	7			
G26	突智 Emitomo	Anglo-Arabian	2006	Tochigi	○	Cebling	Ashige (grey)	2011/9/27	5			

Source: Data N1-N25 and G1-G19 are based on Ozu Shigeo, "Shimme reitsuden" (1976). Others are based on Jingushicho, *Mizugaki* (1984-).

**Figure 1: Service period of the *shinme***



both Naikū and Gekū shrines. The sources are of the data compiled in *Shinme retsuden* and the updated data refers to the back numbers of *Mizugaki* 瑞垣, the seasonal publications of Jingū. Accordingly, Naikū has had thirty-one and Gekū has had twenty-six horses. One horse might overlap in the record of Naikū (ID=N3) and Gekū (ID=G3) because they have the same end date (21 March 1910) and the same color (*aoge*; black). Figure 1 indicates the period of service of the horses along with their color, and suggests that Naikū kept three horses until the middle of the 1940s while Gekū kept two. We see that the number of horses decreased during the Second World War and in the postwar period. The regulation of two horses each in both shrines seems to have been fixed in 1952 and continues to stand in 2017. It appears that the fixed number is drawn from the regulation found in the *Engishiki*.

Upon examining List 1, List 2, and Figure 1, it seems that *ashige* horses were most popular as *shinme*; however, this trend is limited to the postwar period. Earlier data suggest another quality is paramount.

A. COLOR

The most popular color among horses dedicated to kami was *ashige* (grey, which is often recognized as a white horse). Since 1865, twenty-two *ashige* horses were dedicated to Jingū. Of the total number of *shinme* or fifty-seven horses, twenty-two were *ashige*, five *tsukige* (palomino), fifteen *kage* (bay), six *kurige* (chestnut), four *aoge* (black), with five of unknown color (See Table 1). When I categorize them into three colors, the numbers are twenty-seven whitish (*ashige* and *tsukige*), twenty-one brownish (*kage* and *kurige*), and four black (*aoge*). It is possible to say that horses with a whitish color are more popular than other colors statistically.

Table 1. Color of the horses.

Color	<i>ashige</i> (grey)	<i>tsukige</i> (palomino)	<i>kage</i> (bay)	<i>kurige</i> (chestnut)	<i>aoge</i> (black)	Unknown	Total
Naikū	15	2	7	2	3	2	31
Gekū	7	35	8	4	1	3	26
Total	22	5	15	6	4	5	57
	27 <Whitish>		21 <Brownish>		4 <Black>		

Although many *ashige* horses have been consecrated, the trend is limited to recent decades. Only four *ashige* horses appear in the count before 1945, but the number increases remarkably to eighteen after 1946 (See Table 2). The dedication of *ashige* horses has risen since the war period.

Table 2. Dedication of *ashige* (grey) horses.

Color	Before 1945	After 1946 (postwar)	Total
Naikū	3	12	15
Gekū	1	6	7
Total	4	18	22

It is possible that the increase of *ashige* dedications after World War Two is related to the Shōwa Tennō (Hirohito)'s horse. The most famous riding horse for the Shōwa Tennō was an *ashige* horse named Shirayuki 白雪 (White Snow). At official events such as military reviews, the stallion Shirayuki often served as the Tennō's mount (OZU 1987, 98–121). In the wartime, the Tennō was the commander-in-chief of the army and navy (OZU 1987, 99), and was regarded as a kami appearing in human form. In other words, the white horse Shirayuki was a mount for a human kami. Shirayuki was not dedicated to Jingū, however, and Ozu recorded that the Imperial Stock Farm was trying to produce more *ashige* horses for the imperial mounts. Shiramatsu (ID=N22) was one of them and later became *shinme* (OZU 1976, 87). It is plausible that Shirayuki's color established the trend of the *shinme* of Jingū.

#### B. BIRTHPLACE

Many horses came from the Imperial Stock Farm, but the ranch alone is not definitive. There are forty-five horses whose birthplaces are clear; thirty-one of them were produced at the Imperial Stock Farm. There were fourteen *shinme* produced at private ranches. They were born in Hokkaidō, Aomori Prefecture, Iwate Prefecture, Miyagi Prefecture, Gunma Prefecture, Tochigi Prefecture, Kagoshima Prefecture, and overseas (see Table 3). The present Imperial Stock Farm is located in Tochigi Prefecture, but in the past the farms were located in Chiba Prefecture and in Hokkaidō. The Imperial Household Agency explains that “At the farm, the main activities are arable farming and stock breeding, which includes rearing of riding horses and carriage horses for the Imperial Family and for court functions, raising other livestock and poultry, and producing milk, meat and eggs for the use of the Imperial Family and domestic and foreign guests” (KUNAICHŌ). This does not mention *shinme*.

Table 3. Birthplace of the horses.

Imperial stock farm (31 horses)				
	Hokkaidō	Chiba	Tochigi	Total
Naikū	4	10	5	19
Gekū	1	5	6	12
Total	5	14	11	31

Others (14 horses)									
	Hokkaidō	Aomori	Iwate	Miyagi	Gunma	Tochigi	Kagoshima	Overseas	Total
Naikū	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	6
Gekū	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	8
Total	4	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	14

### C. IMPERIAL MOUNTS

Some horses (although not all) were the Imperial mounts or property used for the Imperial Family (See Table 4).

Table 4. Imperial mounts (examples).

Dedicated to	Name	ID	Color	A mount for
Naikū	Sankin	N13	<i>kage</i> (bay)	Taishō Tennō
Gekū	Gungyoku	G13	<i>tochikurige</i> (dark chestnut)	Shōwa Tennō
Naikū	Senbonmatsu	N14	<i>kage</i> (bay)	Shōwa Tennō
Naikū	Kōkin	N15	<i>kage</i> (bay)	Shōwa Tennō
Naikū	Kokkō	N16	<i>kage</i> (bay)	Shōwa Tennō
Naikū	Hatsuyuki	N19	<i>ashige</i> (grey)	Shōwa Tennō
Naikū	Takayū	N23	<i>kurige</i> (chestnut)	Present Tennō (Akihito)

Source: Data based on Ozu Shigeo, “Shinme retsuden” (1976).

### D. BREED

Various breeds of horses have been dedicated as *shinme*; most were not native to Japan. There are forty-six horses whose breeds are identifiable (See Table 5). Anglo-Arabians have become popular since the World War and four horses today at Jingū are all Anglo-Arabian.

Table 5. Breed of the horses.

Naikū (25 horses)
1 Domestic, 8 Mixed, 1 Foreign Breed, 12 Anglo-Arabian, 1 Orlov-Rostopchin, 1 Thoroughbred, 1 Anglo-Norman
Gekū (21 horses)
1 Domestic, 8 Mixed, 3 Foreign Breed, 9 Anglo-Arabian

As an aside, I refer to Yamaisamu (ID=G19), a horse of outstanding pedigree. In May 1975, Queen Elizabeth visited Jingū and hoped to see a *shinme*. Ozu was selected as an interpreter to show the horse. He detailed the pedigree of Yamaisamu and the Queen was impressed (Ozu 1987, 231–37). It appears that Ozu believed that the Queen’s reaction was due to the horse’s lineage. However, it is possible the Queen was impressed the willingness to keep a foreign breed as the sacred horse of the central Shinto shrine. One thing is clear—horses dedicated to Jingū have not been chosen by breed.

#### E. AGE

The ages of the *shinme* at dedication vary from three to twenty-three years. At dedication, age is not a factor (See Table 6). For example, Hatsuhana (ID=N7) was dedicated at the age of four to Naikū and he ended his service at the age of twenty-two. Sakashimo (ID=G22) was dedicated at twenty-two, and ten months later his service ended.

Table 6. Age at dedication.

	under 6	6–10	11–15	16–20	over 21	Total
Naikū	5	4	5	8	4	26
Gekū	3	2	5	6	4	20
Total	8	6	10	14	8	46

#### F. SEX

Of all these factors, the deciding attribute of *shinme* is their sex. There are the records of forty-four male horses (stallions and geldings), but no single mention of a mare (See Table 7). To qualify for dedication to Jingū a horse must satisfy the condition of the appropriate sex. The horse to be chosen for kami must be a stallion or a gelded male.

Table 7. Sex of the horses.

Sex	Stallion (male)	Gelding (gelded male)	Mare (female)	Unknown	Total
Naikū	3	20	0	8	31
Gekū	6	15	0	5	26
Total	9	35	0	13	57
	44 <male>		0 <female>		

The list includes thirteen horses of unknown sex leaving a question as to whether or not mares were present. However, Ozu was emphatic that this was not the case. He stated “There are no female horses for dedication but only male horses. Later geldings are used which is a result of the improvement by the stud-horse control method aiming at the proper temperament through castration” (Ozu 1976, 78). Because of this statement, it is scarcely possible that a female was included among the thirteen horses whose sex is unknown. Using the records of forty-four male horses and Ozu’s statement, one can safely conclude that no female horses have served as *shinme* since 1865. Only male horses qualify.

### *The Significance of Maleness*

The records demonstrate that “maleness” is the key attribute of the *shinme* dedicated to Jingū. To probe why, I turn to an analysis of the import given to *shinme* in Japanese culture. In the study of religious meaning, the significance of sacredness can never be fully explained by a single interpretation. That said, I nonetheless suggest the concept of *tane* たね (seeds) informs the choice of male horses. As such, *shinme* may signify the embodiment of vigor. Only male horses, even if they are gelded, can fulfill this role because male—and not female—represent the role of seeding. Several observations lend themselves to this conclusion. I explain by correlating three areas of evidence.

The first observation comes from the name “Tanetaka 種貴” (ID=N25) of one *shinme*. *Tane* means seeds and *taka* means precious. Ozu left a note that stated the name Tanetaka was inspired by the poem composed by the Empress Kōjun (Ozu 1976, 88). The poem is about the soil and the celebration of growth every spring. In it, the words “planting” and “seeding” appear. As seen from the catalogue of the horses’ sex in List 1, Tanetaka was truly exceptional. Most of the horses dedicated after 1924 were geldings; however, he was a stallion. From the meaning of the poem it is clear that Tanetaka was named for his sexuality. His name recalls an expression, *tane uma* 種馬 (a seed horse), used to refer to a

stallion. The idea of *tane* relates to the importance of rice-making traditions in Japan. Kojima Yoshiyuki examined the rituals of Jingū and placed Jingū as the kami's residence of the sun and the rice (KOJIMA 1999). He insists that Jingū's rituals are undertaken mainly for rice production. If we review the revival of the practice of horse dedication to Jingū, it stemmed from the 1865 rite of *Kanname-sai* which thanked the kami for a good harvest that year (JINGŪSHICHŌ 1929, 494). In the ritual of *Kanname-sai*, the new ears of rice produced from all over Japan are brought to Jingū and dedicated to the kami. In the sense that rice is indispensable for Japanese (ASOYA 1994), "seeding" and "harvesting" rituals are very significant. Here, new rice which has not been threshed but is still in the ears is presented, and this act underscores the concept of dedicating newborn seeds to the kami. Male horses represent this power because they themselves possess seeds containing the origin of life. The implications are strong: it is not the passive but rather the active power of giving new life that informs the characteristic of the male horses.

The second observation is the appearance of the strong maleness shown in the horse-related traditions in other *jinja*. We offer three examples. The first is the male horse rite, *ageuma* 上げ馬, held in Mie Prefecture, the area surrounding Jingū. Performed in Tadotaisha 多度大社 and Inabe Jinja 猪名部神社, the *Ageuma* rite prognosticates the coming year's fortune by having a horse mounted by a young male ride up a steep slope. It is believed that if the rider reaches the top, a good harvest is promised for the year to the rider's village. According to my research and an interview with a spokesperson of one village,<sup>1</sup> once the riders are selected by sacred lots, a strict purification process begins. They leave their family and live with other riders in their village office during the purification period. Since this is considered a male rite, females are strictly excluded. This rule also applies to the sex of the horses. They have to be stallions, never mares. The villages preferably get new horses to run each year to show their appreciation for kami. It seems that the people of each village entrust their hopes with the riders and the horses are seen as the carriers of their prosperity. To put it another way, the strict maleness is essential for *ageuma* and the horse literally shoulders the responsibility for good fortune.

For the next example, I offer the tradition of Kamigamo Jinja which keeps a *shinme* and the traditional horse race during the boy's festival. For years, they have bred their *shinme*, a male white horse named Kōyama. Kōyama is led for the ritual of *Hakuba sōran* 白馬奏覧 which is considered the purification at the beginning of the new year. I have visited the *jinja* several times to have inter-

1. Mr. Ōta Fumihiro of Tōin chō kindly helped my research on the *ageuma* rite in 2009 and 2010. I would like to thank him for welcoming me to his village to show me the items for the rite.



views with the priests over the last decade.<sup>2</sup> They have never had any female horses as *shinme*, not even a perfectly white mare. The tradition handed down from ancient times is that the *shinme* has to be a stallion at their *jinja*. Now, however, they have a gelding because most horses are castrated today.

In another rite, one different than the ritual of the white horse, they convene traditional horse racing named *kamo kurabeuma* 賀茂競馬 presented by the local male riders. This rite is done for the boy's festival of 5 May. The race horses are gathered at the *jinja* for the day and the *jinja* lists the horses by their breeding place, color, or age but not sex because it is not necessary to do so. One priest explained, "A stallion is respected because it is 'the gold owner (the testicles holder)'. When we priests refer to a horse, it definitely means a male horse so there is no need to record its sex." It is presumed that the gold owner symbolizes a provider of riches or a carrier of prosperity.

The last example comes from the traditions observed at Inari *jinja*. At Inari *jinja*, the *hatsu-uma* 初午 festival is often held on the first Day of Uma (the horse, the seventh sign of the Chinese zodiac). On the *hatsu-uma* days or the other seasonal occasions of the *jinja*, horse-related festivals such as traditional horse archery like *yabusame* 流鏑馬 or taking decorated horses to *kami* can be seen. I could not confirm the sex of the horses used in the *yabusame* ceremony at Kasama Inari *Jinja* 笠間稲荷神社;<sup>3</sup> however, I was able to visit the Fushimi Inari Taisha's stable. If we take a close look at the sculpture of the *shinme* in the stable, we see the decorated horse is indeed one of "the gold owners." Inari *jinja* is thought to control the food or agriculture that brings prosperity. When we take note of the role of the horses in those traditions, we find them sharing the same significance as *shinme* at Jingū through the key attribute of maleness.

The third observation is in ancient times, those who were recipients of horses embodied femaleness. I presume that a sacred horse (*shinme*) was originally a male horse given to a female *kami*, an act consecrating fruition. In the ancient Shinto literature of the *Kojiki* 古事記 and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, the first appearance of a horse occurs when the dappled horse Amano-fuchikoma 天斑駒 was given to the female *kami* Amaterasu. In the *Nihon shoki*, the first record of a human recipient of an adorned horse was Aomino Ōtoji Magariko 青海夫人勾子, the female Imperial envoy of Kinmei Tennō of the sixth century. This horse was an offering by Ōtomo no Ōmuraji Kanamura, the male subject of the Tennō, to show his appreciation for her kind visit. Recipients of the decorated horse extended beyond the female envoy to other women. The top priestesses in the

2. I would like to thank Mr. Tanaka Yasuhiro and Mr. Fujiki Yasumasa of Kamigamo *Jinja* who gave me useful information about their *shinme* and the Shinto rituals.

3. I would like to thank Mr. Hanawa Haruo of Kasama Inari *Jinja* for inviting me to the *yabusame* ceremony in 2014.

nation were known to keep a painted clay horse. Known as Saiō 齋王, in older days these women were selected as the top priestesses from among those who were appointed to serve Jingū. The custom of Saiō started in the seventh century and lasted until the fourteenth century (EMURA 2004; SAIKŪ HISTORICAL MUSEUM). The vermilion-lacquered clay horse, which has a pictorial representation of spots (ca. eighth century), was found during an archaeological excavation at Saikū 齋宮.<sup>4</sup> Saikū was the sacred palace of Saiō who was selected from unmarried female members of the imperial family. The site of Saikū was identified with the painted clay horse and other items belonging to the successive priestesses, indicating that the recipients of horses embody femaleness. As we know, in the seventh to ninth centuries there was a practice of dedicating a black horse when praying for rain and a white horse when praying for the end of rain to certain *jinja* housing kami believed to control water. One of the most famous *jinja* where horses were often dedicated is Nyūkawakami Jinja 丹生川上神社 which enshrines a female kami named Mizuhanome. Orikuchi Shinobu remarked on the deep relationship between kami of the water and women (ORIKUCHI 1965). Many kami (but not all) who control water are considered to be female kami. I suggest that water control, and hence the control of auspiciousness or life-giving power, might be symbolized by females.

Returning to the dappled horse in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki*, the account depicts the horse as aggressive in the story of Susanō, a kami and younger brother of Amaterasu. Susanō tried to disturb the rice production in the sacred rice field of his sister. He prevented a good harvest by an unusual seeding pattern or by letting the dappled horse lie flat on the rice field, and so on. In the story, the horse is described as a nuisance in the sacred area. In the ancient chronicles the stallion is associated with the wrong production here. In my view, this horse symbolizes excessive maleness through the rougher sex of Susanō acting against the female kami. Left unchecked, excessive maleness can be disruptive, a reminder of the need to rein in the full potency of such power.

Since agriculture is an essential component of Japanese life, it is understandable that people have placed special value on seeds which possess the power for all creation. I observe that the horse dedication to kami connotes the practice of conceptual seeding for fruition. In my view, Shinto stems from the Japanese respect for the workings of nature. Both in animals and plants, the seed has the power to start new life. The habits of male horses (TAKARA 1988) may demonstrate this power and signify its embodiment. The ancient practice of dedicating a horse to a kami can be understood as a ritual that asks for auspiciousness by presenting *tane* possessed of great vigor.

4. The Saikū volunteer guide Mr. Watanabe Yukihiro and his wife Hisako kindly took me around the Saikū and Ise areas. I would like to thank them for their interest in my fieldwork.

Shinto has no dogma, no doctrines, no founder. I believe its religious import is found in its practices; Shinto rituals themselves express Japanese attitudes toward and understandings of kami. For that reason, we should carefully observe the un verbalized practices found in rituals as well as any written explanations. As we can see dozens of dedicated picture horses hanging at certain sites within *jinja*, we realize the custom of the horse dedication still stands today in Shinto tradition. The reason *shinme* are found at *jinja* and treated with reverence is that they are symbols, indeed, vehicles that convey the preciousness of life.

### Conclusion

We have confirmed the key attribute of the *shinme* dedicated to Jingū is their intrinsic maleness. The data reveal that the sex of the horses takes first priority over color, birthplace, Imperial mount, breed, or age. Some Shinto priests recognize that only male horses qualify as *shinme*, but this fact is generally unknown and few documents specify this criterion. For as long as records have been kept at Jingū, one defining characteristic is paramount: *shinme* must be male. While the whiteness of the horses has been discussed in previous studies, these studies have overlooked the key attribute of the maleness. When Japan was an agricultural state, I suggest that the concept of *tane* could be a clue for the choice of male horses. As an analysis of the key attribute, I propose that *shinme* may signify the embodiment of vigor.

Since Jingū is considered the caretaker of the Shinto tradition, an understanding of its practices can give us insight into the Shinto faith. Further study of *shinme* may shed light on under-explored areas of Japanese culture.

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## An Introduction to the History of Buddhist Book Publishing in Modern Japan

The spread of letterpress and other Western-style printing technologies throughout Japanese society during the Meiji period is often thought to be the cause of the rapid decline in traditional printing technologies that had existed since the Edo period. However, in the case of highly specialized books like Buddhist volumes, well-established publishing companies that had existed since the Edo period had an enthusiastic readership firmly in their grip. Insofar as these companies adopted the strategy of only publishing the minimum number of books they could sell, there was no need for them to rush to introduce letterpress printing or to master mass-quantity or high-speed printing technologies. Yet, Buddhist publishing companies in Tokyo quickly introduced Western-style printing technologies from the late 1880s to the late 1890s, as Meiji Enlightenment-era intellectuals had formed publishing companies in an attempt to widely share Buddhist doctrines with the general public. Conversely, Kyoto Buddhist publishing companies persisted in using woodblock printing and Japanese-style bookbinding as they needed to sell commentaries on Buddhist scriptures and the like to priests engaged in religious training. However, these companies began to recognize the convenience of smaller, letterpress-printed, Western-bound books. Thus, the turn of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of the decline of Japan's traditional printing technologies.

KEYWORDS: Buddhist book publishing—letterpress printing—woodblock printing—Western-bound books—Japanese-bound books

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IN DISCUSSIONS of the history of publishing in modern Japan, Motogi Shōzō 本木昌造 is always mentioned. From the Bakumatsu period onward, this Japanese interpreter of Dutch worked hard to create Japanese-character print, and laid the foundation of the Tōkyō Tsukiji Kappansho 東京築地活版所 (Tokyo Tsukiji Letterpress Shop) (see KAWADA 1981; INSATSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 2003). Therefore, the attention he has received might seem reasonable. However, before rushing to the conclusion that letterpress played an epoch-making role in modern Japanese publishing history, I would like to highlight the words of Roger Chartier, a leading researcher on cultural history in Europe:

For a long time in China and Japan, woodblock printing was the dominant printing technology. The oldest woodblock-printed work is the *Hyakumantō darani* 百万塔陀羅尼, printed from 764 to 770. Above all, this fact clearly forces us to reconsider the old Western understanding that bestows absolute superiority on Gutenberg's invention.... Compared to letterpress, woodblock printing has many strengths. First, it does not require a massive investment for purchasing a printer and type catalogue. Also, it makes it possible to print very many copies.... Furthermore, with woodblock printing one can make adjustments entirely based on demand. This is because—unlike letterpress type, which would need to be repositioned in a typesetting case—woodblocks can be stored and reprints created in accordance with the market.

(CHARTIER 1992, 66–71)

Seeing the culture of woodblock printing in the East as unlike that of letterpress in the West, Chartier speaks highly of woodblock printing's ability to reproduce texts in large numbers, as well as its flexibility that enables repeated reprintings.

I am not trying to make a forced argument based on the above that letterpress did not have any influence on modern Japan; the European printing technology adopted by Japanese society during the Meiji period (1868–1912) had improved considerably since the time of Gutenberg. However, it should be emphasized that amid the cultural situation of the Edo period (1603–1868), woodblock printing was able to provide plenty of books to meet an ever-expanding demand. In order to explain the modern Japanese publishing industry's adoption of letterpress, we must look for either the emergence of a readership that did not exist during the Edo period, or the rapid expansion of an existing one.

In light of the above discussion, Nagamine Shigetoshi's 永嶺重敏 claim that the need for letterpress in Japanese society rapidly increased during the mid-



1890s is very convincing (NAGAMINE 2004): national newspaper and popular magazine production became extremely concentrated in Tokyo after postal routes were established by the expansion of railway networks.

However, did the stiff, academically-oriented books of the Edo period on Buddhism, Confucianism, and the like—referred to as *mono no hon* 物の本—similarly switch to letterpress? There was a strong tendency for the bookstores that sold such books to specialize by genre. For example, in Kyoto during the mid-Edo period and later, these bookstores established themselves as purveyors to specific sects (*goyō shorin* 御用書林): Murakami Kanbē 村上勘兵衛 for the Nichiren sect, Sawada Kichizaemon 沢田吉左衛門 for the Jōdo sect, and Ogawa Tazaemon 小川多左衛門 for the Zen sect (HIKINO 2015). If we assume that *mono no hon* were in the first place not intended to be sold in large numbers but rather simply in quantities that would reliably be purchased by a core set of readers, then the influence of a new technology on them was probably different than that of newspapers and magazines.

While the publishing world has recently been undergoing rapid transformations due to the technological innovation of electronic publishing (YAMADA 2011), this paper will look back to Meiji period society to examine the various aspects of the changes brought about in Buddhist books—one of the representative kinds of *mono no hon*—due to the spread of Western-style printing technology.

### *Quantitative Analysis of Buddhist Books Published During the Meiji Period*

In Table 1, based on the printing method (woodblock/letterpress) I categorized the Buddhist books listed in *Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan shozō Meiji ki kankō tosho mokuroku* 国立国会図書館所蔵明治期刊行図書目録 (Catalogue of Books Published During the Meiji Period Held by the National Diet Library) that were published in Tokyo and Kyoto (KOKURITSU KOKKAI TOSHOKAN SEIRIBU 1971, vol. 1, 201–482).<sup>1</sup> Since all books published in Japan are required to be donated to the National Diet Library (NDL NYŪMON HENSHŪ INKAI 1998, 114–45), the data in Table 1 exhaustively covers all Buddhist books published during the Meiji period, excluding the likes of private or regional publications.

From Table 1, we can see that there is a clear difference in the introduction of letterpress between Tokyo and Kyoto publishers of Buddhist books. In the case of the former, between 1883 and 1887 letterpress-printed books became predominant, and around the turn of the twentieth century, woodblock-printed books

1. To determine whether a book was woodblock or letterpress printed, I used the National Diet Library's Digital Collection. When it was difficult to determine this, I examined the actual book.

YEAR RANGE	TOKYO			KYOTO		
	WOODBLOCK	LETTERPRESS	TOTAL	WOODBLOCK	LETTERPRESS	TOTAL
1868–72 (Meiji 1–5)				1	0	1
1873–77 (Meiji 6–10)	34	2	36	41	4	45
1878–82 (Meiji 11–15)	119	18	137	219	50	269
1883–87 (Meiji 16–20)	97	140	237	229	55	284
1888–92 (Meiji 21–25)	63	233	296	227	234	461
1893–97 (Meiji 26–30)	42	272	314	96	295	391
1898–1902 (Meiji 31–35)	8	257	265	22	217	239
1903–07 (Meiji 36–40)	11	237	248	22	157	179
1908–12 (Meiji 41–45)	10	325	335	36	282	318

Table 1. Buddhist books published in Tokyo and Kyoto during the Meiji period (categorized by printing method).

basically died out. However, in the case of Kyoto, it is only from around 1893 that letterpress books surpassed woodblock-printed ones, having steadily established themselves.

While shedding light on the complicated situation that led to the introduction of letterpress, I venture here to compare books based on place of publication. This is because if we compare them based on genre, the above differences can be more vividly grasped. For example, consider *waka* 和歌 poetry books. Letterpress was adopted even later than in the case of Buddhist books, and even into the first decade of the twentieth century and later, woodblock-printed books continued to have a strong presence (KOKURITSU KOKKAI TOSHOKAN SEIRIBU 1973, vol. 4, 323–72). In contrast, in the case of physics, chemistry, and other science-related works, both printing technologies were not used at the same time; the era of letterpress came all of a sudden (KOKURITSU KOKKAI TOSHOKAN SEIRIBU 1973, vol. 3, 110–32).

