OKUYAMA MICHIAKI

Editor's Foreward

ON BEHALF of the editorial board of *Religious Studies in Japan*, I am happy to announce that, as of the beginning of 2014, the second volume has now been published online. During the preparatory process, we received a number of submissions for this volume, as we did for the first volume published online in April 2012. Unfortunately, however, the peer review process left us with no papers to be published. As a result we have prepared this volume as a special issue featuring review articles and book reviews on selected books either in Japanese or in English.

As individual members of the Japanese Association for Religious Studies, as well as the association itself as an organization, we are witnessing—and in many cases personally experiencing—the growing opportunities to share scholarly ideas, exchange theoretical and methodological opinions, and work together in conducting research beyond national boundaries and linguistic differences. Nevertheless, there are still various cases of misunderstanding, an imbalance of information, or ignorance of current situations outside one's own country. As an academic journal we would like to be part of the positive trend of increasing internationalization and globalization. As some articles in this volume show, we have juxtaposed a Japanese book with a foreign one—though in the end we failed to picked up books written in languages other than Japanese or English—and asked a Japanese member of the association to review the foreign publication, and a non-Japanese member to review the Japanese publication.

The result is the volume seen here, and readers will be able to get some idea of the most recent ongoing issues in religious studies in Japan and on studies on Japanese religions. The books and subjects discussed herein cover Buddhism, Shinto, and Christianity, issues such as immigration and popular culture, as well

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as one of the most important topics of religious studies, the very concept of religion. Due to my own lack of knowledge on scholarship on Japanese religions in earlier periods, I could not select publications in these areas to be reviewed in this volume. Hopefully the next volume or later volumes will deal with those subjects.

The Japanese Association for Religious Studies has not yet officially decided how to go forward with this online journal project, but for the present I hope the association will publish its third volume in 2016 at the latest.

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15 December 2013

REVIEW ARTICLE

Jolyon Baraka THOMAS

The Concept of Religion in Modern Japan

Imposition, Invention, or Innovation?

Hoshino Seiji 星野靖二, *Kindai Nihon no shūkyō gainen: Shūkyōsha no kotoba to kindai* 近代日本の宗教概念—宗教者の言葉と近代 [The Concept of Religion in Modern Japan]. Tokyo: Yūshisha Press, 2012.

Jason Ānanda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

THE TWO books reviewed here are excellent examples of critical but constructive approaches to the category of religion that have become possible thanks to a recent reflexive turn in the field of Japanese religious studies (ISOMAE 2003; SHIMAZONO and TSURUOKA 2004; HAYASHI and ISOMAE 2008). Jason Josephson's *The Invention of Religion in Japan* offers a creative theoretical apparatus that many students of Japanese religion and history will find immediately useful. The book takes a long view that extends back just prior to the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) and through to the early twentieth century, highlighting the ways that terms such as "superstition" and "heresy" articulated the boundaries of "religion," particularly in legal contexts such as international relations and domestic statecraft. Hoshino Seiji's historically detailed case studies and narrower temporal scope provide a nice counterbalance to the broad, top-down analysis Josephson favors. *Kindai Nihon no shūkyō gainen* focuses specifically on the Meiji era, showing how abstract conceptions of "religion" emerged from intellectuals' apologetic discourse. Both books will undoubtedly fructify

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future scholarship through their persuasive challenges to previously regnant paradigms and through their careful historical research.

The Invention of Religion in Japan

Jason Josephson boasts a formidable linguistic skill set and a corresponding fluency with theoretical material; he puts both to extensive use in this wide-ranging book. He begins from the premise—long recognized by the academy but still in need of repeating—that "religion" is not a natural, universal category. However, in a twist on scholarship that has explained "religion" as a product of European attempts to make sense of cultural differences (ASAD 1993; MASUZAWA 2005), Josephson argues that "religion" is a term that has exerted greater influence at the level of international law than it has in the musings of anthropologists struggling to render different value systems mutually intelligible. In Japan, religion was invented to solve pressing diplomatic problems, and Japanese people proactively participated in that invention rather than being passive recipients of an immutable anthropological category.[1]

Josephson's focus on the scale of international diplomacy and national domestic policy means that his book is not an account of how specific Buddhist, Shinto, and Christian leaders made the category of religion their own. However, his top-down view informs his stimulating observation that categories such as "superstition" exert considerable pressure on both "religion" and "the secular." Here Josephson contributes not only to our understanding of religion-state relations in Japan, but also to the theoretical literature on secularity and secularism, which has—until very recently—largely overlooked non-Euro-American cases, and also how unequal geopolitical power relationships have inflected secularity in Europe and North America (MAHMOOD 2010).

In discussing the general feasibility of applying the category of "religion" to Japan, Josephson distinguishes between two competing definitions of religion that have been prevalent in the Euro-American world. In an earlier version, reference to a god or gods formed an indispensable core of the definition, and religion was understood to have been "revealed" to different cultures. This "theocentric" definition has gradually (if incompletely) yielded to a secularized and globalized "hierocentric" version, in which religion represents a unique phenomenon that forms a discrete aspect of human experience. Theocentric definitions of religion posit one universal revelation from the Christian god to various cultures; non-Christian systems of ritual and thought have therefore been

1. Although Josephson's work is largely unprecedented in Japanese studies, several scholars of South Asia (KING 1999; VAN DER VEER 2001; PENNINGTON 2005) have identified how local intellectuals appropriated the category of religion, skillfully wielding it in both domestic (British colonial) and international contexts.

understood as flawed representations of a pure original (of which Protestant Christianity has remained the paradigmatic model). Hierocentric definitions have rejected the prerequisite of divine revelation, preferring instead to posit a dichotomy between "sacred" and "profane," and suggest that "the sacred" can be found in all human cultures. Josephson rejects this sacred/profane dichotomy as specious, showing that the anthropological concept of "the sacred" is inherently based on the earlier, theocentric model. The remainder of the book traces how these two definitions came to be applied to Japan.[2]

In Chapter 1, Josephson argues that Tokugawa officials' classification of Christianity as a "heresy" (*jakyō* 邪教) meant that they treated it not as a foreign "religion" but as a deviant version of local practices. He shows that the Japanese had two strategies for addressing the presence of Christianity on the archipelago without resorting to the category of religion per se. The first, "hierarchical inclusion," organized difference under a totalizing framework that could elide apparent dissimilarities. This was the case when, for example, local interpreters understood the Christian Deus as just another name for Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来. The different nomenclature was not understood as representing an alternate cosmological viewpoint but was instead subsumed under the preexisting framework of Buddhist cosmology. The second strategy, "exclusive similarity," operated by excluding on the basis of resemblance, treating difference as an aberrant imitation. Citing the case of the maligned Tachikawa-ryū 立川流 lineage as an example of native discourses of aberrant behavior, Josephson shows that the category of heresy works by treating a particular group or practice as similar yet illegitimate. By attributing distasteful practices to demonic influence, Buddhist elites could define orthodoxy.

In Chapter 2, "Heretical Anthropology," Josephson juxtaposes Tokugawa period historical records detailing European observations of Japan with Japanese observations of Europeans. While Josephson's point is to show that both groups relied on the concept of heresy in their attempts to understand the other, he gives slightly more weight to Japanese accounts as a way of dislodging the presupposition that Europeans were the only ones observing a foreign culture and struggling to make sense of its barbaric practices. Just as Europeans read Buddhism as a heretical form of Christianity, the Japanese read Christianity as a Buddhist heresy. An appendix includes a translation of one such Japanese attempt in 1709.

The Japanese lacked the category of religion as a way of making sense of this encounter, but the European grasp on "religion" as a universal category was also

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2. Josephson's narrative historically ends in the early twentieth century, making the connection between his account and contemporary Japanese religious studies more implied than explicit, but this also allows him to distinguish his project from earlier studies (particularly ISOMAE 2003).

tenuous. Chapter 3 proceeds with this in mind, as Josephson examines how "religion" emerged as a political term used in the treaties ratified between Japan, the United States, and western European nations.[3] Noting the flurry of translation that occurred in the mid-nineteenth century as Japanese interpreters attempted to find or create appropriate domestic analogues for foreign words and ideas, Josephson draws on linguistic theory to show that as the prototype for "religion," Christianity retained a primacy of place even when that category was reformulated to include non-Christian practices. Although they were in a relatively weak position in terms of international power relations, Japanese interpreters were not passive recipients of this Christian-centric "religion." Through tactical practices of selective translation and creative interpretation, late Tokugawa and early Meiji leaders proactively misread the diplomatic term "religion" in order to build prophylactic barriers against Christian incursion.

In Chapter 4, Josephson lays out the first part of his account of how Shinto came to be understood as a non-religion in Meiji era governmental policy. He argues that Shinto was not, as has commonly been assumed, a "religion" that was reconfigured as a political system. Rather, Shinto was molded in the hands of Kokugaku 国学 scholars to operate as a comprehensive "science." European understandings of science were intimately connected with Christian cosmology, so Japanese interpreters operating under the Tokugawa ban on Christianity had to "secularize" European scientific knowledge before Europeans themselves did. Using new philological and textual critical methods, these Japanese interpreters then shrewdly showed that ancient Japanese people had understood, for example, the heliocentric conception of the universe long before Europeans had, effectively making European science a pale imitation of a Japanese original. Kokugaku and Mito School intellectual strains subsequently blended in Ōkuni Takamasa's 大国隆正 (1792–1871) *hongaku* 本学, a comprehensive worldview that directly informed the political disposition of the nascent Meiji state. What appeared to be "religion" (that is, Shinto) was actually a comprehensive type of knowledge that incorporated cosmogony, "natural philosophy," and political theory.

As a logical extension of his argument that Shinto operated as a National Science, Josephson asserts in Chapter 5 that Shinto formed the basis for a secular system in Meiji era Japan. This perspective may be counterintuitive to readers more familiar with the older model of Shinto as Japan's national religion from the period between 1868 and 1945, but that model has been sharply and deservedly called into question in recent Japanese scholarship (OKUYAMA 2011). Questioning the "State Shinto" model does not mean running to the opposite extreme

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3. Josephson's claim that provisions for "religious freedom" in international treaties served as a cover for Christian missionary activity corroborates recent scholarship on the Middle East (MAHMOOD 2012).

of defending what was clearly an ideologically powerful (and ultimately violent) worldview. Crucially, Josephson shows that as a secular system, Shinto exerted as much ideological force as any state religion might, forcing religions to define themselves in opposition to a Shinto conceived as "neutral," antecedent to private religious "belief," and equivalent with Japaneseness. This "Shinto secular" formed a common core-type secularism that undergirded the Meiji state by superseding all other religious commitments.[4]

Through a creative excursus on the development of realist fiction and biopolitics, Josephson shows a two-step process whereby "the real" became equated with the National Science worldview in Meiji era Japan. Although the empirically unverifiable aspects of that worldview (deities, a divine cosmogony) gradually receded in the arena of natural science, they survived in Shinto-inflected political theory. The understanding of reality that resulted deeply influenced compulsory education, the "secularization" of shrines and the laicization of shrine priests, and the formal separation of Shinto from Buddhism. The resulting secularized Shinto vision of the Japanese *kokutai* 国体 functioned analogously to the secularized Christian theology that informed nineteenth-century European political sovereignty. It also became distinguished from a private, "religious" variety of Shinto when the government began to reconfigure Shinto lay associations as "religions" akin to Buddhist denominations in the 1870s.

In the next phase of his argument, Josephson argues that part of the process of formulating a modern "Shinto secular" state was to identify certain practices and groups as incompatible with "the real" posited by the Meiji state. The "civilization and enlightenment" rhetoric of the era was applied not only to customs but also to ritual: as secular Shinto rituals came to serve as markers of civilization, alternate ritual forms were suppressed. This resulted in a standardization of the national ritual calendar, suppression of "lewd" practices such as phallus worship, and persecution of fortune-tellers and their ilk. The rise of scientific authority and new disciplines such as psychology also caused, by the 1880s, a new form of (partial) disenchantment in which the neologism *meishin* 迷信 (superstition)

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4. Although the category of "the secular" forms a crucial linchpin of Josephson's argument here, he unfortunately glosses over important distinctions between "the secular" (an ostensibly neutral, non-religious space), "secularism" (an ideology aiming to create such space), "secularity" (a quality of social structure or epistemology predicated on the presupposition that "the secular" exists), and "secularization" (understood alternatively as the inexorable retreat of religion from public space or the proactive exile of religion by the state). This minor criticism aside, in his indication of the mutual imbrication of "religion" and "the secular" and his attendant recognition that varieties of secularism exist, Josephson is consistent with some recent scholarship (for example, JAKOBSEN and PELLEGRINI 2008). His argument is also, to my mind, a considerable improvement on the problematic "State Shinto" model. This contribution will become more apparent as others apply Josephson's insights to the early twentieth century.

came to replace heresy (*jakyō*) as the identifier for unsavory ritual practices. Contemporary legal codes exhibit a transition wherein "black magic"—formerly banned because it was perceived to be physically dangerous—came to be censured instead because it was "superstitious," while individuals suffering from fox possession and similar ailments came to be treated as mentally ill. Meanwhile, official attempts to restrict missionary activities led to the introduction of the new, abstract category of "religion" into international treaties. Policymakers inscribed the new distinctions between science and superstition in treaty provisions for "freedom of religion."

In Chapter 7, Josephson upends the familiar Saidian account of Europe's masterful encounter with the passive "Orient," showing that Japanese interpreters played active roles in formulating European understandings of the new academic field of "Japanese religions." While European interpreters held strategic advantage in early discussions of "Japanese religions," Japanese intellectuals and policymakers wielded tactical agency to reconfigure the category of "religion" to suit their particular interests. Intellectuals with diplomatic experience and contributors to the influential policy journal *Meiroku zasshi* 明六雑誌 weighed in on what counted as "religion" in Japan, what role it should play in statecraft (particularly "civilizing" projects), and how the diplomatic problem of "religious freedom" was best resolved.

The diversity of interpretations seen in the pages of *Meiroku zasshi* indicates that the concept of "religion" had not yet solidified in the 1870s. Despite these differences, the contributors generally understood "religion" as a positive, "civilizing" influence that could be distinguished from negative "superstition." As an example of how this language developed among contemporary religious leaders, Josephson very briefly highlights Shimaji Mokurai's 島地黙雷 (1838–1911) interpretation of Shinto as a secular field compatible with Christianity and Buddhism, with the latter two traditions now understood as distinct "religions." Josephson concludes by showing that even as Japanese intellectuals' understandings of religion were influenced by their interactions with academics during their diplomatic missions to Europe, European scholars embraced ideas about "Japanese religions" that they had absorbed from their Japanese counterparts. The category of "Japanese religions" was born out of this process.

Chapter 8 examines the formation of the 1889 Constitution of the Empire of Japan. Against the view that the Meiji constitution served as one of the foundational documents for a theocratic "State Shinto," Josephson persuasively shows that the constitution was not only akin to contemporary European constitutions in its association of sovereignty with divinity, but also in the circumscribed nature of its guarantee of religious freedom. In fact, the Meiji constitution was in some ways more liberal than many contemporary constitutions, some of which explicitly outlined a state religion (Norway, Spain), and some of which

singled out specific groups for exclusion (Jews, in the Norwegian constitution). Josephson also makes the important point that freedom was granted to *shinkyō* 信教 (understood as interior belief) but not to *shūkyō* 宗教 (understood as a general category encompassing various denominations and sects). Japanese subjects were therefore free to believe whatever they wanted, but the government reserved the right to police their public activities. Subsequent laws and ordinances would make such policing even more explicit, while journalism would subject marginal groups to strict supervision of a different sort. Josephson cites the well-documented cases of Renmonkyō 蓮門教 and Tenrikyō 天理教, both of which suffered from journalistic calumny in the 1890s. Such marginal groups had to adjust their doctrines and ritual practices to conform to legal definitions of "religion" or risk persecution (Tenrikyō survived, Renmonkyō did not).

The Japanese state also directly impinged on matters of belief through public education, providing students with lists of unacceptable beliefs (fox possession, *tengu* 天狗) while simultaneously exhorting them to assent to the "Shinto secular" worldview of imperial divine descent. This substantiates Josephson's claim in the opening of this chapter that modern states do not merely control religion by restricting it to the private sphere or by administering policies of toleration. Education serves as a way for states to engage in subject-formation, producing a particular type of citizen who embraces certain parameters for her belief.[5] Josephson concludes the chapter by showing that the birth of Japanese religious studies at the turn of the twentieth century contributed directly to the shift from *theocentric* to *hierocentric* understandings of "religion," in which de-Christianized interpretations of religion as a universal aspect of human existence reflected the direct mediation of Japanese scholars.[6]

A short conclusion summarizes the book by showing the mutually imbricated nature of the categories of "the secular," "superstition," and "religion." Josephson maps these onto a more abstract set of principles, in which modern secular states align themselves with a neutral, self-evident realm ("the real"). This scientistic approach negates the "delusory" world of superstition (magic, the demonic), articulating a distinction between "mandatory truth" and "backward superstition." In this view, religion is one species of "superstition," but it is a species that cannot be wholly eradicated by scientism. Josephson describes religion in this sense as a "paradoxically optional set of beliefs between state truths

5. Although he is less sanguine about the category of "State Shinto," this places Josephson's argument in line with SHIMAZONO's (2010) recent book on that subject.

6. This interpretation is based on Josephson's argument in the Introduction (8–11), as the words "hierocentric" and "theocentric" seem to have been transposed on page 246. This is one example of the apparently hasty copyediting of the book, which is otherwise meticulously assembled and argued.

[science] and banned delusions [superstition]" (260). Religion becomes a third term through which "the real" and "delusion" are mediated.

The Concept of Religion in Modern Japan

Kindai Nihon no shūkyō gainen is more cautiously argued than *The Invention of Religion in Japan*, but Hoshino Seiji's points are equally stimulating. In the preface, Hoshino lays out the basic goals of the project, clarifying that the aim of the book is not to discuss the "essence" of (perennial, universal) religion, nor is it to identify "genuine" and "false" religion or to obliterate the category of religion altogether. Rather, Hoshino traces how non-elite religious intellectuals who were skilled in the use of abstract concepts naturalized the category of religion over the course of the Meiji era. He shows that their apologetic rhetoric—which was inherently designed to garner legitimacy for certain traditions through comparison and contrast with others—created "religion" in an increasingly abstract sense. Without any trace of combativeness, Hoshino effectively refutes the scholarship that has treated "religion" as a foreign imposition by showing the alacrity with which local intellectuals adopted and reflexively applied the term.

While all of Hoshino's subjects belonged to a well-educated class, none of them were the elites at Tokyo Imperial University or the politicians and bureaucrats responsible for formulating Meiji religious policy. Hoshino describes this emphasis as both a strength and weakness of his book. To my mind, the benefits are clear because some literature already exists on policymakers (for example, YAMA-GUCHI 2005; MAXEY 2005). Hoshino also acknowledges that his focus on this literate class does not allow him to discuss grassroots-level religious leaders who were less prepared to discuss religion as an abstract concept (a topic for future research if supporting materials exist). While this limitation of scope is pragmatic, some readers may wonder about the criteria used to select the intellectuals he does study. For example, the preponderance of liberal Christians in his account may slightly undermine his attempt to theorize about the development of "religion" outside of those circles, and his Buddhist cases were lay intellectuals rather than clerics.

