International Research Forum

Religious Cultures in Asia:

Mutual Transformations through Multiple Modernities

IJCC

2020.2

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KOKUGAKUIN UNIVERSITY

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Foreword

This booklet constitutes a report on the "Religious Cultures in Asia: Mutual Transformations through Multiple Modernities" International Research Forum that took place on October 20, 2018, at Kokugakuin University.

The countries, societies, and regions of Asia have each had their own unique experience of modernity (and hence in that sense we speak of multiple modernities). Those historical developments in turn have caused the religious cultures of each to undergo changes of their own.

This is not to say, however, that those changes have been generated solely by internal, domestic factors. With new developments in media and technology also playing a role, religious cultures have taken on varied forms and crossed borders. They have affected one another and transformed one another as well.

For this forum, we sought reports on religious culture(s) in modern Asia whose basic focusing perspective was on these sorts of border crossings and mutual transformations. The implications of those reports were debated and discussed in a workshop format.

With these objectives in mind, the Forum led off with a keynote address by Reinhard ZÖLLNER (University of Bonn) on the topic "Eejanaika and Religious Modernity in Japan." This was followed by four sessions of presentations from eleven junior scholars. The presentations were followed by vigorous discussion of the issues they raised among the presenters and the scholars and researchers from Japan and other countries who attended.

One of the goals behind planning this International Research Forum was to encourage junior scholars to familiarize themselves with presenting their research findings in English. Compiling this booklet is a part of that process, and in it we have brought together eight studies produced by those junior scholars.

Each of these studies draws on the respective scholars' presentations delivered at the Forum. They vary in content and character, but seeing as they are snapshots of those scholars' research findings to date they are presented here fundamentally as written when submitted.

It is our hope that compiling these presentations in this volume will serve as a step toward helping these scholars to further develop their arguments through constructive criticism from this booklet's readers as well as guidance from and exchanges of views with them, and help encourage them in their future research efforts.

The Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics plans to hold similar programs in the future, in the hope that we can continue to assist and encourage the scholars of the future.

Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics,
Organization for the Advancement of Research and Development,
Kokugakuin University

Program

* The below is the original program of the workshop held at Kokugakuin on 2018.10.20.
Please note that some titles and affiliations are modified in this booklet.

International Research Forum: Religious Cultures in Asia: Mutual Transformations through Multiple Modernities

Room 06, AMC Building 5F, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo, Japan
2018.10.20(Sat.) 10:00-18:20

10:00-10:10 Opening Remarks

10:10-11:10 Keynote Lecture

Reinhard ZÖLLNER [University of Bonn, Germany] "*Eejanaika* and Religious Modernity in Japan"

11:15-12:15 Session 1: Japanese New Religions and Asia

Chair: HIRAFUJI Kikuko [Kokugakuin University, Japan]

1) MIURA Takashi [University of Arizona, U.S.A] "The Vision of Asia in Ōmoto's Ofudesaki" [Abstract, p. 1]
2) HUANG Yueh-Po [Academia Sinica, Taiwan] "The Inculturation of Tenrikyo in Postwar Taiwan" [Abstract, p. 3]

12:15-13:15 Lunch Break

13:30-14:45 Session 2: Japanese Nationalism and Imagined "Asia"

Chair: HOSHINO Seiji [Kokugakuin University, Japan]

1) David WEISS [Rikkyo University, Japan] "Founding Myths of the Japanese State: The Changing Perception of China and its Influence on Early Modern Japanese Identity" [Paper, p. 5]
2) SAITO Kota [Kokugakuin University, Japan] "The Transfiguration of Karagokoro: the Reception of the Mito School Thought by National Learning in the Meiji Period" [Abstract, p. 17]
3) NISHIDA Shoichi [JSPS, Japan] "Kakei Katsuhiko and his Manchurian Imprint" [Paper, p. 19]

14:55-16:25 Session 3: Various Focuses about Japanese Religions

Chair: SAKURAI Yoshihide [Hokkaido University, Japan]

1) TAKASE Kohei [University of Tokyo, Japan] “Monuments to Worship and Warfare: The Intricate Relationship between Religions and Modernities in Japanese Monuments” [Paper, p. 27]
2) Mateja ZABJEK [University of Tsukuba, Japan] “Reconsidering the Relationship between Japanese Martial arts and Religion: Case Study of Mt. Mitsumine and Kyokushin Karate” [Paper, p. 39]
3) NGUYEN Thu Hang [Hanoi University of Science, VNU] “The Worshipping of the Tu Di Gong in Japan: A Comparison with Vietnam” [Paper, p. 51]
   * Co-author LUU Thi Thu Thuy did not participate in the workshop.

16:40-18:10 Session 4: Contemporary Issues in Religious Cultures in Asia

Chair: SAKURAI Yoshihide [Hokkaido University, Japan]

1) ABE Satoshi [Nagasaki Univerisity, Japan] “Islamic Debates on the Environment: An Examination of Religious Rationales in Contemporary Iran” [Paper, p. 59]
2) NG Ka Shing [Nagasaki Univerisity, Japan] “When Japanese Buddhism and Chinese Folk Religion Meet in Hong Kong: Representation and Interpretation of Soka Gakkai in the Chinese Settings” [Paper, p. 65]
3) MOON Byeong-June [Seoul National University, South Korea] “Democratization of Science and Technology via Religion?: The Case of Won Buddhism and its Historical Periodization” [Paper, p. 77]

18:10-18:20 Concluding Remarks

Papers and Abstracts

The Vision of Asia in Ōmoto's *Ofudesaki*

[*abstract]

MIURA Takashi
[University of Arizona, U.S.A]