Above, using genre and place of publication, we have obtained a vivid glimpse of the differences in the responses of the publishing industry to the introduction of letterpress printing. What lay in the background to all of this? Having a long tradition, and the attachment to a familiar technology by conservative, estab-

YEAR RANGE	TOKYO			KYOTO		
	Japanese Binding	Western Binding	Total	Japanese Binding	Western Binding	Total
1868–72 (Meiji 1–5)				1	0	1
1873–77 (Meiji 6–10)	36	0	36	45	0	45
1878–82 (Meiji 11–15)	134	3	137	263	6	269
1883–87 (Meiji 16–20)	158	79	237	258	26	284
1888–92 (Meiji 21–25)	89	207	296	246	215	461
1893–97 (Meiji 26–30)	65	249	314	179	212	391
1898–1902 (Meiji 31–35)	22	243	265	89	150	239
1903–07 (Meiji 36–40)	27	221	248	54	125	179
1908–12 (Meiji 41–45)	27	308	335	68	250	318

Table 2. Buddhist books published in Tokyo and Kyoto during the Meiji period (categorized by binding style).

lished publishers of poetry and Buddhist books probably played a role. However, to hold that a natural shift to letterpress began when an emotional rejection of a new technology went away is nothing more than abductive reasoning done from our present perspective.

Therefore, in order to more closely examine the situation that led to the introduction of Western printing technology, I created Table 2, which divides the Buddhist books published during the Meiji period in Tokyo and Kyoto into ones bound in Japanese style (*wasōbon* 和装本) and Western style (*yōsōbon* 洋装本).<sup>2</sup> The former are books made using traditional Japanese production methods. While this usually also refers to scrolls and the like, the majority of Meiji period Buddhist books are *fukuro toji* 袋綴じ (lit. “pouch-bound”). Within the category of “Buddhist books” many accordion-style (*orihon* 折本) scriptures are included, and thus I have classified them under the category of “Japanese-bound.” On the

2. This is the same method as used in Table 1. See note 1.

other hand, the latter are books made using the Western method of bringing together double-sided sheets of paper in several fold sections, trimming them on three sides, and wrapping them with a cover. While a few of the Buddhist books included in the table do not strictly fit this definition, such as single-sided postcard collections and letterpress-printed design drawing collections, for convenience, I have classified them in this category.

I chose to use not only woodblock printing and letterpress printing but also *wasō* and *yōsō* as markers of the adoption of Western printing technology in Japanese society because Kōno Kensuke 紅野謙介 argues that, along with letterpress printing, Western-style book production methods also led to major changes in modern Japanese printing culture (KŌNO 1999, 13–44). While the number of sheets that can be bound in *fukuro toji* books—comprised of thick *washi* 和紙 (Japanese paper) folded in half and laid on top of one another—is limited (most were around one hundred sheets), Western paper can be printed on both sides and Western-style binding can handle many sheets of paper. It therefore, argues Kōno, brought about drastic change in Japan's world of traditional books, and books began to function as individual massive storehouses of knowledge. As an example, he points to the letterpress-printed, Western-bound *Kaisei saigoku risshi hen* 改正西国立志編, the revised Japanese translation of Samuel Smiles' *Self Help*, that was published as a 764-page tome in 1877.

In this way, Kōno argues that letterpress double-sided printing and the complicated binding techniques of Western books came together to rapidly change modern Japan's publishing culture. Being a study of the relationship between *mono no hon* and Western style-printing technology, this is a very important point for the present paper. If we only focus on letterpress printing, it is hard to see a strong reason for using this technology when printing the academic books that were *mono no hon*; its primary characteristic is the ability to speedily reproduce a massive amount of information. However, if we also see increasing the amount of information that can be included in a single book as a characteristic of Western printing technology, then one would think that publishers of such books must have wanted at all costs to introduce them into their business operations.

Yet Table 2 goes against our expectations: the introduction of Western binding and letterpress do not really appear to be connected. As I mentioned, between 1883 and 1887 in Tokyo, letterpress books surpassed woodblock ones. However, at this time there were many more Japanese-bound books than Western ones. The strength of Japanese-bound books was even more pronounced in Kyoto. At any rate, this neck-and-neck situation continued until the mid-1890s. Even into the first decade of the twentieth century, approximately 30 percent of Buddhist books continued to be published using Japanese binding.

This time lag between the introduction of letterpress printing and of Western-bound books was due to companies still producing many Japanese-bound

books comprised of folded-in-half sheets of paper that had been letterpress printed only on one side. Despite Western-bound books holding more information, and letterpress, with its ability to print double-sided, being suited for Western binding, why did Buddhist publishers not adopt both Western binding and letterpress printing? We could speculate that mastering Western-style book manufacturing involved more difficulties than letterpress. However, there were many publishers that were releasing both letterpress-printed, Western-bound books and letterpress-printed, Japanese-bound books at the same time. Therefore, we can only conclude that they chose to publish Japanese-bound books even though they were able to make Western-bound ones as well. The only way we can elucidate the reason for this choice—following Kōno Kensuke's highlighting of the revolutionary nature of the physical *form* of Western-bound books—is to steadily examine the relationship between the material characteristics of Japanese-bound Buddhist books and how they were read.

In this section, I carried out a numerical analysis of Buddhist books published in the Meiji period, bringing several important points into relief along the way. I am particularly interested in the circumstances surrounding Japan's traditional printing technology steadfastly remaining in use during the Meiji period, as well as those surrounding the time gap between the introduction of letterpress printing and Western binding. However, I want to especially emphasize that the spread of letterpress and Western binding was not the inevitable result of their overwhelmingly convenient nature but rather was due to the active choices of publishing companies. Let us thus examine below what served as the basis for these choices.

### *Tokyo Buddhist Publishers and Their Strategies*

Above I made clear that the incorporation of Western printing technology into Buddhist book publishing in Tokyo was a comparatively smooth process. Here, let us turn to the top ten publishers of Buddhist books in the capital at the time (Table 3). I want to emphasize that many Buddhist publishers in Tokyo chose to focus on selling either letterpress-printed books *or* woodblock-printed ones.

For example, Kōmeisha and Tetsugaku Shoin clearly chose to put their effort into selling letterpress-printed books. On the other hand, Senshōbō and Ōmuraya Shoten specialized in woodblock-printed books. The only exception to this rule is Yōmankaku, which was the top Buddhist publishing company in Tokyo: half of its Buddhist books were letterpress-printed, and the other half woodblock-printed. This appears to have been due to them switching their focus from woodblock-printed, Japanese-bound books to letterpress-printed, Western-bound books around the mid-1890s. We can easily surmise why Tokyo Buddhist publishers split into a camp that firmly stuck with the woodblock

PUBLISHING COMPANY (DATE FOUNDED)	BOOKS	WOODBLOCK LETTERPRESS	WESTERN-BOUND JAPANESE-BOUND	APPROX. % OF BUDDHIST BOOKS OVERALL
Yōmankaku 擁万閣 (Morie Shoten 森江書店) End of Edo Period	178	86 92	95 83	10%
Kōmeisha 鴻盟社 1882 (Meiji 15)	151	10 141	38 113	8%
Tetsugaku Shoin 1887 (Meiji 20)	105	1 104	3 102	6%
Kōyūkan 光融館 1890 (Meiji 23)	52	1 51	11 41	3%
Senshōbō 千鍾房 (Suharaya 須原屋) First Half of Edo Period	46	30 16	39 7	2%
Ōmuraya Shoten 大村屋 書店 End of Edo Period	44	42 2	43 1	2%
Hakubundō 博文堂 1887 (Meiji 20)	38	0 38	0 38	2%
Kokumosha 国母社 1888 (Meiji 21)	33	0 33	0 33	2%
Bunmeidō 文明堂 Between 1897 and 1906 (Meiji 30s)	33	0 33	0 33	2%
Muga Sanbō 無我山房 1904 (Meiji 37)	31	0 31	0 31	2%
Other Publishers —	1157	215 942	329 828	62%

Table 3. Buddhist books published during the Meiji period in Tokyo (by publisher).

printing and Japanese binding tradition, and one that jumped on the new letterpress printing technology and Western binding technique; the former (including Yōmankaku) were all founded in the Edo period.

However, this is not a simple case of conservative, established companies not understanding the capabilities of new technology. Rather, their primary products included books firmly connected to the reading practice of Buddhists, such as service books for laypeople and sutras. Even today sutras are published as accordion-style books for ease of reading. Service books for laypeople are also not a good fit for letterpress. While many are *fukuro toji*, sheets are single-sided with two or four lines printed on each half in order to make it easier to recite their content. In other words, for Buddhist publishers that had existed since the Edo period, the most stable sales could be expected from sutra books and the

like, and they could not just begin using letterpress printing and Western binding for these books that had very particular uses.

Some of the woodblock-printed, Japanese-bound Buddhist books from old, established publishers were commentaries on sutras by famous scholar-priests. Since there was a core set of readers for both these and sutra books, they were steadily sold off in small amounts. There were not many situations in which the Buddhist publishing companies founded in the Edo period relied on the mass reproduction function of letterpress.

As we have seen above, Buddhist books strongly connected to practice (such as the recitation of sutras) was a genre into which letterpress printing and Western bookbinding could not be easily introduced. However, in a place like Tokyo—where there was little demand for Buddhist books in the first place and new technology was being adopted for newspapers and magazines—a business could not be run in a stable fashion by simply sticking to tradition. Old, established publishers thus gradually died out. What kinds of strategies did the newly-established Tokyo publishers in Table 3 adopt when introducing new technology at an early stage? Below, I will examine how Buddhist books came to be printed using letterpress and bound in a Western style. To do so, I will use Tetsugaku Shoin as a case study because the circumstances surrounding its founding are clear.

Tetsugaku Shoin was founded by the enlightenment intellectual Inoue Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919). Enryō, who was born into the Shin sect Ōtani branch temple Jikōji 慈光寺 (Echigo Nagaoka), studied in Tokyo University's Department of Philosophy (Faculty of Letters) with the support of Higashi Honganji. The activities in which he would engage to revitalize the Buddhist world went beyond his denomination. For example, Enryō established the Tetsugakukan 哲学館 (Philosophy Academy) in 1887, working to provide an education to committed students regardless of their religious background. The same year he also established Tetsugaku Shoin, which aimed to publish philosophy-related works not caught up in the pursuit of narrow self-interest (TÖYŌ DAIGAKU SŌRITSU HYAKUNENSHI HENSAN IINKAI 1993, 56–114). Having established Tetsugaku Shoin to share his thought widely in society, what kinds of books did Enryō then publish?

Upon the founding of Tetsugaku Shoin, Enryō released *Bukkyō katsuron joron* 仏教活論序論 (Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism), letterpress printed and bound in a Western style. It serves as excellent material for examining his company strategy. Below is a quotation from its introduction:

I have long been saddened by the lack of spirit in the Buddhist world. I have assumed the responsibility for its revival, and for more than ten years now, I have been exerting myself in an investigation of its truth. Just recently, I discovered that Buddhism conforms to the fundamental truths of science and

philosophy which are expounded in the West. Desiring to express this discovery to the world, I have drafted an outline for a long essay...

Present-day Buddhism practiced among foolish laymen, it is handed down by foolish clergy, and it is full of depravities.... My reason is that the priests of today are, in general, unschooled, illiterate, spiritless, and powerless; if I were to formulate my plans with their help, my aims would surely never be realized. Therefore, if among educated men of talent there is even one with the intention of loving the truth and defending the nation, he and I will exert our energies to those ends. I hope that educated men of talent will seek the truth of Buddhism outside [the ideas of] priests. (INOUE 1887a, 1–5)<sup>3</sup>

First, Enryō asserts that Buddhism matches the fundamental principles of European philosophy and possesses the absolute truth. There is a considerable amount of research regarding this claim which served as the basis of Enryō's thought (i.e., IKEDA 1976, 227–63; SUEKI 2004, 43–61; OKADA 2009); let it suffice to say that in this work we can find the enlightenment atmosphere of the first half of the Meiji period. Here I will center my analysis on the means by which Enryō transmitted his thought.

I want to highlight the harsh criticism of priests that follows Enryō's philosophical claim. He declares that priests of his day are unlearned and lack spirit, and calls for scholars and men of talent to pursue truth outside of the theories of priests. In other words, the first book to come out of Tetsugaku Shoin was not a woodblock print book bound in a Japanese style and meant for priests of a specific sect. Rather, it was a Buddhist monograph that transcended sectarian frameworks and actively sought a general readership.

In the preface to *Bukkyō katsuron honron dai ni hen* 仏教活論本論第二編 (Living Discourse on Buddhism: Volume 2), we can see even more clearly the kind of Buddhist book publishing for which Enryō aimed:

My research has not been transmitted to me by a teacher ... *My aim is not to inform those who know Buddhism about Buddhism.* I found that *if one wants to inform those who do not know Buddhism about Buddhism,* it is very difficult to reach this goal with the traditional commentarial academic style. I thus ended up embarking upon the course of carrying out theoretical research ....

Previously, we printed *Haja katsuron* 破邪活論 [Refuting the False] in size four characters. However, since it was difficult to carry around we shrank them to size five characters and are distributing it to interested persons. On the other hand, for this book ... we decided from the beginning to print it in size five characters for the convenience of readers.

(INOUE 1890, 1–4; emphasis added)

3. Translation from STAGGS (1979, 350–51). Modified.



Here, Enryō directs his criticism against priests who, using a “commentarial academic style,” study doctrine while being faithful to their sects’ past scholars, and declares that he seeks readers who “do not know Buddhism.”<sup>4</sup> Additionally, he states that because he aimed to have the book read not only by priests but also the general public, he chose to print with letterpress instead of woodblock and in size five instead of size four characters, thereby reducing the size and price of the book. For Enryō, Western-style printing technology was best suited for his aim of expanding the readership of Buddhist books.

Although above I have discussed the introduction of letterpress and Western-style binding in the world of Buddhist books while focusing on Inoue Enryō’s innovative aspects, during the early Meiji period, the publishers and authors that were the first to begin using letterpress and Western bookbinding all had goals similar to Enryō, despite their varying degrees of difference in direction. For example, consider Kōmeisha, which was founded before Tetsugaku Shoin by Ōuchi Seiran 大内青巒 (1845–1919). In 1884, Seiran published his letterpress-printed, Western-bound work *Bukkyō taii* 仏教大意 (The Gist of Buddhism; ŌUCHI 1884). Also, as I have already mentioned, Yōmankaku, which at first actively published woodblock-printed, Japanese-bound books, would subsequently shift primarily to letterpress, Western-bound ones. One of the first was Takaoka Tamotsu’s 高岡保 *Bukkyō benran* 仏教便覧 (Buddhism Handbook; TAKAOKA 1888). Both of these books were, as can be surmised by their titles, outlines describing in simple language doctrines that were written for individuals either uninterested in Buddhism or who were beginning to learn about it.

What were Tetsugaku Shoin and Kōmeisha aiming to do by leading the way in publishing easy-to-understand, letterpress-printed, Western-bound introductory works? The writing of Buddhist books for members of the general public who were just beginning to learn about Buddhism was an innovative development of the early Meiji period; during the Edo period Buddhist books had been directed to the priests of specific sects. Publishers and authors like Inoue Enryō, who sought to explain Buddhist doctrine in lucid terms, chose to use letterpress and Western-style binding in order to part ways from the publishing strategy of just offering for sale however many books would sell. While not all of these survey books became bestsellers needing letterpress to keep up with demand, Enryō and others saw letterpress-printed, Western-bound books as appropriate containers in which to place their innovative thought.

4. It appears that at the core of Enryō, who called for people to leave behind sectarian Buddhism, was a conviction that sought to reform Buddhism on a national level. As IKEDA (1976) points out, along with Shiga Shigetaka 志賀重昂 and others, Enryō formed Seikyōsha 政教社 (Political Education Society) and advocated the “preservation of the national essence” (*kokusui hozon* 国粹保存) in its organ *Nihonjin* 日本人 (The Japanese).

Above I have argued that letterpress-printed, Western-bound books were well-suited for the Buddhist doctrinal survey works published in considerable numbers in Tokyo during the early Meiji period due to the ease with which they could be mass reproduced. However, when discussing the introduction of new technology into the world of Buddhist book publishing, we also must not forget that letterpress enabled information to be quickly turned into text. Consider the case of so-called *enzetsukai* 演説会. Kōmeisha's founder, Ōuchi Seiran, played a major role in popularizing these gatherings at which people gave speeches on Buddhism.<sup>5</sup> The speeches, which were directed to a mass audience, were different from lectures given to priests of a particular sect, or sermons for parishioners. We can see them as having been a new method for sharing thought. When Seiran and others who had mastered this art were speaking, a stenographer would be busy at work off to the side. Then, the speeches were printed in newspapers and magazines as well as brought together by Kōmeisha for publication in Buddhist speech collections, thereby being shared with even more people.<sup>6</sup>

Incidentally, other Meiji-period Buddhist publishers beside Kōmeisha also released collections of transcribed speeches on Buddhism, which were without exception letterpress-printed and Western-bound. Speed was sought from Buddhist speech collection publications—to the extent that new techniques and technologies such as stenography and letterpress were used—because these speeches, due to their audience being the general public, also included plenty of current events-related material, which risked becoming stale if too much time passed until publication. The more related to the times, the greater the need for the speech to be letterpress printed and published in a speedy fashion.

However, Buddhist speech collections did have a drawback. While speech collections used the speed at which they offered information as a selling point and therefore were made at a fast pace, this was at the cost of many misprints. Many of them would first state that characters might be incorrect or missing, asking in advance for readers' forgiveness.

The incorrect and missing characters associated with letterpress printing could not be easily eliminated by just a careful editing job. It was often impossible for early period letterpress to reproduce the complicated characters found in Buddhist scriptures. (Woodblock printing, on the other hand, starts with a blank wooden board upon which letters are carved, and therefore can handle any kind of character, whether old, variant, or a special symbol.) Introductory works and speech collections aside, there was still a strongly-rooted resistance

5. I consulted IKEDA (1994) and HOSHINO (2012) regarding Buddhist speech meetings.

6. For example, Ōuchi Seiran's Buddhist newspaper *Meikyō shinshi* 明教新誌 (New Magazine of Meiji Religion) was an important medium that supported his "enlightenment" activities, and included many articles by him.

towards printing these specialized Buddhist scriptures and their commentaries using letterpress.<sup>7</sup>

Above we examined the circumstances by which letterpress-printed, Western-bound books were introduced in a comparatively smooth fashion into the Tokyo world of Buddhist books. Compared to Kyoto, which will be described below, the introduction of new technology appears to have greatly influenced enlightenment intellectuals like Inoue Enryō and Ōuchi Seiran's activities that extended to the founding of publishing companies. They aimed to share their thought even with people to whom Buddhism was unfamiliar, and actively used letterpress-printed, Western-bound books as receptacles in which to place their innovative thought.

However, until around the late 1880s to mid-1890s, there was a strong feeling of distrust among readers of Buddhist books regarding the issue of incorrect and missing characters brought about by letterpress printing. Thus Western printing technology was actively used in the publication of overview books, which made great use of simple expressions, and speech collections, which were transcriptions of colloquial language. While Kōno Kensuke argued that letterpress and Western-bound books came together to change books into large repositories of knowledge, in the case of Tokyo Buddhist books, works that were neither specialized nor large tomes paved the way for new technology and techniques, gradually making woodblock-printed, Japanese-bound books obsolete.

#### *Old Kyoto Publishers and Letterpress-Printed, Western-Bound Books*

While in the previous section we considered the process by which letterpress-printed, Western-bound books were introduced in Tokyo, in this section we will turn to the world of Kyoto Buddhist book publishing, which had a set of clearly different characteristics. The introduction of new technology in Kyoto did not go as smoothly as Tokyo, and there was a tendency to firmly reject the use of Western-style binding even after letterpress printing had been adopted. Using Table 4, which lists the top ten publishers of Buddhist books in Kyoto, let us look into the reasons that this new technology was slow to take root.

We can immediately see from Table 4 that there was a pronounced oligopoly in the world of Kyoto Buddhist book publishing. As Table 3 indicated, in Tokyo there were various new and old publishers in the market and, therefore, the books published by its top ten Buddhist book publishers accounted for

7. For example, the letterpress-printed, Western-bound *Shinshū kana shōgyō* 真宗仮名聖教 published by Shiji Senkō Shoin in 1889 offers an apology in advance regarding possible imperfections: "Since woodblock printing was not used, some places were omitted that could not be printed with letterpress, for which we apologize" (AUTHOR UNKNOWN 1889).

PUBLISHING COMPANY (DATE FOUNDED)	BOOKS	WOODBLOCK	WESTERN-BOUND	APPROX. % OF
		LETTERPRESS	JAPANESE-BOUND	BUDDHIST BOOKS OVERALL
Gohōkan 護法館 First Half of Edo Period	378	217 161	284 94	17%
Hōzōkan 法藏館 End of Edo Period	338	87 251	118 220	15%
Kendō Shoin 顯道書院 1890 (Meiji 23)	175	27 148	36 139	8%
Kōkyō Shoin 興教書院 1889 (Meiji 22)	149	11 138	26 123	7%
Nagata Bunshōdō 永田文昌堂 First Half of Edo Period	119	98 21	107 12	5%
Shōhakudō 松柏堂 (Izumoji 出雲寺) First Half of Edo Period	72	56 16	59 13	3%
Sawada Bun'eidō 沢田文栄堂 (Hōbunkan 法文館) End of Edo Period	64	36 28	42 22	3%
Heirakuji 平楽寺 First Half of Edo Period	64	40 24	51 13	3%
Issaikyō Inbō 一切経印房 (Baiyō Shoin 貝葉書院) Mid-Edo Period	40	6 34	17 23	2%
Shinshū Takakura Daigakuryō 真宗高倉大学寮 —	32	1 31	30 2	1%
Other Publishers —	756	314 442	433 323	35%

Table 4. Buddhist books published during the Meiji period in Kyoto (by publisher).

only around 40 percent of Buddhist books published in Tokyo during the Meiji period. In contrast, the books published by the top ten Buddhist publishers in Kyoto made up 65 percent of Buddhist books in the city. This was because old, established publishers had maintained a rock-solid position.

While one might think that new technology would not easily take root in Kyoto because old, established publishers were attached to the ones they traditionally used, they were actually quick to adopt letterpress. Let us look at the year several publishers in Table 4 first began using new Western printing technology. In 1877, Nagata Bunshōdō published *Gōshin yohitsu* 仰信余筆 (Writing Regarding my Reverent Faith) by Chōnen 超然 as a letterpress-printed, Japanese-bound

book (CHŌNEN 1877). Hōzōkan, on the other hand, released Inoue Enryō's *Shinri kinshin* 真理金針 (The Golden Needle of Truth) in 1887 as a letterpress-printed, Western-bound book (INOUE 1887b). Along with *Bukkyō katsuron*, this work is seen as a milestone modern Buddhist book. From the above we can see that there was no decisive difference between Tokyo and Kyoto in the time at which Western printing technology was introduced. Buddhist books in Kyoto were also similar to those published by Tetsugaku Shoin and Kōmeisha in terms of their innovative content. However, after the introduction of new technology, the characteristics of old Kyoto publishers were clearly different than those of new ones in Tokyo. In other words, while on the one hand they published letterpress-printed, Western-bound books, they continued to also publish woodblock-printed, Japanese-bound ones, as well as demonstrate an affinity for the—at first glance—mixed-up format of letterpress-printed, Japanese-bound books.

Why did old, established Kyoto publishers that from an early stage published letterpress-printed, Western-bound Buddhist books with innovative content continue to at the same time release Buddhist books that made use of traditional technologies? To investigate this issue, let us turn to Gohōkan and Hōzōkan, both publishers with deep connections to Higashi Honganji. Urabe Kanju 占部観順 (1824–1910) and Yoshitani Kakuju 吉谷覺寿 (1843–1914) often authored or edited books released by these publishers. They were important individuals at Shinshū Takakura Daigakuryō 真宗高倉大学寮, a Shin sect Ōtani branch doctrinal studies institution. Incidentally, there are basically no Buddhist books from Tokyo publishers in which they were involved (SHINSHŪ TENSEKI KANKŌKAI 1941, 90–108). For established Kyoto publishers that had worked as the specially appointed purveyors of books for specific sects since the Edo period, their reliable, major products were the works of doctrinal studies instructors who had many disciples. Of course, this was a publishing strategy also adopted by Tokyo's Senshōbō and Ōmuraya Shoten. However, Kyoto publishers were much more adept at securing a core readership. For example, the active publication of Kanjun's works by Gohōkan and Hōzōkan came to a halt after 1898 because his doctrinal teachings began to be criticized as heretical, and subsequently the works of Kakuju, who worked to solve this issue and, in doing so, heightened his authority as a doctrinal studies instructor, were published even more than before. These publishers, who had constructed a close relationship with Higashi Honganji since the Edo period, fully understood the kinds of Buddhist books that priests-in-training needed. Furthermore, both Higashi and Nishi Honganji had, since the Edo period, traditionally held at their educational institutions a summer retreat or *ango* 安居 during which hundreds of priests-in-training would gather to listen

to lectures, and these publishers thus had the advantage of being able to sell off many Buddhist books at this time (RYŪKOKU DAIGAKU 1939, 477–81).<sup>8</sup>

When viewed in this way, the reason the old, established Kyoto publishers stuck with traditional printing technologies is clear. While they used letterpress and Western bookbinding when publishing Buddhist thought that did not fit within the framework of a single sect or branch, asking doctrinal studies instructors from within these religious organizations to write books and then publishing them for priests-in-training was a reliable strategy for stabilizing their business. Taking into account Buddhist books' individual characteristics, they would choose the appropriate technology and techniques, at times making the bold move of publishing letterpress-printed, Western-bound books, and at other times making the sound choice of sticking with woodblock-printed, Japanese-bound ones.

The likes of scriptural commentaries written by doctrinal studies instructors began to be actively published as letterpress-printed, Japanese-bound books around the late 1880s. To make the reason for this clear, we have to turn to the priests' method of learning during the first half of the Meiji period. For these priests, who had since the Edo period studied sect doctrines in a traditional fashion, part of reading a text carefully was writing notes directly in it using a brush. However, this is difficult to do so when using books that have been printed with metal-type letterpress; characters are close together. Furthermore, the act of writing itself is difficult in the case of Western-bound books comprised of thin Western paper printed on both sides. In other words, letterpress-printed, Western-bound books were somewhat inconvenient due to priests' traditional learning methods. This led to the creation of letterpress-printed, Japanese-bound books, a format very similar to that of woodblock-printed books. In fact, even letterpress-printed Buddhist books used for priests' doctrinal study included borders surrounding the main text (*kyōkaku* 匡郭) to create a margin, and also provided adequate space between characters and lines. The many letterpress-printed, Japanese-bound books released during the Meiji period were due to old, established publishers aptly taking into account priests' study practices.