Chapter 1 provides a swift historical overview of the factors that contributed to the emergence of the modern category of "religion" in Europe, tracing the emergence of natural theology and Deism and their subsequent impact on anglophone understandings of religion, which in turn directly affected the conception of religion introduced to Japan by Christian missionaries.[7] The remainder of the chapter is a literature review covering the major contributions to historicizing the category of religion in both Anglophone and Japanese scholarship. While

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7. Hoshino's discussion of Christian natural theology and Deism bears more than passing resemblance to Josephson's treatment of Kokugaku as "National Science." This parallel deserves further study.

this retrospective provides welcome context for the material that follows, the exhaustive survey of foregoing scholarship sometimes overshadows Hoshino's own points. Two things merit further explanation here.

First, Hoshino rightly argues that it is insufficient to say that a belief-centric *shūkyō* replaced a practice-oriented *shūshi* 宗旨 or *shūmon* 宗門 wholesale in the middle of the nineteenth century. The neologism extended the semantic range of these previously existing terms rather than obliterating them outright or overnight, and Hoshino traces the process whereby *shūkyō* became not only the preferred translation of the foreign term "religion" but also a reflexive category. He shows that "religion" was hardly imposed on Meiji-era Japan, but rather that it was proactively adopted and modified by contemporary intellectuals.

Second, using "religion" apologetically necessarily meant to think of the category comparatively. Over the course of the Meiji era "religion/*shūkyō*" became a sort of lingua franca through which previously incommensurable ideas about civilization, transcendence, and morality became mutually intelligible. To put this slightly differently than Hoshino himself does, what we now call "religion" did not become *privatized* with the importation of conceptions of interiority and the primacy of faith, but rather (or also) "religion" became very *public* as various interest groups reinterpreted their own positions in light of a category they collectively understood as meaningful. Hoshino describes this as progressive "abstraction," in which religion ceases to indicate one specific tradition (for example, Christianity) and comes instead to indicate a universal phenomenon with various local expressions. Through this "religionizing" (*shūkyōka* 宗教化) process, even groups that rejected the label (or were deemed to not warrant it) eventually came to be understood as "religions" in their own apologetic discourse and in public administration.

Part I, "Religion as Civilization," is historically grounded in the period between the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and the early 1880s; it shows how various thinkers mobilized "religion" in print and public oratory (*enzetsu* 演説), tying it to "civilization" (*bunmei* 文明), "learning" (*gakujutsu* 学術), and "morality" (*dōtoku* 道徳). Chapter 2 shows that early Meiji Christian apologists such as Uemura Masahisa 植村正久 (1858–1925) held deeply ambivalent views about the relationship between religion and civilization. Even as they identified Christianity as a "civilizing" agent, they criticized the contemporary tendency to admire Christianity merely because it was the religion of powerful Western nations. Hoshino shows that anglophone Christian discourse of the mid-nineteenth century mobilized science—particularly mechanistic understandings of the universe wedded to teleological conceptions of progress and providence—in apologetic writings that treated Christianity as an agent of civilization.

Christian missionaries initially mobilized a *kanbun* 漢文 text formerly used in Chinese missions to appeal to literate Japanese audiences, highlighting the supe-

riority of Christianity by appealing simultaneously to Confucian and scientistic understandings of mechanical and moral universal order. The Japanese interpreter of this text, Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832–1891), avoided Christology entirely in his representation of Christianity as a rational, moral order. Both Uemura and Nakamura embraced a vision of Christianity (that is, religion) that was simultaneously universal and civilizing: Uemura posited an intrinsic "religious sentiment" that could be cultivated through "civilizing" education; Nakamura used traditional Confucian rhetoric to both affirm and subtly challenge the missionary equation of Christianity with civilization.

In Chapter 3, Hoshino focuses on the figure of Takahashi Gorō 高橋吾良 (also 五郎), a Christian convert who was a founding member and regular contributor to the ecumenical Christian magazine *Rikugō zasshi* 六合雑誌. Hoshino focuses on a period in the early 1880s when Takahashi wrote a series of articles that attempted to outline the relationship between religion (*shūkyō*) and academics (*rigaku* 理学). Although the distinction between neutral "learning" and confessional "religion" is often understood as one mark of modernity, Hoshino shows that at this stage the two were intimately connected. For Takahashi, scholarship was not separate from morality, and study of the natural world ultimately led to virtue through the medium of encounter with the Creator. Although contemporary Christians such as Naruse Jinzō 成瀬仁蔵 (1858–1919) critiqued Takahashi's conception of religion as excessively intellectual, in the mid-Meiji era this conception of religion was apparently quite influential.

In Chapter 4, Hoshino turns to the Buddhist world and the practice of *Bukkyō enzetsu* 仏教演説, a form of public oratory targeted to audiences who may not have had any particular affiliation with (or affinity towards) Buddhism. Drawing on fascinating documents such as *Meikyō shinshi* 明教新誌 articles by Ōuchi Seiran 大内青巒 (1845–1918) and contemporary guidebooks for orators, Hoshino shows that *Bukkyō enzetsu* became a prominent new media form in the early 1880s that allowed Buddhists to target "people of middling ability and above" and counteract contemporary critiques of Buddhism as an outmoded religion for the ignorant. In contrast to earlier forms of Buddhist oratory, *enzetsu* was neither a detailed lecture on a specific Buddhist text (*kōgi* 講義), nor was it a performative homiletic sermon (*sekkyō* 説教). Rather, *enzetsu* performed an essentially apologetic task by defending Buddhism in a general, pan-sectarian sense. In this inherently comparative project, Buddhism was positioned as one religion among many, with the category of "religion" superseding any given tradition or group.

In Part II, "From Civilization to Religion," religion comes into its own as a category separate from both civilization and scholarship. In Chapter 5, Hoshino traces arguments about religion found in Kozaki Hiromichi's 小崎弘道 (1856–1938) 1881 translation of J. H. Seelye's 1873 *The Way the Truth and the Life* and in Kozaki's own *Seikyō shinron* 政教新論 (New treatise on state and religion,

1886). Briefly, Seelye distinguished between human-made and divinely revealed religions, suggesting that only Christianity belonged to the latter category, and that Christianity alone maintained a state of political and doctrinal purity instead of allowing itself (like Buddhism) to mix with local superstitions or be influenced by temporal authority. In *Seikyō shinron* Kozaki reproduced Seelye's argument in its broad strokes, arguing that the adoption of Christianity was necessary for civilizing projects due to its ability to provide moral guidance. While Christianity therefore became the prototypical model for religion, Kozaki's interpretation of the relationship between Christianity and other religions softened the sharp distinction seen in Seelye's work, treating the difference as one of degree rather than kind.

Chapter 6 takes up Nakanishi Ushirō 中西牛郎 (1859–1930) as a counterpoint to the famed Buddhist reformer-apologist Inoue Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919).[8] Whereas Enryō's intellectualist Buddhist apologetics were conducted using the language of Western philosophy, Nakanishi's less confrontational approach borrowed from the (originally Christian) "Natural Religion/Revealed Religion" paradigm to show that in order to qualify as "religion," a tradition must have a revelatory element. Nakanishi argued that Buddhism was superior to Christianity in the rational quality of its revelation. While both men advocated academic, rational comparison of religions, Enryō's commitment to finding the religion most suitable to Japanese culture (Buddhism) can be contrasted with Nakanishi's less culturally bounded interpretation.

Chapter 7, "From Civilization to Religion," returns to Uemura Masahisa, tracing a major shift in his thinking about "religion" that occurred between 1880 and 1890. Whereas at the beginning of the decade Uemura posited Christianity as equivalent with civilization and as the single candidate for status as Japan's national religion, an 1888–1889 trip to the United States exposed him to Christian hypocrisy, shattering long-held illusions and forcing him to treat religion as an abstract, universal field divorced from Western civilization. While Uemura remained committed to a teleological model of religious development, now religions were ranked as "true" and "provisional," with all religions regarded as greater or lesser expressions of absolute truth. In the context of increasing cultural nationalism, Uemura's new universalist interpretation of religion served to both defend Christianity and to provide clarity in the distinction between religion and non-religion. Uemura also embraced the emerging field of comparative religion as the most advanced of the various academic disciplines.

Part III, "The Rearrangement of Religion and Morality," focuses on the end of the Meiji era. Here Hoshino shows how the 1891 Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三 (1861–1930) lèse-majesté incident and the subsequent furor over the "clash

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8. Hereafter I refer to this Inoue as "Enryō" to distinguish him from his contemporary Tetsujirō.

of education and religion" exemplified a new phase in which religion existed as a discrete category separate from—and potentially inimical to—morality. Chapter 8 examines Uemura's response to the Uchimura incident. While some contemporary Christians attempted to distinguish "superficial rituals" (rites venerating the emperor as the political head of state) from "rituals with religious elements," Uemura joined other Christians in arguing that it was incumbent on the state to remove any trace of religiosity from rituals held at public schools in order to conform to the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom. However, these initial responses to the incident left "religion" and "religious ritual" largely undefined, so Uemura proceeded to clarify his own position in an article entitled "Lèse-majesté and Christianity" in the Christian journal *Fukuin shūhō* 福音週報. The article was suppressed after publication, but in it Uemura turned the lèse-majesté incident into an opportunity to counter anti-Christian sentiment by arguing that rituals involving obeisance in front of the imperial portrait were inherently uncivilized.

When Inoue Tetsujirō's famous tract *Kyōiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu* 教育と宗教の衝突 emerged in 1893 and portrayed Christianity as fundamentally incompatible with national morality, Christians responded by either suggesting that there was no such opposition between religion and morality or that morality was modulated through religion. Uemura took the latter approach, showing in a serial article entitled *Konnichi no shūkyōron oyobi tokuikuron* 今日の宗教論及び徳育論 that patriotism could be harmonized with the love of god, and that true patriotism would fulfill the divine mission and surpass national borders. In order to fulfill national objectives moral education would be necessary, but only religion (not secular morality) could truly accomplish such goals. Uemura's rhetoric showed that in the 1890s "religion" and "morality" came to be understood as discrete fields, although the arguments about whether religion subsumed morality within it or vice versa remained inconclusive.

Chapter 9 returns to Nakanishi Ushirō, particularly this influential thinker's appraisal of religion and morality in the "clash of education and religion" debate that occurred in the wake of the Uchimura incident. While Nakanishi's contribution to this debate, *Kyōiku shūkyō shōtotsu dan'an* 教育宗教衝突断案 (1893), was not intended to provide a general treatise on religion, in his discussion of Christianity and its relationship to "Japan" Nakanishi offered just such a view. Nakanishi, who spent some time contributing to the Unitarian journal *Shūkyō* 宗教, admired the Unitarian commitment to biblical textual criticism and their rejection of the doctrines of Jesus as a redeemer or as the son of god. He urged fellow Buddhists to emulate this rationalist spirit. Whereas Tetsujirō had famously argued that Christianity was fundamentally incompatible with the Japanese national character, Nakanishi encouraged his readers to determine how Christianity might be assimilated. He engaged in some logical acrobatics

to support this point. While he rejected Inoue's claim that religion should submit to the state, he placed Japan's unique *kokutai* above garden-variety religion, going so far as to say that Japanese Christians should reject the Old Testament in order to make Japanese Christianity compatible with the historical vision of the unbroken imperial lineage. All religious traditions that subsumed themselves under the overarching *kokutai* ideology could and should be tolerated.

The section concludes with a chapter in which this newly naturalized concept of religion was articulated in the Christian journal *Shūkyō oyobi bungei* (Religion and the arts), initially published in 1911. This journal targeted an educated urban class, representing the views of Uemura's Japan Christian Church and the membership of Tokyo Theological Seminary. It reflected both a maturation of Japanese Christian theology and a new focus on "religion" as a specific topic of analysis. Contributions from Uemura and other Christians highlighted the personal quest for meaning and the solution of such quests through academic inquiry. Although contributors took Christian superiority over other religions for granted, they did so by appealing to the academic enterprise of comparative religious studies.

Hoshino's lucid conclusion provides a temporal framework to show how "religion" changed over the course of the Meiji era. In the early Meiji era religion was understood as intimately associated with the natural order and universal reason and as indissolubly linked with both "civilization" and "learning." However, this conception of "religion" became unstable as modern epistemology (*kindai no chi* 近代の知) gained prominence. Academic critique led to the location of religion in a separate domain, now understood as a discrete, unique field essentially characterized by transcendence. This did not mean that religion was no longer a subject of academic investigation, but rather that the split between religious practice and academic inquiry was now taken for granted. The new discrete field of "religion" was also separated from morality. The Uchimura lèse-majesté incident prompted some interpreters (such as Nakanishi) to posit morality as superseding religion while others (such as Uemura) saw religion as the essential prerequisite for moral development.

Ultimately, in the late Meiji era religion came to be understood not only as essentially transcendent, but also as having "belief" at its core. Hoshino clarifies that his story is not a teleological account wherein religion ineluctably became synonymous with "belief," but rather that this belief-centric view emerged out of a protracted process of interpretation. The author's claim is not that "belief" did not exist in earlier periods, but rather that as "religion" emerged as a reflexive category, it gradually came to include "belief" as a prerequisite and defining characteristic. This reasonable view complicates the excessively simple rubric of a belief-centric *shūkyō* replacing a practice-centric predecessor.

Making Religion in Japan

Even a somewhat lengthy review can hardly do justice to these two fine books. By way of conclusion I will briefly put their respective contributions into focus using a framework provided by DRESSLER and MANDAIR in their recent edited volume (2011). Dressler and Mandair argue that "religion" and "the secular" are not merely co-constitutive, but that "religion-making"—in the sense of treating religion as a discrete and unique category—occurs in three distinct patterns. Namely, religion is constructed through secular political formations ("religion-making from above"), apologetic discourse ("religion-making from below"), and academic inquiry ("religion-making from outside"). This rubric is admittedly artificial, but it helps to clarify trends that have characterized the reflexive literature on the academic study of religion and to situate these books within those trends.

"Religion-making from above" happens as states determine the criteria by which certain groups or movements are recognized as religions. As ASAD (2003) has demonstrated, this occurs when governments posit the existence of a neutral field called "society" and divide social life into "religious" and "non-religious" areas, with the latter political field understood as "the secular." Josephson nuances Asad's claims by showing that religion is co-constitutive not merely with the category of the secular but also with the category of "superstition." He also persuasively demonstrates that the categories of "religion" and "superstition" may be equally useful to political and ecclesiastical authorities engaged in legitimizing projects.[9] Like Asad, Josephson engages in a top-down analysis that examines "religion," "the secular," and "superstition" from the perspective of national policy (which is, in turn, modulated by international pressures). This elucidates a great deal about secularism and religion-making as a tool of statecraft, but leaves unanswered the question of how specific interest groups—clerics and denominations in particular—understand themselves to represent "religion."

"Religion-making from below" occurs as interest groups mobilize the category of religion to attract the attention of potential converts, possible competitors, and the state. Hoshino's book shows how religious intellectuals in the Meiji era used the category of religion for apologetic purposes, thereby fostering a new sense of "religion" as a universal category. Although Japanese interpreters clearly took Protestant Christianity as the paradigmatic model of religion, they were evidently willing to modify both Christianity and "religion" to make each fit with the Japanese cultural milieu. The discursive activities of these mid-level intellectuals rarely influenced state policy directly, but Hoshino persuasively shows that they exerted considerable influence on general understandings of

9. ASAD (2003, 253–54) briefly mentions superstition in similar terms.

"religion." He therefore challenges the tendency to treat the category of religion as a foreign imposition, implicitly rejecting the romanticization of a pre-*shūkyō* Japan seen in some foregoing scholarship.

Finally, "religion-making from outside" describes the process whereby academics identify specific social and cultural phenomena as "religious." Decades of critical reflexive scholarship have highlighted how the academic study of religion is problematically built around a constructed category. Some of this scholarship has been sharply critical of the entire enterprise and less than sanguine about its future. While the importance of recognizing the artificiality of "religion" is indisputable, it would be folly to interpret the imperative to relentlessly question dominant paradigms as a mandate to dismantle the field, in no small part because non-academics continue to apply the category to themselves and others.[10]

With that in mind, both books do an admirable job of intelligibly and gracefully standing within the tradition of religious studies while showing how arbitrary its primary object of analysis is. They exemplify how evidentiary historical research and discourse analysis can elucidate the adventitious circumstances that have contributed to the ongoing definition and redefinition of "religion." While both persuasively show that "religion" had to be adapted to the Japanese milieu, neither simplistically assumes that religion was unidirectionally forced upon Japan by foreign powers. Instead, they show how non-European agents exerted pressure on the category from the moment they began using it. Scholars of religion have been wringing our hands over the unfair imposition of "religion" on populations that lacked native equivalents, but this anxiety may have hindered our ability to take a careful look at how most variants of "religion" at use in the academy today are *not* purely Eurocentric. Moreover, contemporary usage is not merely the result of Euro-American magnanimity, of "how European universalism was preserved in the language of pluralism" (MASUZAWA 2005). Rather, "religion" has been powerfully modulated by non-European legal, apologetic, and academic interventions for as long as the term has existed in its modern sense.

The Way Forward

Reflexive scholarship can easily become insular, but these books admirably speak to audiences outside of religious studies. Both authors show the importance of "religion" as an aspect of intellectual and political history, and people in fields such as anthropology and sociology will also find helpful the historical context behind the contemporary discrepancies between professions of belief, frequency

10. This issue was the topic of a vociferous debate between Timothy Fitzgerald and Ian Reader (FITZGERALD 2003, 2004a, 2004b; READER 2004a, 2004b).

of ritual practice, and religious affiliation in contemporary Japan. Both also have much to contribute to the recent flurry of social scientific and humanistic scholarship on secularity, most of which has overlooked the Japanese case.

Future scholarship can continue to contribute to this literature by elucidating the precise nature of modern Shinto in its "religious" and "secular" aspects. Josephson's argument that a "Shinto secular" undergirded the Meiji state is in line with an earlier strain of Japanese scholarship that posited a unique "Japanese-style relationship between religion and the state" (YASUMARU 1979, 208–209; INOUE and SAKAMOTO 1987). This vision is a reasonable corrective for the early postwar scholarship that problematically treated prewar and wartime Japan as entirely lacking any semblance of separation, but it is persuasive only insofar as it focuses on the national scale. Competing interest groups operating at subnational scales undoubtedly interpreted the religion-secular-superstition relationship in diverse ways. In that regard, future historical scholarship will necessarily complicate Josephson's portrayal of "Shinto" as a monolithic, unitary system, and more work is necessary to elucidate how exactly the "Shinto secular" operated as Japan moved into the twentieth century. For example, scholars can productively build upon Josephson's discussion of the "Shinto secular" by tying it to exemplary historical research on shrines and shrine priests (for example, AZEGAMI 2012) to show whether shrine priests understood themselves to be doing "religion," "civic ritual," or something else entirely. This can also minimize the temptation to regard Shinto itself as an autonomous agent rather than an amalgamation of concepts and traditions constantly subject to the interpretations of competing stakeholders.