Abstract

This paper re-examines Ōmoto's *Ofudesaki* as a textual example of how a prominent religious movement in modern Japan conceptualized Japan's relationship to Asia and the world. Although the *Ofudesaki* has been primarily associated with the xenophobic attitude of the founder, Deguchi Nao, it dedicates a significant amount of space to discussing Japan's positionality in the world. This paper starts by analyzing the language associated with "foreign countries" in the *Ofudesaki*, with a particular focus on the ways in which "Asia" (or Asian countries) is delineated. The paper also considers how Deguchi Onisaburō built upon the *Ofudesaki* to articulate his own vision of world affairs. A main objective of this paper is to explore the doctrinal foundation of Ōmoto's seemingly contradictory attitude on the relationship between Japan and the world. On the one hand, there is a clear ethnocentric tendency in both the *Ofudesaki* and Onisaburō's writings; on the other hand, there are passages that emphasize spiritual egalitarianism among all peoples. The paper tentatively suggests that this tension was reconciled in part through Ōmoto's vision of Japan as the "spiritual caretaker" of the world, whose responsibility was to lead "foreign countries" and "Asia" back to the "righteous way of kami."

The Inculturation of Tenrikyo in Postwar Taiwan

[*abstract]

HUANG Yueh-Po
[Academia Sinica, Taiwan]

Abstract

This paper will explore how the religious practices of a Japanese new religious movement (known as Tenrikyo) have played a prominent part in the establishment and propagation of that religious organization in postwar Taiwan. The author will focus on the development of Tenrikyo in both urban and rural areas of Taiwan, in which Tenrikyo's local churches are established, and will ask the Tenrikyo adherents what has been done to propagate the movement and why. Since 1967, Tenrikyo has been officially undertaking missionary activities in Taiwan, dedicating itself to increasing the well-being of the Taiwanese populace through the promotion of religious teachings and practices such as *Mikagura-uta* (ritual performance or 'Songs for the Service'), *Sazuke* (ritual Healing or 'Divine Grant') and *Ojibagaeri* (pilgrimage or 'Return Home'). The author locates Tenrikyo's scheme within the framework of Taiwanese-Japanese relations in the postwar era. In addition, the author argues that certain of Tenrikyo's practices appeal to the Taiwanese mindset, empowering the political, social, and medical aspects of Taiwanese adherents. The author then advances to a more widely theoretical consideration by discussing how Tenrikyo's practices have become a force for enabling Taiwanese people to accommodate themselves to the changing world.

Founding Myths of the Japanese State: The Changing Perception of China and its Influence on Early Modern Japanese Identity

David WEISS
[Rikkyo University, Japan]

Abstract

This presentation will focus on two founding myths of the Japanese state and their reception in the early modern period. The first of these founding myths centres on the Chinese prince Wu Taibo, who, according to a theory that was especially popular among Neo-Confucian scholars in the early sixteenth century, fled to Japan and became the ancestor of the imperial family. This myth allowed Confucian scholars to demonstrate the early transmission of Confucianism to Japan and thus claim Japan's membership in the sphere of the Central Civilization. However, after the "barbarian" Manchus took over the Chinese throne, many Japanese scholars started to question China's aptness to serve as a civilizational model for Japan. Japanese Confucians argued that Japan was the only remaining custodian of the Way. For them, the Wu Taibo myth was no longer tenable, since they regarded the numerous dynastic changes in China's history as a sign of Chinese emperors' unworthiness. In the eighteenth century, scholars of National Learning went one step further in condemning Confucian learning in its entirety and constructing an idealized image of Japan's pre-Confucian past based on the ancient myths – most importantly, the emperor's descent from the sun goddess. After the Meiji Restoration, this ideological construct served to legitimize the new government and its policies. Thus, the changing perception of China played a central role in the formation of modern Japanese identity.

On 11 February 1940, during the official celebrations of the alleged 2600th anniversary of the founding of the Japanese state, Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro 近衛文麿 (1891–1945) opened his speech with the following words:

"When our Imperial founder [the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, progenitor of the imperial line] established the country, began Her rule and made Her grandchild reign over the Eight Provinces, She gave him a divine rescript and the Three Sacred Treasures […]. The Imperial reign thus established was handed down to the Emperor Jimmu, who greatly developed the founder's work, established the capital at Kashihara, came to the Throne and ruled over the entire realm with virtue. Since then, all succeeding emperors have inherited the divine rule, consolidated its foundation and added to the great Imperial plan straight down to the present – the 2,600th year." (Cited in Ruoff 2010, 16)

If one thinks of a founding myth of the Japanese state, the above narrative usually comes to mind. However, in this paper I want to contrast this founding myth with a competing narrative that was in vogue especially among Confucian scholars in early modern Japan, namely the myth of Wu Taibo 呉太伯. By analysing these two narratives and their reception in early modern Japan I will sketch the development of a modern national identity. I will place particular emphasis on the role that changing perceptions of China played in this process.

Myth and Collective Identity: Some Theoretical Reflections

In this paper I view early modern and modern Japanese national identity through the lens of founding myths. Therefore, some remarks on the political function of myth and its relationship to the formation and maintenance of collective identity seem in order. Alan Dundes (1996, 147) defines a myth as "a sacred narrative explaining how the world and mankind came to be in their present form." As Bronislaw Malinowski (1926, 91) realized, myth "as a primeval reality which still lives in present-day life" offers a "justification by precedent" of the status quo. Myths, therefore "always have to be retold from the point of view of the present" in order to remain relevant (Bottici 2007, 129). Drawing on Karl Kerényi's insights, Chiara Bottici (2007, 123) argues that myths "tell what the origins of things are, and, thus, at the same time, where they are going. They provide a 'ground' but they do so by answering the question 'whence?' rather than 'why'." Thus, in a very real sense, myths provide foundations – in the context of the present paper, foundations of the Japanese state. However, these foundations also imply appropriate behaviour in the present. Myths "always state a precedent which constitutes an ideal and a warrant for its continuance" (Malinowski 1926, 33).