Let us review our discussion so far. Numerically, compared to new Tokyo publishers, established Kyoto publishers tended to persist in using traditional technology and techniques. However, this was not simply a manifestation of conservatism. For established publishers that since the Edo period had maintained close connections to specific sects, they could not leave behind their business method of reliably selling off hundreds of copies of high-priced Bud-

8. According to Hashiguchi Kōnosuke 橋口侯之介, when a high-priced *mono no hon* (such as a Buddhist book) was printed, publishers would make a profit if they sold around four hundred copies. Woodblock printing was a technology highly compatible with established publishers' Buddhist books for priests-in-training (HASHIGUCHI 2011).

dhist books written by doctrinal instructors within these religious organizations. Thus, while releasing innovative Buddhist books that were printed via letterpress and bound in a Western style, they continued to publish traditional ones for priests engaging in religious training that were woodblock printed and Japanese bound. It was difficult to write in letterpress-printed, Western-bound books, a practice that was part of priests' learning. Therefore, taking advantage of the benefits of letterpress (mass reproduction, fast printing), they published letterpress-printed, Japanese-bound books, trying to keep in place the format of woodblock-printed books as much as possible. In this way the Kyoto Buddhist publishing world continued to steadfastly release woodblock-printed books, and, above all, be particularly set on continuing to offer Japanese-bound books.

### *New Kyoto Publishers and Their Strategy*

In the previous section, it became clear that the adherence to traditional printing technologies in the world of Kyoto Buddhist book publishing was based on the connections between established publishers and the headquarters of the various sects, which had existed since the Edo period. However, looking again at Table 4, one realizes that there is a problem that cannot be explained by the above. In the oligopolic Kyoto Buddhist book publishing world, in which profits from specific sects were distributed among only a limited number of publishers, it should have been very difficult for new publishers to enter the market. However, in the late 1880s we find, for some reason, two new publishers: Kendō Shoin and Kōkyō Shoin. With what kind of strategy did these publishers succeed in entering the market?

First let us turn to Kendō Shoin. The Buddhist books it published in 1890 (when it was founded) and the following year were considerably unusual, not because of innovative content but due to their number of pages and pricing. In the two years after its founding it energetically published thirty-three books, twenty-seven of which were letterpress-printed, Western-bound booklets priced at less than five *sen* and containing less than fifty pages. Why did this publisher quickly release only booklets in massive numbers after its founding? Looking at the back side of the front cover of *Anjin hokori tataki* 安心ほこりたたき (A Dusting-off Tune about the Settled Mind), which was published in 1891, we can clearly see their publishing strategy. We find the following under the heading "A Recommendation for *Sehon*":

At the time of the service for Saint Shinran's Hōonkō Otorikoshi 報恩講御取越 or of a relative's memorial service, regardless of whether it is Kyoto or the countryside, in all places there is the tradition of dividing "offerings" like red rice or eel head among those who participate. But with them being only food, are there not many leftovers? ... Fortunately, since at Kendō Shoin

motivated individuals are making many booklets suited for your use—in other words, *sehon*, which one is grateful to get instead of red rice or eel head, even dozens or hundreds of them—and we will send them at any time at a very low price upon application with payment ... we recommend changing offerings into ones that are fit for the times. (MATSUDA 1891)

*Sehon* refers to the practice of temples and leading parishioners giving, at no charge, booklets to participants in various Buddhist services (as well as the booklets themselves). While the practice of *sehon* itself had been carried out since the Edo period, Kendō Shoin was revolutionary in the scale of its *sehon* project. Upon its founding, the publisher had twenty booklets that could be used for *sehon*. When they received an order, they would quickly print and mail them off, taking advantage of the merits of letterpress.

Kendō Shoin *sehon* booklets were generally based on the talks of famous scholar-monks. For example, *Anjin hokori tataki* was the work of Edo period Zen monk Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴. Since they were distributed for free to people of all types, their content was concise and simple. They were also sold for a low price, with *Anjin hokori tataki* being offered for one *sen*.

Above we have seen that at the time of its founding Kendō Shoin adopted a publishing strategy of basically specializing in contract printing for *sehon*. With the world of Buddhist book publishing being an oligopoly, as a newcomer it was a sensible choice for them; even if established publishers had a monopoly on Buddhist books geared towards specific sects, they could publish *sehon* without hesitation. Furthermore, since temples and leading parishioners would purchase all of the *sehon* printed, they did not have to worry about losses due to unsold items. We should also incidentally note that since its founding Kendō Shoin actively published letterpress, Western-bound books. While letterpress was still not the perfect technology for printing entirely mistake-free specialized Buddhist books, they used it in the case of *sehon* booklets—printed in large numbers and simple in content—because they could reap profits by making the most of this new technology's characteristics.

Now let us turn to the publishing strategy of Kōkyō Shoin. Kōkyō Shoin aimed to make *Sekkyōgaku zensho* 説教学全書 (Compendium of Sermon Studies) its “cash cow,” so to speak. They began to publish it in 1893. At the end of the 1894 *Shinshū taii* 真宗大意 (The Gist of the Shin Sect; ed. Sasaki Eun 佐々木慧雲), one finds an advertisement for the newly published first volume of this series: *Kōsei hyōchū kandō boshō* 校正標註勸導簿照 (Edited and Annotated Illuminating Book for Guiding Others). Let us try to read Kōkyō Shoin's strategy from this advertisement:

Letterpress has spread, making things very convenient. Voluminous works can now be printed as pocket editions that can be easily carried around. Now, com-



piling sermons famous in both the past and present, this *Sekkyōgaku zensho* presents sermon examples of people of yore ... We will gather more and more excellent materials for instruction, edit them, and publish them in volumes one after another. (SASAKI 1894)

*Kandō boshō* was a set of scripts for sermons written by Sugawara Chidō 菅原智洞. Since Chidō was a major Edo period master of Buddhist sermons, this book had already been published as a woodblock print edition. However, it was massive—a total of twenty volumes—and thus inconvenient for carrying around. Kōkyō Shoin therefore used letterpress and Western binding to publish it as one book entitled *Kōsei hyōchū kandō boshō*.

The very same year, Kyoto's established publisher Hōzōkan also began printing in reduced size a large number of sermon scripts under the title *Sekkyōgaku zensho*. The first volume was the 1893 *Tsūzoku Genkō shakusho wage* 通俗元亨釋書和解 (Easy-to-Understand Explanation of the *Genkō Shakusho*). While the authors of these works may have been different, Hōzōkan's aims matched those of Kōkyō Shoin. Both served as material for sermons, and were easy to carry reduced-sized printings of what had been large woodblock-printed books.

With both Kōkyō Shoin and Hōzōkan printing sermon scripts at a reduced size, a great change was brought about in the world of Buddhist book publishing. While Buddhist publishers had adopted at an early stage letterpress and Western binding for overview books and speech collections because doing so enabled them to produce many copies at a fast pace, Kōkyō Shoin and Hōzōkan's biggest aim in publishing *Sekkyōgaku zensho* was to offer voluminous, high-priced Buddhist books in a convenient size. We could see their strategy as trying to, via reduced sized printing, heighten interest among their customers, that is, their assumed priestly readership.

Stimulated by the success of Kōkyō Shoin and Hōzōkan, in the end reduced-size printing of voluminous Buddhist books spread throughout the whole industry. This brought about a dramatic change in values: letterpress printing and Western binding came to be seen as best suited for character and information-packed specialized Buddhist books. In this way, around the first decade of the twentieth century, a situation arose in which the only Buddhist books that stuck with traditional technology and techniques were accordion-format scriptures and letterpress-printed, Japanese-bound ones made with priests' learning practices in mind.

### Conclusion

In this paper, doubting the common view that the advent of letterpress during the Meiji period rapidly led to the decline of Japan's traditional printing technologies, I reexamined this issue using the publication of Buddhist books as a

case study. Since scriptures and layperson service books, the cash cows for Buddhist publishers, were closely connected to the practice of scriptural recitation, they were not made with letterpress or Western binding until the end of the Meiji period. Furthermore, being highly specialized in content, Buddhist books had overcome the problem of difficult characters with woodblock printing, and therefore at least until around the late 1880s and 1890s publishers showed a strong resistance to letterpress.

The traditional learning method of priests that included directly writing in books also was an obstacle to the introduction of new technology: Western-bound books—comprised of sheets of paper printed on both sides—presented difficulties when writing with a brush and, compared to woodblock, text printed with type reduced margin space to an extreme degree. Thus Buddhist book publishers during the Meiji period published many letterpress-printed, Japanese-bound books, comprised of paper printed only on one side and bound in the *fukuro toji* style, upon which text was printed with ample space between characters and lines.

Of course, new technologies always give rise to new business opportunities and change even the content of books themselves. Tetsugaku Shoin, the new Tokyo publisher, actively introduced letterpress-printed, Western-bound books as a new suitable vessel that could hold the innovative thought of its founder Inoue Enryō and others, and produced many bestsellers. However, I want to clearly state that in the world of Buddhist book publishing until the late 1880s and 1890s, the adoption of letterpress printing and Western binding was not an unavoidable choice upon which publishers' survival depended. Letterpress-printed, Western-bound books as well as woodblock-printed, Japanese-bound books were just options that could be chosen after a publishing company had carefully considered the nature of the book set for publication.

This situation considerably changed due to Kōkyō Shoin and Hōzōkan beginning to publish reduced-size prints of sermon scripts in the mid-1890s. When information that had been spread out over dozens of volumes began to be brought together in only one, the overwhelming convenience of Western printing technology came to be widely known, and the apprehension of readers of Buddhist books—that letterpress printing leads to many misprints—was gradually dispelled. Then, towards the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, the default for Buddhist book publishing became letterpress printing and Western binding for both overview and specialized works.

In this way, by focusing on Buddhist publishers this paper has depicted the clashes and conflicts between new and old forces brought about by letterpress printing and Western-bound books, as well as the transformation in Buddhist knowledge itself that accompanied the introduction of new technology. However, due to my focus, many aspects have also been obscured. For example, in

Meiji period Tokyo, each publication genre was not completely specialized by field; the major general interest publisher Hakubunkan played a big role in Buddhist book publishing (Table 3). However, in this paper I was unable to look into the mutual influences between Buddhism and other publication genres.

It should also be mentioned that this paper's focus on publishing companies' strategies made it difficult to see developments relating to those who read Buddhist books. While readers are, of course, indispensable elements in the world of books, I have not made it concretely clear how the various Buddhist books introduced in this paper were received by them. In the past I carried out a survey of the book holdings of several Shin sect temples, and analyzed the characteristics of Edo period priests' reading practices (HIKINO 2007). In the future I would like to also examine individual readers' engagement with books based on the results of a careful study of Meiji period Buddhist publications found in book collections.

Having left many issues unexplored, this paper is, as its title indicates, just an introduction to the history of modern Buddhist book publishing. However, I have been able to present several points for discussion to this field, which does not have an abundance of scholarship, and it is my hope that they can serve as a springboard for further development.

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## Monks' Lives Shaped by Food: A Case Study in Myanmar

Theravāda Buddhist monks are strictly limited by the Vinaya (monks' rules) with regard to their way of acquiring, owning, and consuming food. The most important principle for them is to live as beggars, and to depend on *dāna* (religious gifts) given by lay people. In Theravāda Buddhism, this way of life is thought to be the optimum approach, though not the only one, to achieve *nibbāna* (the doctrinal ideal of Theravāda Buddhism). Monks, however, cannot live without any food. This is an enormous dilemma for monks.

How do monks deal with this food problem? How does this problem influence the religious practice of monks? In this paper, I adopt an anthropological approach that is characterized by fieldwork and that aims to reveal processes of trial and error in the monks' lives, taking Myanmar as an example. By doing this, I try to clarify one side of the religious practice of monks—for example, the reason why they become monks, the way their lives develop, the way a monastery is organized, and so on. These facts cannot be adequately discussed if we are particular about the distinction between the words “religion” and “secular,” which are ideas of modern European origin.

KEYWORDS: Theravāda Buddhism—Myanmar—monks—monasteries—Vinaya—religion—secular

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**H**OW DO Theravāda Buddhist monks deal with the problem of acquiring food? How does this problem influence the religious practice of monks? In this paper, I undertake an anthropological fieldwork approach that aims to reveal the processes of trial and error in the lives of monks, taking Myanmar as an example.

Within religious studies, little research has been done to explore the importance of food. One of the main reasons for this is that many religious researchers tend to consider the concepts of “religion” and “secular” as binary constructs. As Talal Asad has described, the modern European word “religion” has been conceptualized in a metaphysical manner, differentiating our ordinary lives as “secular” (ASAD 1993; 2003). Therefore, the word “religious practices” tends to indicate sacred rituals and trainings, which are conducted at auspicious times and in special spaces.

However, in the messy reality of human life, it is difficult to distinguish religious practices from secular actions. This holds true for world religions with established canons, such as Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. Even if the ideal of the religion is extremely lofty, we must live in this “secular” world and eat, while aiming to achieve an ideal. Therefore, unless we reveal the way believers deal with the subject of food, we cannot truly understand their religious practices. In this sense, the study of the “food problem” should be considered as one of the main themes in religious studies. At the same time, it will be helpful to rethink modern European religious concepts.

Based on such interests, this paper examines the religious practices of Theravāda Buddhist monks. Theravāda monks, who try to renounce society, are considered to live one of the holiest existences in the world. However, this characteristic makes the secular problem worse rather than better. That is, a monk’s life is paradoxical. How do monks deal with secular problems, in particular the food problem? This paper describes the reality of monks’ lives, taking Myanmar as an example, and aims to reveal a part of the monks’ religious practices.

Before starting the discussion, I would like to give the doctrinal definition of a Theravāda Buddhist monk. Theravāda (literally “school of the elder monks” in Pāli) is a branch of Buddhism that uses the Buddha’s teaching preserved in the Pāli canon as its doctrinal core. The ultimate goal is to escape from greed and to achieve nonattachment. We have many desires, such as to eat delicious food, to live in comfortable houses, to live long, to live with those we love, to win public



recognition, to get what we want, and so on. These desires provide us with a good deal of motivation for our lives.

However, Theravāda doctrine says that there is no use in pursuing desires because we cannot fulfill our desires completely. The four inevitable aspects of human life (birth, aging, sickness, and death) show that we cannot control this world and our lives as we hope. Therefore, the Theravāda doctrine compels us to try and escape from desires and seek *nibbāna* (inner peace). Such freedom from desires is said to be achievable by understanding non-self (*anattā*), suffering (*dukkha*), and impermanence (*anicca*) through practicing the Noble Eightfold Path (*Ariya aṭṭhangika magga*).

Monks, who are considered to have devoted themselves to Buddhist practices, are required to live in a manner that suppresses desires as much as possible. In particular, most important in everyday life is the problem of how to deal with the two major desires, that is, the desire for sexuality and cupidity. Therefore, most of the rules of the Vinaya (the set of rules for monks) prohibit behaviors and actions that are impelled by the two major desires. However, the ways in which sexuality and cupidity are dealt with are different simply because we can live without sexual activity but we cannot survive without food. This makes the “food problem,” more broadly categorized as “an acquisition of goods problem,” the most basic and ultimate challenge of a monk’s life.

According to the Vinaya, how should monks deal with goods? Three main points arise. First, with regard to acquiring goods, since monks are prohibited from involving themselves in any economic or productive activities, they have to depend on *dāna* (religious gifts) offered by lay people. “*Bhikkhu*,” the official name for monks, means, “beggar.”

Second, with respect to owning goods, monks are not prohibited from ownership of goods, but there are various limitations on what, how much, and how long they can own specific items. For example, they must not store any food other than medicines. They also must not have more robes and begging bowls than necessary.

Third, monks are prohibited from receiving and using money, since money is said to be the universal means of exchange and it unavoidably amplifies the desire for goods. It is also said that the rejection of money is necessary to avoid the public’s criticism of monks, who should live on *dāna* by lay people (SASAKI 1999, 169).

In this way, the rules of the Vinaya severely restrict a monk’s ability to acquire, own, and consume goods. In Theravāda Buddhism, this kind of life for a monk is thought to be the optimum approach, although not the only one, to achieve *nibbāna*. Monks, however, cannot live without any food, so this poses an enormous dilemma in a monk’s life—monks have to live according to the Vinaya, but the Vinaya requires monks not to cling to goods, so if monks strictly observe the Vinaya, they might not be able to sustain themselves.

How, then, do monks deal with this food problem? How do they acquire, own, and consume food? How does this problem influence their religious practices? This paper analyzes this problem, taking Myanmar as an example. For this purpose, I focus my attention on a monastic unit, which is a livelihood cooperative society formed by a *sīma* (a place where monastic rituals are observed), because monks live together with others in monasteries rather than on their own. How do monks in Myanmar acquire, own, and consume food in units of the monastery? This is the key question of this paper.

Field surveys in Myanmar were carried out intermittently, for a total of one year and eight months, between July 2006 and September 2009. During this period, I had the opportunity to live as a monk in a monastery located near Yangon (referred to as X monastery in this paper). The description in this paper is based on the data obtained during this fieldwork.

### *Method for Acquiring Food*

#### THE ENVIRONMENT SURROUNDING MONASTERIES

In Myanmar, which has a population of about 51 million people (2014), there are 535,327 monks (282,365 *bhikkhus*, 252,962 *sāmaneras*) and 62,649 monasteries (MRA 2015).<sup>1</sup> A *bhikkhu* is a fully-ordained monk over twenty years of age and a *sāmanera* is a novice monk under twenty.

If we calculate based on the above figures, one monk is supported by about one hundred people, and one monastery is supported by about one thousand people. However, in reality the actual situation is not so simple, because *dāna* given by lay people is not distributed in a homogeneous, fixed, or stable way. Lay people donate for a variety of motives, and are free to select where they donate. The relationship between monasteries and lay people in Myanmar is quite different from that of the Japanese *danka* system, in which lay people have to support their temple financially in return for services, such as conducting funerals, maintaining graves, and so on.

Of course, in the rural areas of Myanmar, there is often only one monastery in one village and, as a result of this, the relationship between a village monastery and the villagers looks reciprocal, like the Japanese *danka* system. However, *dāna* for villagers is not an obligation and it is also usual that villagers build more than one monastery if they can afford it. In these situations, the environment surrounding monasteries inevitably becomes competitive, like markets.

1. This number indicates the number of those who spend at least three months as a monk during the rainy season. Other than this, there are many temporary monks every year, most of them *sāmaneras*. These temporary monks are not included in the list.

Number of Monks	1–10	11–21	21–30	31–40	41–50	51–60	61–70
Number of Monasteries	1,381	550	216	97	25	65	53
Number of Monks	71–80	81–90	91–100	101–110	111–120	121–130	131–140
Number of Monasteries	39	26	10	15	16	9	7
Number of Monks	141–150	151–200	201–300	301–400	457	660	1,205
Number of Monasteries	7	10	10	3	1	1	1

Table 1. Distribution of monasteries in Yangon according to size (data: 2,542 monasteries). Source: MRA (2003).

This trend can be seen more conspicuously in urban areas where there are a large number of monasteries in certain localities, and each monastery has to acquire food in competitive market environments. We will consider this below, taking Myanmar's largest city Yangon as a case study.

#### *Popular Monks Who Draw Dāna*

As of 2009, there were 2,940 monasteries in Yangon, housing 53,776 monks (31,423 *bhikkhus*, 22,353 *sāmaneras*) (MRA 2009). However, the monasteries vary in terms of scale. Table 1 shows the distribution of monasteries in Yangon according to the number of monks in residence. Overall, 85 percent of the monasteries had thirty or fewer monks in residence. Most of the monasteries with more than thirty monks in residence are scholarly monasteries, called *sathindait* in Burmese.

However, the scale of a monastery is not in simple proportion to the amount of *dāna* it receives. That is, it does not mean that a monastery that acquires a lot of *dāna* is large. Of course, large monasteries, most of which are scholarly monasteries, need a lot of money for maintenance. But there are many small monasteries that receive a lot of *dāna*. The size of monasteries depends on their activities.

As mentioned earlier, there are currently about 3,000 monasteries in Yangon, a city of 5.14 million people. The population is large, but the number of monasteries is also big. In other words, it can be said that a fierce market environment surrounds the monasteries in Yangon. How, then, do these monasteries acquire food? In considering this issue, it should be mentioned that each monastery is

TYPE OF MONK	EXAMPLES
1. Charismatic monks	Elderly monks, talented meditators, or scholars
2. Instructors of meditation	Instructors in meditation centers
3. Buddhist lecturers	Lecturers via sermons, writings, classes, and so on
4. Worldly service providers	Fortune tellers, prophets
5. Welfare service providers	Educators of poor children

Table 2. Types of popular monks in Yangon.

different in terms of its potential fundraising capacity, which is affected a lot by the features of monks in residence, in particular the abbots of the monastery. In Japan, some monasteries have a variety of attractions, such as Buddha statues, historical buildings, gardens, and so on. That is why such monasteries attract a lot of tourists. On the other hand, in Myanmar it is rare for monasteries to have something particularly attractive about them (other than the monks), because such attractions are concentrated in Pagodas, Buddhist towers, or stupas. Which brings us to the following questions: what kind of monks are popular in urban areas? In other words, what kinds of monks have a high market value? Table 2 displays the data concerning this subject.

In Myanmar, there is a traditional distinction between *lokuttara* (super mundane) and *lokiya* (mundane). Monks of types 1, 2, and 3 are popular because they are *lokuttara* monks. On the contrary, type 4 and type 5 monks are popular because they are *lokiya* monks. This separation seems to reflect the diversified needs of people living in cities.

In any case, if abbots are monks with characteristics as shown here, the monasteries they belong to tend to have potentially higher fundraising capacities. When urban people want to give *dāna* at various events—such as monastic ceremonies like *waso* robes-offering ceremonies, *kathina* robe-offering ceremonies, or rites of passage like ordination ceremonies, coming of age celebrations for girls, marriage ceremonies, funerals, and so on, they tend to choose these monks and monasteries.

However, this does not mean that the monasteries automatically acquire the necessary and sufficient *dāna*. Even such popular monasteries need to conduct a variety of fundraising activities to ensure *Āmisa*, the four material requisites for monks, that is, robes, alms-bowls, monastic dwellings, and medicines. In the following scenario, let us take a look at how each monastery actually acquires food.

### *Food Acquiring Activities of Urban Monasteries*

Generally, the acquisition of food can be distinguished in three ways. The first is begging, or *sunkhan*. It means that monks with alms-bowls walk through villages and towns and receive cooked dishes. The second is to cook in monasteries using money and ingredients given by lay people. The last is an invitation for food donations known as *sunkat* or *sunsapin*. This means that when lay people want to offer *dāna* to monks at various opportunities such as weddings, funerals, birthdays, or anniversaries, they invite monks and treat them to meals. Lay people invite monks to their houses or they go to monasteries themselves. The number of monks who are invited can range from several monks to an entire monastery.

However, in order to cook in the monastery, it is necessary to buy ingredients, and begging therefore has an important significance for monks, as it is the only means of acquiring food proactively. Moreover, begging is also important to build relationships with city residents—monks can have contact with urban residents and deepen the relationship through begging. In this context, an elder monk in his fifties and an abbot of a scholarly monastery stated:

Monks may not obtain adequate meals even though they go begging. But it is no good changing the location where they go begging. If monks continue begging every day, lay people may change their mind to prepare meals for monks. Begging progresses gradually. For example, even if lay people refuse *dāna* initially, [the] layperson might come to donate one spoonful of white rice after ten days. More time would make lay people add side dishes and they might be willing to invite monks to [their] homes. In addition, they might be willing to support what monks need in addition to meals. Begging requires *virīya* (effort).

There are various ways to beg: in groups (*tan sun*), individually (*daba sun*), in visits to houses which have promised in advance to offer food to monks (*tain sun*), or stopping in front of houses and waiting to see whether lay people will offer food or not (*yat sun*). In some cases, an abbot organizes begging systematically, in other cases he does not, and each monk goes begging by himself. In addition, the times at which monks go begging is also different; some go before breakfast, and some go after. At this point I would like to introduce one monastery where the begging initiative is going well.

B monastery in Dagon Township is a new monastery, founded in 2005. When I visited the monastery, there were six *bhikkhus* and eight *sāmaneras*. Three *bhikkhus* were Buddhist teachers, providing basic Buddhist education to *sāmaneras*. The abbot declared that in the future he wants to make this monastery a large scholarly monastery. Monks other than the abbot go begging every day in the *tan sun* style, and each time they obtain a meal for more than one hundred people.

Of course, they cannot carry this in their small alms-bowls, so they go begging with carts. Surplus food is given to the monastery in the neighborhood, which also serves as an orphanage and needs a lot of food. The abbot explains the reason why begging is going well in the monastery:

We are changing the route for begging each day of the week. It is hard for lay people to prepare food every day, but they can prepare easily if we go begging once a week. In addition, we try to go begging at a predetermined time. Some monasteries do not go begging in the rainy season or when they have an invitation for food. However, lay people will no longer want to prepare food if it is unclear whether monks will come or not.

There is a knack to successful begging. However, quite a few monasteries have difficulty with their begging activities. For example, if they are located in poverty-stricken areas or in areas with many monasteries, it is necessary to go to considerably distant places by bus to look for locations for begging. Furthermore, the recent development of apartments has made begging more difficult than before. The scale of a monastery also affects the outcome. As in the case of scholarly monasteries, the more monks a monastery has, the more difficult it becomes to secure food. This issue of ensuring food has various effects on the life course of monks. Let us take a look at this situation in the following paragraphs.

#### *Monks' Life Course Formed by Food*

In Myanmar, many monks who are ordained before the age of twenty and will spend the majority of their lives in the monastic order are from rural areas. They become monks because of fewer educational opportunities and poverty. The most common age at which they renounce secular life is ten, which is the age of graduation from elementary school in Myanmar. That is, most monks choose the vocation not because they are interested in Buddhism, but because it is one of the most sustainable ways to live.

Young monks concentrate on scriptural studies called *pariyatti* in their teens and early twenties. They learn Buddhist teachings contained within the Pāli canon. The goal of these studies is to pass the annual monastic examinations administered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs that rank and qualify Myanmar's community of Buddhist monks. In the past, studying the Pāli canon did not necessitate taking the monastic examinations; therefore, elder monks who excelled at *pariyatti* in their youth are sometimes uncertified. However, certification is now mandatory to live as an independent monk, so young monks devote themselves to studying for the exam.