As Josephson's brief treatment of Shimaji Mokurai attests, Buddhist clerics also played important roles in the development of "religion" in Japan that deserve closer scrutiny. Hoshino's slight emphasis on Christian thinkers is sensible because Christianity obviously served as the prototype for "religion" in the Meiji era, but the Buddhists who do appear in Hoshino's narrative may not represent mainstream Buddhist clerical opinion. Nakanishi was a lay Buddhist with Unitarian leanings, and Enryō dismissed Buddhism as defunct even as he attempted to rationalize and harmonize it with modern Western philosophy. Ōuchi Seiran, one of the chief proponents of *Bukkyō enzetsu*, was also a laicized priest; his journal *Meikyō shinshi* was explicitly trans-sectarian and therefore probably only obliquely represented the more sectarian views of some of his clerical contemporaries. The fact that trans-sectarian publications served as venues where "religion" was articulated in an abstract sense makes them ideal primary source material for Hoshino's specific project, but future research on extant *sectarian* publications will elucidate when and why Buddhist clerics reflexively described their own sects as "religions."

One final point about terminology. Josephson's decision to describe the emergence of the category of religion in Japan as an "invention" falls in a venerable line

of scholarly precedent of highlighting a commonsense concept as "invented" (for example, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Masuzawa 2005). Reference to invention now serves as scholarly shorthand for awareness of the historically contingent, intrinsically political, and dangerously seductive nature of categories that are too easily taken for granted. This is a useful rhetorical strategy, but the passive construction "the invention of…" may obfuscate *who* does the inventing and *why*. Obviously invention never happens in a vacuum, but if scholars intend to suggest the creation of something wholly new when they use the word, then neither book is actually describing the "invention" of religion in Japan. Rather, each author in his own way describes a process of *innovation* wherein Japanese agents carefully selected from the concepts at their disposal and reconfigured them to suit their needs. This may seem a purely semantic point, but words come with entailments that can mislead, distort, and reinforce. One challenge for the future will be to discover ways to talk about the constructed nature of "religion" that do not denigrate the meaning of religion for those who apply the term reflexively, that do not diminish awareness of religion's evident ideological power, and do not dismiss the idea of religion itself as a mere scholarly phantasm. Religion is "made" by states and apologists as much as it is made by scholars, and the "real" lies no more in our ability to identify religion's historical and discursive origins than it does in the elucidation of religion's material underpinnings or its political (and occasionally violent) effects.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Micah AUERBACK

Politics and Scholarship in the Modern Reinvention of Japanese Buddhism

Ōtani Eiichi 大谷栄一, *Kindai Bukkyō to iu shiza: Sensō, Ajia, Shakaishugi* 近代仏教とい
う視座―戦争・アジア・社会主義 (The perspective called "Modern Buddhism": War, Asia,
socialism). Tokyo: Perikansha, 2012.

Orion Klautau オリオン・クラウタウ, *Kindai Nihon shisō to shite no Bukkyō shigaku* 近代日本思
想としての仏教史学 (The study of Buddhist history as modern Japanese thought). Kyoto:
Hōzōkan, 2012.

THESE TWO provocative recent monographs today stand at the forefront of
the study of modern Buddhism in Japan—roughly, the period from 1868
through 1945, though Klautau's study extends into the postwar years. Their
value resides not only in their meticulous use of copious sources from this period,
but also in the methodological self-awareness and willingness to critically scru-
tinize previous scholarship. This review article takes up each in turn, offering a
substantial summary of the contents of each before offering concluding remarks.

Ōtani Eiichi's study of modern Buddhism in Japan is framed by a strong
interest in issues of disciplinary lineage. At its beginning and ending, the study
directly addresses the past of its own discipline—in the preface, the "big three"
(in Hayashi Makoto's words) pioneers—Yoshida Kyūichi (1915–2005), Kashi-
wahara Yūsen (1916–2002), and Ikeda Eishun (1925–2004); and in its conclu-
sion, a number of living researchers who have advanced the field, particularly
since the passing of the generation of the "big three." While the prose modestly
avoids overemphasizing its author's own standing, Ōtani has himself inherited

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the banner bequeathed by this earlier generation. This book shows how various Japanese Buddhist individuals and groups, with various political commitments, fashioned and inherited "modern" identities, and how they coped with the inescapable problems of war abroad and social oppression at home.

Broken into an introduction, three major divisions, and a conclusion, Ōtani's book focuses principally on events from the late 1880s to the mid 1930s. Its three major divisions (1) "open up the question of modern Buddhism" in general before treating (2) "the nation-state and modern Buddhism" with its presumed antithesis, (3) "modern Buddhism crossing [national] borders." The main structure of the book is as follows:

Preface: What to Question in the Study of Modern Buddhism?
I. Opening the Question of Modern Buddhism
A. A Narrative Called "Becoming Modern Buddhism": A New Perspective on The History of Research into Japanese Modern Buddhism
B. The Formation and Development of "New Buddhism" in the Meiji Years: The Youth Culture of Buddhist Young Men
C. The Dynamic State Surrounding "New Buddhism" in the Early Shōwa Years: Communication and Conflict among Traditional Buddhism, Buddhism Revitalized, and the Anti-Religious Movement
II. The Nation-State and Modern Buddhism
A. Buddhists Active in Politics: Concerning the Public Role of Buddhism
B. Nationalism and the Co-Composition of Buddhism: The Social Suasion Activities of the Pillar-of-the-Nation Society in the 1920s
C. Is War Evil? Buddhist Opponents of War in the Early Twentieth Century
III. Modern Buddhism Crossing Borders
A. The Fate of Buddhist Asianism: The Missionary Work of a Cleric of The Nichiren-shū, Takanabe Nittō, in Inner Mongolia
B. Ultra-Nationalism and Buddhism, Combined: The Blood Pledge Corps as Religious Sect
C. Buddhist Social Movements Against War and Against Fascism: Senoʾo Girō and the Youth League for Revitalizing Buddhism
Postscript/List of First Appearances of Chapters/Index

The first chapter of Part I offers a methodological overview for the book, starting by identifying some dispositions lurking in much postwar research about modern Japanese Buddhism: modernist tendencies to valorize rationality, reform, participation in civil society, and an emphasis on inner faith; a common lack of reflection concerning the constructedness of the categories of "Buddhism" and "religion"; and a hierarchy of forms ranking doctrinally endorsed belief (what Ōtani calls "modern Buddhism in the narrow sense") over ancestor veneration,

which in turn outranks prayer for benefits in this world (which Ōtani calls "modern Buddhism in the broad sense"). Previous histories have tended to equate the "narrow sense" definition with the proper object of the study of modern Buddhism as a whole. In his own scheme for future research, Ōtani proposes (1) an expansion of the field of research and of research methodologies, and (2) a comparative study of various kinds of modernizations and Buddhism across Asia.

The second chapter considers the Association of Buddhist Puritans (Bukkyō Seito Dōshikai), founded in 1899—and in 1903, rebranded as the Association of New Buddhists (Shin Bukkyōto Dōshikai)—by examining its journal, *New Buddhism* (*Shin Bukkyō*, published from 1899 to 1915). The association emphasized faith, social reform, and a spirit of free inquiry, while accusing establishment Buddhism of breeding superstition, empty ritualism, and political entanglement. Inheriting ideas about free inquiry and critical practice ultimately from American Unitarianism via its Japanese students, the association was accused of big talk and little concrete action. Yet the author identifies the major contribution of the group precisely in its discursive work—in particular, its work of publishing for the urban bourgeoisie and provincial intellectuals, in exchange for their financial support. Ōtani reads the discontinuation of *New Buddhism* in 1915 not as testament to its failure, but rather as evidence that its claims had acquired such broad social support that they were, in effect, no longer so "new."

The third chapter of Part I focuses upon the inheritance of the association's goals by the Youth League for Revitalizing Buddhism (Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei), a group that survived for less than seven years (1931–1936) in an increasingly volatile decade. Founded by the lay Buddhist socialist and Nichiren sympathizer Senʼo Girō (1889–1961), this movement differed from its Meiji predecessor: no longer a movement principally for the reform of Buddhism, it instead attempted to use Buddhism to reform society. It borrowed its style of activism and even the formatting of its newsletter not from existing religious groups, but from the leftist movements of its day. Its three-point founding charter advocated (1) a return to the Buddha Śākyamuni, here defined as the "highest character" (*saikō jinkaku*) of humanity, along with the realization of a Buddha-land in this world; (2) the denunciation (*haigeki*) of all the established Buddhist groups as the "skeletal remains" (*zangaiteki sonzai*) of true religion, which had "blasphemed the spirit of Buddhism"; and (3) a call for the reform of the present capitalist economic structure, which they castigated as "opposing the spirit of Buddhism."

As might be inferred from these fighting words, the league passed its short existence embroiled in a state of perpetual conflict. To establishment Buddhist groups, the league was "red" Buddhism, while to the anti-religious socialists, it was "reactionary" (262). But the present study also implies that the bitterest rivals to the league were, in fact, other new Buddhist organizations. Also founded in 1931, the All-Japan Buddhist Youth Alliance (Zen Nihon Bukkyō Seinen Ren-

mei) represented an attempt to find common ground among these dozens of groups. At successive general meetings, Seno'o and his colleagues unsuccessfully pressed the alliance to incorporate the unification of Buddhist movements and social reform into its official principles, and finally withdrew in protest. The league also denounced a far larger rival, the pan-sectarian lay Movement for Truth (Shinri Undō), launched in 1934 by Tomomatsu Entai (1895–1973). Excoriating Tomomatsu as a hypocrite and a reactionary, Seno'o railed against the Movement, writing in the League's newsletter in 1935 that "no matter what new disguise you cook up, it is nothing but warmed-over, idealistic, Establishment Buddhism" (quoted on page 87). The skillful use of such evidence nicely reveals the wide range of opposition to Seno'o and his comrades.

Part II takes up modern Buddhism and the nation-state. Its first chapter on modern Buddhism and political participation introduces several modes in which Buddhist groups engaged with the public sphere as it took shape along with the modern nation-state. Until the mid-Meiji period, established Buddhist groups lobbied to recover a public role by securing official government recognition (*kōnin*). From the late Meiji period through the Taishō years (1912–1925), the call for the union of Buddhism with the state passed to the Pillar-of-the-Nation Society (Kokuchūkai), which was founded by a Nichiren cleric who had laicized, Tanaka Chigaku (1861–1939). Seeing the national essence (*kokutai*) as one core of his Nichirenist movement, Chigaku even launched a political party (a manner of predecessor to Sōka Gakkai's Kōmeitō), and in 1924, he made an unsuccessful bid for election in the Diet. (Ordained clerics were forbidden to participate in Japanese politics—either to vote or to stand for elected office—until the reforms of 1925.) Before a brief consideration of Buddhist cooperation during the period of total war, the chapter foregrounds the public engagement of the Youth League for Revitalizing Buddhism: its commitments to "a communal society that practices mutual aid" (Kropotkin) and "a communal society of the equality of character, with no exploitation and no domination," as well as its support for the labor movement of the 1930s. Ōtani evaluates these efforts, maintained despite increasingly hostile circumstances, as, "in a word, one apex (*hitotsu no kyokuten*) of modern Buddhism" (112).

The societal outreach activities of the Pillar-of-the-Nation Society in the second half of the 1920s occupy the spotlight of the second chapter of Part II. Employing categories articulated by Benedict Anderson, Ōtani asks, "What happens when a religious movement aiming to build a universal 'sacred community' acts within the modern, national community?" (119). To answer this question, he traces the religious contribution to the public sphere in the society's campaigns to secure the designation of the birthday of the Meiji emperor (3 November) as a public holiday. Riding a wave of popular nostalgia for the Meiji emperor's reign and the idealization of his figure, the society exerted massive efforts to build its own lobbying organization throughout the empire; it ultimately attracted some thirty thousand

members in seventy branches (136). Its lobbying succeeded, and in 1927, the Anniversary of the Birth of the Emperor Meiji (Meiji *setsu*) was first celebrated. The number of people mobilized by the society's lobbying for this event in fact dwarfed the size of the Pillar-of-the-Nation Society proper, in terms of sheer membership, but that lobbying success did not translate into substantial growth for Tanaka Chigaku's movement itself (140). Although Ōtani does not make this point explicitly, it seems that the society may have succeeded in building a social movement but was still, in the end, merely a vector for one version of nationalism.

The third and final chapter of Part II examines early twentieth-century antiwar activism by Buddhists through the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Laudably, this chapter carefully contextualizes that activism by first discussing the antiwar stances adopted by Japanese Protestants (particularly Uchimura Kanzō, 1861–1930) and the early socialists associated with the Society of Commoners (Heiminsha). Ōtani also devotes attention to the overwhelming expressions of active support for the war by Japanese Buddhist organizations, and the generally cool reception to Leo Tolstoy's (1828–1910) antiwar stance in Japan. Efforts at expressing opposition in a Buddhist mode all faltered: prominent writers for *New Buddhism* demonstrated a passive acceptance of the war; the antiwar socialist True Pure Land cleric Takagi Kenmyō (1868–1914) suffered arrest and excommunication before finally killing himself in prison; and the Zen cleric Inoue Shūten (1880–1945), who did object to the war in the pages of *New Buddhism*, was harassed by the police and ultimately left the clergy. Ōtani concludes that the challenge faced by Buddhist opponents of war lay in the "difficulty of proposing a new social order to replace the present state order" (168). But we might recall that even other religious groups in modern Japan, which did offer clear alternatives to the existing order, also suffered from state suppression.

Part III returns to the topic of Nichirenism to show that not all figures inspired by Chigaku circumscribed their activities within his group. The first two chapters of this part take up two modes of Nichirenism that did not emerge from what Ōtani, following the British historian Norman Cohn (1915–2007) via Hashikawa Bunsō (1922–1983), calls its "church" form, which is to say, the publically circulating form of Nichirenism. Rather, as the first chapter of Part III shows, participation in Nichirenism could impel individuals to cooperate with elements in the wartime Japanese government as it sought to control ever-larger swaths of territory in Asia. This chapter tells the story of Takanabe Nittō (1897–1953), an ordained cleric in the Nichiren tradition who hoped to unify the world under the banner of both the *Lotus Sutra* and the Japanese emperor. Takanabe spent some years in Mongolia in the late 1920s, and returned there as a missionary-cum-political operative. He hoped to model himself upon one of Nichiren's original disciples, Nichiji (1250–?), who posthumously acquired a reputation for indefatigably spreading Nichiren's teachings even as far as the Asian

continent, where he died. Dispatched to Mongolia to further relations with Buddhist clergy and political elites, Takanabe became an agent of Japanese governmental efforts to secure allegiance from its ruling parties. In addition to forging high-level political contacts, Takanabe also founded a temple—the "Temple for the Establishment of the Nation" (Kenkokuji). He also helped to arrange for the dispatch of some of the two hundred or so young Mongolian lamas who studied in Japanese Buddhist institutions into the 1940s. This chapter supplements the existing research on Japanese religions in occupied Manchuria (see Kiba and Cheng 2007).

The second chapter of Part III relates the tale of what Ōtani deems a full-blown Nichirenist "sect," the so-called "Blood Pledge Corps" (Ketsumeidan), and their abortive coup of 1932. Its leader, Inoue Nisshō (1886–1967), also drew inspiration from Nichirenism. He attracted a group of disaffected young men in the area of Mito, ultimately setting them on a course to topple the existing political and economic power structure in order to return government directly to the hands of the emperor. Nisshō promoted a theory by which an individual life ultimately equated to the life force of the universe, which in turn equated with the national essence and the emperor himself. At a meeting of his group in 1930, Nisshō was reading a key passage from Nichiren's *The Opening of the Eyes* (*Kaimoku-shō*)—"I will be the Pillar of Japan. I will be the Eyes of Japan. I will be the Great Ship of Japan. This is my vow, and I will never forsake it!"—when an earthquake shook the room. His students interpreted this as an omen demonstrating that they were, in fact, the "bodhisattvas welling up out of the earth" (*jiyū no bosatsu*) who testify to the claims of the Buddha in the *Lotus Sutra*. Ōtani reads this incident as critical to the formation of the self-identity of the corps, whose members thus found divine sanction for their abortive coup. On this reading, the Corps found in Nichiren-*shugi* "values that transcended the existing state" (242).

Chapter three of Part III returns to a group at the opposite end of the political spectrum: the antiwar and anti-Fascist activism of Seno'o and some members of the Youth League for Revitalizing Buddhism, in cooperation with a coalition of "popular front" groups. Although the study does not dwell on the contrast, Seno'o differed starkly from some of the other Buddhist antiwar or peace activists of a previous generation. Like the martyred Kenmyō, who fused absolute faith in the Buddha Amitābha with a call against war, or Inoue Shūten, who ultimately abandoned the Sōtō sect to embrace absolute pacifism (162–65), Seno'o, too, faced persecution with his arrest in late 1936, and subsequent ideological conversion (*tenkō*). However, he parted ways with them in his willingness to turn to violence. As this chapter informs us, Seno'o wrote the entry for "Buddhism and the Peace Movement" in the monumental collection *Buddhist Scriptures for the Citizenry* (*Kokumin Bukkyō seiten*, Shūbunkaku Shobō, 1934; 109). Though not quoted here, Seno'o's entry articulates a striking call for struggle: "Basically, struggle and war

are not things that can be so easily eradicated. Nor are they things that should be seen as absolute evils. No, in life there are sometimes cases necessitating solution by the sword, but those are actually expedients to be confined to unavoidable cases for [eliminating] obstructions to peace" (Seno'o 1934).Further exploration of the contrast between Seno'o and his successors develop the research of this chapter.

In sum, this welcome collection of essays treats some of the core issues at the interface of modern Japanese Buddhist history and state/society with a great deal of care and methodological self-awareness. Rather than treat "progressive" and "reactionary" groups separately, this collection shows how they were frequently connected, and how groups at all points along the political spectrum were involved in responding to basically the same new pressures. Future scholarship narrating modern Japanese history outside a reductive, binary frame of villains and heroes will build upon such work as this.

§

Orion Klautau's *The Study of Buddhist History as Modern Japanese Thought* exhibits a sustained concern with historiography, counting among its influences the intellectual historian Hayden White (37–38). In a mode clearly influenced by White, this study weaves a meta-narrative of how Japanese Buddhist intellectuals have recounted their own history from the nineteenth century onward. It tells that story using two plots, which crisscross and inform one another despite their basic independence. As the introduction to the book states, "This book is an attempt to describe what structures were created, and what 'grand narratives' were born, in the depiction of the 'facts of the past' concerning the Buddhism of [the Japanese] archipelago, as motivated by the two discourses of the 'nation-state' and 'clerical reformation'" (14). More precisely, this study shows how these processes resulted in a now-pervasive concept of the progression of Japanese Buddhism from Kamakura revolution to Edo stagnation to Meiji reformulation—a concept which, we find, results from surprisingly recent discourses guided by a few influential intellectuals. The overall plan of the book is as follows, leaving out the headings for the sub-chapters.[1]

Conventions/Foreword
Introduction: Buddhism and Modernity
I. Historical Narration Concerning the Nation-State and "Buddhism"

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1. Versions of these chapters have been published not only in Japanese, but also in English. Chapter I-B has appeared as "(Re)inventing 'Japanese Buddhism': Sectarian reconfiguration and historical writing in Meiji Japan," in *The Eastern Buddhist* 42: 75–99 (2011). Chapter I-D has appeared as "Between essence and manifestation: Shōtoku Taishi and Shinran during the Fifteen-year War (1931–1945)," in the *Working Papers Series* of the Ryūkoku University Research Center for Buddhist Cultures in Asia, 12.05 (2013). Finally, Chapter I-C has appeared as "Against the Ghosts of Recent Past: Meiji Scholarship and the Discourse on Edo Period Buddhist Decadence," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 35: 263–303 (2008).