It thus signifies a major difference of a group's self-identity whether it seeks its origin in a Confucian founding myth from the continent or in a native myth that is not directly related to the wider outside world. As Jan Assmann (1999, 142) has pointed out, "Myths are concerned with identity, they provide answers to the questions of who 'we' are, where 'we' come from, and where 'we' are situated within the cosmos. They preserve the sacred traditions on which a group grounds

the awareness of its unity and uniqueness." It is a truism that "[s]omething is only the same if it distinguishes itself as other from others" (Waldenfels 2011, 72). This points to the importance of significant others for the formation of any group identity. In early modern Japan, the most significant other was clearly China. Although the Tokugawa bakufu 徳川幕府 (1603–1868) did not maintain diplomatic relations with the Ming 明 (1368–1644) or the Qing 清 (1644–1911), the teachings of Neo-Confucianism and the concept of Chinese civilization that represented their historical and cultural backdrop entered Japan via Chosŏn 朝鮮 Korea (1392–1897) in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century (Ha 2015, 323–30; Kang 1997, 2–3; Tucker 2013, 189–93). Chosŏn Korea regarded itself as a Neo-Confucian model state and attached great importance to its tributary relations with the Ming (Han 2015; Lee 2015, 128–29; Yamauchi 2003, 8–10). It is therefore unsurprising that early Japanese Neo-Confucians chose China rather than Korea as a civilizational model worth emulating (Harootunian 1980; Jansen 1992).

The Myth of Wu Taibo and its Reception in Japan

Wu Taibo is mentioned in several ancient Chinese texts as the uncle of King Wen 文, the founder of the Zhou 周 dynasty (c. 1046–256 BCE). Although he was the eldest son, when he realized that his father wanted his younger brother to succeed him, he gave up his legitimate rights of succession and fled to the south. There he adopted the customs of the southern barbarians, who realized his noble nature and made him their king. Confucius highly praised Taibo's conduct as an exemplar of virtuous action. Several dynastic chronicles dating from the Tang 唐 period (618–907) state that the Japanese regarded themselves as descendants of Wu Taibo (Hudson 1999, 25–27; Watanabe 2012, 279; Nakai 1980, 188).

In Japan, the Zen priest Chūgan Engetsu 中巖円月 (1300–1375) took up this theory of the imperial family's origin when he wrote a national history in the fourteenth century. However, from the fact that he had to burn his treatise by imperial order, we can infer the unacceptability of the theory at the time (Kracht 1986, 140, n. 151). It was only in the seventeenth century that a number of leading Confucian scholars advocated the Wu Taibo theory in order to demonstrate Japan's parity with or even superiority to China in following the Confucian Way (cf. Nakai 1980, 188–91).

Seventeenth Century: Wu Taibo as the Sage who Conveyed the Confucian Way to Japan

The most prominent proponent of the Wu Taibo thesis is probably Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657), one of the pioneers of Neo-Confucian learning in Japan who served as tutor and advisor to the first four Tokugawa shoguns. In his *Jinmu tennō ron* 神武天皇論 or "Thoughts on Jinmu Tennō", written in 1618, he approvingly takes up Engetsu's theory. Razan attempted to reconcile the myth of Wu Taibo with the official myth-history of the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720). For instance, he argues that a descendant of Taibo had arrived in Kyūshū where the local people regarded him as a deity – thus the myth of the heavenly descent of the sun goddess's grandchild as related in the Japanese chronicle was born (Hayashi 1930, 280; cf. Bary, Keene, and Tsunoda 1964, 349–50). Enthusiastically, he concludes:

"the Ji 姬 prince [= Wu Taibo] and his descendants, having already held sway for a hundred generations in succession, will continue their reign for ten thousand generations to come. Is it not glorious? [In China,] the once-powerful Wu 呉 state [11th century–473 BCE] may have been overcome by the Yue 越, but their reign in our country is coeval with heaven and earth. I am therefore more and more inclined to believe in the sovereign virtue of Taibo. If Engetsu could come back to life, I would like to ask him what he thought of this." (Hayashi 1930, 281)

He goes on to provide a Neo-Confucian interpretation of the Three Imperial Regalia, the mirror, the jewel, and the sword, which, he believed, had been brought to Japan by Taibo's descendant. According to Razan, the regalia were manifestations of the three cardinal virtues of the sage enlisted in the Confucian classic *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸), namely wisdom (*zhi* 智), benevolence (*ren* 仁), and courage (*yong* 勇) (Hayashi 1930, 281; Bary, Keene, and Tsunoda 1964, 350–51; Bowring 2017, 66–67). Despite his thinly veiled enthusiasm for Engetsu's theory, Razan was more circumspect than the Zen monk had been. At the end of his treatise he emphasizes that this is nothing more than his personal opinion, which he would never dare to put forward in an official document (Hayashi 1930, 282; Nakai 1980, 192–93).

Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619–1691), another Neo-Cofucian scholar and contemporary of Razan, mentions the Wu Taibo theory in his *Miwa monogatari* 三輪物語, a work written in the form of a conversation between individuals of differing background. One of the speakers in this book argues that the sun goddess mentioned in the Japanese myths was in fact Taibo. Before Taibo's arrival, the speaker claims, the inhabitants of Japan had lived in a state of savagery, lacking agriculture and all forms of civilized life. When Taibo arrived from China, he instructed the people in these arts, who were thus able to achieve a higher level of civilization than any other barbarian state. For this reason, the people started to revere him as a god (Nakai 1980, 190; McNally 2016, 164).

In order to understand why these scholars were so eager to trace back Japanese culture and the imperial family to a Chinese origin, we have to take the sinocentric ideology of *hua-yi* 華夷 into consideration, which regarded China as the Central Civilization surrounded on all sides by barbarians. This ideology was known in Japan from an earlier date, but with the introduction of Neo-Confucian teachings in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century it became a central component in discourses about Japan's position in the world. Subsequently Neo-Confucian scholars started to measure their own culture according to Confucian standards and advised their lords to follow Chinese examples as expounded in the Confucian classics in order to become sage rulers.