The educational institution for this is called a *sathindait*, a scholarly monastery. A scholarly monastery is a type of boarding school that provides young monks with opportunities to study Buddhism and the Pāli language. Although

any monastery more or less imparts Buddhist education to young monks, scholarly monasteries are different from other common monasteries in that they have special education curriculums and well-equipped environments for students to concentrate on their studies. In this way, young monks' lives are characterized by *pariyatti*. After finishing their basic studies, monks are free to pursue their interests, and if the opportunity arises, establish their own monastery to educate young monks.

One of the most important features of young monks' lives is their frequent movement. In this case the movement does not mean short-term movement, such as visits to their homes and travel—it means changing monasteries, as young monks tend to move from rural to urban areas. This pattern emerges because the distribution of scholarly monasteries is biased in favor of urban locations. Scholarly monasteries, which have a large number of students, incur heavy expenses and so tend to be located in urban areas. Therefore, young monks move from village to town to study Buddhist scriptures.

However, this is not a one-off move. Monks move frequently in their teens and twenties. Table 3 shows the results of a survey of fifty students at Yangon Buddhist University (Naingando Pariyatti Thathana Tetkatho). These students are expected to move between monasteries every few years until they enter university.

The reason why young monks move so frequently is because they are in search of suitable scholarly monasteries. Each scholarly monastery is unique with respect to the level of education, specialty, and living environment. For example, an important criterion is whether the monastery can provide food or not. As mentioned earlier, most of the larger monasteries, which accommodate more than thirty monks, are scholarly monasteries, and some of them even accommodate more than one hundred monks (there were 280 of these monasteries across the country in 2007). Such large monasteries are divided into two types: those that provide food to monks and those that do not. The former are common in

Average age of questionee	24.8 years old
Average age when they became a monk	12.1 years old
Average number of monasteries they have stayed at	4.3 monasteries
Average no. of years staying at a monastery	3.3 years

Table 3. Questionnaire on monks' movements (50 monks from Yangon Buddhist University, March 2007).

Yangon and the latter are common in Mandalay. Mandalay has flourished as a center of Buddhist study from the Konbaung dynasty period (1752–1886).

If a scholarly monastery does not provide food to monks who stay there, there are two ways for monks to acquire food. The first is for each monk to search for food by himself. In that case, monks need to find lay people or lay Buddhist organizations that will donate meals regularly. For example, in the early mornings, monks aim to visit places where they can see steam rising as it indicates that someone is cooking. Searching for food themselves is tough work and often monks cannot obtain sufficient meals. Many monks look back at their student days in Mandalay as the hardest time in their lives.

The second way is for monks to search for food as a dormitory unit, whereby large scholarly monasteries split into groups, and the dormitories transform into autonomous monasteries and the unity of the whole monastery is gradually lost. If monks go begging as a dormitory unit, each dormitory obtains lay followers who want to support not an entire monastery but a specific dormitory. When the abbot dies and it is time to choose a new abbot, each dormitory clamors to be independent because they can live by themselves and do not want to be governed by a new abbot. As a result, a large scholarly monastery comprised of several dormitories becomes a group of monasteries, consisting of several individual monasteries. In Burmese, such a monastic group is called a *kyaundait* (a large monastery), and each monastery in the monastic group is called *kyaun* (a dormitory). Therefore, it is difficult to distinguish between a monastic group and a large monastery (Figure 1). This tendency is particularly noticeable in Mandalay where there are a lot of large and old scholarly monasteries.

*The Method for Owning and Consuming Food*

THE PROBLEM OF OWNING AND CONSUMING FOOD

As has been discussed so far, how can monks acquire food? There is still another consideration—the question of how monks own and consume food. In a monk’s

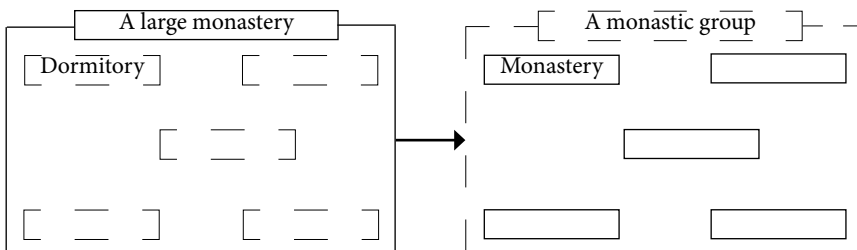


Figure 1. Dissolution of a large monastery.



life, which aims to reduce desire, it is meaningless if food itself becomes the subject of desire for monks. In Theravāda Buddhism, it is said that the reason why monks take food is just to maintain their bodies and to promote Buddhist training. In the monastery where I was staying, monks chanted the following sutra before meals:

With proper meditative introspection and attention, I partake of the food not to play, not to be mad with strength, not to beautify my physical structure, not to decorate my body, I take just to sustain the vitality of this body, to appease hunger, to support the noble religious practices and that former diseases may be dispelled and that new diseases may not arise; that my diet may be well-balanced, that I may have few inconveniences, and that I may live comfortably.<sup>2</sup>

Based on this principle, the Vinaya stipulates detailed rules of how monks should own and consume food. First, as for owning food, there are various limitations for what, how much, and how long they can own food. For example, they must not store any foods other than medicines, they must not have more robes and begging bowls than necessary, and so on. If someone donates a meal, they have to consume it on that day. Second, as for consuming food, they are prohibited from eating food that is not donated. They must also not eat solid food in the afternoon (drinking is allowed), must not cook, and must not eat at the same table with lay people. There are also many provisions relating to manners: they must not make a noise while eating, must not look to the side, and so on. However, restrictions on their meals themselves are not so strict, though they are often misunderstood, and Theravāda Buddhist monks can eat whatever lay people donate. Monks can even eat meat, unless the animals were deliberately killed for *dāna*.<sup>3</sup>

It should be emphasized that these constraints make it difficult for monks to deal with practical problems. How then should monks own and consume food in actuality? This appears to be a problem of how to organize the structure of a monastery, that is, how to adjust the relationship between monks or between monks and lay people. Therefore, here I would like to consider how monks own and consume food by analyzing the organization of a monastery.

### *The Structure of a Monastery*

As explained earlier, a monastery can be defined as a livelihood cooperative society that is formed by a *sīma*, and it typically consists of an abbot and ordinary monks. In large monasteries, there are occasionally some governing monks

2. This translation is quoted from SAO Htun Hmat Win (1986, 46).

3. For more information, see HAYASHI (2014).



Figure 2. Donating ritual to a *bhikkhu* (center) in the X monastery. Photo by the author.

other than the abbot. Within this structure there exists a kind of division of labor in which an abbot takes care of ordinary monks while they do the chores for the monastery.

In considering this problem, it should be pointed out that what monks can do depends on whether they are *bhikkhus* or *sāmaneras*. The most important difference between a *bhikkhu* and a *sāmanera* is that a *bhikkhu* is fully ordained by the ritual called *upasampadā* and needs to live based on the rules of the Vinaya, while a *sāmanera* is just a novice and the Vinaya rules do not apply to them.<sup>4</sup> However, this difference affects a lot of monastic life. For example, a *bhikkhu* must not cook and must not even touch foods that are not donated. Therefore, it is *sāmanera* and lay people who cook in monasteries and it is necessary for *bhikkhus* to donate a meal before eating the food cooked by *sāmaneras* and lay people (Figure 2).

Here, I would like to introduce X monastery near Yangon in which I stayed as a monk. X monastery is a scholarly monastery, which belongs to Shwegyin Gaing (a monastic group). It had 182 monks (42 *bhikkhus* and 140 *sāmaneras*) at the time. Governing monks consisted of an abbot, an adviser (the oldest monk in the monastery), seven lecturers, and monks who manage alms, water, cooking, the dining

4. A *sāmanera* keeps the Ten Precepts as their code of behavior and devotes themselves to religious life. They must refrain from 1) killing living things, 2) stealing, 3) unchastely conduct, 4) lying, 5) taking intoxicants, 6) eating in the afternoon, 7) singing, dancing, playing music, or attending entertainment performances, 8) wearing perfume, cosmetics, and garlands, 9) sleeping on luxurious, soft beds, and 10) accepting money.

	GROUP FOR BEGGING	GROUP FOR COOKING
2:00		Cook rice [two <i>sāmaneras</i> ]
4:00	Wake up	Wake up
4:30–5:00	Meditate	Prepare for breakfast
5:30–6:00	Breakfast	Breakfast
6:00–6:30	Clean up	Wash dishes
6:30–7:45	Classes	Classes
8:00–9:30	Beg	Prepare for lunch
10:00–11:00	Bathe	Prepare for lunch
11:00–12:00	Lunch	Lunch and wash dishes
12:00–13:00	Break	Break
13:00–17:00	Classes	Classes
17:00–18:00	Chores	Prepare juice and breakfast
18:30–19:00	Chant	Chant
19:30–20:30	Classes	Classes
21:00–22:00	Meditate	Meditate
22:00	Go to bed	Go to bed

Table 4. Daily routine of ordinary monks in X monastery.

room, and shopping respectively. The rest were ordinary monks. These ordinary monks are classified into two groups. One group begs, comprising four teams because they go begging to four places every day, and the other group cooks, and comprises one team. Each team changes its charge alternately every week. Table 4 shows the daily routine of ordinary monks. Because it is a scholarly monastery, there are many classes and self-study time and monks carry out begging or cooking duties in between these times. Of course, it is *sāmaneras* who are engaged

in cooking and the preparation of dishes, because *bhikkhus* are prohibited from cooking. In such situations, *bhikkhus* are in charge of organizing *sāmaneras*.

However, the organization of the monastery would be inefficient if it only consisted of monks. Because *sāmaneras*, like *bhikkhus*, are also prohibited from storing foodstuff and touching money, they cannot receive monetary donations nor buy provisions that are necessary for the monastery. Therefore lay people, who are in charge of miscellaneous duties for monks, are indispensable to a monastery. In Myanmar, such a layperson is called a *weiyawitsa* (a chore person). They may live in the monastery or come to the monastery when the monastery needs some help. In a broader sense, they are also members of the monastery. In some monasteries, there are also *pho thudo*, lay people who live in the monastery dressed in white who help with the various chores of the monastery. While old people used to be in charge of *pho thudo*, these days it is boys who are in charge of these duties. These boys live in the monastery in the pre-stages of *sāmanera* life, adhering to five precepts of lay people.<sup>5</sup>

Chore people engage in various activities to support the lives of monks, such as cooking, cleaning, looking for *dāna*, farming, and so on. However, the most important role is that of *kappiyakāraka*, a trustee to manage goods in the monastery on behalf of monks. For example, if there is extra food, trustees store it on the grounds of the monastery. Lay people and *sāmaneras* cook the stored foodstuff and donate it to *bhikkhus*. The same is also true for a variety of goods other than food, such as robes and bowls. Extra robes and bowls are deposited to trustees and they donate them to monks when needed. In this way, monks can own goods without actually owning them themselves. Figure 3 shows the spatial structure of X monastery. The shaded portions refer to lay people from which X monastery can always receive *dāna*.

Similarly, through the intervention of a trustee, it becomes possible for monks to handle money. As described previously, monks are forbidden to receive and use money. However, it is no problem for a trustee to receive, manage, and use money. In this way, the presence of lay people in a monastery loosens the constraints of the Vinaya that is imposed on monks. Monks cannot possess and consume food efficiently without lay people.

### *The Problem of the Organization of a Monastery*

However, such a system does not always function effectively. For example, if a monk is not willing to obey the rules of the Vinaya, he would not utilize such

5. These five precepts are 1) to abstain from taking life, 2) to abstain from taking what is not given, 3) to abstain from sensuous misconduct, 4) to abstain from false speech, and 5) to abstain from intoxicants as tending to cloud the mind.

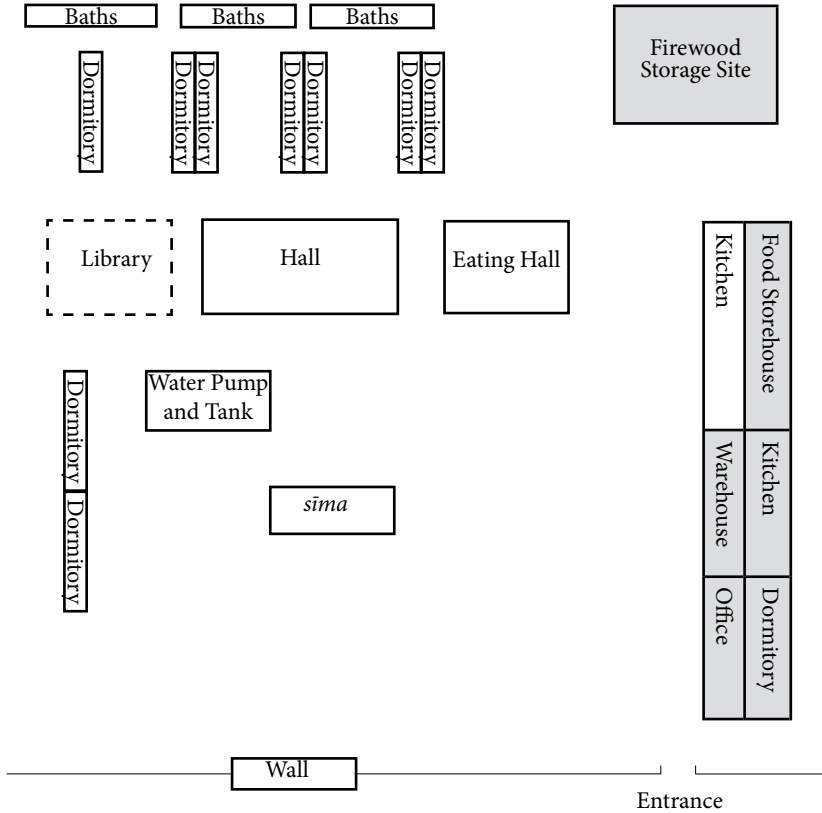


Figure 3. The spatial structure of Monastery X.

a troublesome method of interposing lay people. On the other hand, the lack of lay people (both in quantity and quality) often causes monks to violate the Vinaya, even though it is against their desires. It can be said that a monk's life is inevitably conditional on the existence of lay people.

First, and particularly in the monasteries in the urban areas, there are insufficient numbers of people to carry out chores. What is important in considering this issue is that the help of such lay people is a kind of *dāna* of labor too. Therefore, whether monks can obtain sufficient *dāna* is also uncertain. In the current situation in Yangon, it is common for the parents and relatives of an abbot, or people who come from a rural area to the city for school enrollment and employment, to play the role of chore people. They often come from the same hometown or the same ethnic group as the abbot of the monastery. However, it is necessary

to provide at least food and a place to sleep and to pay salaries to such lay people. If monks cannot afford such things, they have to manage their monastery without chore people.

Second, there is a problem in that it is not unusual for trustees, who manage the monastery property, to abscond with the money. Monasteries may become environments prone to fraud. In the past, it was believed that to steal the possessions of monks was a fatal sin that would send a criminal to hell. However, such ideas have waned in recent years. Therefore, monks, who are afraid of being caught up in such troubles, do not want to trust their property to lay people. There is also the problem that lay people lack an understanding of the life of a monk, and they often do not know what kind of rules monks have to obey or how lay people should connect with them.

The problems listed above relate to the entire monastery. Turning our attention to each individual monk, the problem becomes more complicated. Even in monasteries in which there is a lot of help from lay people, it is rare that such help reaches individual monks. In order to live in conformity with the Vinaya, monks themselves need to ask lay people to take on the role of trustees. In these cases, however, they have to pay some kind of return and bear the extra cost. For example, monks have to pay for a trustee's ticket when they want to travel somewhere by bus or train. For this reason, monks often say, "I want to observe the rules, but I cannot," or "only wealthy elder monks can observe the Vinaya."

We can easily find these problems in the scholarly monasteries of the city, as it is common for monks to violate the Vinaya, in particular the precepts that forbid them from receiving and using money. For example, as seen earlier, in scholarly monasteries in Mandalay, which are the centers of Buddhist study, each monk must acquire food by himself because there are too many monks in monasteries and it is impossible to provide a meal for all monks. Many students purchase food instead of begging because they are too busy with learning. However, it is rare for students to have a private trustee, so they almost inevitably violate the Vinaya.

Although scholarly monasteries in Yangon usually offer food to students, students still need to purchase stationery, books, and household goods, and pay for moving expenses by themselves. When I asked some students of a scholarly monastery about these costs in 2007, they said that it costs about 70,000 to 100,000 *kyat* (roughly 50 to 73 USD) per year and their parents or masters, who have ordained them, usually support such expenses. However, most students do not have private trustees who will manage such money matters for them. Thus, they handle money on their own.

The violation of the rules for money leads to further violations. For young monks who are in their teens and twenties and come from rural areas, the city is an exciting place. Therefore, if young monks have money in such a place, it is

easy for them to give in to temptation to do various activities that are forbidden by the Vinaya, such as watching movies, listening to music, and so on. Cities also offer a high degree of anonymity, thus sparing them the shame of not observing the Vinaya. These factors promote the violation of the law by students of scholarly monasteries.

On the other hand, many scholarly monasteries do not take any measures to address this situation. The more students that pass the Buddhist examinations, the more student numbers increase. The more students a scholarly monastery has, the more *dāna* it will gain. In this way, many scholarly monasteries tend to give priority to Buddhist examinations and this leads to reduced management of students. However, this is not only a problem for scholarly monasteries.

As we saw earlier, scholarly monasteries are the cornerstones of Myanmar Buddhism. Young monks study Buddhism in scholarly monasteries in urban areas, but life in scholarly monasteries demands that monks deal with money on their own, and this induces various violations of the Vinaya. In addition, since these violations are not strictly governed, monks gradually become familiar with these violations. In this way, scholarly monasteries in urban areas have become the production bases of learned monks. Since such monks who disregard the Vinaya come to lead monasteries in various places around Myanmar, the tendency to violate the laws spreads as a result. Therefore, the problems in scholarly monasteries relate to the quality of Buddhism in the entire country of Myanmar.

### *Conclusion*

The problem of food is one of the most important problems in monks' lives. The question that arises is, how do the believers of each religion deal with this food problem? How do they acquire, own, and consume food? This paper has used Theravāda Buddhist monks of Myanmar as an example. As we have seen, food problems in religious practices show a complex situation between the concepts of "religion" and "secular." Theravāda Buddhism has designed the lifestyle of monks as a means of leading to *nibbāna*, and the most important doctrine for monks' life is the Vinaya. However, the reality of a monk's life is not only defined by metaphysical teachings, such as those classified as "religious." Monks are also flesh and blood human beings and this fact has a significant impact on the reality of their lives.

As we have seen in this paper, the food problem, which has been neglected in religious studies as a "secular" issue, affects more than one aspect of the religious practice of monks. For example, the reason why they become monks, the way their life course develops, the way the monastery is organized, and so on. Of course, such "secular" factors should not be overestimated as well. We cannot capture the true essence of the real lives of monks if we are particular about

the distinction between the words “religion” and “secular,” which are ideas of modern European origin. What is important is to describe carefully how believers deal with the actual problems in which various factors, such as the doctrinal ideal, economic issues, the institutional position of the religion, the social environment, and so on are interconnected.

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KURITA Hidehiko

## The Notion of *Shūyō* and Conceptualizing the Future of Religion at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

This article argues that the term *shūyō* was developed as a new conceptual category imbued with religious undertones, particularly in response to the views of Inoue Tetsujirō regarding the future of religion as expressed in his notion of “ethical religion” (*rinriteki shūkyō*), and specific critiques directed toward Inoue by contemporaneous religious reformers. There were two contradictory movements at the turn of the twentieth century: one that advocated the separation of “religion” and “education,” and the other that viewed religion as necessary to successfully construct an ethical education. It was in this dynamic that Inoue and other religious thinkers contemplated new possibilities for religion. Religious thinkers criticized the abstract nature of the “ethical religion” theory and attempted to construct a more practice-based form of “ethical religion” under the conceptual framework of *shūyō*, in which insights and ideals expressed by religious figures and founder figures, as well as concrete practices such as *zazen*, were emphasized. The notion of *shūyō* was used by various thinkers and had a wide range of influence in prewar Japan as a category that transcended the boundaries of “ethics” and “religion” and went beyond various forms of religion.

KEYWORDS: Inoue Tetsujirō—moral education—religious evolution—ethical religion—self cultivation—religious reformers

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*A Survey of Previous Scholarship on Shūyō<sup>1</sup> and Remaining Issues*

The purpose of this article is to examine the establishment of the notion of *shūyō* at the turn of the twentieth century by considering the connections it had to contemporaneous developments in the intellectual search for new forms of religion.

There has been notable research on *shūyō* theories by Kiyozawa Manshi 清沢満之 (1863–1903) and Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造 (1862–1933), the youth organization (*seinen dan* 青年団) of Tazawa Yoshiharu 田澤義鋪 (1885–1944), and the *shūyō* organization (*shūyō dan* 修養団) of Hasunuma Monzō 蓮沼門三 (1882–1980) (see MIYAKAWA 1971; TAKEDA 1967; YASUTOMI 1994; SHIMAZONO 1997; TAKEDA 1964; MATSUMURA 1973; SEGAWA 2005). These studies analyzed the significance and limitations of the notion of *shūyō*, focusing on how they related to the construction of a modern self that was marked with independence and subjectivity. The critical successors to this form of study were studies that appraised discourses on *shūyō* as a form of peaceful ethics (*wagō rinri* 和合倫理) and harmonious thought (*chōwa shisō* 調和思想) (SHIMAZONO 1992; MORIKAMI 2004). There are also studies that analyzed popular views of *shūyō* thought as *shūyō*-ism (*shūyō shugi* 修養主義), presenting it as a Japanese form of “the capitalist spirit” (TSUTSUI 2009). While much focus has been placed on the relationship between *shūyō* and the modern period, due to too much emphasis on individual ideological movements and issues of modernization, there has been a tendency in scholarship to overlook broader historical shifts in *shūyō* discourse that neglect the vast constellation of other forms of ideological thought in the same period.

1. Studies in English have previously translated the term *shūyō* as “self-discipline” or “self-cultivation” and have emphasized that the term includes a specific Japanese nuance. Anthropologist Ruth BENEDICT, in the eleventh chapter of her book *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), argued that it differed from the American idea of self-discipline in that it did not necessarily mean to imply “self-sacrifice” and “frustration,” but rather the ultimate liberation from the Japanese people’s own moral consciousness. She analyzed it from the anthropological viewpoint of “patterns of culture,” which has since often been the object of criticism by later scholars. By contrast, Janine Tasca SAWADA, in her book *Practical Pursuit* (2004), focused on the history of personal cultivation in nineteenth-century Japan, out of which *shūyō* discourse eventually appeared in modern Japan. In my article, rather than focus on its continuity, I consider the influence that social and institutional factors had on the transformation of self-cultivation in the modern period. In other words, I clarify how philosophies and practices of self-discipline or self-cultivation before the Meiji period were reconstructed in modern Japan, a period well-known for its promotion of “civilization.” The term *shūyō* is a key concept in this reconstruction.

In this regard, recent studies on the intellectual history of *shūyō* conducted since the beginning of the first decade of the twenty-first century have shown significant development. Wang Cheng 王成 conducted a detailed examination of Meiji period *shūyō* thought and clarified important transitions (WANG 2004). According to Wang, *shūyō* should not be understood in terms of classic Confucian moral philosophy (WANG 2004), but rather as a term that appeared in the early Meiji period that gestured toward self-cultivation and the making of the modern individual. However, after the Meiji 20s it started to be utilized as a term that could substitute or complement the formalized *shūshin kyōiku* 修身教育, a moral training education that emphasized loyalty and patriotism, and it was through this that the term took root as one that marked the advancement of an individual's spirit and character. After this, it was due to intellectuals who aimed to construct a new morality that *shūyō* came to be incorporated as a modern and new ethic ideal. Building upon Wang's work, Wasaki Kōtarō 和崎光太郎 focused on *shūyō* discourse after the Meiji 30s, and, through the lens of educational history, analyzed magazines such as *Kyōiku jiron* 教育時論, *Taiyō* 太陽, and *Chūgaku sekai* 中学世界 (WASAKI 2006; 2007). He concluded that the term *shūyō* functioned as a kind of "trump card" when criticizing existing forms of education as "formalized," "by rote," and "mechanical," and that it could be seen as the emergence of a critique toward the existing state of affairs, which eventually led to the New Education Movement of the Taishō period.

While I agree with the points made by these previous studies that have focused on intellectual history, it is problematic that there has yet to be a study that takes into account the context of religious history. Among those involved in *shūyō* discourse, many were religionists, and the influence of various religions on *shūyō* thought has been pointed out in previous studies. However, they have only been noted as individual cases or in a piecemeal manner, and there has yet to be a study that attempts to place *shūyō* discourse within the broader developments of religion in modern Japan. Specifically, movements seen in the Meiji 30s, when both Buddhist and Christian camps began to expound upon *shūyō* discourse, cannot be fully explained when the analysis is limited to an individual religion or only within the context of educational history. The modern period in Japan was a time when the conceptual categories of "Christianity," "Buddhism," and "Religion" were questioned and reconstructed (ISOMAE 2003; KETELAAR 1990; HOSHINO 2012a). As such, it is necessary to place *shūyō* discourse within the development of religious discourse of the modern period, and it is through this that we may start to see the more religious elements in the concept of *shūyō*.

With these points in mind, I will focus on the *shūyō* discourse of religionists and scholars of religion active in the Meiji 30s. I have employed three separate time frames to clarify the historical development of religious thought in modern Japan. The first period ranges from the Meiji Restoration (1868) to the issu-

ing of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890). The second period continues from that point until the issuing of the permission for mixed residence (1899) and the prohibition order on religious education (August 1899), both connected to moves for treaty revision. The third period continues until 1905, just before the start of the *shūyō* boom (TAKEUCHI 1988, 176–77). At each juncture of these three time periods, there were debates on “Education and Religion” instigated by philosopher Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1856–1944) (SHIGETA 2007; 2008). As I will discuss in more detail below, it was in response to these debates that the framing and content of *shūyō* discourse took form.

### 1. *Shūyō in the First and Second Periods: Christianity, Independence, Morality*

The first appearance of the term *shūyō* in the modern period can be found in the 1871 (Meiji 4) publication of Nakamura Masano’s 中村正直 translation of Samuel Smiles’s *Self-Help*, the *Saikoku risshi hen* 西国立志編.<sup>2</sup> This book included specific examples of the conduct of well-recognized figures, and as it emphasized the importance of self-motivated efforts in achieving success, it gained a wide readership as a bible of early Meiji period careerism (MIKAWA 2009). Here, the term *shūyō* did not convey a specific form of knowledge that was to be gained by education through an institution, but rather was seen as a spiritual improvement that was nourished through one’s work within social surroundings and aimed toward achieving independence and success. This usage of the term *shūyō* is also seen in the discourse on women by Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 that appeared in the first publication of *Kokumin no tomo* 国民之友 in 1887 (Meiji 20). He advocated women to nourish their basic spirit of “self-respect and self-love” through Christianity and to enter into society to participate in politics, referring to this as “religious *shūyō*,” “social *shūyō*,” and “political *shūyō*.”