Part I of the book analyzes the rise of the category "Japanese Buddhism" (*Nihon Bukkyō*). The introduction to Part I quotes a True Pure Land cleric-scholar whose academic work has now nearly been forgotten. This man, Hanayama Shinshō (1898–1995), wrote in 1944: "At least for us Japanese, it is factually impossible to conceive of a general 'Buddhism' apart from 'Japanese Buddhism'…." (quoted on page 50). As Klautau goes on to show, this notion of an irreducibly *Japanese* Buddhism was not a mere aberration of the wartime years, for it actually had developed decades before. This study argues that "Japanese Buddhism" was, in fact, initially framed in the language of universalism in the 1880s, an era which recast it into a transcendent entity under the sign of such newly imported European categories as "religion," "science," and "philosophy." As the first chapter of this part of the book explains, Hara Tanzan (1819–1892)— who was, among other things, a physician, a scholar of Chinese learning, a Zen monk, a fortuneteller, and the first lecturer in Buddhist texts at Tokyo Imperial

University—redescribed Buddhism in the language of individual, inner experience. Even as his contemporary, Inoue Enryō (1858–1919), played a decisive role in fixing the classification of Buddhism as a "religion" (*shūkyō*), Tanzan refused that term, which he equated with devotional Buddhism and with Christianity. He instead insisted upon identifying real Buddhism as "moral philosophy" (71).

The major shift in historical discourse about Buddhism came, argues the second chapter of Part I, with Murakami Senshō (1851–1929)—Tanzan's successor, and the intellectual who "established historical research in 'Japanese Buddhism'" (84). Senshō founded the first academic journal to treat Japanese Buddhist history; his initial interest in unearthing the universal core of Japanese Buddhism later gave way to an active appreciation for its sectarian divisions. From around 1905, Senshō came to stress not a universal "Buddhism" but instead a very particular "Japan." Beginning in 1906, Senshō gave a succession of lectures and published accompanying pieces under the general title "The Characteristics of Japanese Buddhism," in which he adduced a "development of religious faith" as the key feature of Japanese Buddhism, and located its moment of key flourishing in the Kamakura period (99). Further, he argued that, unlike its continental counterparts, Japanese Buddhism was uniquely "national" from the start of its existence (102). Still, this chapter points out, Senshō refrained from asserting, at least explicitly, that these distinctively *Japanese* features necessarily implied any kind of distinct superiority (107).

Such a contention awaited articulation by Takakusu Junjirō (1866–1945), holder of the first chair of Sanskrit Studies at Tokyo Imperial University, and leader in the creation of the monumental Taishō edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* (1922–1934). The third chapter of Part I focuses on *The Ideals of a Buddhist Citizenry* (*Bukkyō kokumin no risō*, Heigo Shuppansha, 1916). This was the first among a cascade of writings in which "the very discourse of 'Japanese Buddhism' transformed into a locus for expressing nationalism" (138). Concerned in his own day about the indiscriminate appropriation of Western culture in Japan, Takakusu articulated a vision of Japanese Buddhism in which it had consistently functioned as an agent of domestication and "Japanization," a process at whose pinnacle he placed Shinran. (Like Murakami Senshō, Takakusu also had an individual background in True Pure Land Buddhism.) For Takakusu, Shinran's Buddhism marked the full assimilation into Buddhism of Japan's indigenous "familism" (*kazokushugi*), which Takakusu imagined as a bulwark against Western materialism and individualism, even as he espoused a clear sense of Japanese Buddhist-cum-national chosenness. "We must," the conclusion of the chapter quotes *The Ideals of a Buddhist Citizenry*, "be conscious that we [Japanese] are the chosen people (*senmin*) of Buddhism, the human beings most suitable for it. Buddhism is not suitable for other countries…." (quoted on page 139). The coverage of Takakusu here is particularly welcome, since little research has

discussed him in English, and the discussions of him available in Japanese are, as Klautau says, more or less hagiographic in nature (125).

The positioning of Japanese Buddhism at the apex of all Buddhism—deliberately counterpoised against the "originary Buddhism" then in vogue among Euro-american scholars—emerged fully into the mainstream of the Japanese academy during the Fifteen-Year War, which began with the invasion of the Republican China in 1931 (168). The final chapter of Part I shows how two very different scholars of this period both came to valorize Japanese Buddhism along these lines during the war. In 1942, the aforementioned Hanayama Shinshō, disciple of and successor to Takakusu Junjirō, contributed one of a series of officially produced commentaries to the *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* (*Kokutai no hongi*, Monbushō Naikaku Insatsukyoku, 1937). In it, he contended that the development of Buddhism, though stunted in China, had reached its full flowering only in Japan. Hanayama pointed to the "single vehicle Mahāyāna" thought of Prince Shōtoku as later developed by Shinran. At roughly the same time, the historian Ienaga Saburō (1913–2002), though himself an immensely influential liberal humanist and anti-fascist, proposed a very similar structure, also linking Shōtoku with Shinran, in his study of the *Development of the Logic of Negation in the History of Japanese Thought* (*Nihon shisōshi ni okeru hitei no ronri no hattatsu*, Kōbundō, 1940). After the end of the war, Hanayama's influence was forgotten as Ienaga's grew, insuring the historiographic dominance of the Kamakura era, regarded as the locus of the special nature of Japanese Buddhism.

Part II of the book explores the obverse of the valorization of the Kamakura period: the use of historical writing to deprecate the Buddhism of the Edo period. This study presents that process as having started as a means of motivating clerical reformation during the Meiji years. Accordingly, the introduction to Part II promises a meta-historical account of the development of the discourse of decline concerning Edo-era Buddhism. The first chapter of Part II explores the continuity of pre-Meiji conceptions of Buddhist "apologetics" (*gohōron*) in the early Meiji years. It reminds us that such clerical reformers of the Edo period as Jiun Onkō (1718–1804) turned their apologetics first not upon outsiders, but rather upon fellow Buddhist clerics who disregarded the precepts. With the eruption of the government-sanctioned persecution of Buddhism in the early Meiji years, the clerical reformer Shaku Unshō (1827–1909) and the short-lived Buddhist Ethical League responded to the government with similar rhetoric and did not object to the persecution itself. Instead, they repeatedly pledged their loyalty and utility to the new state, and they vowed to eliminate the "evil customs" practiced by Buddhist clerics—by which, they averred, they themselves had brought on the persecution. Apologetics and reform were thus articulated together, as two faces of the same coin—a conclusion that recalls Ōtani's discussion of later Buddhist groups that sought to use nationalism as a mode of growth.

The second chapter of Part II suggests how this older discourse was reworked within the modern discipline of Buddhist studies at Tokyo Imperial University. Hara Tanzan, the first instructor in Buddhism there, criticized clerical "decadence," but did not fault the Tokugawa regime for it. His student Inoue Enryō, however, did blame the generous treatment of clerics by that regime for producing "three hundred years of accumulated poisons" (223). But here too, it was Murakami Senshō who produced a definitive template followed by others, accusing the clerics of the Edo period of falling prey to internal disputes over power and position and of sinking into indulgence with the guarantee of their social position. Senshō's student, the Buddhologist Washio Junkyō (1868–1941), wrote an essay in 1911 that positioned the Edo era as the "dark ages" (*ankoku jidai*) of Japan's Buddhist history, and the medieval period as the period of its efflorescence. Within a few years of his pronouncement, the Buddhism of the Kamakura period (typically symbolized by Shinran) had become a buzzing locus of critical activity for swarms of historians, social activists, and popular authors. Writing in the 1930s, the Tokyo Imperial University historian Tsuji Zennosuke (1877–1955) inherited these attitudes, blaming Edo clerics for the anti-Buddhist persecution, which he understood as a wake-up call urging them to become self-reliant—a call which, he insisted, had gone unanswered. As the chapter's conclusion states, the cumulative result of these operations was that, while the "decadence of Edo Buddhist clerics" became an "objective fact," Buddhist intellectuals could also claim that Edo-era Buddhism and its modern successor were "not its true form" (236).

Positioned at the heart of Part II, the third chapter takes on Tsuji Zennosuke, the prolific historian whose "empiricist" and "objective" scholarship about the "decadence" of Edo-era Buddhism retains its dominance in the Japanese academy. Tsuji's claim to empiricist, objective research gained in prestige from his position: He studied under Ludwig Riess (1861–1928)—himself a student of the great Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), father of empiricist history in Prussia—and he trained and worked not in Indian or Buddhist Studies, but in the highly prestigious discipline of National History (*kokushigaku*). Tsuji accused Edo-era Buddhism not only of decadence, but also of an overemphasis on empty form and ceremony. But, as this chapter shows, Tsuji invoked examples of "empty form" that were anything but objective. For instance, he uncritically accepted a report of Nichiren priests killing villagers in the name of their salvation from that notorious opponent of Buddhism, Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843)—a report that later scholarship has found patently implausible (253–54). As another example of such empty formalism, Tsuji invoked a long-standing debate in True Pure Land doctrinal studies that persisted from the seventeenth century onward, concerning whether infants who died without understanding the meaning of the *nenbutsu* could still be saved, dismissing it as "nothing more than games with debate" (quoted on page

255). As this chapter reveals, later scholarship has interpreted this debate as a real consequence of the efforts of True Pure Land intellectuals to address the needs of their new parishioner base, many of whose children died at an early age. Thus, this particular debate might well represent not an exercise in casuistry, but a genuine mode of engagement with the demands of commoners. Nor did Tsuji inhabit a citadel of disinterest; son of a deeply learned but obstreperous True Pure Land layman, Tsuji was himself critical of the clerical practice of Buddhism in his day for, in his eyes, failing to catch up to the modern world.

Since Tsuji's work, research in Edo-era Buddhism has been driven by critical efforts to go beyond his theory of decline. As the fourth chapter of Part II attempts to show, however, such efforts have all too often resulted in endorsing the overall thrust of his case, however much they may challenge it in pieces. In his well-known study *Funerary Buddhism* (*Sōshiki Bukkyō*, Dai Horin Kaku, 1963) Tamamuro Taijō (1902–1966) showed that mortuary rites remained the only way in which Buddhist clerics of the Edo period responded to the needs of the people—conceding, along with Tsuji, that other services of Buddhist establishments were no longer needed. Takeda Chōshū (1916–1980), the scholar of folklore who spearheaded the periodical series *Early Modern Buddhism: Sources and Studies* (*Kinsei Bukkyō: Shiryō to kenkyū*, Kinsei Būkkyō Kenkyūkai, 1960–1965), attempted to find the vitality of Edo-era Buddhism in such festivities as temple fairs, which attracted the laity without compulsion. By doing so, however, he implicitly accepted Tsuji's dismissal of day-to-day temple life. Such historians as Nakamura Hajime (1912–1999) and Kashiwahara Yūsen (1916–2002) tried to find "precursors of modernity" in the intellectual or ethical development of Edo Buddhism, but only by accepting Tsuji's dismissal of compulsory patronage of temples. Tamamuro Fumio tried to show how the object of peasant faith shifted from temples that performed funerals to temples granting benefits in this world, later substituting low-ranking clerics for the latter group of temples—but, again, by accepting Tsuji's dismissal of compulsory patronage. Some historians of regional society, hailing from the True Pure Land establishment, have looked to geographical regions in which that group flourished during the Edo period, appealing to a kind of "True Pure Land exceptionalism" that once again cedes the main ground to Tsuji by accepting the decline of other Buddhist groups. Other scholars have sought to broaden the definition of state power in the Edo period, charting the difficulty and length of the process by which authorities brought marginal religious practitioners to heel. In the end, concludes this chapter, all of these efforts have foundered because, "more than anything else, they have grasped decadence not as a 'theory' (*ron*)—which is to say, as a discourse made by Tsuji—but as a fact" (290). The conclusion to Part II warns against accepting Tsuji's position as "scientific" or "empirical" while neglecting its political nature (298).

The brief conclusion to this study cautions readers that some of the distinctions implied in its structure are only provisional, on both biographical and intellectual levels. In biographical terms, the figures covered in Part I were not merely exponents of academic positions, but all men deeply linked to traditional sectarian units, many to True Pure Land Buddhism. Intellectually, the concepts treated in Part II developed in a space in which state-sponsored academism and sectarian scholarship were not always clearly distinguished, and in which they in fact sought harmony, a development that helps to explain how discourses originating among Edo Buddhist intellectuals could take root and flourish in the putatively secular academy.

Spanning developments of well over a century, this study is solidly researched and copiously documented. In a manner too rarely seen these days, it engages deeply and constructively with contemporary scholarship, but also delves into difficult sources that have not yet received extensive scrutiny in either Japanese or English-language scholarship. In conjuring and sustaining its two lines of intertwined argument, it accomplishes a tour de force.

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The two volumes under review here merit attention beyond the narrow community of scholars who study religions in modern or contemporary Japan. With the exception of a handful of studies, Anglophone historians of social movements in modern Japan—whether statist or progressive—have typically shown little interest in religious issues. Ōtani's fine study reveals that Nichiren Buddhist groups and individuals were not mere marginal afterthoughts in these historical processes, but rather key figures in both kinds of social movement—whether in the massive undertakings of the Pillar-of-the-Nation Society, or in the equally spirited work of Seno'o Girō and his smaller Youth League for Revitalizing Buddhism. Further scholarship about Tanaka Chigaku, whose "complete works" in the *Shishiō zenshū* (Shishiō Zenshū Kankōkai, 1931–1938) amount to over three dozen volumes, is a special desideratum for the Anglophone world. Klautau's volume, for its part, deserves examination by all serious students of the history of Japanese Buddhism. Living legacies of the histories traced in this study include the conception of "Japanese Buddhism," in whatever form, to the exclusion of "Buddhism in Japan"; the privileging of the Buddhist reform movements of the Kamakura era; the concomitant denigration of "establishment Buddhism" in the Edo period; and the stubborn hold of insufficiently reflective empiricist historiography. Anglophone scholars, too, have developed increasing awareness of these problematic legacies, but have had only a piecemeal understanding of their relationships to one another. Now that Klautau has gracefully exposed their mutual entanglement, scholars should find it easier to go about unpicking the web.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Ikuo Higashibaba

An Art of History, An Art of Comparison

Reconstructing Christianity in Premodern Japan
through Comparative Analysis

Kawamura Shinzo 川村信三. *Sengoku shūkyo shakai=shisōshi: Kirishitan jirei kara no kōsatsu* 戦国宗教社会＝思想史—キリシタン事例からの考察 [Religio-social and intellectual history in the Warring States period: Kirishitan case studies]. Tokyo: Chisen Shokan, 2011.

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R ELIGION'S FOREIGN missions have always had encounters with "others"—other religions, cultures, and languages—with the possible consequences of adaptation, fusion, integration, and conflict. Their history is written not only as a theologically inspired account, but also as a history of the concrete events of human activity, and as such is subject to critical analysis. Methodologies of such critical studies vary, but comparison is the one most often applied. Through comparison, scholars create specific, historical meanings of religion within the context of its mission ground.

When the Society of Jesus introduced Catholic Christianity to Japan in 1549, it showed remarkable growth in the country. At its peak in the early seventeenth century there were more than 300,000 baptized Japanese followers who belonged to approximately two hundred churches. Scholars call these years the "Christian century" (1549–1639), in which the Catholic mission first prospered

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with the protection and tolerance of the country's central and regional powers, but then began to experience severe persecution by the Tokugawa Shogunate. The Japanese called Christianity and its adherents Kirishitan, an adaptation of the Portuguese *Christão*. The word is now used to designate the Christian beliefs and practices observed by the Japanese during the early modern period.[1]

This article introduces two recent works on Christianity in early modern Japan and reviews their contribution to the development of the field: *Sengoku shūkyo shakai=shisoshi* by Kawamura Shinzō, and *Ideology and Christianity in Japan* by Kiri Paramore. I will first locate these books within the field of Christianity studies in early modern Japan and then briefly sketch an outline of both works. I will then evaluate both volumes, paying particular attention to what they have chosen for comparative purposes and their approaches to historiography.

The Study of Christianity in Early Modern Japan: An Overview

Two general perspectives have been influential in the study of Christianity in early modern Japan. One has focused on the secular aspects of the Christian mission. Studies from this perspective include the history of the missionaries' economic, cultural, intellectual, and political activities, but the main focus lies in the negotiations and conflicts between mission leaders and Japan's political leaders. Paramore's work belongs to this general category, providing an innovative analysis of the Christian mission's ideological implications in Tokugawa and Meiji Japan.

Another influential perspective centers on individual or collective biographical histories. Mainly Jesuit church historians have promoted this approach by focusing on the "great figures" of the Jesuit mission to Japan, such as Francis Xavier and Alessandro Valignano. Included in this perspective are studies "from above," namely, from the standpoint of European missionaries or Japanese adherents in high social, political, or intellectual status. Kawamura's work belongs to this category, offering an unprecedented examination of the communal, intellectual, and practical aspects of Christianity in the early Tokugawa period.

In addition to these traditional paradigms, we have seen in recent years new approaches such as the following, listed together with representative works: 1. Christian popular belief and practice: ŌHASHI (2001); HIGASHIBABA (2001); MURAI (2002); and KAWAMURA (2003). 2. Intellectual interaction between Christianity and non-Christian religious thought in Japan: IDE (1995); and

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1. For a scholarly meaning of the term, see HIGASHIBABA (2001, xvi). The use of "Kirishitan" in place of "Christian" or "Christianity" is indicative of the scholar's interest in the local contextual meaning of Christianity in early modern Japan.

Asami (2009). 3. Feminism: Ward (2009). Another noteworthy study is the development of (Western) Christian art and architecture: Hioki (2009).

What characterizes these works are their new perspectives that shed light on documents that have remained largely unnoticed in conventional studies, and their interpretation of sources from totally different angles from preceding studies. In the meantime, the recent discovery of an original copy of *Fidesno Qvio* (*Hidesu no kyō*) ひですの経, a Jesuit Mission Press book (*Kirishitan ban*), has attracted the keen attention of scholars. Found in Houghton Library at Harvard University in 2009, the full text was transcribed with detailed notes, both of which have already been published (see Orii 2011; Orii et al. 2011).

For this field to advance further we must promote critical analysis, whether our approaches are conventional or new. To this end, we must explore the meanings of Kirishitan phenomena in a multidimensional context, and comparison is a basic and useful tool for that endeavor. Let me take the example of the study of the Jesuit Mission Press, which constitutes a major part of the conventional study of the Christian century. While investigation concerning the external form of those books has steadily developed, the content of their message has yet to be sufficiently explored. Aside from some dictionaries, the Jesuit Mission Press was for Christian religious education, and most of the Japanese works were either full or abridged translations of Western works—these facts have distracted many scholars, especially non-Christian scholars, from deeply examining the books' messages. Consequently, it was usually Christian church historians that discussed, or have been able to discuss, the content of these books and a variety of other unpublished mission documents in early modern Japan.