The Civilized-Barbarian Paradigm

In ancient China, the distinction between barbarians and (Chinese) civilization can be traced to pre-imperial times. Ancient texts clearly depict a sense of superiority that the dwellers of the Central States (*zhongguo* 中国) felt with regard to the "barbarians of the four corners" (*si yi* 四夷). Since Chinese often referred to themselves as *zhonghua* 中華 or the Central Flowering, this

paradigm is often described as the *hua-yi* dichotomy. The term *zhongguo* first appeared in oracle bone inscriptions dating from the Shang 商 period (c. 16th century–c.1046 BCE). In the earliest texts, the term mainly referred to the territory ruled by the legendary Xia 夏 people and their allies. Even before the unification of the Quin 秦 (221–206 BCE) and Han 漢 (202 BCE–220 CE) dynasties, this concept evolved gradually and in the Confucian classics came to comprise three different aspects, namely a geographical, a political, and a cultural aspect. Geographically, the term referred to China and its position at the centre of the world, surrounded by peripheral states. Politically, it referred to China as the area under direct imperial jurisdiction. Culturally, *zhongguo* denoted the civilized world. People living outside this sphere were regarded as southern, eastern, western, or northern barbarians (*man* 蛮, *yi* 夷, *zon* 戎, and *di* 狄). The term thus claimed geographical, political, and cultural centrality for China (Huang 2007, 408–405).

It was the cultural dimension that became more and more emphasized. In early Chinese texts, the barbarian peoples inhabiting the regions bordering on China were described as barely human. Their manner of living was frequently compared to that of beasts. However, as Yuri Pines (2005, 62) has demonstrated, being a civilized person in pre-Qin texts did not refer to ethnicity or race but rather to the adherence to the common ritual norms of the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BCE). In other words, behavioural patterns decided over whether or not a person belonged to the Central Civilization. Pines (2005, 74) draws attention to an important aspect of the *hua-yi* dichotomy that was to become central in Korean and Japanese discourses in the seventeenth century, namely "the idea of the transformability of savageness into civilized behaviour." In other words, barbarians were able "to 'upgrade' their status by emulating the ritually correct behaviour of the Chinese." (Ibid.)

It was Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), one of the most influential Confucian scholars of the Song 宋 period (960–1279), who reformulated the *hua-yi* distinction along ethnic lines during the twelfth century. For him, the Han Chinese were inherently superior to barbarian peoples. He believed it impossible for barbarians to become civilized and therefore supported a confrontational course against the peoples at China's northern border, who threatened to conquer the Middle Kingdom. However, in the late thirteenth century, the Mongols succeeded in conquering China and establishing the Yuan 元 dynasty (1271–1368). Thus, Zhu Xi's Han sinocentric ideology only came into its own in the succeeding Ming period. During this period, the concepts of *zhongguo* and *zhonghua* came to be linked to Han ethnocentrism (Lee 2015, 121).

Neo-Confucians in Japan, unsurprisingly, adopted the older view of the *hua-yi* relationship and utilized the Wu Taibo myth to argue that the Confucian Way had reached Japan in an early historical period and transformed it from a barbarian state to a Confucian state on a par with China.

The conviction that China represented the civilizational model which other cultures should follow was questioned, once and for all, in the mid-seventeenth century, when the Qing, who, according to the traditional Confucian worldview, belonged to the category of northern barbarians, managed to usurp the throne in China. After this political development, scholars emerged in both Japan and Korea who claimed the status of Central Civilization for their own country (McNally

2016, 151–52, 167–70). The Confucian standards for measuring culture were by then internalized to such an extent that they were basically beyond questioning. Japanese and Korean scholars rather challenged the idea that the China of the day could still serve as an exemplar for the fulfilment of these standards.

Yamaga Sokō: Japan as Central Civilization

In Japan, this stance can be observed in the work of Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622–1685), who claimed the position of Central Civilization for his own country. As a proponent of Ancient Learning (*kogaku* 古学), Sokō was highly critical of Neo-Confucian teachings, which in his opinion misrepresented the Confucian classics and were not applicable to everyday matters. He argued that the way of the sages had been lost in China and one had to read the ancient classics rather than Zhu Xi's commentaries thereof in order to understand the Way. These controversial views led to Sokō's exile from Edo in 1666 (Leinss 1989, 4–5, 8).

During his ten years in exile, Sokō wrote his most famous work, *Chūchō jijitsu* 中朝事実 (True Facts about the Central Court). From this time on, he consistently referred to Japan as Central Flowering (*chūka* 中華), Central Realm (*chūgoku* 中国), or Central Court (*chūchō* 中朝) (Earl 1964, 38–40; McNally 2016, 159–60). Sokō bases his argument for Japanese superiority on the aforementioned three Confucian virtues of wisdom, benevolence, and courage. Through a historical analysis he tries to demonstrate that only Japan fulfils all three conditions. He argues that it was due to the Japanese emperors' *benevolence* that there had never been a dynastic change in Japanese history, whereas Chinese and Korean history were characterized by incessant internal strife. The establishment and preservation of government and administration as well as the regulation of the lives of the populace, according to Sokō, was proof of the superior *wisdom* of Japanese rulers. With regard to *courage*, Sokō emphasizes that Japan's martial valour was unequalled since – in contrast to China and Korea – it had never been conquered by another state, and in antiquity had even conquered Korea and turned it into a vassal state.[1] For Sokō, Ming's defeat at the hands of the Qing clearly showed its unworthiness (Earl 1964, 44–51; Uenaka 1977, 147–48; Bowring 2017, 120; Jansen 1992, 79–80; McNally 2016, 158; Harootunian 1980, 14–16; Toby 1984, 222–26). Like Razan, he saw the three cardinal virtues symbolized in the imperial regalia: "The jewel represents the virtue of warm benevolence; the mirror represents supreme wisdom; the sword represents decisive courage. What they symbolize and give form to, is in each case the sincerity and virtue of the heavenly gods." (Yamaga 1940, 253).