The first period of *shūyō* can be viewed as a “*shūyō* of the independent mind,” in the same vein as the careerism of the early Meiji period. However, the term *shūyō* at this time did not have the cohesiveness to render it a concept.<sup>3</sup> Until around Meiji 10, there was no consensus on the translation of the terms “religion” and “education” (ISOMAE 2003, 29–66; NIE 2013), and what Tanigawa Yutaka 谷川穰 has correctly referred to as the “period of teaching” (*kyō no jidai*

2. WANG (2004, 120–24). Although Wang does not address this, the term *shūyō* can be found in books on nourishing one’s life and health (*yōjō* 養生) from the early modern period, especially *Shūyōhen* 修養篇 (1662) by Noma Sanchiku 野間三竹 and *Yōjōkun* 養生訓 (1713) by Kaibara Ekiken. This is an interesting fact in relation to late Meiji notions of the cultivation of body and mind, but the notion of *shūyō* in early Meiji seems to have lost the meaning of *yōjō*.

3. WANG (2004, 122–24). Wang points out that the term *shūyō* was not in dictionaries during this time and that the first time it appeared in a dictionary was in the 1904 publication of *Shinpen kango jirin* 新編漢語辭林.

教の時代); it was a time when institutional overlap was seen between education (*kyōiku* 教育), edification (*kyōka* 教化), and religion (*shūkyō* 宗教) (TANIGAWA 2008, 6–10). Furthermore, Christianity was viewed as inseparable from the “civilization and enlightenment” (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化) that was being imported from the West and was understood as harmonious with scholarly learning and morality (HOSHINO 2012a, 24–44, 209–16). This understanding of Christianity can also be seen in the translator’s introduction to *Self-Help* written by Nakamura Masano in which he says, “The strength of Western countries comes from their people’s faith in Way of the Heavens (Christianity)” (SMILES 1859). In other words, the term *shūyō* was used in the context of Christianity, which was understood as inseparable from politics and morality, and was also closely associated with the notion that the independence of the individual would lead to the prosperity of the nation.

What caused this situation to shift were the first debates on “Education and Religion,” in other words, the debates on the clash between education and religion that appeared after the Incident of Disrespect by Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三 (SEKI 1893; INOUE 1893). At this time Inoue Tetsujirō, who had just taken a post as a professor at the Imperial University, argued that the monotheistic nature of Christianity was at odds with the basic purport of the Imperial Rescript on Education, which was “loyalty and filial piety” (*chūkō* 忠孝), and he viewed this as an opportunity to state that Christianity should be removed from education in schools.

Due to this provocation for debate that was initiated by Inoue, those within the Christian camp were pressured to find a way to express the social value of Christianity, while still affirming the importance of the Imperial Rescript on Education. Yokoi Tokio 横井時雄 (1857–1927) was one person who actively supported Uchimura’s position in this debate. He claimed that Christianity did not go against notions of loyalty and filial piety and argued that it is only after a *shūyō* of the “foundations of one’s mind-spirit” (*shinrei no konpon* 心靈の根本) that one is able to practice loyalty and filial piety. He claimed that the Christian church provided the “social meeting place for the *shūyō* of morals” (YOKOI and HARADA 1894, 26, 61–65).

Matsumura Kaiseki 松村介石 (1859–1939), in his *My Moral Education* (*Wagatō no tokuiku* 我党の徳育) published in 1893, also responded to the Uchimura Kanzō Incident. While praising the content of the Imperial Rescript on Education, Matsumura defends Uchimura’s actions by pointing out that he does not see anywhere in the Imperial Rescript on Education that specifically states that reverence or worship is required of its citizens, and argues that a “*shūyō* of practical morality” (*jitsu toku no shūyō* 実徳の修養) should be emphasized more than a show of respect as a formality. However, as for his proposed method, rather than relying on a religious education that only has an effect on the followers of a

specific tradition, he suggests a “normalized method of moral education” (*futsū no tokuiku hō* 普通の徳育法) that entails “spiritual lectures” (*seishin teki kōwa* 精神的講話) that teaches the conduct and words of saints from the East and West, and he encourages the teachers themselves to conduct *shūyō* and to act as the role model for students. With that said, the ideas he put forth were founded in Christian thought in that he viewed the ultimate goal of moral education to be in a “divinity” (*tendō* 天道) that transcended the matters of men (MATSU-MURA 1893, 1–10, 13–15).

As Wang and Wasaki have pointed out, *shūyō* in this period was a term used to imply a striving for an internal sense of morality that was in contraposition to formalism, and education in knowledge and practical techniques to get by in the world. The type of morality discussed in this period emphasized an internal virtue that was understood to supplement the virtues of “loyalty and filial piety” and were cut off from issues of social or political independence. In this sense, *shūyō* in this second period was a “*shūyō* of the virtuous mind” (*dōtoku shin no shūyo* 道德心の修養).

Matsumura Kaiseki went on to push forward the claims he made in *My Moral Education* and published the first *shūyō* text written by a religionist, the *Shūyō Record* (*Shūyō roku* 修養録) in 1899. As I will explain later, Yokoi Tokio also established the Teiyū Society (*Teiyū konwa kai* 丁酉懇話会), and continued to express the importance of an “ethical *shūyō*” (*rinri shūyō* 倫理修養) that transcended religious boundaries.

## 2. A Premonition of a New Form of “Religion”: Religious Reformation, Evolutions in Religion, and Ethical *Shūyō*

The first phase of the debates on “Education and Religion” had begun by the time of the second period. Order No. 12 of the Ministry of Education—which prohibited all schools, both private and public, from teaching religion in schools—had been promulgated and progress had been made in the institutionalization of the notion of “separation of education and religion” (HISAKI 1990, 80–81; HISAKI 1973–1976). It is in this period that the notion of religion, through its removal from the realm of politics and education, developed as a concept that was characterized by transcendence and internal faith (see HOSHINO 2012a). However, for those who continued to emphasize the importance of religion in educating citizens, they shifted their focus from education in schools to emphasizing the significance of religion within the realm of social education, and pushed to establish a form of teaching and practice that did not conflict with science and national morality. Furthermore, due to the issuing of permission for mixed residence (that is, the mixing of Japanese and foreigners), it was predicted that this would be the cause for religious chaos. While there were actions taken by some

groups that sought protection by the state, as seen in the “Movement for the Recognition of Buddhism as an Official Religion” (*Bukkyō kōnin kyō undō* 仏教公認教運動), there were also attempts to formulate a unifying religion. The second phase of the “Education and Religion” debates and the *shūyō* of the third period developed within the discussions regarding these religious reforms.

First I will clarify the developments of religious reforms. Specifically, I will look at both the activities of specific religious reformers in the various Buddhist schools and the writings and practices of academic scholars of religion who closely observed these developments.

### 1. THE REFORMIST RELIGIONISTS

From roughly the Meiji 20s, there were missionary efforts in Japan by a number of Christian denominations known as “New Theology” (*shin shingaku* 新神学), such as the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Society (Fukyū Fukuon Kyōkai 普及福音教会), Unitarianism, and Universalism (SUZUKI 1979, 23–88). What these denominations shared in common was a liberal orientation through a reading of the Bible with the approach of higher criticism and a rationalization of traditional forms of authority and doctrine. As these liberal forms of interpretations allowed an understanding of Christianity that was fit for Japan (a “Japanese Christianity”), people mentioned above such as Yokoi Tokio and Matsumura Kaiseki, and Christians associated with Dōshisha such as Kanamori Michitomo 金森通倫 and Ebina Danjō 海老名弾正 were influenced by these teachings. It was also through a rejection of this movement that the evangelical stance of those such as Uemura Masahisa 植村正久 was formulated. In particular, due to the ideas in Unitarianism that rejected the trinity and the divine nature of Jesus, there were a number of notable converts from Buddhism, such as Saji Jitsunen 佐治実然, Hirai Kinza 平井金三 (YOSHINAGA and NOSAKI 2005), and Nakanishi Ushiro 中西牛郎 (1859–1930), who I will discuss in more detail in the next section.

Around the same time, there were also reform movements within Buddhist circles. The Shinshu Otani-ha reformist movements of the Shirakawa Group led by Kiyozawa Manshi and the *Seishin-shugi* 精神主義 associated with his religious circle *Kōkōdō* 浩々堂 is well known, but there were also movements for reform within the Shinshu Honganji-ha. Nakanishi Ushiro, who was both the assistant principle and professor at the Honganji-ha Daigakurin Bungakuryō (本願寺派大学林文学寮), advocated a series of reforms in Buddhism starting with his *Discourse on the Revolution of Religion* (*Shūkyō kakumei ron* 宗教革命論) in 1889, in which he expressed that in addition to an intellectual understanding of Buddhism, the teachings of Jesus should also be valued for his teachings on morality (HOSHINO 2012a, 112–30). His theories on reform called for further developments in the publication of Buddhist magazines and the Young Men’s Buddhist Associations at private schools, and received strong support from young Bud-

dhists (ŌTANI 2012). One of them was Furukawa Rōsen 古河老川, who established the *Keiikai* 経緯会 (that published the journal *Bukkyō*) and called for reforms that incorporated a trans-Buddhist perspective. Some members of the Shirakawa Group and Chikazumi Jōkan 近角常観 (1870–1941) (IWATA 2014; ŌMI 2014), who would later go on to establish the *Kyūdō gakusha* 求道学舎 that influenced many students and intellectuals, also joined the *Keiikai* group. In 1899, the *Keiikai* group disbanded, but most members reconvened to establish the *Bukkyō seito dōshi kai* 仏教清徒同志会 (in 1903, it was renamed *Shin bukkyōto dōshi kai* 新仏教清徒同志会, hereafter *Shin Bukkyō*, meaning New Buddhism).<sup>4</sup> Katō Totsudō 加藤咄堂 (1870–1949), who would later become a prominent *shūyō* advocate, was an important member of *Shin Bukkyō*. *Shin Bukkyō* began the publication of a periodical of the same name, *Shin bukkyō*, that focused on themes such as a healthy form of religious faith, a search for freedom, an eradication of superstition, a rejection of institutions and rituals, and independence from political authority. The group sought to explore a new form of Buddhism and was involved in various forms of activities, also having links to Unitarian and socialist movements. Leading members such as Tanaka Jiroku 田中治六 and Sakaino Kōyō 境野黄洋 presented a teleological understanding of Buddhist thought based on the “phenomenon-as-reality” theory and in the periodical emphasized the importance of the *shūyō* of one’s character (HOSHINO 2012b, 430–37; TEDO 2000). The “phenomenon-as-reality” theory was a philosophical stance proposed by Inoue Tetsujirō that stated that the various forms of “phenomenon” in the world are in actuality the “reality” of equality and non-discrimination, and that the two are one and the same (INOUE 1900; WATABE 1998). This is the same notion that Inoue espoused in his article, “Thoughts on the Future of Religion” (*Shūkyō no shōrai ni kansuru iken* 宗教の将来に関する意見), which I will discuss in more detail later. It is for this reason that within the second phase of the “Education and Religion” debates, Inoue also expressed high expectations for the *Shin Bukkyō* group (*Critique*, 356).<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, innovative individuals in Zen circles such as Imakita Kōsen 今北洪川 and Shaku Sōen 釈宗演 (1860–1919) had also begun proselytizing to intellectuals. In particular, Shaku Sōen is well known for his international activities at the World’s Parliament of Religions in Chicago (1893) and his proselytizing efforts in the U.S. (1905) (SHIN BUKKYŌ KENKYŪKAI, ed., 2012, 336–38; INOUE Zenjō 2000), but he was also active in trans-religious efforts. In 1896 (Meiji 29), Sōen suggested the establishment of the “Social Gathering for Religionists” (*Shūkyōka kondan kai* 宗教家懇談会), and became the

4. SHIN BUKKYŌ KENKYŪKAI, ed. (2012). Chikazumi, who held opposing views with regard to issues on the official recognition of Buddhism, did not take part in the *Shin Bukkyō* group.

5. See AKIYAMA (1902). Since I will be frequently quoting this text in this article, I have abbreviated it as (*Critique*, page number).



founder of the group along with Togawa Yasuie 戸川安宅 (chief editor of *Nihon Shūkyō* 日本宗教), Iwamoto Yoshiharu 巖本善治 (founder of *Jogaku zasshi* 女学雑誌), and Ōuchi Seiran 大内青巒 (founder of *Meikyō shin shi* 明教新誌). This group included innovative individuals from Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian circles, and there were also scholars of religion such as Kishimoto Nobuta 岸本能武太 (1866–1928, Unitarian) and Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 (1873–1949). Katō Totsudō also served as the editorial director for the *Meikyō shin shi*. With regard to this social gathering, magazines such as *Hansei zasshi* (Buddhist) and *Fukuin shinpō* (Christian) wrote pieces that expressed high expectations in its potential to vitalize the study of comparative religions and even create a new form of religion.<sup>6</sup> Anesaki, in his analysis of the motivations of group members, suggested that there were those who “hoped for the harmony and unification of differing religions” and those who viewed it as “a method to instigate a kind of religious ethical movement” and viewed Shaku Sōen, Katō Totsudō, and Matsumura Kaiseki as representing the former category and Yokoi and Matsumura as those in the latter category.<sup>7</sup>

Around this time, lay Buddhist and student of Sōen, Suzuki Daisetsu 鈴木大拙 (1870–1966), wrote *A Recommendation for Quiet Sitting* (*Seiza no susume* 静坐のすすめ, 1899) under the suggestion of Sōen. The intended audience for this book were young intellectual elites, and it stressed that the practice of zazen meditation as it appears in the *Manual of Zazen* (*Zazen gi* 坐禅儀) of the Rinzai school can be utilized for nonreligious purposes—such as increasing concentration, the *shūyō* of one’s morals, and the relaxation of one’s mental state. Physiological and psychological thought is used for the basis of the claims he makes in this work, and by stating that similar forms of meditation can be found in Christian and Confucian practices, it attempts to universalize the practice of zazen. Furthermore, it suggests that the content of *koan* practice can be sought from the Bible or the *Analects*, and that it is not necessary for one to use a Zen meditation hall for practice. In this way, the book can be seen as a negation of the Zen tradition of the “transmission of Buddha’s Truth without words or writings” (*kyōge betsuden* 教外別伝) and “direct transmission from master to disciple” (*shishi sōshō* 師資相承), opening up zazen as a practice that could be followed by the general public (SHAKU and SUZUKI 1899).

6. See SUZUKI (1979, 232–49). The event was held for the second time in 1897.

7. See ANESAKI (1912, 576–87). With regard to those who held the position that hoped for “the harmony and unification of differing religions,” Ōuchi Seiran 大内青巒, Shibata Reiichi 柴田礼一, Togawa Yasuie 戸川安宅, Matsumura Kaiseki 松村介石, and Ebina Danjō are also listed (585).

## 2. SCHOLARS OF RELIGION AND “NEW RELIGION”

As seen above, scholars of religion had close interactions with innovative religionists and it is clear that these scholars had great interest in the religious movements of their time. This may be part of the reason why their writings on religious history were marked with a sense of practicality. For example, the religious studies scholar Katō Genchi 加藤玄智 (1873–1965) (SHIMAZONO 1995; SHIMAZONO, TAKAHASHI, and MAEKAWA 2004) was assertive in addressing contemporaneous issues in Japan in his publication *New Thoughts on Religion* (*Shūkyō shinron* 宗教新論) in 1900. While basing his own ideas on Cornelis Petrus Tiele’s notion of religious evolution, he provides his own thoughts on the Shin Bukkyō group and Unitarianism, saying that it is due to the freedom of thought as expressed in these teachings that they should no longer consider themselves to be Buddhist or Christian. He anticipates a “New Religion” with the following suggestion: “Is it not true that the spirit of this age is already preparing to establish a universal form of a New Religion that is far more vast and unbounded than the existing world religions?” (KATŌ 1900, 414–13). He also expressed a hope that a “religious genius” would appear as a leader of this movement.

In 1898 (Meiji 31), Anesaki was responsible for the “Religion” section of the extended volume of the magazine *Taiyō*, which was to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary since the transfer of the capital, and wrote about the religious history of Japan since the Meiji Restoration (ANESAKI 1898). Anesaki, who viewed the history of Japanese religions as a history of “inclusion and assimilation” (212), saw the religious history of the Meiji period as following the same pattern, but in condensed form. He concludes that through the growing proximity of various religions following the national unity advocated during the Russo-Japanese War, the Meiji 20s was a “period of testing for the potential for a New Religion” (213) and that there were high hopes for the birth of an inclusive “New Religion.” However, he also criticized that “the management of denominations and organizing sectarian doctrine are trivial matters” (214) and pointed to the “New Religions Movement” and “Ethical Culture Movement” of the West, presenting a vision of the future by saying, “As for our 2,000 years of inclusive religious history, after entering into the Meiji Era, it has taken on a calling on a national level and is riding the great wave of inclusiveness of the world” (214). The “Ethical Culture Movement” which he points to here most likely refers to the movement advocated by Felix Adler (1851–1933), who proposed the motto of “deed, not creed” and asserted that religion will evolve into an “ethical religion.” Adler’s activities for the salvation of humanity that began as a social reformist movement shifted its focus to the issue of education in 1895, which emphasized the formulation of an ethical character through one’s activities in the secular world (SHŌJI 2006). In this way, Anesaki’s vision of religious history was a prac-

tical plan that placed the Ethical Culture Movement as the next step that was to come after the “period of testing for the potential for a New Religion” (213).

In fact, Anesaki himself attempted to make his vision into reality through the establishment of the Teiyū Society (*Teiyū konwa kai* 丁酉懇話会) in 1897 (renamed as Teiyū Society for Ethics, *Teiyū rinri kai* 丁酉倫理会, in 1900). In the document of intent it clearly states, “What we call ethical *shūyō* is an expression of our hope and the issues we currently face. It is neither a dogma, nor is it clerical. It is not something we wish to indoctrinate to society. We simply wish to investigate deeply and broadly the fundamental issues of ethics together and, more specifically, we only hope to fully commit to and promote the *shūyō* and practice of a moral mind together with the youth” (UNKNOWN 1900, 5). In reality, the *Teiyū konwa kai* functioned much like an academic association, but in its rejection of religious doctrine and emphasis on the “*shūyō* and practice of the moral mind,” for Anesaki, it was a form of practice that had important implications for his vision of religious history.<sup>8</sup> Katō Genchi also emphasized that the purpose of the *Teiyū konwa kai* was to eliminate superstitious thought found within Buddhism and Christianity in order to establish an ethical faith that could be seen as a kind of “new faith and religion” and a “movement of religious reform” (KATŌ 1901, 164–66). In other words, scholars of religion referenced theories on religious evolution in their conceptualization of the advent of an inclusive “New Religion,” while also taking specific means to prompt it to become a reality. It was in these developments that the term “*shūyō*” came to be connected with religious reform and the notion of “New Religion.”

### 3. Inoue Tetsujirō’s “Thoughts on the Future of Religion”

In his “Thoughts on the Future of Religion” (a lecture given in October 1899 and published in the December issue of *Tetsugaku zasshi*),<sup>9</sup> which initiated the second phase of the “Education and Religion” debate, Inoue makes the following remarks:

In the present day and around the world, the time is approaching for some sort of change in the form of religion. The Societies for Ethical Culture<sup>10</sup> that have

8. On Anesaki, see ISOMAE and FUKASAWA (2002). In Fukasawa’s “Anesaki Masaharu to kindai Nihon no ‘shūkyō mondai,’” included in this volume, he refers to Anesaki’s activities at this time as a “critical intervention” into the issues of religion (2002, 158). Anesaki’s vision of religious history and the *Teiyū rinri kai* were prime examples of this “critical intervention.”

9. In December, it was published in the *Kyōiku kōhō* 232 教育公報二二三号 and *Sonken ronbun shoshū* 巽軒論文初集, and in January and February of the following year, it was also printed as an ongoing series in the *Kyōiku jikken kai* 5, no. 2–3 教育実験界五卷二一三号. The same article was published in INOUE (1902), and I have used this version.

10. “Ethical culture” is translated here as *rinri teki shūren* 倫理的修練, which differs from Anesaki’s translation. It appears that the term *shūyō* was not yet the official translation of “culture.”

been appearing in Western nations are a clear sign of this. However, I feel that in our nation, the need for reform is even more urgent. There are various religions that have been able to coexist [in Japan], but there is still a tendency for each religion to teach their own doctrinal teachings, and the minds of the citizens are torn apart. (*Critique*, 27–28)

As can be seen here, there is a recognition of the movements of religious reform seen around the world, in particular of the rise of ethical culture, and while criticizing the current state of affairs in the religious world of Japan, he expresses a sense of anticipation for reform, a sentiment shared by Anesaki and Katō in their views on religious history. In the following section, I will focus on what has been called Inoue's "ethical religious theory," clarify in what way it reflects contemporaneous thought, and consider the reasons why it initiated a debate.

To begin with, Inoue viewed the separation of education and religion as inevitable, but expressed concern that this has caused the foundation of ethical education to be lost. According to Inoue, Confucianism and Buddhism were initially the source of ethical education, but due to the importation of Western academic practices, these teachings had become things of the past. However, he suggests that the mere knowledge one obtains through ethical studies is not enough to inspire internal motivation for ethical action (*Critique*, 3–5). It is from this awareness of the current issues that he comes to search for a common ground that is shared by the various religions, which can only be found through the removal of their specific characteristics. What was uncovered as common ground was the "concept of reality" (*jitsuzai no kannen* 实在の觀念). "Reality" itself cannot be described through language, but, Inoue claims, "it is the ultimate view of the world and life, and that all ethical principle originates from here" (*Critique*, 11). As for the concept of "reality," in various religions it has been expressed as "Brahman" (Bhramanism), "God" (Christianity), "Heaven" (Confucianism), "Tathāgata" or "Thusness" (Buddhism), and "Kami" (Shinto), but Inoue categorizes these terms as "personified," "universal," and "ethical." Among these, while reality as expressed in "personified" terms is seen in many religions, Inoue says that this cannot be accepted from the perspective of "scientific thought," such as the law of cause-and-effect and the nature of space. As for the "universal" understanding of reality that sees the world and reality as being one, not only is this not the predominant understanding in Christianity and Judaism, it is a mode of thought that comes out of philosophical reasoning and is not within the territory of religion. In comparison, Inoue sees the last category of "ethical" reality as an expression of the reality that exists within the spirit (*seishin* 精神) of each individual. According to Inoue, this is the only concept that is shared by all religions and poses no contradiction to scientific

thought. It is for this reason that he concludes that the value of religion does not lie in its preservation of a single worldview, but rather that it should “expound the unity of people and heaven, placing the essence of ethics within one’s mind” (*Critique*, 11–18).

In other words, when he speaks of “ethical religion,” what motivates a person to act in accordance with ethical behavior is not an external persuasion that considers the pros and cons based on self-interest, nor is it a set of ethical rules that is induced into an individual from the external world. Rather, when he says “within one’s mind,” Inoue suggests that this is the place where one can feel the place of “reality that is equal, non-discriminatory and transcends all experience.” This is also described as the “voice of the infinite Great Self” that precedes the “voice of the small self” that is based on individual desire (*Critique*, 19). This “voice of the Great Self,” while existing within the individual, simultaneously comes from a reality that goes beyond the individual. It is for this reason that when one follows the “voice of the Great Self,” the internal and external harmonize with each other, bringing a sense of fulfillment to the individual (*Critique*, 20). Inoue calls this “the greatest pleasure in life.” However, if one does not follow the “voice of the Great Self” and seeks the basis of one’s actions on external things, they will “become isolated in their solitude, move further into darkness from darkness, and in the end inevitably destroy themselves” (*Critique*, 22). In this way, in Inoue’s view of ethical religion, the internal salvation of an individual and the establishment of one’s ethical basis was an unmediated unity. When he says “the unity of people and heaven,” one could interpret this as the realm in which the ethical and religious are unified.

As seen above, in his pursuit of the essence of ethical education in which he attempted to remove the disparity in the doctrines, organizations, and practices among religions, he was able to construct something that went beyond the boundaries that divided various religions, and the categories of religion and ethics. This kind of religiosity that was marked with two levels of transcendence was also seen in Anesaki’s vision of religious history and his notion of ethical *shūyō*, and is reflective of contemporaneous intellectual culture. However, whereas Anesaki contained his ideas within the realm of “research,” Inoue, through his expression of a worldview understood through the notion of a “Great Self/small self”<sup>11</sup> and expounding on the “unity of people and heaven,” was able to present a more concrete example of what could be seen as a “New Religion.” However, when this comes to be viewed as “the *only* universal religion,” it has the potential to transform into a particular kind of theory that is capable of driving out all

11. Inoue was the first person to explicate on the “small self” as opposition to the “Great Self” (INOUE 1973, 34).

other religions. In fact, it is for this reason that his views became a catalyst for the second phase of the “Education and Religion” debates.

I would also like to add a little more about the limitations seen in Inoue’s notion of the “universal.” Inoue’s description of his vision of ethical religion as something that “governs each individual particle in the world” was in accordance with the broader trends seen around the world (*Critique*, 29), and in this sense, it could very well have been in direct conflict with *Nihonshugi* 日本主義 (“Japanism,” which emphasized the ideal of founding the Japanese nation for unifying the nation, rejecting not only Christianity, but also Buddhism as foreign religions) that was espoused by Takayama Chogyū 高山樗牛 and Kimura Takatarō 木村鷹太郎, which he himself praised just two years earlier. However, Inoue never confronted this issue and simply insisted that these two stances did not contradict each other. It could be said that while Inoue’s notion of the “universal” became the basis from which he could criticize various religions, it was also used as a means to seek harmony with the nation-state.

#### 4. *The Aftereffects of the Ethical Religion Theory and the Third Period of Shūyō: Character, Internal Contemplation, and Zazen*

Many of the responses to the second phase of the “Education and Religion” debates appeared around the years of Meiji 32–34, and the major voices were compiled in the *Compilation of Critiques of Professor Sonken’s Theory of Ethical Religion* (*Sonken hakushi rinriteki shūkyōron hihiyōshū* 巽軒博士倫理的宗教論批評集). The focus of many of these criticisms were on the abstract nature of the theory of ethical religion and the lack of structure seen in Inoue’s attempt to unify the category of ethics and religion, but in particular, it was important for many religionists to defend the position of the concepts and practices of their tradition against Inoue’s assertions. For this reason, it was through these debates that the categories of “reality” and the “individual,” which were understood as unmediated in Inoue’s ethical religion theory, and the relationship between ethics and religion were reevaluated in an attempt to provide a more concrete structure.