However, new horizons of study have gradually opened up in this field with the efforts of scholars who place the *Kirishitan ban* within a new context of examination: their contemporary Japanese religious context, for example. How did the Kirishitan message sound to a Japanese audience when it was located within Japanese religious culture and coexisting with non-Christian religious messages? How was it understood? Was it different enough from other Japanese religious messages as the missionaries intended? Were the translations faithful to the original? Was there any compromise of the message in the process of adaptation to the Japanese situation? If so, what do such changes suggest about the uniqueness of Christianity in Japanese religious culture? These are but a few questions that may guide us to new horizons of study in the field. Kawamura and Paramore likewise take us to new horizons in their studies of the Kirishitan community and thought, and of ideology and Christianity in Japan, respectively.

Outline of the Works

SENGOKU SHŪKYŌ SHAKAI=SHISŌSHI

Kawamura's central concern in this work is to respond to a simple but most vital question: why was the Kirishitan group able to flourish within a few decades in Japan during the Warring States (Sengoku) period? He is particularly interested in the condition of the Japanese who received Christianity—what did Japanese people expect from it? If they found in the Kirishitan elements they could never expect from traditional religions, what were these? How did Japanese find these unprecedented characteristics, and how were they able to accept them? To answer these questions, he attempts to clarify Kirishitan characteristics from the perspective of religio-social and intellectual history. Indispensable to the religio-social investigation is a grasp of the religious background (religious soil) of the Japanese populace of that age in the context of the Kirishitan mission that is seldom seen if we only pay attention only to the Kirishitan *per se.*

The contextual understanding of the religious mission requires a comparative examination of the new and the old in the eyes of local people. Kawamura's study is no exception. In his study, the most-often invited counterpart for the comparison with the Kirishitan is Jōdo Shinshū's Honganji branch 浄土真宗本願寺派, which flourished in Japan around almost the same time as the Kirishitan. It "undoubtedly rooted itself in the Japanese soil and represented the characteristics of a Japanese type of religious movement" (6). Kawamura explains that the Honganji branch provides a religious context in which people accepted the Kirishitan. By studying this tradition, "we are able to find many clues with which to understand why people accepted the Kirishitan, because it reveals what spiritual solution they were seeking" (6). Therefore, commonalities between the two will disclose reasons why the Kirishitan population increased so quickly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both traditions had similar characteristics: they appealed to a large number of people in a short period of time, formed nationwide networks of communities of adherents, and thus expanded at an unprecedented speed in Japan.

Kawamura further makes a stimulating argument: through comparative analysis he tries to depict the characteristics of the society and thought in Sengoku Japan in which the Kirishitan and the Honganji branch flourished. Here lies his final investigation. It is not the Kirishitan or the Honganji traditions themselves (though these are fully discussed), but the society and thought of Japan that he intends to reveal. This explains why the book is titled *Sengoku shūkyō shakai=shisōshi*. Through Kirishitan and Honganji beliefs, practices, and community he illustrates aspects of the society and the thought of Warring State Japan. Kawamura maintains, "The development of these two traditions was deeply rooted in the situation of contemporary Japan; they could develop

because they were very suited to sixteenth-century Japan or to the society of the Warring States period" (7).

With the Kirishitan and the Honganji as specific examples, and with comparison as the main tool for understanding, Kamamura attempts to reveal the Japanese social and intellectual realities during the Warring States period. Let us see in more detail how Kawamura fulfilled this objective.

STRUCTURE

Kawamura's work begins with an examination of the formation and operation of Kirishitan communities and their contribution to Kirishitan development (chapter 1). He discusses the Kirishitan community's characteristics in two contexts: the Europe-based Christian community and the Japan-based religious community. The first explains that the Kirishitan community was modeled on the *Confraternitas*, a community of the Christian faithful in Europe from the thirteenth century through the Reformation. Drawing on the concept of "connected histories," the author discusses the Kirishitan with reference to their European background, using the popular religious community as a connecting medium between Europe and Japan. The second context seeks the meaning of the Kirishitan community in Warring States Japan, which he extrapolates through comparison with the Honganji branch.

Kawamura's thesis on the Kirishitan community has been established through his previous publications. An interesting point he makes concerning the reason for the development of the two traditions is the advantage of monotheistic faiths at the time of climate change in sixteenth century Japan. With climate change causing poor crops and famine, local communities needed to survive by strengthening their spiritual unity and creating a broader community. Religion had a role to play in such circumstances: Kirishitan and Jōdo Shinshū brought strong spiritual unity among the people due to their monotheistic nature (65–68).

Chapter 2 explores how the Christian doctrine of the West was presented in Japan, focusing on *Compendium catholicae veritatis* (1593) by Pedro Gómez (1535–1600), the then Jesuit Mission Superior in Japan. Kawamura pays special attention to the section of *De Anima*, especially to the issue of the immortal soul. Kawamura's question is how Japanese understood the teachings of human beings as presented by the Jesuits, and how they responded to it. He focuses on the addition found only in the text's Japanese translation that stressed the particular character of the *anima rationalis* and the immortality of the human soul.

The immortality of the soul was an important conclusion of *De Anima*. There are three kinds of soul: *anima vegetativa* or the soul of plants, *anima sensitiva* or the soul of animals, and *anima rationalis* or the soul of a human. The human soul does not proceed from the material body but is created as a separate entity

by Deus. Based on the effects of its actions in this world, the human soul is assigned to agony or bliss in the life to come. Freedom of human action is based on the competence of the human *anima*. The Japanese text is concerned with how to prove the human soul's immortality as the *anima* will never die after the body dies and the *anima* departs from it, and expounds the importance of human ethical effort (120–24). According to Kawamura, the emphasis on the eternity of the human soul was important and needed to be fully explained because of its possible confrontation with Japanese fundamental salvific religious thought most clearly represented by the *hongaku* (original enlightenment) thought 本覚思想 of the Tendai school 天台宗 that claimed human and other beings' inherent salvation (143).

Chapter 3 further discusses the Christian teachings of the immortality of the human soul, which provided the ground for the teaching of ethical conduct. Its significance in Japan is fully illustrated through a wide range of comparative analysis with the *hongaku* thought developed by the Tendai school, which, Kawamura argues, formed the basis of characteristic Japanese ways of thinking. He states, "The *Compendium* was a challenge to the anthropology, soteriology, and theology that had been presented from the essential Buddhist point of view. These were, in short, the aspects of *hongaku* that had formed the foundation of Japanese religiosity and been diffused among the people in most natural ways" (161). Kawamura expands his discussion to include its possible responses from the Japanese, as well as its derivative religious and ethical elements. This is a necessary procedure for him to contextualize the Kirishitan message in Japan.

The thought of punishment in the afterlife, which could be deduced from the immortality of the soul, made it necessary to stress the importance of accumulating ethical virtues. According to Kawamura, the Jesuit's edificatory concerns for the thorough practice of moral principles consequently made their theology become very ethical and moralistic (198). Yet, were there no similar teachings of moral conduct in Japan that recommended good human conduct, using the afterlife (or the afterlife existence of the human spirit) as the rational basis for that recommendation? Kawamura says that the issue of *shōbatsu* 賞罰 (reward and punishment) in the afterlife as a consequence of human conduct in this world could be understood based on the thought of *inga ōhō* 因果応報 (the law of cause and effect), but a decisive difference between this and the Kirishitan teachings was on the issue of immortality. Unlike Buddhism, Christianity does not have the concept of the previous life; it only conceives of life in this world and the afterlife (205–209).

Kawamura furthermore discusses God-human relations with respect to human salvation—the relation between divine grace and human ethical effort. He draws our attention to the issue of the subject that initiates human salvation (210). Again, he compares Christian teachings with those of Jōdo Shinshū's Honganji branch by referring especially to the problem of Self Power and Other Power. Also, By refer-

ring to the contrasting relationship between *hongakumon* 本覚門 that suggests the absolute nature of divine grace, and *shikakumon* 始覚門 which suggests the importance of human action based on free will, Kawamura explains that the Jesuit standpoint was to consider the absoluteness of divine grace as well as the power arising from human free will—or, located in the middle of the two positions, the Jesuit standpoint showed strong inclination toward *shikakumon* (216).

Kawamura's work is impressive both in the breadth and depth of discussion, the best example of which is his investigation of the *Konchirisan no riyaku* こんちりさんのりやく, a Kirishtian manual of penance (chapter 4). He emphasizes the role this text played in the transmission of the faith through generations of hidden Kirishitan. This text was published during the Christian century in order to deal with the lack of priests. Kirishitan were instructed that, when a priest was unavailable for confession, they receive forgiveness for their sins through contrition (*konchirisan*). The *Konchirisan no riyaku* includes prayers of contrition and the main points to be observed for contrition. Handwritten copies still exist, showing the importance of penance among hidden Kirishitan surviving persecution. The *Konchirisan*'s transmission in the Sotome 外海 and Gotō 五島 hidden Kirishitan communities was, Kawamura argues, one reason why they returned to the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century (244).

To explain the meaning of the text, Kawamura offers rich background information on the Jesuit Mission Press in Japan. Indeed, in all of his works, his own personal background as a Catholic priest and theologian enables him to provide a detailed Christian theological explanation on the topics discussed. From time to time, however, his normative point of view surpasses a descriptive standard and concludes the meaning of Kirishitan phenomena only within the limits of theology.

He mentions that the teaching of the *Konchirisan* and the role it played in Japan were "exceptional"—exceptional in the light of the "teaching and practice" of the Catholic Church (252–53). If such an exception originated in Japan, he says, it was a deviance from what was officially taught in the church. He then clarifies how the penance conducted under the name of *Konchirisan* was different from that in Europe, providing a long explanation of the sacrament of penance. Such an argument is reasonable from a normative theological point of view, but, at the same time, it is a typical observation made in the conventional church history.

Finally, Kawamura once again discusses the Kirishitan and the Jōdo Shinshū Honganji, this time their common characteristic of *shushin sūhai* 主神崇拝, "faith in one main deity" (chapter 5). Kawamura focuses on the similarities between the two traditions and examines why faith in one main deity developed against the social and intellectual background of Warring States Japan. He characterizes this main-deity type of faith with its several attributes, including a strong

sense of unity of the adherents, intolerance to other religions, and desire for one almighty deity.

IDEOLOGY AND CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

Paramore's *Ideology and Christianity in Japan* is about the political implications of anti-Christian discourse developed from early Tokugawa through early Meiji Japan. He notes that in Japanese history two major waves (outbreaks) of "anti-Christian writing, propaganda and discourse" (1) occurred during the formation of early modern and modern Japanese states. His general interest in this work is twofold: one is to examine the two waves by connecting them, and the other is to discuss anti-Christian discourse in political, ideological contexts. While the ideological role that anti-Christian discourse played in modern Japan is well acknowledged, "the history of anti-Christian discourse in early Tokugawa period has always been narrated in a religious paradigm emphasizing a clash between Eastern and Western religious cultures, leaving its political implications often ignored" (2). He spends two thirds of the work exploring the political implications of anti-Christian discourse in the early Tokugawa period, with the rest devoted to an intriguing discussion on anti-Christian discourse in early Meiji and its connection with that in early Tokugawa. Like Kawamura, Paramore also skillfully uses comparisons to make a number of cases.

STRUCTURE

Chapter 1, "Japanese Christian Thought: Doctrinal Diversity or Civilizational Clash?" deals with the intellectual diversity of Christian discourse in the late 1500s and early 1600s. Paramore focuses on Fukansai Habian's *Myōtei Mondō* 妙貞問答 and *Hadaiusu* (*Hadeusu*) 破提宇子, *Dochirina Kirishitan* ドチリナ・キリシタン, Matteo Ricci's *Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義, and the *Compendium of Catholic Doctrine* (*Compendium catholicae veritatis*). Among these, his discussion of Habian's works is most directly linked to the central thesis of his book. Habian's *Myōtei mondō* has been considered "highly valuable as a source of Japanese intellectual history" with its value discussed in terms of its role in "challenging traditional Japanese thought" by "introducing Western thought" to Japan. Paramore argues, however, that such discussion "assumes *a priori* a pair of mutually exclusive categories called "Eastern thought" and "Western thought," and that Habian's "ideas and actions came to be understood in terms of an imagined, constructed conflict between images of 'Japaneseness' and 'non-Japaneseness'" (11).

Paramore's denial of the assumption of the East-West polarization leads to the diverse picture of religious discourse in Japan in the late 1500s and early 1600s. For example, trends of Confucian thought popular in Japan at this time had many elements in common with what was identified as Christian thought,

suggesting the important influence of Confucian and other East Asian thought on Japanese Christian texts.

Paramore further investigates this connection between Confucianism and Christianity in Japan by exploring their parallels and interactions (chapter 2). His comparative analysis of the two traditions discloses "similar intellectual diversity, conflict and pluralism" in Neo-Confucian and Christian thought. As regards the implications for political thought of these overlapping conflicts, he maintains it is important to see the intellectual context of early Tokugawa Japan not as a field of conflict between competing traditions, but "as a period of general intellectual change across traditions, linked more to the massive change in political culture at the time" (6).

Allow me once again to focus on Habian's *Myōtei mondō* and *Hadaiusu* as examples of Paramore's argument. Paramore sees Habian's logical continuity underlying both his works, which take the theories of scholastic philosophy concerning the creation and the human *anima* (46) seriously. However, he sees more conflicts than similarities between the two works. In *Hadaiusu*, Habian criticizes Christianity from a Confucian point of view, saying, for example, that the human mind is danger, while the mind of the Way (righteous principle) is beautiful subtlety, and that this view potentially supports arguments critical of the location of truth in individual human subjects. In *Hadaiusu*, the idea that the "people" take their intentions from the "mind/heart of themselves" is seen as the root of disorder, while "a process by which the people identify… with the rationale of an externalized political order or hegemony is presented as ideal" (48). By contrast, in *Myōtei mondō*, "*anima rationalis* had been presented as an inherently human characteristic located in the individual human soul, giving the capacity for correct action through individual spiritual discernment" (48). According to Paramore, the shift seen from *Myōtei* to *Hadaiusu* is not a simple shift from a Christian to an anti-Christian position, but it is "indicative of a more general trend in Japanese society at this time where intellectual writing of different traditions was becoming increasingly integrated into a systematized framework supportive of political control" (49).

Since Kawamura is also keenly concerned with the Christian tenet of the human soul, let me also refer to his view. Kawamura places Habian's *Myōtei* within the long stream of Christian (Kirishitan) exegesis in Japan that began with F. Xavier, while Paramore treats his theory within the intellectual and religious currents at that time. Kawamura considers the teaching of *anima rationalis* an ethical and moral responsibility of the self and opposed to *hongaku* thought. This comparative view was held by Kawamura, not by Habian, to clarify the characteristics of the Kirishitan teachings. Meanwhile, Paramore interprets Habian's argument within the limits of the document *Hadaiusu*, and maintains that with Confucianism entering contemporary Japan, Habian himself presents his anti-

Christian critique based on the external social system and human relationships. Here Paramore contends an "intellectual overlap, confluence, and interplay between the Christian and Confucian traditions" (50–51). He thus claims that Habian posits his anti-Christian discourse from a Confucian point of view, similar to the arguments by Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan.

In light of the intent of *Ideology and Christianity in Japan*, chapters 3 and 4 provide particularly important arguments. Chapter 3 discusses early Tokugawa anti-Christian discourse using Shogunate proclamations, populist literature, and diplomacy as main sources. By examining these documents representing anti-Christian writings from the seventeeth century, Paramore emphasizes the political roots of the suppression of Christianity and of anti-Christian literature and discourse. He discloses that already at the early stages of Tokugawa suppression, most arguments in anti-Christian literature were not doctrinal or religious but on the issues of political order and conservatism. For example, "the main thrust" (57) of the famous proclamation of 1614, *Bateren tsuihō no fumi* 伴天連追放の文 (Order on the deportation of priests) was not so much the religious dichotomy between Japanese religions and Christianity as a justification for the use of force in maintaining order. In that document, "Confucian and Buddhist quotes are used primarily to argue the need for law and order and to legitimate the use of severe force to uphold order" (57), and the ban on Christianity was justified through the claim that Christianity opposed the systems of law.

Paramore further reveals that anti-Christian discourse also appeared in diplomatic correspondence, suggesting that through such state-related political use, it developed in "more complex ideological frameworks" (7). In Razan's diplomatic correspondence, for example, we can see an "exoticized image of the Christian 'others,'" which was the image of Christians as "barbarians" in contrast to a civilized image of Sinocentric Confucian culture. Thus, "for his own political ends" Razan placed "Japan metaphorically within the borders of 'Chinese civilization,'" and Christianity was presented "as the real cause of the problem to China" (71–72).

Paramore's intriguing discussion on the political implications of anti-Christian discourse continues in chapter 4, "Attacking non-Christian 'Christians,'" where we learn that, by mid-seventeenth-century Japan, politics was no longer just the motive behind the anti-Christian discourse but itself became the purpose of the discourse. Anti-Christian discourse came to be used to serve immediate political purposes in political confrontations. By the 1650s, anti-Christian discourse became "a brand or discursive tool for delineating intellectual and political orthodoxy and heterodoxy and for attacking clearly non-Christian political enemies and ideas" (7).

Based on Hayashi Razan's anti-Christian discourse such as *Sōzoku zenkōki* 草賊前後記 (Razan's comments on rebellion plots, especially political intrigues involved in the Keian Affair 慶安事変 of 1651), Paramore maintains that the primary object of criticism in anti-Christian discourse changed from Christianity

or Christians to non-Christian indigenous Japanese thinkers. For Razan, anti-Christian discourse became "a rhetorical device to be deployed against a range of intellectual currents that do not accord with his own ideas and objectives" (102). According to Paramore, he used anti-Christian discourse:

> To construct an idea of "heterodoxy" with which to compare his own Shinto-Confucian synthesis as an "orthodoxy" aligned to and upholding the central state. In the construction of this "heterodoxy" Razan used the word *yaso*, and an image of Christianity that had particular impact in his political discourse space. (102)

Thus, anti-Christian discourse began to play a more multidimensional role in domestic Japanese politics. Paramore calls this change "a mutation of anti-Christian discourse" (101). He convincingly presents his thesis: in Japanese political history "the language and imagery" of "Christianity" transcended the issues about "the Christian religion, or the historical reality of Christianity in Japan." Rather, it "became code for differentiation between categories of intellectual 'orthodoxy' and 'heterodoxy.'" And, significantly, these categories were built up "over the subsequent 300 years, ultimately playing an important role in the formation of the modern national ideology" (102). Paramore's argument is clear and strong.

In the remaining pages, Paramore follows the history of anti-Christian discourse through the rest of the Tokugawa and the early Meiji periods. In chapter 5, "Mid- and late-Tokugawa anti-Christian discourse: Continuity and Change," he discusses the second wave of anti-Christian discourse by referring to the anti-Christian documents by Mito scholars in the mid-nineteenth century, with special attention to those connected to the anti-Christian discourse in the early Tokugawa years—Tokugawa Nariaki's 徳川斉昭 *Sokkyohen* 息距編 (1860) and Kiyū Dōjin's 杞憂道人 *Hekijakankenroku* 闢邪管見録 (1861), both of which were edited collections of early Tokugawa anti-Christian writings. They were not only influential at the time; while showing the relationship between early and late anti-Christian discourses in the Tokugawa period, they have also been the major source for the study of early Tokugawa anti-Christian discourse in modern and contemporary academic writings.