However, in contrast to Razan, Sokō was highly critical of the Taibo thesis. He reaffirmed the imperial family's descent from the sun goddess as related in the ancient Japanese sources and went

[1] This refers to Empress Jingū's 神功 legendary conquest of the Korean peninsula and the alleged establishment of a Japanese colony with the name Mimana in southern Korea. The historicity of both events, which are mentioned in the *Kojiki*, the *Nihon shoki*, and the fifth-century Kwanggaet'o 廣開土 stele, is contested. Cf. Batten 1986, 212–13; Mohan 2004; Pai 2000, 26–27, 431.

so far as to question Taibo's virtue, by arguing that by fleeing to the south Taibo had deserted his home country. "How can this be seen as the way of humanity? To not only not understand this but through forced analogies declare one's own country to be that of another is the act of a traitor, a rebellious child." (Yamaga 1940, 366)

Some of Sokō's points, especially the emphasis he placed on Japan's uninterrupted imperial dynasty and its military prowess were taken up by proponents of various schools of learning in the latter half of the Tokugawa period, such as National Learning (*kokugaku* 国学) and the Mito school (*Mitogaku* 水戸学). Arano Yasunori (1988, x) described this line of reasoning as a "Japanese-style civilized/barbarian consciousness" (*Nihon-gata kai ishiki* 日本型華夷意識) that stressed military prestige and the presence of the emperor as criteria for Japan's cultural superiority In this regard, Sokō can be seen as a precursor of the modern Tennō 天皇 ideology.

Kokugaku and *Mitogaku*

Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801), one of the pioneers of National Learning, went one step further than Sokō insofar as he did not only criticize contemporary China but even the China of the Age of the Sages. He bemoaned the detrimental effect the introduction of Confucianism and Buddhism from China allegedly had on Japanese culture. For him a civilizational model worth emulating could only be found in the pre-sinicized Japan depicted in the oldest chronicles, especially the *Kojiki* 古事記 (712). The emperor, "as a successor and representative of the sun goddess Amaterasu", played a central role in Norinaga's thought (Antoni 2016, 133). His self-declared disciple Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843) extended the idea of the imperial family's divinity to the Japanese people as a whole and thus layed the foundation for both the family state ideology and the concept of Japan as a divine country (ibid., 151). *Kokugaku* scholars thus succeeded in expressing Japanese cultural superiority without taking recourse to the Confucian *hua-yi* dichotomy.

It was a Confucian scholar, however, who formulated a concrete proposal for the political implementation of this Tennō-centred ideology. In his famous *New Theses* (*Shinron* 新論) of 1825, Aizawa Seishisai 会沢正志斎 (1782–1863), arguably the most influential proponent of *Mitogaku*, argued: "When the people are taught simply to revere Amaterasu and Her Divine Imperial Line, their allegiances are undivided and they are blind to all heresies." (Wakabayashi 1986, 158; cf. Aizawa 1941, 13) Beneath this statement lies the idea of the unity of ritual and government. Faced with repeated Western encroachments into Japanese waters and internal disorder, the most pressing issue for Aizawa was to create spiritual unity among the Japanese populace. The symbol of this unity and the subject of people's loyalty, he believed, could only be the sun goddess and her representative, the Japanese emperor. Thus, he writes in a passage strikingly similar to the speech Konoe was to give more than a century later: "Our Divine Realm is where the sun emerges. […] Our Emperors, descendents of the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, have acceded to the Imperial Throne in each and every generation, a unique fact that will never change. Our Divine Realm rightly constitutes the head and shoulders of the world and controls all nations." (Wakabayashi 1986, 149; cf. Aizawa 1941, 2) It is even more interesting,

how this passage continues: “It is only proper that our Divine Realm illuminates the entire universe and that our dynasty’s sphere of moral suasion (*kōka* 皇化) knows no bounds.” (Ibid.) “Moral suasion” is an important concept in the Chinese *hua-yi* dichotomy. It refers to the civilizing effect the Central Flowering is supposed to exert on barbarians that come into contact with it (Ha 2008, 25–26). Apart from the name Divine Realm (*shinshū* 神州), Aizawa also uses the term *chūgoku*, that is Central Realm, to refer to Japan. His work thus presents a synthesis of *kokugaku* thought and Confucianism. It goes without saying that Aizawa’s call for *jōi* 攘夷, “expelling the barbarians” also has its foundation in the Confucian *hua-yi* dichotomy (Kang 1997, 191–92; Wakabayashi 1986, 8–11).

The Opium War and World Renewal

As shown above, the Manchu overthrow of the Ming presented a turning point in Japanese Confucians’ perception of China. One would expect that the Opium War of 1839 to 1842 had a similar effect. This does not seem to be the case, however. Japanese intellectuals could have interpreted China’s defeat as proof that Japan was indeed the only country worthy of the title “Central Civilization”. Instead most Bakumatsu 幕末 thinkers feared that the same fate would await Japan if it did not succeed in reforming its government and national defence (McNally 2016, 92; Wakabayashi 1992, 1; Masuda 1990a, 37, 1990b). Implicit in this way of thinking was a sense of cultural commonality with China in the face of Western imperialism. While some Japanese scholars called for a colonization of China and other Asian countries, others proposed a cooperation with China in order to drive the Westerners out of East Asia (Kim 1980, 78–100). As a rule, scholars during this period were preoccupied with practical questions of political and military reform and devoted little time to discussions of historical matters or founding myths.