In the following section, I will clarify the second phase of the “Religion and Education” debates and show how this relates to the development of the third period of *shūyō*. In particular, I will focus on Chikazumi Jōkan, Kiyozawa Man-shi, and Katō Totsudō 加藤咄堂 who were all involved in *shūyō* discourse in the early Meiji 30s.

##### 1. “CHARACTER” AS THE GOAL OF SHŪYŌ

The rejection of the “personified” expression of reality posed a problem for those from Christian and Jōdo Shin circles, which emphasized the importance of a personified God and Amida Buddha. Inoue Enryō 井上円了 emphasized that an

expression that indicates a finite nature, in other words, a “personified” reality, was necessary as a “skillful means” to help those with limited qualities to comprehend the limitless.<sup>12</sup> Murakami Senshō 村上專精 explained that reality has little influential power unless it is viewed in the form of a personification, and Minami Hajime 三並良 argued that referring to reality as “ethical” is, in fact, personifying it. Maeda Chōta 前田長太 demonstrated that various philosophers, both ancient and present, accepted the personification of true reality, and Ebina Danjō stressed that the expression of true reality in the form of personification should be seen as the outcome of evolution. Tsunashima Ryōsen 綱島梁川 also expressed his critique by saying that an expression of reality that does not take the form of a personification will not be able to present an ideal form of ethics, as people would simply be unable to comprehend it (*Critique*, 106–23, 132–46, 179–89, 272–327).

However, it is important to note that these critics are not necessarily arguing for a personified reality that transcends the world, in the way that Inoue Tetsujirō rejected. For example, the personification of reality for Inoue Enryō and Murakami Senshō are merely “skillful means” (a method) and not considered to be in the realm of reality itself. This kind of mediation through the notion of “skillful means” was a point of emphasis for people like Enryō, but one could also imagine that an understanding of the function of skillful means as a way to reach another level of reality was a source of criticism as well. In fact, for Chikazumi Jōkan, who rejected a philosophical understanding of Buddhism and called for a more “practical form of religion” in 1900 (Meiji 30) (CHIKAZUMI 1900; ŌMI 2010), this was a problematic issue that he voiced:

The fact that the members of Shin Bukkyō cannot come to define a faith that is based on the fundamental meaning of a pantheistic doctrine, that Murakami, while claiming that the Buddha represents the ideal form, tries not to make prayers to it, that Professor Inoue Tetsujirō is exerting himself in his claim that the Great Self has no character, and yet is trying to hear its voice, that those of *Seishin-shugi* call “*nyorai, nyorai*” but in the end revert to a pantheistic *tathagata*, is because, in the end, this philosophical ontology has come to be seen as the center of religious thought. (CHIKAZUMI 1904, 18)

Chikazumi criticizes not only Murakami, but also the Shin Bukkyō group and Inoue Tetsujirō as falling into the problems associated with establishing a double nature of reality and suggested instead the importance of a “personified Buddha” (CHIKAZUMI 1904, 20–23). However, he also pointed out that this Buddha was one who “after resolving all of the issues of life, entered into the wondrous realm of the ultimate light” (CHIKAZUMI 1904, 85). In other words, for Chikazumi,

12. For a detailed analysis of Enryō’s thought, see HASEGAWA (2013).

the “personification” was not something that was formed simply to become an object of veneration, but was rather the very embodiment of the ideal law that people should strive for. For this reason, “faith” for Chikazumi is to “put everything one has into gazing into the spiritual light of the Buddha, to be resolute in removing defilement from one’s mind to march forward in following the right path,” and, on a daily basis, “to approach actual issues and to ask oneself whether there is not a single spot where the Buddha’s light has not reached” (CHIKAZUMI 1900, 105–106). For Chikazumi, this was the process in which one goes through *shūyō*. In other words, he took the double layer of “reality” and its “personification” and reconnected them with the notion of *shūyō*.

Perhaps it was due to these criticisms that Inoue Tetsujirō, in his article from the following year, recognized the necessity of a personified expression of reality for those who have not achieved a certain level of intellectual development (INOUE 1900, 437), and furthermore revised his thought by saying “there is a process of ethical development in that the small self transforms oneself for the better and strives to be like the Great Self.” In other words, “the unification of people and heaven” as immediately attained through religious experience and unmediated in the earlier version of this theory was now reinterpreted as a gradual process (INOUE 1908, 105). It is in this way that Inoue too came to speak of a *shūyō* theory that viewed the personification of the Four Saints (Confucius, Socrates, Shakyamuni, Christ) as the ideal models to which one should follow (INOUE 1915). Even Katō Totsudō, who advocated the *shūyō* of zazen, which I will explain in more detail later, advocated a “*shūyō* of one’s character” that took the “ideal harmonious character” (KATŌ Totsudō 1901, 45, 71) of Amida Buddha as its model. Later, Katō Genchi who went on to study Shinto, and attempted to read Shinto as a “*shūyō*-oriented faith in a personified figure” (MAEKAWA 2012, 89). In this way, the personified expression of true reality that was once rejected by Inoue Tetsujirō resurfaced as an important ideal through *shūyō* discourse.

## 2. SELF-REFLECTION AS A METHOD OF SHŪYŌ

Kiyozawa Manshi also developed his own criticisms toward the ethical religion theory, as he said, “it is entirely based on a *jiriki* (relying on self-power) attitude and does not have an inkling of *tarik*i (relying on other-power) attitude in it” (KIYOZAWA 1914, 674) and criticized it as ignoring the principle law of cause-and-effect and consideration of the Other. This critique can be said to be a clear example of a Buddhist thinker of the Shin school fully pushing forth their stance in *tarik*i faith. On the other hand, Kiyozawa was also a philosopher who, like Inoue Tetsujirō, took the stance of the “phenomenon-as-reality” theory (FUNAYAMA 1956; 1965). While it is clear that Kiyozawa was well aware of the fact that he emphasized the equality [of reality] far more than the distinc-



tions [of phenomenon] (SHIN BUKKYŌTO DŌSHIKAI, ed., 1903, 46), especially when compared to Shin Bukkyō who also followed the “phenomenon-as-reality” theory, it is clear that it was not his view that there was an ultimate being of reality that could be separated from the realm of phenomenon. It is for this reason that Kiyozawa recognized the correlation between ethics (the relationship between people) and religion (the relationship between people and reality) and said, “when one strives for individual perfection, one should wish to be ethical, and when one strives for ethical perfection, one should crave for religion,” and concludes that “if one is able to obtain a religious foundation, as an inevitable consequence they will come to understand that one’s ethical behavior toward others is of utmost importance” (KIYOZAWA 1914, 685). In his *shūyō jikan* 修養時感 published in 1903,<sup>13</sup> he refers to this process as *shūyō*. Kiyozawa sees the most essential element of *shūyō* as “internal contemplation” (KIYOZAWA 1903, 18), which he views as a reflection on the decisions made within the mind that determine the actions of an individual. However, if one maintains the practice of self-reflection that is based on judgments of true/false or good/evil, one will eventually come to understand that there is a limitation to one’s own ethical practice and understanding. At the point where one becomes thoroughly conscious of one’s own limitations, there is a realization of “the absolute limitless” and once this is accepted, faith in “the absolute limitless” arises (KIYOZAWA 1903, 31–62). It is in this way that an individual is able to obtain an immovable peace of mind and, according to Kiyozawa, this becomes a concrete form of belief for *shūyō*.

In Kiyozawa’s *shūyō* discourse, one can see a double layer structure in which there is first a *shūyō* that moves from a striving for ethics to a striving for religion, and the second that is based on a firm religious foundation. However, these two are connected by a thorough self-reflection that reverts a negation of *jiriki* towards an affirmation of *tariki*. Kiyozawa criticized the unmediated nature of ethical religion theory and he was able to reevaluate the “limitless” realm and “limited” realm as connected through the process of *shūyō* without getting trapped into the problems associated with its dual structure.

### 3. ZAZEN AS A METHOD OF SHŪYŌ

By contrast, Katō Totsudō fully accepted Inoue Tetsujirō’s points and specified that the “religions of the future” (*shōrai no shūkyō* 将来の宗教) should have the following qualities: 1) be inclusive; 2) be ethical; 3) be secular; and 4) be scientific. He also suggested that while there was room for improvement in the category of the “scientific,” that the Zen school was the most well equipped in terms of the

13. The first appearance was in *Mujintō* 無尽灯 (Meiji 31–June, Meiji 34).

other three categories and went as far as to say that the Zen teachings could compensate for areas lacking in the current state of ethics, which he viewed as tending to overly emphasize knowledge. Furthermore, while evaluating highly the *shūyō* of one's character as expounded by Shaku Sōen, he proposes a *shūyō* based on "the zen practice of correct posture and concentration" as a method for the "actual practice of ethics," which he purported was "to listen to the voice of the Great Self and thoroughly observe the nature of the mind endowed in each individual, and to act rigorously within the current society" (*Critique*, 268–72). These points were also repeated in his publication *Noble Talks on Shūyō* (*Shūyō seiwa* 修養清話) in 1901.

Katō continued to develop his thoughts on zazen *shūyō* theory in his publication *Meditation Theory* (*Meisō ron* 冥想論) in 1905. In this work, he compiled a wide variety of examples from Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Theosophy, Quakers, mystics, Daoist saints, Shinto, and spiritualism to show that meditative practices were taught in various forms of religions that expounded upon the "sublime union of the divine and human" (*shinjin gōitsu no myō* 神人合一の妙). The purpose of presenting these forms of meditative practices was to provide a way one could "directly observe the truth" expressed by the phenomenon-as-reality theory, and to experience the "unification of the small self with the Great Self." In other words, it was an "ethical *shūyō*." Furthermore, rather than seeking the basis of his claim that "quiet sitting" was the ideal form of meditative practice in works such as *Yasen kanwa* 夜船閑話 by Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴, the fact that he sought to justify his position through the studies of "psychology" and "physiology" is an indication that he attempted to frame his work as "scientific." These theories of the relationship between body and mind led to an understanding of meditation as being effective for the *shūyō* of the diseased, with the claim that the *shūyō* of both mind and body would lead to a state of grounded peace (*anritsu no chi* 安立の地) (KATŌ 1905, 10, 24–33, 44, 68). In Katō's representative work, *Shūyōron* 修養論, published in 1909, the *shūyō* of both body and mind is also emphasized.

In this way, in his efforts to improve and disseminate Zen, Katō moved beyond the boundaries of Zen Buddhism and of the category of religion and changed his identity from a lay Buddhist to a *shūyō* thinker (SHIMAZONO 2003; OKADA 2012). He seemed aware of the risks in this shift (*Critique*, 270), and there was even a chance that he would be viewed as deviating away from his original stance of Zen. However, it is important to point out that a form of *shūyō* that attempted to go beyond the category of religion was formulated as an extension of Meiji period Buddhist reforms. After the appearance of Katō's *shūyō* discourse that incorporated zazen meditation, we see a trend in the notion of a "body-mind *shūyō*" that developed outside the context of any particular religion and received significant support by intellectuals. The "Okada Method of Quiet

Sitting” (*Okada shiki seiza hō* 岡田式静坐法) by Okada Torajirō 岡田虎二郎 and the “Method of Harmonizing the Breath and the Mind” (*sokushin chōwa hō* 息心調和法) by Fujita Reisai 藤田靈齋 are prime examples of this, with Kishimoto Nobuta 岸本能武太 becoming an ardent practitioner of the “Okada Method of Quiet Sitting” and Matsumura Kaiseki placing significant effort in spreading the “Method of Harmonizing the Breath and the Mind.” Also, Nitobe Inazō’s 新渡戸 稲造 *shūyō* theory on the practice of “silencing thought” (*mokushi* 黙思) for the “healthy development of body and mind” can also be seen as responding to this trend (NITOBE 1911, 4, 531–65). In this way, the notion of the *shūyō* of the body and mind can be understood as coming out of broader discourses on “New Religion” as it was discussed among intellectuals.

### Conclusion

As illustrated above, it was through the two phases of the “Education and Religion” debates that involved both reformist religionists and scholars of religion that the general framework and content of the notion of *shūyō* took form. The term *shūyō* is an amalgamation of a multilayered discourse, and in this article I have illustrated merely one aspect of it by focusing on its relationship to broader contemporary trends in religious discourse. However, I believe I was able to clarify the context in which individuals from various religious groups in the Meiji 30s came to be involved in *shūyō* discourse and to illustrate the process in which the basic characteristics of *shūyō* were developed by religionists.

In the first period, the “*shūyō* for the establishment of an independent mind” (*jiritsu shin no shūyō* 自立心の修養) through religion connected to “civilization and enlightenment,” namely Christianity, was emphasized. In the second period, as a defensive response from attacks on Christianity that utilized the Imperial Rescript on Education, the discourse shifted to address an internal “*shūyō* for the virtuous mind” (*dōtoku shin no shūyō* 道徳心の修養). Finally, in the third period, Buddhists started to get more involved in *shūyō* discourse because by then it had become clear that all religions, and not only Christianity, would be subjected to the separation of education and religion. In this sense, the *shūyō* discourse of the Meiji 30s, far from being a response to some sort of existential crisis, was rather one that developed through a strategic articulation by religionists who were responding to contemporary issues related to ethical education. In this sense, the critique of religions that arose out of Inoue’s ethical religion theory became a catalyst that encouraged Buddhists to participate in this discourse.

Through the second phase of the “Education and Religion” debates, the focus shifted from a critique of the ethical religion theory to an emphasis on specific forms of practices and the development of “character.” At this juncture, the concept of *shūyō* was a convenient term that was used to encompass the various

forms of practices that could lead one to attain a state of ethical and religious union. After the first phase of the “Education and Religion” debates, the term *shūyō* came to be used to express the “*shūyō* for the virtuous mind,” and as it developed further through the Teiyū Society for Ethics, the term came to hold a nuance that suggested it went beyond the conceptual category of “religion” on multiple levels. It was in this way that the practices and concepts in various religions were reevaluated through the notion of *shūyō* in this period.

On the other hand, this process of reevaluation through *shūyō* also meant a recasting of the concepts and practices of various religions to fit within the framework of the “ethical religion theory.” The ideal “character” to which the various religions strove for was no longer one with religious implications, but rather was one who was able to embody the “ethical reality.” Practices such as *zazen* and internal contemplation were viewed as methods to obtain a state in which the ethical and religious were one. It was in this manner that theories on *shūyō* promulgated by religionists in the Meiji 30s—although varying in degree of emphasis—all shared fundamental characteristics in which it was viewed as a term that went beyond the category of “religion,” incorporated a hierarchy based on the theory of religious evolution, had a worldview based on the notion of “phenomenon-as-reality,” and held as its ideal form the union between the ethical and religious. Through *shūyō* discourse, these ideas were expressed with an emphasis on self-motivated practice (which is another way of saying it de-emphasized specialized and formalized doctrine and rituals), and a call for a harmony between the pursuit of the ideal and a practice grounded in reality. Furthermore, it was due to the nature of *shūyō* as a term that went beyond the category of “religion” that the practices and concepts associated with it were also able to develop outside the context of a particular religion. In this way, *shūyō* discourse developed and spread across Japan as a movement that went far beyond the boundaries of established religion (KURITA 2014).

It has been previously pointed out that “the concept of ‘ethical religion’ was never put into practice, and inevitably ended as a mere concept” (SEKIKAWA 1987, 10). However, while ethical religion was never put into practice institutionally, one could say that it was disseminated through various mediums within a cultural and intellectual framework. Through its various transformations, *shūyō* discourse functioned as one such medium.

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YAMAMOTO Kayoko

## Prayer of Nonreligious Spiritual Caregivers

This study examines the beliefs of nonreligious spiritual caregivers by considering their actions as prayer when they are with clients, trying not to escape from the situation and accepting the reality of a client's situation. Novelist Ōe Kenzaburō and photographer Fujiwara Shinya refer to the notion of a “prayer without religious faith.” Borrowing from their discussion, we define prayer as something in which people accept themselves as ordinary beings when faced with extreme situations. This prayer is supported by the belief that “even though this happened, the world will continue.” Through this, a person, a so-called “ordinary being”—accepts another person, who is also an “ordinary being,” and the deceased, who died as “ordinary beings”—by looking after them with loving care. This belief and prayer is supported by the original Japanese concept of impermanence and the tradition of memorial services for ancestors to communicate with the living.

KEYWORDS: spiritual care—prayer—nonreligious—view of life and death

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THERE HAS been an increased need for spiritual care for quite a long time when dealing with terminal illnesses. Hospital chaplains who only provided religious support by reassuring patients of the opportunity for worship, as well as a connection to a religious organization, gradually listened to patients' suffering and fear closely regardless of the patients' faith (ITŌ 2010, 44). Spiritual care has evolved from such religious needs. Post-1960, there has been a growing medical need for broader, more holistic care for terminal-stage patients dealing with spiritual pain. In Japan, since the 1980s, discussions and practices of spiritual care have been conducted with both religious and medical specialists at the core. The concept of "spiritual care," however, was unclear. What actually constitutes the content of "spiritual care," and the understanding of how it works, differed among specialists involved in the discussion. As a result, the role of spiritual care was questioned. Under what conditions would one be able to say that ample spiritual care was successfully conducted? Here, we will place spiritual care into the following three categories. The first category is spiritual care that removes or relieves spiritual pain through examining the cause and/or conditions of the pain. The theory most commonly referred to is spiritual care as defined by Murata Hisayuki 村田久行 (MURATA 2005). Murata categorizes humans as a presence of connections, time, and independency, and a lack of any of the three categories results in spiritual pain. Being able to support the purpose of each person's life is the true meaning of spiritual care.

Second, regarding spiritual care in relation to transcendental existence, the aim is to obtain "tranquility in heart and mind," the focal point of the Christian faith, or in Buddhism "peace of mind." Kubodera Toshiyuki 窪寺俊之 defines spirituality as the development of a relationship with a transcendental existence (that is, a god and/or Buddha, and so on), which functions to heal and/or support one's life (KUBODERA 2014, 101). In having a chaplain approach a patient for spiritual comfort, the patient will reflect on their life through a spiritual perspective, taking a new stance with the following observations: 1) we are living through the working and/or plans of a transcendental existence; 2) we are given meaning and goals to live, regardless of the given conditions; and 3) to see life after death, returning to a spiritual world (that is, Heaven in Christianity, the Pure Land in Buddhism, and so on) is one of the desired outcomes of providing spiritual care (KUBODERA 2014, 101–105). Takaki Yoshiko 高木慶子 presents *spirituality* as the unification of physical, societal, and mental aspects, the "key to personification," which in Japanese is expressed as *inochi* (TAKAKI 2014, 47–51). That being said,

each person has their own perception of an “Other World” and “Greater Power” that when one’s belief is affirmed, peace and tranquility is attained. This is said to be the effect of spiritual care (TAKAKI 2014, 57). Regarding this second form of spiritual care, when confronted with the problem of not being able to be solved by human power, and so faced with the limitations of human power and powerlessness, in order to remain in a state of peace and tranquility, the care recipient must become aware of, and revered to, a transcendental existence for the connection to become certain. A transcendental existence need not necessarily be the Christian God or Buddha, so as long as it is something that one believes in. Whatever the case may be, the goal is to raise awareness of the connection with a transcendental existence.

Even when faced with limitations, having spirituality gives one hope, as well as peace and tranquility of the heart and mind. Religious care based on theological principles infers being saved by a transcendental existence, but rather what we refer to here as spiritual care is to support recipients to discover the support of a transcendental existence by themselves. When Okabe Takeshi 岡部健, a pioneer of clinical religious practice in Japan, came face-to-face with death, he was surrounded by darkness. Not knowing in which direction to go, however, he described his feeling of amazement and explained that being able to clarify the direction is the role of the clinical religious practitioner or chaplain (OKUNO 2012).

Third, there is spiritual care as the relationship between the caregiver and recipient. Itō Takaaki 伊藤高章 states that spiritual care is the relationship between two people standing atop differing coordinates who through discussion come to an awareness of their own narrative in the “here and now.” It is through this realization that the two stances merge and become one plateau, and the realization of a new horizon clarifies the relationship, and also that of the relationship with a transcendental existence, empowering the recipient (Itō 2014). Furthermore, in regards to communication between the caregiver and receiver, Konishi Tatsuya 小西達也 explains spiritual care as the provider exhibiting a sense of spirituality, making it easier for the care receiver to also exhibit spirituality, and under such conditions, the caregiver then becomes able to provide the necessary support for the care receiver to face reality (KONISHI 2011). The state of being able to express one’s inner dimension is said to be one of the distinct conditions of spirituality. The actualization of such a state is one of the purposes of spiritual care. Although the result is peace of mind, one’s heart may still waver and he/she may continue to suffer till the end, being unable to accept death. Supporting such a situation and being able to assist an individual’s life is spiritual care. In other words, attaining a connection with a transcendental existence which leads to a peaceful and tranquil heart and mind is not always the purpose of this form of spiritual care. Developing this third form of relationship

between caregiver and receiver builds trust and respect, which unconditionally accepts the care receivers' present situation. To accept the care receivers' worries, suffering, and/or anger, regardless of how challenging the conditions may be, caregivers need some sort of belief, such as religious faith, to support themselves (KONISHI 2012). On the other hand, if it is possible to accept care receivers as such, spiritual caregivers can be nonreligious and need not be clergy or those with a religious faith (YAMAMOTO 2013).

When it comes to one's religious beliefs, however, many Japanese claim that they are nonreligious or do not believe in any one particular faith. This is not the case. Those who are referred to as "nonreligious people" in this paper comprehend the meaning of religious faith, and deepen their awareness of their connection with other's lives, those who have passed away, the transcendental existence, and the world. In other words, they look at the depths of life, yet choose not to have a specific belief in any given religion.

On the other hand, those who are unaware of the religiosity of both self and others, unable to accept the beliefs and religion of supporters, and those who live without taking the time to explore the depths and hidden grooves of life are referred to as "persons of nonreligion."

To explore the beliefs that support the activities of a nonreligious caregiver, we will consider prayer, which is necessary in the third form of spiritual care, to accept the care receiver's "now" without any conditions.

## 1. *The Concept of Prayer in Spiritual Care*

### 1. SIMILARITIES AND DEFINITION OF PRAYER

What is prayer? In the *Shukyogaku jiten*, prayer is defined in a broad sense as an individual's internal exchange, a living personal contact and dialogue with God, that is a central practice for religious phenomena (OGUCHI et al., eds., 1973, 31). In other words, it is a form of communication with a transcendental existence such as God or Buddha, and is very much a religious action.

Tanatsugu Masakazu 棚次正和, however, claims that prayer is conducted in a narrow sense with the presupposition that prayer is to a personal god. Therefore, Tanatsugu introduces a fourth interpretation of prayer, prayer in a broad sense (TANATSUGU 1998, 252–56). In other words, aiming for unification or interaction with a transcendent being is expressed as "prayer with the intention of coming into contact with a transcendent being"; improving or restoring the connection with the world unites us with the transcendental world and is expressed as "prayer with the intention of a worldly connection"; attaining self-realization at a higher level through the transformation of one's self-consciousness is explained as "prayer with the intention of self"; and diversity in all thought and action

compacted into the words of prayer is expressed as “prayer with the intention of words.”

Considering Tanatsugu’s classification, Uno Kōichi 宇野功一 defines prayer with the presupposition that

... both personal and impersonal existence are through the workings of an absolute transcendental being, and that by focusing on something the action to change will take place within the inner-self on the workings of existence, including self, other, and the world. Any specific behavior, subject of prayer, and language is unnecessary. (UNO 2014, 155)

## 2. PRAYER INVOKED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PATIENT

Shibata Minoru 柴田実 states that chaplains at a Christian hospital conduct “prayer for patients” and “prayer as a way to not escape from a clinical situation” (SHIBATA 2013). As mentioned earlier, prayer is conducted when a patient gives their consent to having a prayer said for them, and this is requested by someone for example before an operation or during a conversation with the patient. The content of a prayer could include the prayer for successful surgery, recuperation and/or relief from a disease, a way of trying to protect the patient and, regardless of the situation, to pray to God to leave everything up to him and that he look over the patient. This concept of prayer is similar to Tanatsugu’s “prayer with the intention of coming into contact with a transcendental existence.” As a result, the patient then feels a sense of appreciation that “there is someone who will pray for me.” Regardless of whether or not the patient holds a specific religious faith, Shibata claims that with the trusting relationship between the chaplain and patient as the foundation, the patient gains a sense of direction and comfort, encountering a connection with the chaplain as a religious practitioner through prayer, and belief in the sense of being saved (SHIBATA 2013, 82). The patient in some form senses the workings of a transcendental existence, and experiences comfort in some dimension. In regards to this concept of prayer, the second form of spiritual care is realized.

## 3. PRAYER TO NOT ESCAPE FROM A CLINICAL SITUATION

Accepting one’s situation as defined by the third form of spiritual care involves caregivers relieving the following wishes: a patients relief from an illness, accept ance of death, attainment of peace, and/or to be saved. Having such desires can demonstrate that one is in denial of the present condition and may result in distancing the patient from unconditionally accepting the “now.” This is where prayer to not escape from a clinical situation, to comfort the patient and their present situation unconditionally, as justified by Shibata, becomes practical.

Shibata discusses the following from an interview with a chaplain. Under extreme situations the patient and caregivers realize there is nothing that can be done. The patient's feelings of hopelessness then leads to the caregiver falling into a feeling of despair. As a fellow human, when there is no other option but to accept the given situation, there comes a time to look toward something beyond the limits together with the patient (SHIBATA 2013, 83–88). In such a situation, there is a prayer for facing—and not escaping—from the condition. The chaplain contrasts their position to that of Jesus Christ, who prayed through the suffering he experienced as he was killed on the cross, as found in the Old Testament. This is not prayer for the benefit of the patient, nor is it prayer conducted with the understanding of the patient. Rather, it is prayer for one's self; for one to be able to remain in the given situation they are in, and to be accepting of the situation they are involved in.

The paper by psychiatrist Doi Takeo 土居健郎 entitled *Seishin Ryōhō to Shinkō* (lit. Psychotherapy and Faith; orig. 1971) introduces a case where a patient mentions learning prayer from Doi, which led him to examine the practice of “hidden prayer” (DOI 1990). Despite being a devout Catholic, Doi did not promote his religion in his clinical work. What was meant when the patient commented that prayer had been taught by Doi? As a psychiatrist, Doi tries to shed light on the darkness that his patients display. When interacting with his patients, however, he recognizes that the feeling of loneliness the patient is experiencing also causes the caregiver to feel a sense of solitude, and the feeling of hopelessness the patient experiences also makes the caregiver feel hopeless as well. With there being a need to shed light on the situation, however, Doi was determined to “not flinch and not turn my face away from the problem” (DOI 1990, 23). Believing that a light exists to shed onto the darkness that lies within the patient, he claims that one's religious beliefs, normally hidden within, in turn appear. As a result, Doi analyzes that the practice of prayer leads to the light, through which the patient gains a sense of awareness.