The second wave of anti-Christian discourse peaked in the early Meiji. Finally, chapter 6 focuses on "modern national ideology and conservatism." Here it is argued that the anti-Christian discourse of the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods rarely used contemporary or universal arguments; it was instead anti-Western, relying on conservative Chinese Confucian arguments and xenophobic Japanese images of Christians carried over from the seventeenth-century anti-Christian policy. The discourse that emerged in the late 1880s, however, uti-

lized contemporary Western philosophy to attack Christianity. This discourse was nationalist, and also pro-rationalist, and often pro-Western.

Comparison and Historiography

COMPARISON

Comparison plays a crucial role in these two works. Kawamura's work depends on a comparative analysis between the Kirishitan and the Honganji branch and/or the Tendai tradition; Paramore's thesis likewise results from his comparative examination of the wide range of anti-Christian discourse, Christianity, and Confucianism. In recent years, the theory of comparison has been under serious reconsideration in religious studies. One of the most striking contentions is made by Jonathan Z. SMITH (1982; 1990; 2000), who argued that comparison is not a discovery but an invention by scholars who link different things in their minds, like magic. Smith stated his view against the background of modern studies of religion in which comparison had been used too often for producing universal patterns. We should not apply his critique to the two works under review because they use comparison most consciously for understanding the meaning of Christianity within the context of early modern Japan and not for creating universal models. Smith's point is, however, inspiring enough for us to pay close attention to how the authors depict similarity and difference in their works and the consequences of their endeavor.

Generally speaking, in comparing the Kirishitan with their Japanese counterparts, Kawamura stresses their similarity to the community (for example, the Kirishitan confraternity and Jōdo shinshū *dōjō*) and their difference to the doctrine (for example, Kirishitan soteriology and *hongaku* thought). This similarity and difference are formed, however, on the plane of the Japanese historical context. In Kawamura's case, there is another plane of reference—Catholic theology. As pointed out above, Kawamura's work is rich with theological descriptions that provide additional contexts of discussion for the issues at stake. A typical example is his examination of the prayer of contrition. He argues it was an exceptional case—by referring to the Catholic canons (the Council of Trent, 1545–1563, for example). Thus he explores the Kirishitan contrition in Tokugawa Japan within the universal Catholic theological context as well.

In this sort of dual-contextual examination, a similarity in one context may change to a difference in another, and vice versa. Kawamura convincingly explains the difference, or "conflict," between the *Compendium* and *hongaku* thought over the subject of human salvation. In this context, he also introduces the similarities between Lutheranism and the Honganji branch. While the *Compendium* and *hongaku* historically coexisted in the same space and time, Lutheranism and the Honganji branch did not do so. Aligning his standpoint with that of the Jesuits in Japan at the time, Kawamura attempts to reproduce an imaginary but contextual

comparison between the Lutheran and the Honganji branch, and he evolves his analysis using a dual structure. Such multidimensional comparison—or "magic" to use Smith's term—of the Kirishitan requires a highly interdisciplinary background, and it can probably be fulfilled to this extent only by Kawamura.

In Paramore's work too, comparison effectively functions to create sound discussions. Many of his innovative arguments for the political implications of anti-Christian discourse rest on his selection of what to compare. For the general structure of the work, he connects the anti-Christian wave in early Tokugawa and that in late Tokugawa and early Meiji, thereby successfully appealing to the necessity to investigate the political implications of the former, and demonstrates that anti-Christian discourse continued to function as a means to help strengthen Japan's political cohesiveness throughout these years. To disclose the ideological aspects of anti-Christian discourse in Tokugawa Japan, he chose Confucianism, not Buddhism or Shinto. Unlike Kawamura, in order to build up his central arguments, he uses comparison mainly for producing similarities by positing "an array of concrete relationships and parallel functions" (161) between those compared.

Whether comparative analysis creates similarity or difference, the act of comparison itself is only a tool. The true master of the analysis is the theory or perspective behind it, which utilizes comparison for a certain end. Since this article is concerned with history, let me refer to such theory/perspective (or assumption) as historiography. Before concluding this article, I would like to turn our attention to the historiographies of the two books.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Kawamura elucidates the differences between Christianity and other religions in Japan in terms of doctrine. In particular, as far as human soteriology goes, the primacy of difference over similarity is more than obvious. This reflects his historiography. In order to explain it, let me share a view that, unlike Kawamura, contends more similarity than difference between Christianity and non-Christian religions in Japan over the same issue—human soteriology.

In the *Myōtei mondō* Habian posited salvation in the afterlife as the central theme and constructed his presentation of Kirishitan teachings based on it. He presents an exposition of the Kirishitan doctrine in five sections with the following titles:

> 1. The only one Lord of *genze annon, goshō zensho* 現世安穏, 後生善所 (peace in this world, birth in a good realm in the afterlife). 2. The *anima rationalis* that remains alive in the afterlife. 3. The good place in the afterlife is called *Paraiso*, which is in heaven; the bad place is called *Inferno*, which is the underworld. 4. What we should do to be saved in the afterlife. 5. Questions about the Kirishitan teachings. (FUKANSAI 1970)

Habian expounds a Kirishitan "salvation system," shifting his theme from Deus, who enables salvation in the afterlife, to the soul that is saved depending on human conduct in this world, to heaven and hell as possible places of rebirth in the afterlife, and finally to the rules and practices that one should observe to achieve salvation in the afterlife. The particular emphasis on "the afterlife" (*goshō*) as the place of salvation, also found in other Kirishitan books, is either a Japanese insertion or addition in translation to the simple phrase "to be saved" in the original Portuguese texts. The "afterlife" was the most powerful soteriological idea in Japan when the Kirishitan tradition was growing. The best example of the Buddhist emphasis on the afterlife as the realm of salvation is the Pure Land doctrine that taught birth in the Pure Land of Amida Buddha as the goal of human life. With the idea of salvation in the afterlife deeply rooted in the Japanese religious sentiment, the Kirishitan teachings that emphasized the afterlife as the place of human salvation were able to have a strong "religious flavor" in Japan.

What does this similarity—and perhaps more significantly, Christian adoption of Japanese religious terms—suggest? Is it just about the words, while its message remained genuine? For the Japanese readers and audience who listened to the Christian teachings in Japanese (which is perhaps more appropriately called Kirishitan teaching), Christianity and Buddhism might have been much closer to each other even though they were severely conflicted at high intellectual levels.

In his works, Kawamura emphasizes the importance of the study of Kirishitan *minshū* or the Kirishitan populace to discuss Kirishitan history (KAWAMURA 2003). His excellent study of the Kirishitan community—focused on the Christian century—has opened up a new horizon of religio-social study of the Kirishitan history, which, before him, had been done almost exclusively within the limits of hidden Kirishitan or contemporary *Kakure* Kirishitan. Not to the detriment of my admiration for his achievements, however, I would like to point out that his primary historiography remains the same as that of conventional church historians. He still seems to apply premises of the conventional "history from above" constructed on the assumption that all converts were like full-fledged, theologically well-informed "Christians."

Meanwhile, Paramore is more explicit than Kawamura in claiming his historiographical challenge, or the innovative nature of his work. Indeed, his arguments are clear and convincingly supported by thoughtful analysis of a number of important documents. One question, however, has remained unsolved: were there no political implications in "Christian discourse," that is, in documents written by Christians? Why did he focus only on anti-Christian discourse by non-Christians (including one "former" Christian) to discuss the issue of "ideology and Christianity in Japan"?

Needless to say the political implications or "purpose" of anti-Christian documents have been frequently discussed by historians, with the proclamations

of banning Christians by Hideyoshi and the Tokugawa Shogunate among the most typical examples. But certainly nobody has explored this issue as fully as he did in such breadth and depth, and with such close examination of religious documents. So far this topic has been most often discussed in political, rather than religious, contexts by secular historians; his study is therefore striking in the studies of Christianity in early modern Japan.

In conclusion, when we engage in cross-cultural studies, we usually start with the categories with which we are familiar and then see what there is in our subject of study that might correspond to "our" categories. But this may set an unsurpassable limit on our understanding. If we want to see critical examination further developed in this field, we must be bold in attempting fresh interpretations supported by new historiographies. We should attempt to create unprecedented contexts of analysis through new sets of comparison. In such attempts, the Kirishitan (or Christianity in early modern Japan) ought not to remain a mere object of theology or any preconceived categorization, but its data should offer its own *sui generis* perspective on the interpretation of its own tradition. On this point as well, these works by Kawamura and Paramore will remain significant sources.

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REVIEW
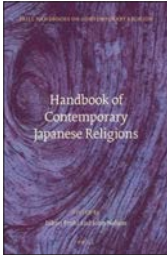
Inken Prohl and John Nelson, eds., *Handbook of Contemporary Japanese Religions*

Leiden: Brill, 2012. 654 pages. Cloth, €192,00/$267.00. ISBN 9789004234352.

IN THIS impressively extensive handbook, editors Inken Prohl and John Nelson have successfully managed to provide us with, "a fuller picture of the current situation" (xxi) of Japanese religions than any other preceding work. Even in Japanese, there has been no book, at least in a single volume, that covers topics on Japanese religions over the past two decades and their historical backgrounds as thoroughly as this handbook does. It is comprised of twenty-four chapters, and is authored by a variety of eminent and leading international scholars as well as younger, up-and-coming scholars. Most of them offer solid overviews rather than excessively unique theses, and this makes the collection highly recommendable both to students ready to specialize in Japanese religions and to any scholar eager to review the recent situation in the study of Japanese religions. Some of the chapters are reprints of previously published articles, but this does not undermine the value of the book in the least.

The contributions are arranged in four clusters. Part 1 serves as an introductory section. Prohl and Nelson outline the social context of the postwar period, with a focus on the past two decades. Michael K. Roemer offers practical suggestions concerning how to deal with Japanese survey data on religion that is at times contradictory, as well as how to ask better questions in future surveys. He argues that the existing survey results do not truthfully reflect Japanese religious consciousness because the questions are shaped by understandings of monotheistic religiosity. It is this problem of the concept of religion that Jun'ichi Isomae and Tim Graf reflect upon next—they sketch out both Western and Japanese critical research on the concept of religion in Japan.

Part 2 traces traditions and modern transformations within Shinto and Buddhism. Whereas Bernhard Scheid describes the history of Shinto traditions with respect to shrines, Jørn Borup focuses on priests and monks in illustrating the his-

tory of Buddhist traditions, and Mark R. Mullins summarizes the history of the reception of Christianity as well as recent scholarship on Japanese Christians. Stephen G. Covell discusses the financial management of Buddhist temples, an issue of prime concern among clerics and Buddhist institutions up to today due to the amendment of the Non-Profit Corporation Law. George J. Tanabe Jr. portrays the changing religious consciousness of Japanese people as seen in the transformation of the design of graves and performance of funeral rites. Noriko Kawahashi then illustrates the this-worldly activism of Buddhism by presenting the development of Buddhist feminism and its studies.

Parts 3 and 4 cover contemporary phenomena to a fuller extent. Part 3, "Religious Responses to Social Change," opens with Urs Matthias Zachmann's critical account of the relationship between the state and religion in postwar Japan. Next, Prohl starts her chapter by arguing the difference between "new religious movements" and the Japanese term *shinshukyo*, then delineates the history of new religions in Japan as well as that of the study of the subject, and finally presents a case study of the group World Mate. Levi McLaughlin gives his view on why Soka Gakkai has become the largest new religious group in Japan, along with a detailed account of its history. Aike P. Rots aptly points out the ambiguous presence of Christianity in Japan, that is, the constantly low number of Christians despite the religion's visible social and cultural influences, and then analyzes the identity constructions and negotiations of Japanese Christians, incorporating both historical materials and fieldwork results. Jonathan S. Watts and Rev. Masazumi Shojun Okano offer an up-to-date report on socially engaged Buddhism in Japan with a special emphasis upon how priests have been tackling the problem of suicide. Duncan Ryuken Williams concentrates on environmental activism within socially engaged Buddhism, showing how politically conservative priests have become involved in what are usually regarded as left-wing movements. John Breen examines Yasukuni Shrine's rituals, war museums, and publications and concludes that the shrine "fetishizes the narrative of war, and it does so in order to expunge the traces of trauma"(408). Satsuki Kawano gives an overview of how new mortuary practices have been introduced since the 1990s, reflecting individualization in the choice of funeral style, with special attention paid to the practice of ash scattering promoted by a citizens' group.

While Part 3 has more to do with traditional and institutional religions, Part 4 embraces "Spirituality and Religion for a New Age." Kenta Kasai discloses the history of the impact of theosophy—and in particular Rudolf Steiner and Krishnamurti—upon Japan in considerable detail. Susumu Shimazono and Tim Graf analyze four precursors of Japanese new spirituality movements (*shin reisei undō*) and argue that the movements are not merely individualistic but also embedded in global, multi-centered networks. Barbara Ambros uncovers the changing views on animal spirits expressed in recently invented mortuary rituals for pets, which she identifies as a version of a new spirituality culture. Benjamin Dorman explores Japanese religiosity in the post-Aum era by examining media representations of religion and spiri-

tuality, with a focus upon the case of a TV celebrity fortune-teller. Gregory P. Levine historicizes Zen art, the popular notion of which is largely a product of twentieth century Buddhist modernism. Lisette Gebhardt interprets the popular "spiritual literatures" of six authors from the 1970s to the present with the assumption that they capture the zeitgeist and represent Japanese people's attitudes toward the religious. John Nelson investigates contemporary household altars, *butsudan*, that have been modified both in design and use by specialist companies, independent of established Buddhist denominations. Lastly, Mark MacWilliams sorts religious manga into two groups and then attempts to find out how young people engage in religious and spiritual practices through reading them.

What struck me is the overall similarity of the covered topics between this volume and *Shūkyō to Shakai no Furontiā* (The frontier of religion and society; Keiso Shobo, 2012), another handbook of contemporary Japanese religions compiled by younger Japanese scholars in the same year and published in Japanese. (I have also reviewed it in the *Journal of Religious Studies* of the JARS.) Even though *Shūkyō to Shakai no Furontiā* contains fewer pages and is targeted at college students, it covers the subjects of new religions, spirituality and mass culture, socially engaged religions, changing mortuary rites and graves, state-religion issues, and so on. The chapters that do not have equivalents in Prohl and Nelson's handbook are those on religious education and on immigrants' religions (such as Islam). This resemblance implies that there has been lively academic exchange between scholars both in and outside Japan during these last twenty years (though its extension to non-Western countries is invisible in the volume).

At the same time, there is also a remarkable difference. Most contributors, especially Western scholars, in Prohl and Nelson's handbook, seem to have been trained as specialists on a particular religious tradition in Japan, typically either Shinto or Buddhism. The volume, published by Brill, thus embodies the "history of religions (HR)" tradition in Western academia (admitting that there are also subtle differences between European HR and North American HR). In contrast to this, eleven out of fourteen writers of the Japanese handbook identify themselves as sociologists of religion. Accordingly, when the authors of the latter discuss a certain topic, they take cases from various religions at once, whereas those of the former tend to separate religious traditions even when addressing the same topic. For example, "socially engaged Buddhism" is a key term in the former, while it is replaced with "socially engaged religions" in the latter.

At first sight it appears that, despite its critical awareness of the problem of applying the Western concept of religion (that reifies lived traditions to –isms—Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism, and so on) to Japanese contexts, the former has not entirely overcome the problem. However, this difference may have a twofold effect. On the one hand, it may be argued that Williams could have made a stronger argument if he had compared Buddhist environmentalism with Shinto priests' attitudes toward nature conservation instead of only dealing with the former. On the other hand,

Covell only refers to Buddhist temples when dealing with what Japanese scholars would consider to be an interdenominational (interreligious) issue of the Religious Corporations Law and the problem of the "public benefit" of religious organizations. However, in so doing, he sheds light on the issue differently than Japanese scholars and thereby makes his chapter interesting to those in Japan who are familiar with domestic discussions over the issue. My hope is that the disciplinary differences in approach between scholars in and outside Japan will enhance the significance of further dialogue between them, and refrain from one-sidedly stressing the limitations of the HR approach in grasping the late-modern or postmodern situation.

As for the accuracy of each description and the validity of each argument, there are some parts that left me puzzled. For example, pages 191–92 state, "Unlike the Pure Land sects that regard rebirth in the Pure Land as a final destination, Tendai thinks of it as an intermediary stage" and "The Tendai Pure land is filled with shaven monks and nuns… grinding away at the hard work of attaining enlightenment." However, the Pure Land sects also conceive their Pure Land as a place of hard work to attain enlightenment (or to become a buddha), and calling it "a final destination" can be misleading. (Moreover, the Pure Land sect 浄土宗 and the True Pure Land sect 浄土真宗 have a somewhat different understanding regarding this matter.) To take another example, on pages 503–504 it is argued that pet spirits "have undergone a radical transformation in the last ten years," which is a "shift from vengeful spirits to benevolent, loving companions." This observation holds true with *mizuko* (aborted fetus) spirits, but it is doubtful if it was common for pet owners before this period to have feared pet spirits.

As space is limited, it is impossible to present counterevidence to each argument of which I am not fully convinced, so I will leave this for further discussion among scholars in each field. Nonetheless, I feel obliged to write that I was disappointed to see misprints of Japanese words throughout the book: "オウム心理教" for "オウム真理教," "ずばり言うはよ" for "ずばり言うわよ," "ブロッグ" for "ブログ," "聖年" for "青年," and more. Any work as massive as this can never be entirely flawless, but some Japanese people may well be offended by the fact that the editors got the date of the 2011 great earthquake wrong (8). Another date related to the disaster that appears on the same page is also incorrect. I hope that the editors will take this problem seriously. It is also desirable that authors make more effort to give credit to the original Japanese sources, wherever applicable, in addition to the Western works that use them as sources.

Putting questions for individual points thus aside, I would like to make a general suggestion. It goes without saying that a study of any aspect of contemporary Japanese religions should be based upon a sound understanding of today's Japanese society. What I find largely missing from the references of each chapter are works written by Japanese sociologists and social critics on present-day Japanese society. Works by Japanese scholars of religion are abundantly quoted, but not those by sociologists and social critics which are generally called *gendai shakai ron* (critical discourses on contemporary society). There are a number of academically popular

and well-known works in the area that cannot be ignored when clarifying the social context of contemporary Japanese religions. To name a few of them, Shunya Yoshimi's *Posuto sengo shakai* (Post-postwar society; Iwanami, 2009) is one of the core reading assignments for my students. Masachi Osawa, a very influential sociologist, has published many books on pre- and post-Aum Japanese society. Eiji Oguma's bulky works on postwar Japan are also must-reads among students and professionals in the humanities and social sciences. One of the sub-areas in *gendai shakai ron* that will inspire those scholars interested in spirituality is the study of Japanese subculture, closely tied to that of Japanese youth culture. Shinji Miyadai led the discussions in the area in the 1980s and 1990s, then Hiroki Azuma started publishing his cutting-edge work. Psychologists and educationalists have also produced works on significant changes in the consciousness and the behavior of Japanese youth.