The general population – at least in the big cities – of Japan was rather well informed about the events of the Opium War. A number of popular novels and plays addressed the topic and conveyed a reasonably realistic impression of the scope of China’s defeat (Masuda 1990b; Wakabayashi 1992). In all likelihood, the news from the continent added to the diffuse sense of crisis that engulfed Japan in the Bakumatsu period. As is well known, this sense of crisis engendered popular calls for *yonaoshi* 世直し, that is world renewal. In a recent study, Chiba Kei (2011, 42–56) has shown that most of the popular movements associated with *yonaoshi* used Amaterasu as their figurehead. The forces that brought down the Tokugawa bakufu did not lose any time in monopolizing this political symbol in order to legitimize their own political agenda. Already in the decisive battle of Toba-Fushimi in January 1868, the troops of Satsuma and Chōshū carried banners showing a golden sun or Amaterasu’s name (Zöllner 2013, 181–82); and in the spring of the same year, the fledgling Meiji 明治 government started drawing up public notices that explained the emperor’s link to the sun goddess (Fujitani 1996, 10). Chiba (2011, 13–14, 57–61) convincingly argues that the Meiji oligarchs consciously embraced Amaterasu and emphasized her relationship to the emperor in order to create a direct link between the emperor and the populace. We have seen the most elaborated form of this state ideology in Konoe’s speech quoted at the outset of this paper.

Concluding Remarks

Let me come to my conclusion. The changing reception of the Wu Taibo myth in Japan can only be understood in the context of an emerging cultural identity. In the early seventeenth century the discourse was dominated by Neo-Confucian scholars who accepted the sinocentric *hua-yi* dichotomy rather uncritically. They argued that Japan was the most advanced non-Chinese state. However, they did not question China's cultural centrality; they accepted that China was the homeland of the Confucian Way and that Japan had received this teaching at a later date. The theory of the Japanese imperial family's descent from Wu Taibo played a critical role in their endeavours to depict Japan as a part of the Central Civilization represented by China.

After the Qing takeover, however, scholars like Sokō argued that China could no longer serve as a civilizational model for Japan. For him, Japan was now the only remaining custodian of the Confucian way and should thus be called the Central Flowering. While acknowledging the validity of the Confucian classics and their Chinese origin, he depicted China's history as one of decline. For him, the Neo-Confucian teachings were proof that the Chinese no longer understood the ancient classics. Only the ancient China depicted in these classics could serve as a model for Japan. He was especially critical of the many dynastic changes in Chinese history and thus preferred an imperial genealogy that was not connected to China. At this point, the myth of Wu Taibo stopped playing a useful role in the construction of a Japanese collective identity. However, like Razan and other early Neo-Confucians, Sokō was convinced that the level of a civilization could only be measured according to Confucian standards.

Motoori Norinaga and other scholars of National Learning, in contrast, rejected the validity of Confucianism as such and bemoaned its corrupting influence on Japan. For them, a model for Japan's future could only be found in the ancient *Japanese* sources. In their view, all Chinese influence on Japanese culture had to be eradicated. Amaterasu, the progenitor of the imperial line, played a central role in their conception of Japan.

Finally, the Mito scholar Aizawa Seishisai succeeded in synthesizing *kokugaku* and Confucian thought and was thus able to make the exaltation of Amaterasu as the central symbol of the Japanese state acceptable to Confucian scholars as well. The fledgling Meiji government did not lose any time to utilize this potent political symbol to legitimize its rule and to establish a link between the imperial institution and the common people, who had chosen Amaterasu as the figurehead in their uprisings for world renewal during the Bakumatsu period. Konoe's speech quoted at the outset of this paper attests to the success of their strategy.

With China's defeat in the Opium War and the arrival of Commodore Perry's (1794–1858) "Black Ships" in Edo Bay, the West replaced China as Japan's civilizational model and significant other. This new constellation is most clearly expressed in the catchphrase *Wakon Yōsai* 和魂洋才 (Japanese Spirit and Western Learning), that was coined in the Meiji period to allay fears of a hollowing out of Japanese identity through excessive emulation of Western models. This term is in fact an adaptation of the older slogan *Wakon Kansai* 和魂漢才 (Japanese Spirit and Chinese Learning), which had from the late Edo period on been employed by followers of the Hirata School of National Learning to counter

what they saw as the excessive Sinification of Japanese culture (Hirakawa 1971, 33–36; Katō 1987, 387–92, 426–37). The two slogans thus not only reveal Japan's cultural reorientation away from Asia and toward Europe that started in the mid-nineteenth century, they also express Japanese thinkers' heightened awareness and veneration of their own culture. As this paper attempted to show, this process ran parallel to a devaluation of the once admired Chinese civilization.

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The Transfiguration of Karagokoro: the Reception of the Mito School Thought by National Learning in the Meiji Period

[*abstract]

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Abstract

It is well known that Motoori Norinaga, one of the most famous National Learning (Kokugaku) scholar in the Tokugawa period, criticized idealistic and moralistic thoughts, specifically Confucianism, as evil foreign mind, "karagokoro," while admiring native pure mind in Japan, "yamatogokoro." On the other hand, thinkers of the late Mito school criticized Norinaga for overstepping philology of classics with his theological thought and emphasized Confucianistic ethics derived from Japanese classics. However, National learning scholars in the Hirata school accepted the Mito school thought afterwards. Especially after Meiji restoration, National Learning scholars in the Meiji period adopted the thought explicitly. Religion policy at that time and other factors were related to that change.

In this presentation, I will take some examples of the reception of the Mito school thought by National Learning in the Meiji period, such as interpretations of Kokutai theory in "Seventeen Principles" (jū-shichi kendai) and the works of Ikebe (Konakamura) Yoshikata. After that, I will examine the reason why the evaluation of Confucianistic thought changed, in National Learning based on the historical context in the Meiji period.