When one remains without the urge to flee with a patient who is troubled, there is a moment for prayer that Doi refers to as “hidden prayer” (DOI 1990, 24), but it does not conform to any particular religious practice of prayer. Rather, it is a manifestation of one's existence. As the caregiver, one's faith becomes apparent. In fact, Doi states that “such faith is necessary in order to face the truth of the patient” (DOI 1990, 24). For a caregiver with faith in a particular religion, when confronted with a situation that cannot be resolved, the caregiver continues to accept the patient's current situation unconditionally, to remain at the patient's side, and the caregiver reverently prays to an absolute figure whether it be a transcendental existence, a god, or a buddha. The caregiver, despite being fully aware of their powerlessness, continues to remain in the situation because they believe



in the practice of prayer—that is, “prayer with the intention of coming into contact with a transcendent being.”

On the other hand, how would a caregiver without a specific religious faith, one who is “nonreligious,” be able to accept a patient’s situation and remain at their side unconditionally? Doi claims that doing away with religious faith and prayer altogether would make the provision of care impossible. A “nonreligious person” would not pray to an absolute transcendental existence. However, as Doi feels care is impossible without prayer, without doubt there is prayer supported by a view of life and death that accepts extreme situations. Although Doi emphasizes the importance of faith and prayer, I feel that prayer that is not based on any specific religious tradition by those who are nonreligious exists.

## 2. *Prayer That is not Based on a Religious Faith*

With the presupposition that prayer is a religious practice, the disquisition on prayer that does not conform to any given religion is limited. This paper will introduce a 1987 lecture entitled *Shinkō o motanai mono no inori* (lit. Prayer by One Who Holds no Religious Faith; ŌE 1992) and novel, *Jidō ningyō no akumu* (*A Robot’s Nightmare*; ŌE 1990) by renowned novelist Ōe Kenzaburō 大江健三郎, and an essay entitled *Nanimo negawanai te o awaseru* (lit. Not wishing anything, placing one’s hands together; FUJIWARA 2003) by photographer Fujiwara Shinya 藤原新也.

### 1. ŌE KENZABURŌ’S CONCEPT OF PRAYER

Kenzaburō Ōe, who describes himself as one who holds no faith, introduces five forms of prayer that he noticed within himself. First, there is the “artist’s prayer” that includes novelists and artists composing works of art in a chaotic world. Despite the world being in chaos, however, creating art with the wish that it be something orderly, Ōe describes this [wish] as being a form of prayer.

Then there is prayer that acknowledges one’s existence, a prayer that is unable to undo or erase that one exists here and now. It is that one moment during which we realize this that is also another form of prayer. Ōe’s son was born with a deformity, and Ōe was informed by the doctor that undergoing surgery would still leave his son with a severe impairment. Confronted by the situation, however, he sensed a radiant light, and rather than choosing the path to not have the operation and let his son die, he decided to go ahead with the operation.

The third form of prayer is “prayer for mourning.” Despite not having a religious faith, there is the prayer of mourning for the deceased, mourning the loss of someone special. Ōe’s son, who has intellectual disabilities, composed a piece called *M no Requiem* (*Requiem for M*) to express his feelings when he heard of

his previous doctor's death. This is a prayer that does not comprehend a transcendental existence, religion, or religious faith.

The fourth prayer is expressed as "prayer that questions the world" by one who has no firm belief in everything in the world, that is, one who has no religious faith. Ōe describes this form of prayer as follows:

I think I would like to write in a novel asking, what is a person, what is a society, what does it mean to be alive? Although it may not be enough to assert the reader, I am hoping to share the message to always continue to question things [in life]. This is because such people do not carry a firm belief.... Although I may not have religious faith, I plan to continue questioning things in life. With the mentality that this is the function of a novel, ... a sense of direction in one's heart is held by people even like myself and I feel that this mentality is one way of prayer. I believe in prayer and I wish to express so. (ŌE 1992, 31–32)

Embracing such a spiritual question thinking it important, aware that an answer would not be reached and yet continuing to question, is what Ōe referred to as "prayer by one who holds no religious faith."

Finally, for both those who do/do not have faith, prayer that expresses "our hope for the world to continue on after us" could be interpreted as our "prayer for peace." Ōe's participation in the movement for the defense of the Constitution of Japan and the peace movement is precisely the form of such a prayer.

As a child, Ōe would bow whenever walking past a Christian church or Japanese shrine. Then later, after moving to Tokyo to take the university entrance exams, as he walked past a Russian Orthodox Church, he caught himself about to bow, but then realized, "No. I must not bow here. If I bow here, God might get the impression that I am bowing to have God help me pass my exams and I would not want to be thought of in that way" (ŌE 1992, 33). Despite acknowledging that a transcendental existence is to be revered, he had no desire to have a wish fulfilled or granted. He wishes for a world filled with chaos, one that does not go as hoped for, and expresses this in his novels. The only prayer is to accept each life unconditionally, and that such life will continue on after us.

The question is, what is Ōe praying to? At the very least, it is clear that Ōe is not praying to a transcendental existence, but rather, the focus is to the world, a deceased person, or even something not necessarily clear, and the target can be very ambiguous and may vary from moment to moment. Because "to not have a firm belief" is more commonly explained as "one who does not hold religious faith," it is not possible to pray to a faith-related transcendental existence. Hence, the practice of prayer as discussed by Ōe does not suggest that prayer and one's heart and mind be directed toward someone or something, or that one place their palms together in reverence. Prayer is not something that can be conducted toward a specific target. Rather, it is simply a call, a question, or thought

that comes out naturally. Expressing this through writing novels and compositions is a form of prayer.

If that is so, it can be said that spirituality may be expressed through dialogue and conversation, and that the act of spiritual care itself may possibly be a form of prayer.

## 2. FUJIWARA SHINYA'S CONCEPT OF PRAYER

We will now examine prayer as demonstrated by Fujiwara Shinya. Fujiwara was raised in a household where every day, his parents would pray before their family Buddhist altar. He himself, however, was not one to conduct such practices, and he called himself "infidel." Even going on a wandering journey through India, he completely rejected religion, and standing in front of the shrines, not once did he put his hands together in respect of the gods. However, that did not mean that he did not believe in gods. He clarifies that it is not that he does not believe in gods, but rather, it is religious "authority" that he is strongly against (FUJIWARA 2003, 31). Following the death of his mother, and taking the opportunity to fulfil his mother's wish to go on the Shikoku Pilgrimage, the feeling of wanting to place his hands together arose within Fujiwara as he stood before the various gods and buddhas.

Since then, he continues to travel to Shikoku in remembrance of his family members. However, while on a Shikoku Pilgrimage in remembrance of his older brother, in seeing the various ways others would pray he began thinking, "although prayer is expressed in various ways, many are praying for self-salvation" (FUJIWARA 2003, 33). Whether it be prayer in memory of the deceased or the repose of one's soul, it is still broadly praying for self-salvation. He also points out that "praying for world peace" rather than praying for one's self is not realistic, in contrast to the "prayer of mourning" and "prayer for peace" that is "prayer by one who does not hold religious faith," as referred to by Ōe. On the other hand, Fujiwara expresses opposition to prayer as being a combination of "prayer" and "wish." While sensing a feeling of preciousness in the practice of prayer, Fujiwara realizes the deeply embedded sin of not being able to escape from the mentality of "praying for..." and, wanting to be free and while on the Shikoku Pilgrimage, he decided to quit the practice of prayer.

However, once he saw a mother telling her daughter, "Try greeting Odaishisan and bow." The girl, carefully gazing at the main temple hall, appeared to be frightened as she had her eyes peeled on the inside of the temple hall, before placing her hands together and lightly bowing. Watching the girl, the next form of prayer was observed.

Not wishing for anything, but simply innocently placing one's hands together.

(FUJIWARA 2003, 37)

Not having prayers and wishes together—this is the ideal form of prayer as claimed by Fujiwara. Through this observation, which he explains as “prayer simply sensing the world right in front of one’s eyes,” he recalls his own experience of prayer as a child. Following the death of his aunt, sitting in front of the family Buddhist altar his mother would say, “From now on, auntie will always be sitting here. Put your hands together like this, and say hello to auntie.” Before his aunt passed away, however, he was told that the family Buddhist altar is where the god is. Staring carefully at the family Buddhist altar, within the darkness was a small golden statue of the Buddha glowing radiantly. Fujiwara says, “I was wrapped in an indescribable feeling of amazement, as if the statue of the Buddha had lit up my heart that I wanted to place my hands together” (FUJIWARA 2003, 36). This episode is similar to Ōe’s experience standing in front of the chapel during his entrance exams. Whether it be our expression of fear or respect, when placing our hands together in front of the gods or buddhas regularly, it is not for the purpose of wishing for something.

However, “simply praying,” as we may have done during childhood, is actually extremely difficult as we cannot go without wishing for something. Fujiwara realizes that the object of prayer is something greater than oneself, as with Odaishisama and Dainichi Buddha. For example, a master-servant relationship is developed. That is all the more reason why prayer for self-salvation can exist. However, in regards to the master-servant relationship, it then becomes difficult “not to wish for something.” On the other hand, let us consider prayer in which the master-servant relationship is reversed, such as a small Buddha or guardian deity of children known as Jizō. In remembrance of a loved one, the Jizō has been carved and its significance, which has been passed down over time, has become a “collaboration between persons and nature,” reminding us of the preciousness of [all], which is not to pray to become blessed, but rather, to pray for oneself.

With no means of salvation in this human world, I want to become like the unwavering ocean, accepting all, regardless of other’s distress and battered hearts.  
(FUJIWARA 2003, 40)

It is a prayer to simply accept things just as they are, not wishing for nor questioning anything. Just like the little girl introduced earlier, it is “prayer simply sensing the world right in front of one’s eyes.” Fujiwara claims that this prayer is not a prayer to something greater, but is the realization that is attained through the sharing of love and compassion similar to that of the little Jizō. In other words, he resists a master-servant relationship between transcendental existence and human beings. The practice of prayer is brought about by the relationship that is realized through love and compassion that is apparent in the care provided by a person. Like Ōe, who states “one who does not hold religious faith” as “holding no firm belief in everything in the world,” those who hold no faith in

an absolute [existence] like a god or buddha feel uncomfortable to receive divine favor.

That is why Fujiwara, like Ōe, acknowledges the preciousness of prayer and does not wish for a world free from decay and chaos, but rather accepts this world just as it is. In doing so, the object of prayer is to be “something small,” like the Jizō in remembrance of “the deceased.”

### 3. PRAYER TO LIVE AS AN ORDINARY PERSON

The following excerpt from Ōe’s short story *Jidō ningyō no akumu* can be contrasted to the stance taken by Fujiwara:

If one is prepared to simply live an ordinary life ... I feel that it should be just as simple at the moment of death, to return to zero. In other words, basically [beginning from] zero and then later returning to zero. Isn’t taking into consideration things like the soul after death, or infinite life, a given privilege?

(ŌE 1990, 137–38)

An enormously vast number of [ordinary] people are living and dying without having faith as well as not thinking about [what happens to] one’s soul after death. Once you realize that you are in the vast ocean of ordinary people, wouldn’t it be easier to view your own life and death more objectively? And on top of that, you would come to think that such a life and death is not meaningless. With many years of experience as an ordinary person myself, I am certain.

(ŌE 1990, 140)

These words were spoken by a woman to a man named K, who is a projection of Ōe himself. In other words, this is another form of “prayer by one who holds no religious faith” in comparison to “prayer by one who holds no religious faith” as indicated by Ōe, which includes “prayer that questions the world.” Ōe, who had no firm belief in everything in the world, indicated a prayer that continues to question the world. In contrast, the woman stated that she also has no firm belief, and she does not question the world. It is still meaningful not to take the soul into consideration after death, to live and die without having a connection to a god or a buddha. Despite not having a concrete idea of the soul after death, despite not being able to gain a “peaceful and tranquil heart and mind” through developing a connection with a god or Buddha, regardless of whether you may or may not know if you can or cannot, have or do not have that chance to go to heaven, the Pure Land, or “that world,” after death, there is meaning to life, and this belief is shown because you have no firm belief in everything in the world. It means, however, to disregard salvation following death and to want peace and tranquility, “viewing yourself as a privilege.” Looking at “praying for...” as the deep sin of human beings, Fujiwara strongly denies such prayer.

It could be said that what supports this belief of “regardless of..., there is meaning” is one’s view of life and death—“like so, the world has continued until now and shall continue here on out.” When one’s limitations permeate within oneself, there is a prayer to place yourself in the hands of a larger and/or absolute existence of a transcendental existence. However, there is another prayer, to accept that “I am just an ordinary person,” and to come to terms and pray as a form of acceptance. To be able to come to terms like so, regardless of praying for the “continuance of the world,” we have come this far and believe that we will continue to do so, even with the world in chaos and deterioration, disaster-stricken regardless of time, and flooded by anxiety and distress, as the woman in *Jidō ningyō no akumu* said. These are the grounds upon which Fujiwara negates “prayer for peace” as presented by Ōe. In addition, by coming to terms with “we are just ordinary beings,” and being able to accept things just as they are, just as Fujiwara wishes, “with no means of salvation in this human world, I want to become like the unwavering ocean, accepting all, regardless of other’s distress and battered hearts.” A prayer filled with love and compassion for a barely known, nameless existence of the deceased appears. This is not a prayer asking for the greater and/or absolute existence of a “transcendental existence.” This prayer is possible only because we are fully aware that one cannot be like “the unwavering ocean.” After all, we are “ordinary beings.” We express our love and compassion for the deceased who died powerless as “ordinary beings,” a barely known, nameless existence. In the same way, amid the chaos, deterioration, and anxiety, both you and I who are born and will eventually die as “ordinary beings,” accept the given condition with love and compassion. Therefore, it could be said that “prayer that is not based on religious faith,” means “prayer to live as an ordinary person,” which ties into “accepting a person’s now” as embedded within spiritual care.

### 3. *A View of Life and Death Which Supports Prayer to Live as an Ordinary Being*

What kind of view of life and death will support prayer to accept this world that is overflowing with deterioration, chaos, and absurdity, and to live as ordinary beings? First, in loving the deceased, there is a view of life and death that believes that “the world has continued until now and shall continue here on out.”

Sakai Yūen 坂井祐円 cites that the concept of the Other World as understood in Japan is a “naturalistic concept of the Other World” and a “concept in search of the Other World within despair” (SAKAI 2015, 197–202). In regards to the first concept, Yanagida Kunio 柳田國男 states, “when someone dies, they go to the Other World becoming an ancestral spirit, looking over his/her descendants living in this world, frequently coming and going between the two worlds, eventually transmigrating once again into this world” (YANAGIDA 1962). Like

the continuous seasonal cycle in the natural world, Sakai explains the structure of the Other World as a circulation, a view of life and death affirming that this world is based on a well-grounded social system. That is, in facing one's own death, having memorial services conducted after one has died is a way that the existence of the deceased continues. Also, in looking over those that are living, their anxiety toward death lessens, and when encountering the passing of a loved one and looking after the deceased, the relationship continues as they watch over you, easing the grief and loss.

In contrast, the “concept in search of the Other World within despair” is requested under unstable and critical conditions, and displays the effect of the feeling of disparity when the limitations of human power are exposed. The teaching of the Primal Vow of Amida Buddha spread at a turbulent time in history that included poor crops, hunger, plague, and on-going warfare. In describing how people were forced into conditions of disparity, Sakai states, “Absolute assurance concerning the question of the afterlife will provide the strength to live no matter how miserable the actual conditions may be” (SAKAI 2015, 202–203). The “concept in search of the Other World within despair” as cited by Sakai can be related to “prayer based on a religious faith.” Also, a “naturalistic concept of the Other World” can be related to “prayer without a religious base” and “prayer to live life as an ordinary person,” which all share a commonality.

Yamaori Tetsuo 山折哲雄 refers to a Japanese circular view of the Other World included in a “naturalistic concept of the Other World.” He named the Japanese concept of impermanence “the impermanence of revitalization and circulation” by referring to what Terada Toshihiko 寺田寅彦 called “natural impermanence” (YAMAORI 1996). In *Tensai to kokubō* (orig. 1934) (TERADA 2011a) and *Nihonjin no Shizenkan* (orig. 1950) (TERADA 2011b), Terada states that although we enjoy the blessings of nature each day, there are things like earthquakes, tsunamis, and typhoons that are unpredictable threats of nature. As a result, we develop an obedient attitude toward nature, which creates a sense of “natural impermanence.” While this may be an unpredictable threat by nature, the changing seasons continue on—birth, being nurtured, and returning to nature. This is the development of “the circulation of impermanence” as pointed out by Yamaori. Only through knowing the richness of this world can we humbly accept such absurdity as the “impermanence of [this] world.”

The presence of those who have passed away under such conditions continues to be remembered in different ways. Namihira Emiko 波平恵美子 explains that only those who are properly sent to “that world” by their loved ones following customary traditions become “a deceased” (NAMIHIRA 2004, 45–82), who will make various requests to the living person(s). By abiding by these requests, interaction develops. Various rituals focus attention on the presence of the deceased by pointing out specifics such as “the deceased is watching,” “the deceased is requesting so,”

or “the deceased is thirsty.” With the living person(s) obeying the requests, the rituals are then conducted. Although many of the customs have been discontinued, even today, food that the deceased liked is offered to the family Buddhist altar, and by responding to the request(s) of the deceased, there is continuing interaction between the living and deceased. It could, however, be viewed as there not being “something greater” between the deceased and living. The priest serves the role of connecting the Other World and this world, and although places including gravesites, temples, and family altars serve to connect places between this world and the Other World, we are not protected by the “greater something.” Rather, it is the understanding that our ancestors are looking over us that results that puts our hearts and minds at peace. It is through the care expressed by those living that for the first time our ancestors become “activated,” and the interaction begins. This is referred to by Sakikawa Osamu 崎川修 as “care for the deceased” (SAKIKAWA 2013). Particularly in Japan, the deceased become buddhas through conducting memorial services for them, and in coming and going between the two worlds during annual observances to remember the deceased, known as *bon* and *higan*, the deceased are said to be watching over their descendants. This focuses on the “relationship between the living and deceased.”

Wakamatsu Eisuke 若松英輔 points out that this concept of life and death is vibrant even today. Wakamatsu shares the following from conversations with victims of the Great East Japan earthquake.

The deceased really do exist, but there is no one living who has experienced death. This is the basis of my Theory of the Deceased. A near-death experience is not death. That is merely having approached the Other Shore, but returning to this world without setting foot on the shore. The Other Shore is in reference to the shore of the Other World. It would be fine if we just experience what the Other Shore is like when our own time comes, when we ourselves die, and I also think that we should think about how we are to spend our life in the Other World once we actually get there. The interaction or reflecting on the association between the living and deceased is my Theory of the Deceased.

(WAKAMATSU 2012, 15)

What is the Other World like? What will happen when I die? Will I be able to go to the Pure Land or Heaven? Will I attain salvation? These questions are not a concern since there is no faith or urge to pursue answers. All that matters is to believe that the deceased do exist, and that the deceased interact with those of us living. Though one may be in a state of despair, is it not a fact that accepting the belief that we “live and die as ordinary beings” is what supports us?

Sakai claims that in an ultimately critical situation, praying and leaving things up to the workings of a transcendental existence makes sense. On the other hand, naturalistic concept of the Other World is developed within a maintained



social order (SAKAI 2015, 199). However, Terada states that it is because of the unpredictable threats of nature such as earthquakes and tsunamis that “natural impermanence” is nurtured (TERADA 2011b). Whether in regards to a naturalistic concept of the Other World, or a critical situation, believing that the world will regain its stability—so as long as people recognize that after they die their presence continues as a deceased person, and that even without leaving it up to the workings of a transcendental existence nor having a specific significance of some sort—all that matters is to simply accept this as the impermanence of the world. One conducted memorial services for the deceased and created a connection with the deceased to console themselves. Also, knowing that one is always being watched by ancestors made one accept critical situations and continue to live. This is no doubt one aspect of the Japanese.

From his experience during the Great East Japan earthquake, Wakamatsu states that the deceased do in fact exist, and that by putting the souls of the deceased to rest and creating a relationship with the deceased, people have been trying to accept the unprecedented crises in recent years that we are having to face (WAKAMATSU 2012). Coming from firsthand experience, when face-to-face with a difficult experience that felt as if his body were breaking, Wakamatsu felt that it was the working of the deceased that had protected him. However, the deceased are not to be mistaken for a transcendental existence that includes the “existence of a greater power” or an “absolute existence.” The living respond to the deceased, and vice versa. Wakamatsu states that the deceased is a “neighbor” who lives with us cooperatively. Following the great earthquake of 2011, as the souls were put to rest it was proclaimed, “The souls of the deceased, may you rest in peace.” Hearing this, Wakamatsu says that he felt strongly that something was not right. He explains that the words sounded as if they were trying to complete the situation by sending the deceased away into another dimension. But as this was not the case, and rather than praying for the peace and tranquility of the souls of the deceased, Wakamatsu says that he would like to continue praying to the deceased, to hear their voices, listening to the “words of the deceased reflecting on the living,” and hoping to sense their existence.

Being able to accept critical situations as being “impermanent,” life continues on by changing its form and interacts through a “circulation of impermanence.” What supports this concept is not an absolute transcendental existence but rather the interaction with the deceased through memorial observances conducted for our ancestors.

### *Conclusion*

Wakamatsu regarded being able to sense the presence of the deceased and being able to interact with them as more important than the soul having a sense of peace

and tranquility. For many years, such a perspective on life and death has been cultivated through conducting memorial services and simply accepting without question critical situations as being impermanent. It is without doubt that all human beings will eventually die, that life is impermanent. Although we will die and change in form, there is a belief that we will continue to exist as a deceased being, and our world has and will continue in such a way through “impermanent circulation,” whereby we shall discover the meaning of such a world in which “ordinary people” live and die. In regards to critical situations, “those who hold no religious faith” do not question the meaning, but either submissively accept the significance, or question the meaning. Yet in doing so, they may not find the answer, but find meaning in the process of searching for the meaning. Even if an answer were to be found, it would continuously change, and a definite answer would not be obtained, and change would continue endlessly. This perspective on life, death, and grief is thought to be what is supporting the third form of spiritual care that is provided by nonreligious spiritual caregivers. The practice of prayer conducted here is for nonreligious caregivers to refrain from fleeing from the situation. That is to say, it is a prayer for remaining as calm as possible and being able to accept any given critical situation despite knowing that faith is not gained, and yet continuing to question in the form of praying. Supporting that is the love and compassion of the deceased, and the practice of prayer here is the feeling of wanting to hear the voice of the deceased.

More than the soul of the care recipient being peaceful and at ease, being able to sense the presence of one another and being able to interact is what is being requested. It is not about praying for “the peace and tranquility of your soul,” but rather, it is about praying “to hear your voice” trying to accept the situation no matter how trying the suffering may be. It is not prayer towards a transcendental existence of something much greater. It is prayer for something heart wrenching; for those who passed away having lived the same as “ordinary people,” continuing this far despite the devastation and chaos, and for a world that will go on. This prayer can also be contrasted to Tanatsugu’s broad concept of prayer as “prayer with the intention of a worldly connection” (TANATSUGU 1998). Human beings are present within this world. The world is multilayered and human beings also exist in a multilayered manner. Praying not to transcendental existences such as gods or buddhas is “prayer that is not based on religious faith.” However, a transcendental existence is present in the background, believing that the world will continue. In regards to that world, human beings, including both the living and deceased, will regarded as “presence of living as ordinary beings.” That, without doubt, is the third form of spiritual care, in which prayer that is performed by “nonreligious” caregivers who do not wish to attain faith in salvation or be at peace and in tranquility, is thought of as being conducted only to refrain from wanting to escape from the situation.

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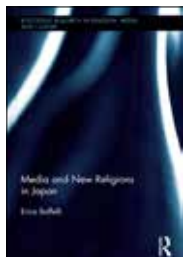
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## REVIEW



Erica Baffelli, *Media and New Religions in Japan*

New York and London: Routledge, 2016. xii + 177 pages.

Hardback, £110.00. ISBN 978-0-415-65912-3.

ERICA BAFFELLI'S new work is a study of the relationship between the mass media and Japan's new religions. The author presents an overall framework in the introduction, chapter 1 ("Media and New Religions in Japan"), and chapter 2 ("The Importance of Media Engagements"). She then discusses Agonshū's media strategies in the 1980s (chapter 3), Kōfuku no Kagaku, which came to prominence in the 1990s (chapter 4), and Hikari no Wa (an Aum offshoot), mostly covering their activities in the second decade of the twenty-first century (chapter 5). The book also has a final "conclusions" chapter.

Overall, there is some repetition in the book, and guidepost phrases such as "this will be discussed in Chapter X" are frequently used. The introduction, chapter 1, and chapter 2 overlap each other, and these could have probably been compressed into just one chapter. In short, the driving question of this book is as follows: How does the use of the mass media by Japan's new religions contribute to the expansion of the organizations, especially in the formative period and in its so-called "branding"? Of course, the use of the mass media is often double-edged, as visibility may invite criticism, as is also mentioned several times in this book. After modernization, press journalism in Japan has taken on the role of a watchdog against *inshi jakyo* (immoral heresy, 17).

The choice of organizations to be focused on after chapter 3 makes perfect sense even for Japanese scholars of religions, because Baffelli has chosen well-known historical cases of religion and media. In chapters 3–5, she discusses the brief history of each organization, its particular use of the mass media, and sometimes theories of media studies outside of religious studies.

In chapter 3, Agonshū's Hoshi Matsuri (star festival) is discussed, the media use of which was a pioneer case of a new religion using a large advertising agency, namely Dentsū. This festival, in which adherents pray for the fortune of the members of the religion and to reduce the karmic burden of the dead, was advertised

widely in the press and in places such as railway stations. It was broadcast live in Agonshū branches around the country through a communication satellite. However, Baffelli suggests that Agonshū's style of advertisement may be out of date, and Agonshū is no longer a "user-friendly" religion.

In chapter 4, Baffelli mainly discusses Kōfuku no Kagaku's activities when it started holding *kōtansai*, the birthday sermon of the leader Okawa Ryuho, in the Tokyo Dome stadium in the early 1990s. It once was advertised many times in the mass media, but the event itself was held mainly outside the general (commercial) media environment. Today, *kōtansai* continues to be held, but Kōfuku no Kagaku's use of the Internet is modest at best. Baffelli argues that direct interaction of members may still be needed for active new religions.