Instead of referring to such well-known domestic work, the introductory chapter, which has the role of outlining the social context of the postwar period, employs Western ideas and theories (or theories and frameworks that seemingly work well in explaining the present European situation), such as "globalization" (see, for instance, page 10) in order to identify the key factors of a changing Japanese society. Of course, no place in the world can escape the influence of globalization, but it is just too rough of a concept to make good sense of social changes in Japan in recent decades. The sociologists and social critics mentioned above are more than familiar with Western social theories and use them often, but they do not reduce the Japanese situation to them (this does not mean that they are nationalists. Jürgen Habermas, Urlich Beck, and Charles Taylor are simply not enough when explaining what Japanese people have been facing lately). In this regard, it is noteworthy that there is no chapter that considers *otaku* culture for its own sake even when discussing popular culture, including manga since the 1990s. This is not to say that *otaku* culture is uniquely Japanese, but to confine the research scope to the New Age subculture of the hippies and their legacy does not do any justice to Japanese subculture, a subculture that has underpinned Japanese spiritual culture in the past two decades. Whereas teenagers in the 1970s grew up with US/British rock music, nowadays they favor *ani-son* (anime songs) and AKB48 songs over Western music, saying it is weird that Japanese people sing in English. Their spirituality (or could it still be called spirituality?) cannot be investigated to any deep extent as long as a scholar only employs twentieth-century terms like "individualization," "commercialization," "secularization," or a classical HR method, according to which manga, anime, and games are viewed as no more than modern myths. It seems to be of utmost importance for scholars of contemporary Japanese religions to pay more attention to "native" theories and debates.

The volume is published in the series of "Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion," whose editors are Carole M. Cusack and James R. Lewis. Other titles published so far (by March, 2013) are: *Handbook of the Theosophical Current*, *Handbook of Hyper-real Religions*, *Handbook of New Religions and Cultural Production*, *Hand-*

book of Religion and the Authority of Science, *Handbook of Contemporary Paganism,* and the *Handbook of New Age*. It is interesting to see that this handbook on Japanese religions is the only title that concentrates upon a single national situation. Even more interesting is that all of these themes (except the one on science *per se*) are included in the volume on Japanese religions, but *otaku* religiosity/spiritually is not. Considering that all of the titles have Western scholars as their editors, it may reasonably be assumed that this handbook under review is another attempt at understanding and explaining Japan according to Western frameworks, an approach that many of its contributors, above anything else, have attempted to avoid.

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REVIEW

Jolyon Baraka Thomas, *Drawing on Tradition: Manga, Anime, and Religion in Contemporary Japan*

Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012. 216 pages. Cloth, $60.00; paper, $25.00. ISBN 978-0-8248-3589-7 (cloth); 978-0-8248-3654-2 (paper).

PREVIOUS STUDIES on Japanese manga and anime have been very poor, especially in the field of Japanese religious studies. According to Jolyon Baraka Thomas, they have tended to focus on famous artists like Tezuka Osamu and Miyazaki Hayao, characterizing their view on religion as peculiar to Japan, and appraising the art of manga and anime as unique to Japanese culture (6). They have gone no further than analyses of narrative contents or a typology of genres and categories and have not taken into consideration how audiences received these works (58). There was also a movement among Japanese scholars of religion to teach Miyazaki's films in their university classes as useful texts on Japanese religious history, not as illustrative examples of contemporary religiosity (121–22).

Drawing on Tradition begins with an outline of the history of the predecessors of manga and anime, particularly the development of vernacular religious media like *emaki, etoki, kibyōshi, dangi-bon*, and so on. However, Thomas also points out that modern manga and anime are not the direct descendants of these predecessors and have been influenced decisively by European and American comic art (40–42).

Having confirmed the discontinuity between the past and the present, the author gives a compact but complicated description of why and how manga and anime with religious elements are popular in Japanese secular society. The point of the discussion is the continuum between a didactic type of manga and anime that "tells" religion and exhorts the audience on the one hand, and an aesthetic type that "shows" religion and entertains the audience on the other (58–59). The author argues that the former, serious type has failed to gain popularity, while the diverting latter type has, paradoxically, affected people's religiosity. One of the bases of this argument is a survey of about one hundred college students in a class where the author was invited to give a guest lecture (59–60). The sample size was small, and may not represent a general tendency, but the results would arouse no surprise among scholars

of religion who teach Japanese students. According to the author, the entertaining type of religious manga and anime falls into a category of what he calls *shūkyō asobi* or "recreating religion" (16–17) and represents "playful religiosity" (123).

On the other hand, the author makes the criticism that previous studies on religious manga and anime have overemphasized text, narrative content, and implicit religious doctrines. Instead of these elements, he turns to an analyses of images, and how audiences receive manga and anime (8, 22). He refers to the audiences' inner function of constructing reality by connecting one image with another and of accepting the verisimilitude of vicarious experiences as "religious frames of mind," presumably suggesting a kind of inner projection of the frames of manga:

> The reception of religion, fiction, art, and film is characterized by the willing suspension of disbelief, which can be described as the willful suppression of awareness of the gap between the imagination and empirical reality. I suggest that the same noetic process that allows individuals to view individual synchronic frames of manga and anime as meaningful parts of a diachronic story also allows viewers to frame certain events, characters, and settings with religious significance (27).

Religious frames of mind enable one to receive visual media. The author relates them with the mental function of believing and attaches the adjective "religious" to the term. Thus he suggests that there is a certain kind of religiosity in the reception of visual media (27–30).

We have already seen several dichotomies—between text and image, between artwork and audience, and between doctrinal religiosity and playful religiosity. However, these dichotomies are not systematically correlated with one another. On the one hand, texts, works of manga and anime, and doctrinal religiosity are all associated with the modern concept of religion that recognizes, as the essence of religion, the fixed written scripture and an inner belief in the doctrines taught in the text. On the other hand, image, the audiences' reception, and playful religiosity are not directly connected to each other. This theoretical incompleteness may leave the readers with the impression that the author seems to rebel against the terms *text*, *narrative*, and *doctrine*.

Actually, there are some tools in postmodern cultural theory that unite the three elements of image, audience, and playful religiosity. For example, Jean Baudrillard's theory of simulacra and simulation describes the multiplication of images in contemporary popular culture (BAUDRILLARD 1994). An image that copies original reality or truth liberates itself from the origin and multiplies itself by producing a large quantity of copies that in turn make another image appear. This theory can be applied to the case of religious manga and anime, which appropriate various religious and mythical images and assemble them with similar appearances to the original images but with different contexts and content. Far from doctrinal religiosity, the creators of religious manga and anime do not care about copying religious images (that is, whether the copy is the same as the original), nor do they stick to authenticity and truth. Those

simulacra of religious images allow audiences a "secondary creation" or a playful rec-reation with parody, alteration, and even *cosplay* (costume play); that is, the mimicry of characters in manga and anime that one likes.

The audience become the creators in the culture of secondary creation, *cosplay*, and online communication dealing with manga and anime. The author refers to this as corresponding to "ritual" by adopting the analogy of religion, but does not treat it as an important subject. Here, recipients not only enjoy the images passively but probe into them, reinterpret them, criticize others' interpretations, reproduce them in their own works, and imitate them performatively with their own bodies.

This secondary creation culture embodies playful religiosity better than certain works of manga and anime. Nevertheless, in the second half of the book the author does not focus on the audiences' recreational culture but deals with Miyazaki's films and Aum-related manga. He shows that these manga and anime feature supernatural powers and the apocalypse, which have had an affect on the audience. Some of his female respondents answered that Nausicaä (a protagonist of Miyazaki's *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind*) was their role model when pursuing their career. The author argues that Aum Shinrikyō was influenced by manga and anime that have "aesthetics of extremity." This term is the author's, and literally means the attraction and appeal of extreme protagonists, extreme antagonists, and extreme settings, and specifi-cally refers to a typical plot of the apocalypse where a small number of protagonists endowed with supernatural powers and esoteric knowledge build a new world order (129–30). Nausicaä was indeed taken up in Aum's publications just before the sarin gas terrorist attack (131). After the Aum incident, according to the author, several manga modeled on Aum explained critically how a cult like Aum develops to commit crimes or abuse, and the "aesthetics of extremity" illustrated in these works appealed to the audiences' interest (152–53).

The author avoids identifying "aesthetics of extremity" simply with a narrative plot. He does not give a detailed explanation of the reason he adopted the term "aesthetics." Perhaps he is referring to the principle of the power to appeal to the elements that cause an extreme sensation, and the corresponding effects on the audience. The following illustrates his subtle terminology:

> The aesthetics of extremity is related to the *thrill* of narratives depicting religious violence, but it also provides the *appeal* for the heroism of characters like Kanna and Kenji. The cult of veneration surrounding these protagonists within the narrative is intimately related to the *epic structure* of the narrative itself" (152, emphases by the reviewer).

Thus, the "aesthetics of extremity" itself refers to a tendency to choose more entertaining extremities but also relates to those narrative structures of the apoc-alypse or the heroic epic whose basic theme is the dualism of good and evil. Of course, one can easily find that a narrative pattern of the myths of hero or eschatol-

ogy has been repeated in manga and anime, and that in turn affected Aum. The author is not totally against narrative analysis and admits the necessity of it:

> Parts of this study necessarily recapitulate manga and anime plots…. Some of my interpretations are necessarily speculative, extrapolating authorial or audience motives and attitudes from story lines, but I have supplemented such speculation with ethnography wherever possible (22).

However, the ethnography in this study is not so systematic and thorough; just a few surveys in a college class, a small number of interviews, and posts on Mixi BBS. What is more problematic than the size and the design of the research is that the author considers mainly one-way influences on the audience when he discusses the reception of manga and anime. The tendency to see the relationship between creator and audience as being in binary opposition might make it difficult to see the importance of recreational culture where the audience become creators. Instead, by mainly taking up Miyazaki's films and Aum-related manga, the author shows a linear influence, whether successful or not, of a pattern of powerful religious narratives such as apocalypse or eschatology upon an audience. This seems close to the model of doctrinal religiosity. Even though the author has a useful toolkit of *playful religiosity*, he fails to pick an appropriate research object, the audience as secondary creators, and looks for traces of *doctrinal religiosity* in manga and anime as static texts.

The author posits the question of why religious manga and anime have acquired popularity in Japanese secular society, but does not answer this clearly in the conclusion. Yet, there are enough findings in this book to suggest that playful religiosity is more influential in a secular society than doctrinal religiosity. He could have answered that playful religiosity is strong in Japan *because of* its secularism, not in spite of it.

The reason why he did not conclude with this theoretical standpoint is that he stuck to the concept of "religion" and understood it as opposed to secularism. Secularism is understood as a systematic demarcation of the public and the private, an assignation of religion to the private, and subordination of religion to the formal and abstract norms (Asad 2003). Private enjoyment of religious manga and anime is not inconsistent with the idea of secularism. Rather, some religious manga and anime may find themselves in trouble with established religion in a more conservative society (for example, Pokemon was accused of representing a kind of Satanism by conservative Christians).

Privatized consumption of religious resources is harmonious with secularism, but one must be careful to use the word "religion" in the Japanese cultural context. The creators of manga and anime do not like their activities or works to be identified with "religion" because of its negative image. As the author mentions, Miyazaki did not hide his feeling of aversion to organized religion and adopted the term "spirituality" or "my own religion" with his environmentalist or animist tone (110). Especially after the Aum affair, those who are interested in subculture related to manga and anime tend to show a cynical attitude toward religious and/or spiritual issues, as seen in the *otaku* (geek) online communication on mega-BBS sites like "2

Channel." Japanese creators and *re*-creators would naturally agree that non-religious or spiritual fantasies could develop by modifying and utilizing religious and mythical characters, plots, and world views at one's will, because Japanese society is highly secularized to tolerate this. From this perspective, asking why could lead to a "false problem"—why can *religious* manga and anime flourish in highly secularized Japanese society, since they have never had anything to do with "religion"?

I do not think there is no connection at all between what the author calls "religious manga and anime" and what most Japanese people call "religion," but it sounds more appropriate to use the term "spirituality" to refer to the religious phenomena outside organized religion, particularly when those who are concerned dislike being called "religious." The adjective "religious" functions very often as a pejorative label in Japanese popular culture.

This book is an important work because it vividly depicts the vast and complicated world of Japanese religious manga and anime culture by means of elaborate theoretical tools. However, I understand why native Japanese scholars have previously failed to write such a book. This kind of study depends greatly on the researcher's choice of materials. The research cannot be objective and comprehensive unless one explains why certain materials were selected, and until one maps the genres and categories of manga and anime with the demographic data of the audience of each genre and category. The more you are familiar with the enormous scope of Japanese manga and anime culture, the better you understand how difficult this task is. The author honestly admits that he could not take into consideration the manga and anime for women and avoids the issue of gender, but still he is unclear about why he chose his material. Even within the limit of religious manga and anime for males, there are different categories and genres: SF, fantasy, history, quasi-history, comedy, serious works, violence, horror, and so on. They are clearly targeted at specific demographics—for boys, young adults, adults, and so on. The author should account for his choice of materials.

Nevertheless, as he correctly states, previous studies have been very poor in this field. In the future, it will be necessary to map manga and anime culture and describe the demographics of audiences and their culture of re-creation. This book will surely stimulate such studies.
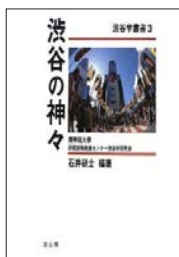
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REVIEW

Ishii Kenji 石井研士, ed., *Shibuya no kamigami* 渋谷の神々 [The deities of Shibuya]

Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 2013. 342 pages. Cloth, ¥3570. ISBN 978-4-639-02261-9.

Ishii Kenji, ed., *Shintō wa doko e iku ka* 神道はどこへいくか [Where is Shinto going?]

Tokyo: Perikansha, 2010. 278 pages. Cloth, ¥2520. ISBN 978-4-831-51276-5.

THE TWO BOOKS under review here, *Shibuya no kamigami* and *Shintō wa doko e iku ka* have been edited by Ishii Kenji, a professor at Kokugakuin University, and their main focus is religion, particularly Shinto, in urban spaces. Both books draw on survey data and interviews, and most of the articles are based on fieldwork, although a historical perspective is also offered. Due to space limitations, I will only be able to provide an overview of the topics analyzed in these publications. I will start with the most recent one, *Shibuya no kamigami*. This book is the third volume of a project by Shibuyagaku Kenkyūkai at Kokugakuin University and is divided into eight chapters, two of which have been written by the editor himself. The book analyzes Tokyo's famous and busy city area of Shibuya from a religious studies perspective, in particular taking into account its historical development (3). Shibuya is a mecca for fashion, popular culture, and entertainment (see, for example, the use of the expression "sacred place," *seichi*, 193), and although religion is not the first thing that comes to one's mind when thinking of this area, the religious dimension is present throughout the area by way of Shinto shrines, Buddhist temples, and the facilities of new religious movements. Shibuya is one of the symbols of contemporary Japan—the department store Shibuya 109 and the overcrowded scramble crossing outside

the Hachiko exit of Shibuya station being emblematic in this sense—and this study explores what kind of "religiosity," if any, the area holds. The chapters are varied in length and depth, with the first one entitled "Jinja kara mita Shibuya" (Shibuya seen from Shinto shrines), by Fujita Hiromasa, occupying one third of the whole volume. Taking into account the topography of the area, Fujita's chapter offers a historical excursus—from the Edo period onwards—on the development and transformation of Shinto shrines such as Kinnō Hachimangū, Hikawa Shrine, Toyosaka Inari Shrine, and Meiji Jingū; and analyzes how structural urban and economic changes linked to modernization, including the expansion of the transportation network, have had an impact on Shibuya's transformation into a popular entertainment spot (*sakariba*; see, for example, 71) and subsequently on the Shinto shrines in the area.

The second chapter, entitled "Shibuya no jūtakuchi to jinja sairei" (Shibuya's residential area and Shinto festivals) is by Kurosaki Hiroyuki and focuses on Shinto festivals and the local neighborhood associations, which in Shibuya are called *chōkai* instead of the usual *chōnaikai*. Currently, 150 *chōkai* belong to the Federation of Shibuya Chōkai (Shibuya-ku Chōkai Rengōkai, established in 1962; 124). After providing data regarding the *chōkai* and their history, such as those *chōkai* that are also *ujiko*, or shrine members (67.1 percent), the author analyzes two neighborhood associations/*ujiko* linked to Kinnō Hachimangū and Hikawa Shrine and their activities in relation to their festivals (see 132–40). The results are based on the author's fieldwork (2009–2011) and his analysis is carried out by bearing in mind the question of whether, due to changes within the *chōkai* themselves (for example, the increasing number of people living alone and demographic shifts), festivals will maintain the same characteristics they display today and whether the dynamics linked to the collaboration between *chōkai* and *ujiko* will witness changes in the future.

The third chapter, by Akino Jun'ichi, focuses on festivals and is titled "Matsuri kara miete kuru 'Shibuya': Shibuya 109 mae ni tsudou mikoshi—Kinnō Hachimangū no matsuri" (Shibuya from the perspective of festivals: The *mikoshi* [portable shrines] parade in front of Shibuya 109—The Kinnō Hachimangū festival). The area in front of the fashionable department store Shibuya 109 is where the *mikoshi* parade of the Kinnō Hachimangū matsuri takes place. Akino is keen to point out that this is not one of the so-called events (*ibento*) that are popular in Shibuya, but it is a proper Shinto festival. He aims to analyze this bustling area in relation to the Kinnō Hachimangū matsuri in order to offer an image of Shibuya that is different from the "popular" one symbolized by *gyaru* (Shibuya girls), youngster fashion, and consumerism. On another level, his interest is in the people involved in carrying the *mikoshi* (146). As is common in other festivals in big cities, such as the Sannō Festival in the area around Tokyo station, many of the participants are volunteers from the business and commercial enterprises operating there. This is also due to the decreasing number of families living in business districts. This happens also in the case of the festival analyzed in this chapter. Moreover, another aspect that emerges here is the disjunction between people who head off to Shibuya for shopping, such as young women who visit Shibuya 109,

and the locals. Although the former can, to some extent, be involved in the festival mainly as passersby and spectators, they have no real communication or interaction with the local people living in the area (see, for example, 93). This chapter ends Part 1 specifically dedicated to Shinto and its festivals.

The second part of the book is dedicated to Buddhism, Christianity, and new religious movements. It includes chapter 4 by Endō Jun, "Shibuya no jiin: Kinsei o chūshin to shite" (Temples in Shibuya in the modern period); and two authored by Ishii Kenji, chapter 5 "Shibuya no kirisutokyō" (Christianity in Shibuya), and chapter 6, "Shinshūkyō to Shibuya" (New religious movements and Shibuya). These three chapters offer a survey on different temples and churches in the area from historical (chapter 4) and sociological (chapters 5 and 6) perspectives and with a focus on the modern and contemporary periods. As a common pattern in this book, changes in the urban structure of Shibuya and historical and economic developments are taken into account to provide a multifaceted view of one of the busiest parts of Tokyo. For example, the transformation of the space occupied by the Yamate Kyōkai to accommodate a larger number of followers and due to the restructuring of the building itself over the years (231) is a good example of how sacred spaces within highly urbanized environments need to be adapted and sometimes reinvented to face changes in the neighborhood. In addition to Buddhism and Christianity, new religious movements such as Tenrikyō, Konkōkyō, Reiyūkai, PL Kyōdan, and Risshō Kōseikai are discussed in chapter 6. Moreover, the article touches upon new spirituality and healing activities that are often found on the streets of Shibuya. This chapter leaves space for the third and last part of the volume dedicated to the fascinating topic of sacred spaces in the urban environment.