Kakei Katsuhiko and his Manchurian Imprint

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Abstract

Kakei Katsuhiko 筧克彦 was well-known for his advocacy of a unique Shinto philosophy and had a considerable influence on colonial government officials and agricultural emigration leaders. In spite of his substantial influence, there have been no specific researches on the effect he had on Japanese colonies. The present study aims to review and analyze Kakei's activities in Japanese colonies with special focus on those in Manchuria.

He served the Kenkoku Daigaku 建国大学 (National Foundation University) in Manchuria as a founding committee member. And He also delivered lectures to Puyi 溥儀 who was the Emperor of Manchukuo 満洲国. He believed emigrants from the Japanese mainland should play an important role in conveying Japanese spirit to Manchuria.

Kakei's chief contribution to the colonies appears to have been the establishment of an intellectual framework for elites from the Japanese mainland. However, he failed to produce the results expected of him in Manchukuo. Although he was a founding member of the Kenkoku Daigaku, his ideas were ultimately rejected by Japanese government officials in Manchukuo. Also, his lectures in the presence of Puyi were totally unacceptable to the Manchurians as Kakehi outspokenly defined Manchukuo as a subordinate country under the rule of the Japanese Emperor.

1. About Kakei Katsuhiko

Here I focus on the legal scholar Kakei Katsuhiko 筧克彦 (1872-1961), who had a profound impact on prewar Japanese society, and his activities in Manchuria. Kakei was a professor specializing in jurisprudence, administrative law, and constitutional law at the Faculty of Law of Tokyo Imperial University. He is known today for advocating unique theories like "Ancient Shintō" 古神道（*Ko Shintō*）and the "Way of the Gods" 神ながらの道（*Kannagara no Michi*), which he developed by combining Shintō ideas with jurisprudence.

Kakei was a colleague of Minobe Tatsukichi 美濃部達吉 and Uesugi Shinkichi 上杉慎吉, both of whom are well known for their roles in envisioning the emperor as an "organ of the state." However, unlike them, Kakei was not considered a respectable scholar in prewar and postwar Japan.[1] For one thing, his theories were "unorthodox" and for another he sought to popularize his ideas by such bizarre actions as clapping his hands during lectures as if worshipping at a Shintō shrine; he also performed an eccentric kind of gymnastics, which he called *yamatobataraki*.

Nonethless, Kakei was involved in Japan's imperial expansion in the prewar period. He believed that, for Japan to continue to grow, it would not do to establish a legal system in imitation of the West as had been the case before, but it must practice law rooted in the native spirit of Japan. Kakei maintained that thte Japanese state needed an ideological policy which it could assert internationally. His concepts of "Ancient Shintō" and the "Way of the Gods" were the results this thinking.

These concepts were ignored by academia, but they earned him the support of the political elite: the imperial family, the aristocracy, high-ranking government officials, and leaders promoting agricultural fundamentalism. Particularly, Empress Teimei 貞明皇后, who was the consort of Emperor Taishō 大正天皇 and mother of the Shōwa Emperor 昭和天皇, was a great admirer of Kakei. It was due to the empress's efforts that the court lectures which Kakei delivered to her were published by the Bureau of Shrine Affairs of the Home Ministry under the title *Way of the Gods* (*Kannagara no Michi*).[2] Kakei also exerted influence on the prewar Japanese colonies through Katō Kanji 加藤完治 and other leaders of the farm education movement.[3]

It is thus evident that in prewar Japan many people admired Kakei. This of course is why I set out here to explore his thoughts and activities, without succumbing to the earlier trap of labeling him as a fanatic.

2. Kakei and his relationship with Empress Teimei

First of all, Kakei owed such influence as he had over Japanese society to the support of Empress Teimei. In 1924, the Empress invited him to give court lectures on the "Way of the Gods." He earned the empress's trust, becoming acquainted with her through these lectures. Kakei's lectures

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1 Watanabe Hachirō. (1962) "Kakei Sensei to Watashi". *Watanabe Hachirō Sensei Ihō Roku.* Watanabe Hachirō Sensei Ihō Roku Kankō Kai, 1975, p.490.

2 Kakei Katsuhiko, *Kaminagara no Michi*. Naimushō Jinja Kyoku, 1926.

3 Katō Kanji. (1967) "Watashi no Ayunde Kita Michi(Vol.2)." *Gakushi Kaihō.* Vol. 645, p.24.

included themes from the Japanese myths that featured in the *Records of Ancient Matters* 古事記: *Kojiki*, the *Chronicles of Japan* 日本書紀: *Nihonshōki*, and Shintō prayers 祝詞: *norito*. Records preserved in the Imperial Household Library indicates that the empress consulted Kakei about such matters as the emperor's death and her relationship with the four princes, which she could not easily discuss with the Imperial Court retainers given her position at court[4]. Thanks to Kakei's emotional support for the empress, the latter trusted and supported Kakei in later years.

3. *Yamatobataraki* and Katō Kanji.

Kakei's Yamatobataraki had as its goal spiritual training. It was a form of gymnastics, which involved thorough reiteration and verbal recitation of inspiring moments from the Japanese myths including the myth of the creation of the land 国産み: *kuni-umi*, the myth of the celestial rock cave 天岩戸: *ama-no-iwato*, and the descent of the grandson of the Sun-Goddess 天孫降臨: t*en-son-kōrin*)[5]. *Yamatobataraki* was a type of exercise intended to nurture the spirit of citizens, which might then be channeled for the development and expansion of Japan. During the Taishō period (1912–1926), *yamatobataraki* 皇国運動/日本体操 was even performed in the imperial palace under Empress Teimei's initiative.