Chapter 5 discusses Hikari no Wa and the use of social networking services by its leader Joyu Fumihiko. Their attempts to make an online dojo and set up an official YouTube channel are interesting examples of a new religion's use of the Internet. For this organization, which is the cause for much concern within Japanese society, the Internet and its *ofu kai* (offline meetings) are the main means the general public have to interact with it. However, the use of the Internet may bring defamatory attacks toward the organization. Baffelli writes that Hikari no Wa is now a very small group.

In her conclusions, Baffelli shows the popularity of parodies of Aum anime on the clip-sharing website Niko Niko Doga. However, it is not quite clear how this phenomenon is related to the thrust of the book. Aum parody movies have very little to do with the expansion or branding of any particular religious organization today. Here Baffelli might have intended to highlight a new way in which new religions are "discussed" in—not amplified by—the mass media. If the topic of Aum parody movies was important to her argument, she could have mentioned the recent ridicule of movies of Okawa Ryuho's channeling sessions posted on YouTube.

Generally, Baffelli's book contains much information that is good common sense to Japanese scholars of religion, although detailed explanations of *shinhatsubai* (newly on sale, 59–60) and *aa ieba, Joyu* (talkative man Joyu, 136) appear fresh and interesting. The author seems to be quite used to Japanese research environments, but Japanese readers may expect something new in the analysis, and in particular, an outside perspective.

Baffelli seems to consider Mori Tatsuya's documentary film *A* to be a balanced description of Aum, writing that "Mori's documentary was not received with criticism, but was completely ignored" (26). However, Mori's approach was criticized by the anti-cult movement (The Japan Society for Cult Prevention and Recovery, 2011) and even by a scholar of religion, Sakurai Yoshihide (SAKURAI 2006), for its biased interpretation of the cult.

One weakness with this book is that there is no clear central thesis or theory. In the 1980s, Stark and Bainbridge argued that occult beliefs depended on the mass media (for example, periodicals) for their dissemination, while organized religion utilized social networks such as those of friends and family to recruit new members



(STARK and BAINBRIDGE 1985). Aum seemed to start as a loose mystical circle, and then it changed into a violent sect in a few years; it now has returned to a mystical fringe group. Baffelli could have analyzed these changes in relation to the mass media using a central hypothesis or theory, or could have brought new insights to old arguments. Even after reading Baffelli's detailed account in this work, it remains an open question whether the use of the mass media is necessarily effective for a new religion. Shinnyo-en, one of the few new religions that are still prosperous today in Japan, hardly utilizes the mass media for recruitment, which Baffelli herself admits (61). Mass media, including the Internet, is not always useful for a new religion, and it has only a partial effect on the branding of an organization. Is this the central thesis that emerges from this book?

How much can this book inform us of the overall picture of new religions in Japan? With this work, we can learn about a few organizations using mass media with mediocre success. What is the best way to use the mass media for a new religion? Is the spread of the Internet counterproductive for religion in general? We have yet to see the answers to these questions. I wish the author had shown a comprehensive view on religion and the Internet. However, religion does not have a strong affinity with the Internet. This is because there is a very little room for revelation or supernaturalism in a world where everything is preprogrammed by mathematical protocol and coded in ones and zeros.

Of course, this book will also be very useful for readers in English-speaking countries and is easy to understand for introductory-level audiences. I eagerly await new studies with clear and strong central theses on religion in the Internet age by Baffelli's generation and younger scholars in the near future.

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## REVIEW



Erik Schicketanz エリック・シッケタンツ, *Daraku to fukkō no kindai Chūkoku Bukkyō: Nihon Bukkyō to no kaikō to so no rekishizō no kōchiku* 墮落と復興の近代中国仏教—日本仏教との邂逅とその歴史像の構築 [Between Decline and Revival: Historical Discourse and Modern Chinese Buddhism's Encounter with Japan]

Kyoto: Hozōkan, 2016. 396 pages. ¥5,400. ISBN 978-4-8318-7709-3.

THE NARRATIVE of decline and revival has dominated the discussion of modern Chinese Buddhism. There has been persistent scholarly effort to problematize this master narrative since Holmes Welch's seminal work *The Buddhist Revival in Modern China* (Harvard University Press, 1968). However, recently proposed alternatives such as Buddhist awakening or Buddhist expansionism often unwittingly reify it further (97). The central problem is that modern Buddhist communities themselves employed narratives such as the age of the dharma decline and revival quite extensively. Therefore, the thorny issue for scholars becomes the following: how to see beyond the emic narratives without dismissing the agency of the historical actors themselves?

Erik Schicketanz's monograph offers a fresh perspective to reexamine this research question. The key word in this monograph is *shūha* 宗派, commonly translated as "sect." By focusing on the shifting meaning of this term and its evolving relations with the decline and revival narratives, Schicketanz narrates an engaging story of how religious actors themselves took up various conceptions of sect and modified them to serve their own agenda. By tracing the rise and spread of this master narrative through the flow of people, texts, and ideas between China and Japan, Schicketanz successfully reveals to us the complex history of different Buddhist groups jockeying for social capital in different national and transnational contexts, who in the meanwhile transformed Chinese Buddhism.

Although sect as a term has a long history in Chinese Buddhism, modern travels between Japan and China engendered new nuances in the social function of sectarian consciousness. In chapter 1, Schicketanz traces the rise of the decline narrative by mining Meiji-era travel writings by Japanese Buddhists such as Mizuno Baigyō 水野梅暁 and D. T. Suzuki. Schicketanz argues that the sense of Chinese Buddhism in decline arose out of a dissonance between what Japanese travelers imagined and

what they encountered during their visits to China (25–26). He further illustrates that the Japanese imagination of Chinese Buddhism was grounded in Japanese sectarian consciousness, which presumed an independent and mutually exclusive institutional lineage. When these Meiji-era travelers arrived in China, what they encountered were Chinese Buddhist monasteries devastated by the Taiping Civil War (1850–1864). Because this war was inspired by Christian theology, the Buddhist establishment became the major target. However, in the eyes of Japanese travelers who did not understand this recent Chinese history, the ruins of temples, the dilapidated architecture, the lack of ancient Buddhist texts, and seemingly uneducated monks all became powerful symbols of Chinese Buddhism in decline. The formation of this image fundamentally changed Japanese Buddhist self-perception. Out of their prevailing disappointment arose a sense of mission: the mission of renewing Chinese Buddhism that must be undertaken by Japanese Buddhists who have preserved “true” Buddhism (52). The heightened Japanese nationalist superiority, the urgency to “resist” Western imperialism, and the Bodhisattva ideal all fueled this redefinition of Sino-Japanese relations, where Japanese Buddhists saw themselves as having the ineluctable responsibility to revive Chinese Buddhism. Schicketanz further reveals to us that for these Japanese Buddhists, “revival” meant to remake Chinese Buddhism in their own image. This was how the Japanese-institutionalized sectarian consciousness was superscribed onto the reality of China (70).

While Japanese travelers may have intensified this sense of Buddhist decline in China, the narrative itself certainly had its domestic origins. Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1837–1911) was well known for his contribution to the Chinese Buddhist revival through importing lost Buddhist texts from Japan. However, Yang was not the only one who used this narrative of decline and revival. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both the reformists (such as Monk Taixu 太虛 and Monk Zongyang 宗仰) and the conservatives (such as Monk Yinguang 印光 and Monk Jing’an 敬安) offered their own analyses of decline and paths of revival. In chapter 2, Schicketanz examines various narratives advocated by Chinese Buddhists themselves. In particular, he articulates how the age of dharma decline became intertwined with the Chinese sense of national crisis (116). The birth of “Buddhist Learning for Administering this World” (經世弘學) was an outgrowth of this entanglement (123). Yang Wenhui, as a key figure in importing Japanese institutionalized sectarian consciousness, profoundly impacted ensuing Buddhist development in China (145).

Chapter 3 analyzes the complex power play centered around the revival narrative and sectarian consciousness. As demonstrated by Schicketanz, Japanese Buddhist scholars in the early twentieth century played a key role in reifying the institutionalized sectarian consciousness through their historical and philosophical studies of Chinese Buddhism. Thanks to the increasing popularity of Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy since the 1919 May Fourth Movement in China, Japanese Buddhology

became increasingly influential in Chinese Buddhist self-perception. Under the sway of Japanese scholarship, the traditional Chinese understanding of “sect” was gradually inflected by Japanese scholarly taxonomy (177). While the meaning of sect in premodern China can range loosely from doctrinal commitment to transmission lineage, during the Republican era, “sect” increasingly adopted the meaning of self-consistent doctrinal system and institutional independence (233). Schicketanz outlines the detailed contour of this nuanced shift, starting from Yang Wenhui’s 1913 introduction of Japanese monk Gyōnen’s 凝然 (1240–1321) writing on the eight sects of Chinese Buddhism and its later adoption by both leading Buddhist practitioners such as Monk Taixu (1890–1947) and secular scholars of Buddhism such as Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (1893–1964). Closely related to this new interpretation of sect was the image of a complete Buddhism that included all mutually independent sects. While the actual number of sects in a classification system varied, with eight, ten, and thirteen sects among the most popular, the idea of reviving all Buddhist sects became a powerful rallying point (181, 226). More importantly, despite the Chinese Buddhists’ adoption of this new sectarian consciousness, what comes through strongly in Schicketanz’s monograph is their conviction of renewing Buddhism through their own endeavor.

Chapter 4 offers a case study of how this new sectarian consciousness contributed to the reverse importation of Japanese esoteric Buddhism from the 1920s to the 1940s. This case study focuses on Wang Hongyuan 王弘願 (1876–1937) and his Association for the Revival of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism (震旦密教重興會). Due to the imported conception of complete Buddhism as containing all sects, the lack of an esoteric sect in China caught the attention of many Buddhist revivalists. The reverse importation of Japanese esoteric sects was only one branch of the wide-ranging effort of filling this perceived lacuna. Other experiments included Sino-Tibetan and Sino-Mongolian Buddhist exchange. Wang Hongyuan was not the only one hoping to introduce the Japanese esoteric tradition back to China. Yang Wenhui’s followers Gui Baihua 桂柏華 and Mei Guanxi 梅光羲 also studied Japanese esoteric Buddhism. Similarly, the father of Humanistic Buddhism, Monk Taixu, also hoped to import Japanese esoteric Buddhism in order to revive Chinese Buddhism. There were also a wide range of translations and other textual productions devoted to this effort (268). In 1924, Wang Hongyuan invited Japanese Shingon master Gonda Raifu 權田雷斧 (1847–1934) to China and received consecration (Skt. *abhiṣeka*; Ch. 灌頂) from Gonda. Afterwards, Wang established his association in Chaozhou 潮州, Guangdong 廣東, promoting Shingon teachings. While Gonda’s doctrine of attaining Buddhahood in this very body influenced Wang’s thought, it is also undeniable that Wang further developed this concept to adapt to Chinese reality. In particular, Wang broadened this concept to include children, females, and animals, claiming that all could attain Buddhahood irrelevant of the particularities of one’s body (295). This broadening was meant to make esoteric Buddhism

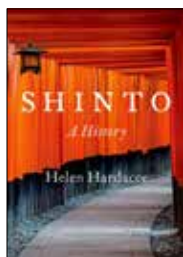
a natural source of social equality. This reframing of esoteric Buddhism as socially progressive was not unique. It echoed Taixu's effort to justify the existence of Buddhist monasticism based on its contribution to social progress (299). Both Schicketanz's historical analysis and case study demonstrate a consistent sensitivity to the religious actors' agency in selecting, adopting, and further developing imported ideas and practices.

While a skeleton version of both chapters 3 and 4 was published previously, one in an edited volume and the other as a journal article, it is essential to read the book chapters themselves. In these chapters, Schicketanz provides careful translations of representative texts written by historical actors themselves and analyzes the complex interrelations among various texts, ideas, and activities. Therefore, these chapters provide crucial information to aid the readers' understanding of the rich dynamics, lived experiences, and surprising twists and turns in the ways that these actors took up imported concepts and narratives. In addition to thorough investigations of a wide range of Japanese and Chinese primary materials, this monograph also skillfully integrates secondary literature from Chinese, Japanese, and English academia. At the same time, this historical study also carefully integrates doctrinal analysis when necessary. Scholars interested in historical and religious change in modern East Asia would benefit a lot from this monograph.

This study also raises further research questions. While new forms of esoteric Buddhism were boosted by this imported sectarian consciousness, whether and how other Buddhist schools such as the Pure Land, Chan, Vinaya, and Huayan 華嚴 schools benefitted from this institutionalization of sectarian consciousness warrants further study. Further research questions include: How has this concept intersected with the nonsectarian movements in Republican China (239)? And how has it intersected with other emic narratives such as Humanistic Buddhism or the later development of socially-engaged Buddhism? These questions certainly could not be answered by one monograph. This study has opened further research venues to understand socioreligious changes in modern East Asia beyond narratives of decline and revival.

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## REVIEW



Helen Hardacre, *Shinto: A History*

Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2017. 720 pages. Hardback, £29.99. ISBN 9780190621711.

THE OFFICIAL WEBSITE of Oxford University Press, the publisher of *Shinto: A History*, recommends this book with the words “The first comprehensive history of Shinto in any language, tracing the tradition’s ancient origins through to modern day practice.” I can almost agree with this statement, with the exception of the expressions “the first” and “in any language.” Students of Japanese religion probably know the fact that, although not so many, a number of works have been written in Japanese intending to deliver a comprehensive history of Shinto, such as *Nippon Shintōshi* 日本神道史 (ed. Okada Shōji 岡田莊司; Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2010). Of course, I do not mean to claim by this that Helen Hardacre’s work here is second to such Japanese works, most of which are written by multiple co-authors. On the contrary, I strongly expect that Hardacre’s scrupulous, sweeping work will become “the first” study—produced either inside or outside Japan—that comprehends the broad range of research on and interests in Shinto history.

There has been a wide gap between the academic interests and share of research on Shinto both within and outside of Japan. While the study of Shinto in Japan is, by and large, considered a single field, for students of religion outside Japan—particularly in the West—Shinto tends to have slightly less chance of becoming a major or central topic compared to the world religion of Buddhism. In research written in English, Shinto seems to be in the spotlight almost exclusively in two ways: as a sign signaling the boundary of the East Asian spheres of Buddhism, Confucianism, or Daoism (or their zone of contact with native religious culture in Japan); or else as a name given by some interpretations under nationalist policies to identify a wide diversity of folk phenomena as a single cultural category. Reflecting such views while giving an eye to world religions, several Japanese scholars also claim to regard Shinto not as Japan’s primordial, indigenous religion, but as an ideological

assertion upholding the secular order of the state and conceived sometime later in Japanese history—in the medieval, the early modern, or even the modern period.

Given this decades-long situation, Hardacre is a rare Western scholar who has worked on Shinto as a specialty within her overall major field of Japanese religion, while paying special attention to Japan's modern and contemporary sociopolitical situation. Undoubtedly she is the most suitable expert to write a sweeping history of Shinto, and this book will remain an indispensable English text for decades to come—for any student of historical Shinto.

While partially based on the author's earlier works, the book as a whole is new. As with Hardacre's other published works and her talks in the academic field, the style of this book is very plain and clear. I am afraid, however, that it may be difficult for one to read and understand the whole book due to its sheer size and scope. Hardacre has given us a wide and extensive view of Shinto history, and her efforts have borne fruit in this enormous, seven-hundred-page tome.

The sixteen chapters are divided into four parts of historical periodization, namely ancient, medieval, early modern, and modern, and the author addresses numerous historical topics and concepts in each section. In the following I attempt to summarize them, focusing on a limited selection from the whole.

The introduction serves as a sixteen-page summary of Shinto history, with a concise commentary on the studies on Shinto so far. The author introduces two kinds of dichotomy usually debated in the context of Shinto history, namely "indigenous/foreign" and "public/private" (5). She explains that the reason for adopting this framework is as an analytic tool to help the reader grasp the origins of ideas about Shinto and their historical continuity. In this review I employ the term "Shinto" casually in its conventional meaning in order to simplify the discussion regarding the history of Japanese kami worship. We should note, however, that in her book, Hardacre examines this term meticulously to disassociate herself from essentialist interpretations of Shinto as "indigenous" and "public" religion at all.

In the following four chapters the author discusses the ancient period, namely from the prehistoric era to the twelfth century. Chapters 1 and 2 treat the beginning of Shinto history and the flow of religious culture into Japan from the Asian continent in terms of institutions and concepts about kami found in the myths compiled in the eighth century. In chapters 3 and 4 the author examines the heyday of the Jingikan or the Council of Divinities in the Nara period and its decline in the Heian, examining the state ritual system under this ministry and addressing the changing concepts of kami that emerged from the process of combinations, assimilations, and so on, that occurred between Buddhism and Shinto. As a conclusion to her investigation in these chapters, Hardacre claims her position that Shinto originates with the Jingikan under the Ritsuryō system, as indicated by the expression seen in the title of chapter 3 "the coalescence" of Shinto.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 address the history of Shinto during the medieval period, meaning the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries. In chapter 5 the author exam-

ines the esotericization of Shinto and the development of concepts and rituals about kami within esoteric Buddhism, while also referring to other Shinto concepts, such as the idea of Japan as the land of gods and the appearance of Shugendō. Chapter 6 depicts how ideas about kami were expressed in the architecture, arts, and literature of medieval Japan. And a certain part of chapter 7 is devoted to a description of the revolutionary changes brought about within Shinto, both in doctrinal and ritual systems, by Yoshida Kanetomo and his descendants as they seized and maintained the de facto headship of the Jingikan during the period of the Warring States in the sixteenth century. Tackling medieval Japan's history—which cannot be understood simply—the author describes clearly the process whereby Shinto acquired its character as an embodiment of “the indigenous.”

Chapters 8 through 11 are devoted to investigating the history of Shinto in the early modern period, namely, the seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries. Chapter 8 depicts the general situation of Shinto during the Edo period, followed by an investigation into the influence of Neo-Confucianism on Shinto in the seventeenth century as Hardacre examines the thought of three scholars, Hayashi Razan, Yoshikawa Koretaru, and Yamazaki Ansai. The author indicates that in this period Shinto's relation to “the public” emerged in a Confucian framework, casting Buddhism as “the foreign,” although the effects of Confucian interpretations of kami themselves thereafter experienced a relative decline. In chapter 9 the author deals with the popular cults to the kami Inari, and the religious significances of the massive pilgrimages to the Grand Shrines of Ise, while, in fact, no one spoke of Shinto as a “religion” but as a faith. The author also points out that the term “Shintoist” (*Shintōsha*) emerged in this situation as a self-reference by scholars and teachers. Chapter 10 first introduces several Shinto popularizers of the Edo period, followed by a comparison of three religious movements, Kurozumikyo, Misogikyo, and Uden Shinto toward the end of the period. Chapter 11 examines the topic of Shinto and *kokugaku* or national learning, one of the most popular topics in Shinto research in Japan. As the author indicates, in works written in English, the term “nativism” is often used to describe *kokugaku*, even though it is not a direct translation of any Japanese term. I think the subtle difference in nuance between the generic term “nativism” and the Japanese *kokugaku* is worthy of note. At any rate, the discussion in these chapters appears to evidence the author's interest in historical sociology rather more than other chapters. As a result, these chapters provide the reader with an introduction to the issues regarding whether Shinto should be considered a “religion” or not, and the significance of the term “early modern” when applied to the Edo period.

In the final five chapters, beginning with chapter 12, Hardacre examines modern Shinto and its history from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 until today. In the first part of chapter 12 the author discusses the academic discourse on the concept of State Shinto, and then describes Shinto's history until 1900, the last year of the nineteenth century, and the year in which the Shrine Bureau in the Ministry of Home Affairs took over the state management of shrines. Chapter 13 treats the heyday of the Japa-



nese empire until its defeat at the end of World War II in 1945. The author notes that some recent scholars of Shinto studies (including the present reviewer) employ the circumlocution “state management” of shrines instead of the conventional “State Shinto,” and in these two chapters she inquires what “state management” might mean for shrine life. Since this is one of the few places my name appears in this book, I will later indicate my own position in response to the author’s perspective on modern Shinto.

Chapter 14 deals with the period from the beginning of the Allied occupation in 1945 to the death of the Showa Emperor in 1989. Championing the claim to represent the “indigenous” and “public” nature of Shinto, the National Association of Shinto Shrines (NASS) or Jinja Honchō plays the leading role here, and the author also discusses the Yasukuni Shrine issue, and the legal arguments surrounding religious freedom in postwar Japan. Chapters 15 and 16 also offer a very good model for students wishing for a general approach to religious phenomena in contemporary Japan. Chapter 15 investigates *matsuri* or shrine festivals in the postwar period, centering on the author’s own detailed fieldwork, especially regarding the Kurayami Matsuri or Darkness Festival of the Ōkunitama Shrine in Fuchū, Tokyo. In chapter 16, using tables and the statistical data from opinion polls, the author describes Shinto’s contemporary position in the discourse about religions in Japanese society. Finally, the author even provides a detailed chapter on Shinto in popular culture. As well as offering useful information for Japanese studies, these final two chapters also depict, in my opinion, the new relationships or confrontations of a culture claiming its own indigeness and publicness, with the “foreign” and “private” sectors of a maturing consumer society.

Following chapter 16, Hardacre includes several appendices: “Shrine Funding,” a “Selected List of (Sino-Japanese) Characters,” and a “Chronology.” Needless to say, such information composed by an expert in the field will be invaluable for readers of the next generation.

Now, while limitations of space prevent me from a detailed discussion, as a reviewer I would like to make just two comments. The first concerns my own perspective on modern Shinto. In her introduction, Hardacre describes chapter 12 with the words, “An alternative, ‘state management’ has been proposed, and in this chapter I experiment with it, to question its usefulness and limitations as an alternative to State Shinto” (12). In the chapter itself the author introduces the historical arguments concerning the expression “State Shinto” in a way that I find generally acceptable, noting that most “Shinto historians who are also priests mostly reject the idea that a state religion that could be called State Shinto existed” (356).

Then, following a reference to my name in a note as a user of the circumlocutive expression “state management” she states:

I hope to contribute to that endeavor in this chapter and the next by examining how Shinto formed new relations with government, and how those relations

affected shrines, the priesthood, and shrine communities. Through that interaction, some of the most fundamental characteristics of modern Shinto were formed, including its politicization, its inextricable position in local social organization, the idea that it is a nonreligious tradition that has no doctrine, and the notion that it is the core of Japanese ethnicity. (357)

To begin with, I am one of those Shinto priests who also identifies with the camp of academic Shinto studies in Japan, and the author is a liberal Japanologist living in the United States. In spite of a difference in perspective on “in/out” (*uchi/soto*), my interests and research aims with regard to modern Shinto are totally in agreement with her statement above. Unfortunately, it is my opinion that the conventional discourse on “State Shinto” has become bloated and unwieldy, involving claims extending across numerous conceptual boundaries, including institutions, intellectual history, periodization, and so forth, and one of the conclusions of my own research—based on this segmented approach—has been to suggest the expression “state management of shrines” in place of the conventional “State Shinto.” I assume that what Hardacre is attempting in these chapters, at least in part, possesses the same rationale as mine, even though I do not claim to approach her more comprehensive endeavor.

It is true that a certain segment of Japanese Shintoists is represented by essentialists. At the same time, because Shinto has obviously been constructed in history and society—as detailed in the present book—and is not generally considered a revelatory religion, I believe the use of social constructivism is also an effective methodology, even in studies by Shintoists. On the other hand, in the case of Shinto theological claims made in the context of interreligious dialogue, I may start my argument by asserting that Shinto has “indigenous” and “public” aspects. It totally depends on what is important in the context.

My second comment is with regard to the possibility of further examination by non-Japanese scholars of the issue of Sino-Japanese characters (*kanji*) in Shinto terminology and contexts. For example, the characters making up the expression *kokugaku* 国学 have nothing innately connecting them with “native” or “indigenous” (*dochaku* 土着), with the result that in an English context the expression *kokugaku* is a foreign term possessing no inherent association or connotation by itself. For Japanese speakers, on the other hand, the character *koku* 国 forms part of numerous other related words, like *Kuninotokotachi no mikoto*, *kunitsukami*, *kunitsumi*, *kokuheisha*, *kokka*, *kokutai*, and so forth. These terms appear historically in different ages, and, like *kokugaku*, the meanings often undergo change through the historical process. In this case, the character *koku* or *kuni* 国 can be translated in several ways, namely “terrestrial,” “country,” “provincial,” “nation,” “state,” and so on. Now how can we express the connotation of the character *koku* in English? (This, by the way, is a hurdle similar to the case of a non-Western student facing the root “patri” in terms like “patriot,” “patriarch,” “patriciate,” “patrilocal,” and “patrimony.”)

Moreover, these terms frequently appear in the current Shinto vocabulary, and the character *koku* or *kuni* included in those terms is still open to new interpretations. I think this flexibility to interpret classical, or even mythological terms almost extra-historically within the breadth of connotations possible to the Sino-Japanese ideographic system is, indeed, one of the sources which lets essentialists claim Shinto as “indigenous.”

Concerning this point, I would like to make one quick suggestion. The author translates both *kokuheisha* 国幣社—both those under the ancient Jingikan and those regulated by the Meiji government—as “National Shrines” (34, 374). However, I believe the ancient *kokuheisha* regulated in *Engishiki* in 927 should be interpreted as “provincial shrines.”

The author describes the dividing of the official shrines or *kansha* 官社 into the *kanpeisha* 官幣社 and *kokuheisha* in 798 like this: “While the Jingikan was originally responsible for all these shrines, as of 798 it began delegating responsibility for the National Shrines to provincial governors” (35). In her chronology, she writes, “798: After 798, provincial governors assume responsibility for the provincial shrines” (575). On the other hand, the character *koku* 国 in *kokuheisha* was given a double meaning, that is, both “provincial” and “national,” when the official shrine system or *kansha seido* was revived by the Meiji government. This duality was already pointed out as the explanation of *kokuhei* in *Shintō daijiten* (Heibonsha, 1937). And this fact may be important for understanding the government’s modernizing intentions in that revival.

According to my understanding, within Hardacre’s view of Shinto’s historical continuity, the Jingikan’s existence as an official institution, even in periods when that existence is only nominal or virtual, seems to form a crucial axis. This view of history is well worth consideration for scholarly work on Shinto regardless of the researcher’s status inside or outside Japan. But to tell the truth, I feel that what Hardacre depicts is not merely a historical description of Shinto, but an overall image of the relationship between kami and the Japanese people. Again, I expect that Hardacre’s magnum opus will be recognized for many years as an unprecedented work that most successfully comprehends the breadth of Shinto studies both inside and outside Japan.

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