Chapter 7 by Akino Jun'ichi is entitled "'Shibuya' no chiisana kamigami" (Shibuya's small deities), and reveals the presence of various small shrines (*shōshi*), temples, and deities, such as *dōsojin* (deities of roads) near department stores (Loft *dōsojin,* 275) and the bodhisattva Jizō embedded in the urban fabric of Shibuya. One can find them amidst skyscrapers, on the roofs of high buildings (274, 281, 288), and in small streets. Similar to other chapters, a good number of pictures have been provided to support this article. Akino also takes into account the religious aspect related to famous monuments such as the Hachiko dog monument just outside Shibuya station and its annual memorial service (*ireisai*, 270–274). Takahisa Mai's "Shibuya no 'shukusai': Sukuranburu kōsaten ni tsudō hitobito" (Celebrations at Shibuya: People at the scramble crossing), is the last chapter in this volume and explores annual events such as New Year's celebrations (countdown) and sports events such as the soccer World Cup watched by people on the big screens placed at the famous intersection. While this chapter may be interesting per se, the religious aspect of these events remain somehow unclear and the chapter seems to diverge from the structure of the book.

The other volume under review here is *Shintō wa doko e iku ka*. As stated in the prologue by the editor Ishii Kenji, this book aims to explore changes and contem-

porary developments in the relationship between *ujigami* (tutelary kami) and local communities in Japan that has progressively weakened due to a series of socioeconomic and demographic changes. Furthermore, the authors address two other main topics: *kamidana* rituals and annual events at Shinto shrines (11–12). In this regard, Ishii identifies a few aspects deriving from the emphasis on consumerism in contemporary society: for example, the retail of religious items such as *o-mamori* (amulets) at shrines in the same guise as the selling of other commodities (28), and the recent interest in Shinto shrines due to their presence in famous anime series or in the media, and their link to new spiritual attractions such as "power spots." All this, the editor highlights, has increased the visibility of shrines but at the same time weakened the belief in *ujigami* (*ujigami shinkō*) and its link with the local community (29).

The book is divided into three main parts: "Girei to ninau mono no yukue" (On rituals and their bearers), "Chiiki shakai to jinja no atarashii kakawari" (New developments in the relationship between local communities and shrines), and "Jōhōka shakai no naka de" (In an information society), which focuses on Shinto within the information society. Each part contains four chapters. Part one offers a variety of topics. The first shrine visit of a newborn baby is analyzed in chapter 1 on *hatsumiya mairi*, while the visit to shrines in "unlucky" years is explored in "Yakudoshi no ima to korekara" (Unlucky years: Present and future), both written by Taguchi Yūko. Drawing on survey data and interviews, the latter reveals the popularity of this practice among urban dwellers. New developments in Shinto funerals and funerary sites are explored in "Shin shinsōsai bochi no tanjō" (Establishing new cemeteries for Shinto funerals) authored by Shibata Ryōichi, who provides a fresh outlook on a topic usually linked to Buddhism and shows how Shinto deals with the issue of impurity (*kegare*) related in this case to death. Gender issues in Shinto are the subject of the chapter on *joshi shinshoku* (women priests) by Ochi Miwa. This chapter aims to expand the image of women working at shrines as exclusively linked to *miko* and analyzes the role of women priests. From the author's reflections, it emerges that the number of women priests have increased in local shrines but not at grand shrines (*taisha*) and that they still remain somehow confined to their "traditional" roles within a family, that is, as priests' wives and daughters and as a support for their husbands/fathers. In addition, the author points out that working in a shrine is usually not a woman's deliberate professional choice; rather, it is a consequence of her belonging to a shrine family (*shake*; 102, 110, 111).

The second part of the book is dedicated to the development of Shinto shrines at the community level, and begins with the article by Kobayashi Norihiko entitled "Gyōsei, chiiki shakai, jinja" (Public administration, local communities and shrines). It describes the efforts to restore better connections and collaboration between shrines, local administrations, and the community, such as in the case of the Hana matsuri ("flower festival"—not to be confused with the Buddhist *Hana* matsuri that occurs on 8 April every year) in Tokyo Bunkyōku. This collaboration, however, proves to be difficult because of the separation of religion and state (*seikyō*

bunri, as sanctioned by the postwar Japanese Constitution), but the author seems inclined to point out that shrines still play a relevant role in society at the community level. Similarly, the subsequent chapter written by Suzuki Yoshihiko entitled "Toshi no ujigami sama no sengo" (Urban *ujigami* in the postwar period) examines the influence of postwar urbanization and societal changes on Hikawa Jinja and its *ujiko* area in Tokyo. Another issue related to urbanization that is worthy of interest here is the depopulation of rural areas. This is analyzed in Fuyutsuki Ritsu's chapter "Kasoka to jinja" (Depopulation and shrines) in relation to the difficulties faced by Shinto shrines on the island of Shōdoshima, which is taken here as a case study. The author shows the endeavor of the island's (few) inhabitants to revive the tradition of festivals, in particular Azukishima *saishi* (ritual) and Natsu matsuri—interestingly, the latter is held at the cultural hall rather than at the local shrine. The last chapter in this second part of *Shintō wa doko e iku ka*, "Bariafurīka to Jinja: Seinaru kūkan no henyō" (Accessibility and shrines: The transformation of sacred spaces) by Matsumura Shimaho draws attention to the necessity of building barrier-free access in sacred spaces and their impact on visits to shrines.

The third and last part of the book is dedicated to the role Shinto plays in media and this is examined from various perspectives. A survey on popular books on Shinto, mostly published in the years 2003–2008, along with the presentation of data in connection to customer reviews (for example, on the Amazon website), constitute the topic of "'Shintō' no ninki bon" (Popular books on Shinto) by Sakamoto Naoko. The use of media for proselytization purposes, such as in the case of radio programs broadcast by the Jinja Honchō and the Fukushima division of Shinto shrines (Fukushima Ken Jinjachō) is analyzed in Inoue Takashi's chapter "Rajio hōsō to Shintō" (Radio broadcasting and Shinto). Suga Naoko examines so-called "power spots" related to Shinto in her chapter "Pawā supotto to shite no Jinja" (Shrines as power spots). The term "power spot" has notably gained popularity in the Japanese mass media since 2005 (233, 235), and the author analyzes it in connection with women's magazines such as *FRau* and *An-an* (234). The use of the Internet by Shinto shrines is explored in the last chapter entitled "Jinja to Intānetto no musubitsuki no shinsō" (The close link between shrines and the Internet) by Kurosaki Hiroyuki. The association of Japanese religions with the Internet is a well-established topic of study, both within and outside of Japan, and several articles and books have been written by Japanese and non-Japanese scholars. Here, the author provides further reflections on this field and takes into account the problems that may arise which have also been highlighted by other scholars. One of these problems is the "virtual visit to a shrine" (*bācharu sanpai*), which, on several occasions, has brought the Jinja Honchō (Association of Shinto Shrines) and other Shinto-related institutions to publicly express their concerns and warnings against the improper use of the Internet (261–62).

Another interesting aspect mentioned in this final part of the book refers to the recent phenomenon of *seichi junrei*. This term refers to pilgrimages to the locations

of famous movies, anime, and manga, which include also sacred spaces, such as shrines and temples that have become settings of popular productions—a famous example being Washinomiya Jinja and the anime *Lucky Star* (see also 274). While this is briefly mentioned here, a full chapter on this topic would have been a welcome addition to the book.

These two books are informative and provide considerable data on the different aspects of religion—mainly Shinto—in contemporary urban Japan. The inclusion of pictures, maps, and charts, adds value to both these volumes. *Shibuya no kamigami* and *Shintō wa doko e iku ka* will prove to be useful resources to scholars interested in the contemporary development of religion in Japan.

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REVIEW

Miki Hizuru 三木 英 **and Sakurai Yoshihide** 櫻井義秀**, eds.,** *Nihon ni ikiru imin tachi no shūkyō seikatsu: Nyū kamā no motarasu shūkyō tagenka*『日本に生きる移民たちの宗教生活—ニューカマーのもたらす宗教多元化』
[Religious lives of immigrants to Japan: The multidimensional development of religion brought by newcomers]
Kyoto: Minerva Shobō, 2012. 320 pages. ¥5250. ISBN 978-4-623-06318-5.

Shūkyō shakaigaku no kai 宗教社会学の会編 **[Society of the Sociology of Religion], ed.,** *Seichi saihō, Ikoma no kamigami: Kawariyuku daitoshi kinkō no minzoku shūkyō* 『聖地再訪・生駒の神々—変わりゆく大都市近郊の民俗宗教』
[Revisiting the sacred place, Gods in the Ikoma Mountains: Changing folk religions in the suburb of a big city]
Osaka: Sōgensha, 2012. 280 pages. ¥1995. ISBN 978-4-422-23029-0.

THESE TWO BOOKS shed light on the multidimensional development and diversification of religions in modern Japan. Both are based on meticulous fieldwork on subjects that are somewhat ignored. As ethnographical research they not only provide a wealth of important information, but also an opportunity to reconsider religions and modernization from a different perspective than one based on Christianity, the institutional religion in Western society.

Miki and Sakurai's *Nihon ni ikiru* vividly describes the variety of trends in the religions of recent immigrants to Japan. The key concept used here is "ethnic religion." Ethnic religion is the foundation of the cultural boundaries that minority groups build, and is therefore a useful concept when analyzing the lives of immigrants who inevitably become a minority. This book sheds light on the religious lives of immigrants to Japan between cultural assimilation and segregation.

In the first chapter, Hitomi Yasuhiro 人見泰弘 describes the Christian faith of Burmese refugees in Japan, focusing on the religions of refugees who migrated for political and religious reasons. As is commonly observed in other cases, religious life

is connected with ethnic identity. Burma is a multiethnic and multireligious country, but the Karen people, many of whom are Christians, are a minority. Among the roughly ten thousand Burmese immigrants in Japan, Karen Christians are the minority among minorities. The succession of the Christian faith to the next generation is the key to the fate of this ethnic group. As a world religion, Christianity crosses the boundaries of ethnicity, enabling believers to coexist with believers of all religions. This book reveals the dual nature that religion brings to ethnic identity.

The second chapter, coauthored by Shirahase Tastsuya 白波瀬達也 and Takahashi Norihito 高橋典史, and the third chapter by Hoshino Sō 星野 壮, describe the Christian faith of Brazilian immigrants to Japan. These two chapters focus on the Catholic Church and Protestant Church respectively, revealing institutional characteristics of each denomination in light of the reality of immigrants' religious lives. In the Catholic Church, Japanese and foreign believers worship together in the same church but maintain a segregation between each other. On the other hand, the church serves as a support base, providing foreign residents with programs such as food and schooling assistance as a part of their religious activities. In Protestant churches, Brazilians have established typical ethnic churches of their own that provide them with the "space for Brazilians" that the Catholic Church in Japan could never provide. This is because while the Catholic faith is dominant in Brazil, many of the Protestant believers among Brazilian immigrants converted from Catholicism after they came to Japan. Reading these two chapters in a comparative way, we understand that people may choose religion not on the basis of a doctrine or belief, but from the perspective of the surrounding system or organization in the course of their geographical and cultural transfer as immigrants.

In the fourth chapter, Miki Hizuru and Numajiri Masayuki 沼尻正之 describe an interesting case whereby Peruvians living in Japan replicate a festival from their home country known as the "Señor de los Milageros" that is now celebrated in many places in Japan. This eye-catching festival, during which a portable shrine is carried in a parade, is the best opportunity for Peruvians to express their ethnic identity. For this reason, they celebrate the festival regionally. In this chapter, the authors describe this festival in light of the communication between Japanese and immigrants, and also point out that the form the festival takes may be modified depending upon this communication.

In the fifth chapter, Sakurai Yoshihide reviews studies on the religions of immigrants in terms of the theoretical study and accumulation of previous work, presenting an analytical viewpoint of foreign religions in addition to recent trends such as the interest in spirituality and therapy culture. Particularly striking in the course of the unique religious history of Japan is that these foreign religions have come after an era of emerging new religions that, in turn, followed Japanese traditional religions.

In the sixth chapter, Teerapol Kulprangthong describes the temples used by Thai immigrants in Japan. What especially interests us is the relationship between those

with legal residency and those without. Those without tend to distance themselves from those who have legal residency—as well as Japanese people—because they are afraid of being reported to the immigration authorities when a problem arises. The chapter shows that Thai temples serve as a focal point that sustains "weak ties" that these people have under such circumstances. In other words, a Thai temple has the potential to become a useful social resource that connects people who have differing interests but share a common religious culture.

The Korean churches described in the seventh chapter by Lee Hyunkyung 李賢京 also serve as ethnic churches. As with other ethnic groups, there are many cases where some newcomers become more serious about their faith than in their home country, or where those who used to be non-Christians get baptized in Japan. Korean churches function as a unit of Korean culture and serve as places where newcomers can prevent their children from becoming over-Japanized, meet their fellow citizens, and obtain useful information.

In the eighth chapter, coauthors Numajiri and Miki describe Muslims in Japan, who are "invisibly existent" even at present, and how to coexist with them in Japanese society has become a major issue. This chapter, which is based on research conducted at several mosques, highlights the importance of connecting Muslims and the local society that has accepted them. Here, lacking a politically appointed coordinator who mediates between guests and hosts means that the religious institution is very likely to become an isolated ethnic community in the local area.

This book therefore not only illustrates various aspects of the localization of world religions, such as Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam, but also sheds light on the situation of religions in Japanese society as the recipients of such world religions, trying to develop a theory on modern religions. The authors have chosen their topics according to a combination of immigrants and religions in Japan, whereas Japanese society itself is not well aware of its situation as a society with an increasing number of immigrants because of the situation of "invisible settlement." The authors closely examine the religious lives of immigrants, which are not necessarily open to outsiders. Considering this, this contribution is extremely important, and bodes well for international comparative studies of immigrant religions. Future proposals for local and national policies will also be an important issue as an extension of the study in this book.

While *Nihon ni ikiru* is a study that enables us to compare religions synchronically in the contemporary era, *Seichi saihō, Ikoma no kamigami* is a diachronic comparative study. The basis of the book is a second visit to the Ikoma Mountains, the same place under research in the 1980s, enabling the authors to present a historical comparison of religion by taking into consideration changes in the twenty-year period between the first and second visit. As the Introduction of the book mentions, Japanese society during this period experienced further modernization, urbanization, and rationalization nationwide in the course of the asset price bubble. Until the 1980s the Ikoma Mountains were rich in folk religions that are an amalgam of

local religious customs, beliefs outside of institutional doctrines and practices, or individual spiritualities, but things have changed greatly since the economic collapse at the beginning of the 1990s. Scholars studying religion and society in the Kansai region revisited the Ikoma area and described the transformation of local gods in detail.

One of the characteristics of the Ikoma Mountains as a sacred place for folk religions is its closeness to an urban area, Osaka. Not being secluded from the secular world, Ikoma is the holy ground bordering the sacred and the secular, and to which people living in the city can have access on a daily basis. Due to this position, the Ikoma Mountains have been exposed to a wave of modernization, including land development for housing and an expansion of the transportation network.

The first chapter, "Revisiting Gods in Ikoma," exhaustively introduces the current status of various religious institutions there. There are numerous independent religious institutions, prayer houses, and Korean temples in the area, but overall they are on the decline, with quite a few institutions having disappeared or closed. Such changes are caused by secularization in the simplest meaning, but a more direct cause is a failure to adapt to generational changes. Religions in the Ikoma Mountains are characterized by their diverseness and multiplicity, and the religious mosaic brought by them has been its attraction as a sacred place. However, the result is that there is a lack of structure and a fluidity that means it is difficult to keep steady membership and manage the institutions. In this chapter, the case of a religious group run by a charismatic founder that is now facing difficulties is analyzed.

The second chapter, "Various Aspects of Gods: A Quarter Century Later," describes the profiles of major religious institutions in the Ikoma area, including Ishikiri Shrine 石切神社, Hōzanji 宝山寺, Chōgosonshiji 朝護孫子寺, and other fasting houses and Korean temples. Since this area is a holy ground for popular religions, "benefits" are a key factor in attracting more worshippers. This chapter introduces the strategies of shrines and temples used when presenting themselves anew, trying to meet the demands in the needs and wishes of worshippers.

The third chapter, "New Gods in Ikoma," introduces religious institutions that have actively been building new networks. Although the Korean temples were for sometime in decline, some "temples in the mountain" and "temples in the town" have developed a network through organizational connections centering on a Buddhist society, and through the affiliated activities of Buddhists to the further reaches of society. In addition, the number of shops located on the "fortune-telling street" alongside the approach of Ishikiri Shrine is obviously increasing, in line with the so-called trend in spirituality, and those shops are continuing to play a role in counseling young people who are seeking meaning in their lives in the midst of change. Among them are groups that want to build a new network using the Internet or digital devices.

Facilitated by the emergence of new urban residents, large-scale cemeteries have been developed that have given the Ikoma Mountains an image of being able

to comfort the spirits of the deceased. Most urban residents purchase a tomb for themselves before their own death, afraid that their offspring may not look after it, showing the recent trend of the "individualism of death."

The Ikoma Mountains are a place for us to study how religions can transform themselves while sensitively responding to the changes of an era. In a study conducted by Western researchers, religious changes through the process of secularization are discussed primarily with Christianity in mind. In contrast, *Seichi saihō, Ikoma no kamigami* provides many unique discussions on the secularization of religions in Japan and its impact on the Ikoma Mountains where numerous types of religious institutions, from fortune-telling to traditional temples and shrines, can be found. The writing is lyrical and sensitive, something that only those able to closely observe the subject can provide, allowing us to feel the atmosphere of the Ikoma Mountains directly and deeply. I believe that this book will not only encourage scholars to relativize discussions on Western religions and their modernization, but also invite general readers to the enriched religious world of the Ikoma Mountains.

From the 1960s onward, the study of Japanese contemporary religions has tried to relativize Western studies and produce a self-made framework for research. In this process, Japanese New Religious Movements (NRMs) became the subject of research. While one of the main themes of study was the diversification of religions in modern society, many NRMs were rooted in traditional religiosity. In respect to the formation of an organization or belief system, Japanese NRMs were a novelty, but they fundamentally carried an indigenous religious worldview that Shinto and Japanese Buddhism had built and mediated. In that sense, the study of Japanese NRMs was none other than that of the contemporary reconstruction and recontextualizaion of folk spiritualities. In contrast, these two books shed light on the developments of religiosities rooted in a totally different religious world. The impact of these books is equal to that of the "discovery of NRMs," and there is no doubt that they will be a new starting point in Japanese contemporary religious studies.

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