Furthermore, during the 1930s, agrarian leader Katō Kanji, a former student of Kakei, introduced *yamatobataraki* into his farm education programs[6]. It was practiced at agricultural training facilities where the influence of Katō was powerful. They included the Yamagata Kenritsu Jichi Kōshūjo山形県立自治講習所 (Yamagata Prefecture Municipal Training School) , Nihon Kokumin Kotōgakkō日本国民高等学校 (Japan People's High School), Manmō Kaitaku Giyūgun Uchihara Kunrensho満蒙青少年開拓義勇軍移民内原訓練所 (Uchihara Training Center for Volunteer Youth Corps for Pioneering Manchuria and Mongolia), and the Aichi Kenritsu Nōrin Gakkō愛知県立農林学校 (Aichi Prefectural Agricultural School)[7]. Many graduates of these institutes later migrated and lived in the colonies as agricultural settlers[8]. They continued practicing *yamatobataraki* in the colonies far away from its place of origin in Japan. Thus, Kakei's ideology was disseminated among the agricultural settlers in the colonies.

4. Kakei's view of Manchuria

Of all Japan's numerous colonies, Manchuria was particularly impacted by Kakei's ideologies.

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[4] Kakei Katsuhiko, "Gokamon Oboe." *Kannagara no Michi Goshinkō Hiwari.* Empress Teimei Jitsuroku Hensan Shiryō, No. 79961, p.3.

[5] Kakei Katsuhiko, *Yamatobataraki*. Shunyōdō, 1929.

[6] Yano Ichiro, "Yamagata-Ken Jichi Kōshūjo Gairan." *Hokuō Denmark Monogatar*. Nihon Seinenkan, 1924, pp.47-48.

[7] Nakamichi Goichi. (2014) *"Kakei Katuhiko 'Yamatobataraki' no Riron to Jissen"* Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō Vol.51.

[8] Sagai Takeru, *Manshū no Jinja Kōbōshi*. Huyōdō Shuppan, 1998, p.141.

He served as one of the founding committee members of the National Foundation University 建国大学: Kenkoku University of Manchuria, and delivered lectures to Emperor Puyi 溥儀 of Manchukuo. Here, I will briefly discuss his views of Manchuria, his activities as the founding member of the National Foundation University, and the details of his lectures to Emperor Puyi.

First of all, Kakei himself did not have a good impression of Manchuria[9]. As reflected in the waka poems that he composed during his Manchurian trip, he deplored the fact that Manchuria was a mere imitation of Japan[10]. Despite the fact that the second Sino-Japanese War had already begun when Kakei visited, his view was that this was merely an insurrection triggered by some bandits[11].

At the same time, Kakei had a good opinion of the Japanese settlers in Manchuria[12]. He composed inspiring waka poems and delivered encouraging talks during his visit to settlers' towns. Kakei called upon the settlers to nurture their Japanese spirit and help spread it the better to enlighten the backward people of Manchuria[13].

Thus, while Kakei exhorted the settlers, he was silent about the expropriation of the native people's lands in the so called Manchurian development project. He also didn't refer to the suffering of the settlers who worked hard in this harsh foreign land. He did no more than simply praise the settlers' success[14].

5. Kakei's role at the National Foundation University

In 1937, there was a proposal to establish National Foundation University (Kenkoku University). The university would serve as the main education and research center of the Manchuko state. Kakei was invited to Manchuria as a founding committee member of the university. He was one among the four scholars who joined from Japan. (The others were Nishi Shinichirō 西晋一郎, Hiraizumi Kiyoshi 平泉澄, and Sakuda Shōichi 作田荘一). Kakei argued at the committee meeting that the university should be placed directly under Japanese imperial authority[15]. However, leaders of the Kwangtung Army—who represented the Manchukuo state—opposed this proposal, which resulted in its rejection[16].

Moreover, according to the National Foundation University's yearbook, Kakei had no direct

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9 Kakei Katsuhiko. (1930) "Kokutai Seishin to Taiwan". *Kōgakukai Zasshi Kannagara.* Vol.3, No.4, p.41. In 1937, Kakei went to Manchuria with his son in law, Masaki Yoshihide. Refer Kakei Katsuhiko. (1937) "Manshu Kō". *Kōgakukai Zasshi Kannagara.* Vol.10, No.8, pp.22-23.

10 Kakei Katsuhiko. (1937) "Manshu Kō. *Kōgakukai Zasshi Kannagara.* Vol.10, No.8.

11 Ibid. p.3.

12 Kakei Katsuhiko. (1932) "Kokumin Kōtō Gakkō Seito wo Manshu he Okuru no Ji." *Kōgakukai Zasshi Kannagara.* Vol.5, No.9. pp. 78-79.

13 Ibid. p.21.

14 Kakei "Manshū Kō". p.21.

15 Toji Manzō, ed., Kenkoku Daigaku Nenpyō. Kenkoku Daigaku Dōsokai, 1981, p.43.

16 Ibid. pp.43-45.

involvement in the university operations after its foundation. Most of the university professors were students of other founding members, while only one of Kakei's students, Aomoto Toshihiko 青本敏彦 served there as professor[17]. Even so, Aomoto held an administrative position unrelated to research or education[18]. Despite being one of the founding members, Kakei was unable to play a central role in the National Foundation University's operations.

Kakei was on the founding committee of the National Foundation University, but the university authorities wanted nothing more than his title as a conservative Tokyo Imperial University's Professor Emeritus. So he did nothing more than embellish the founding of the university. Also, Kakei's student was merely an employee of the university administration, and was unable to exercise much influence over its education and research activities.

6. Court lectures to Puyi

In 1944, Kakei was asked to give court lectures to Emperor Puyi of Manchukuo. Between 20 June and 25 July, Kakei delivered twenty sessions of lectures at the imperial palace situated at the Manchukuo capital city of Shinkyō.[19] These court lectures, titled *The Great Way of the Gods* 惟神大道: *Kannagara no Daidō* can be thought of as broadly divided into four parts. In the first to the third lectures, Kakei outlined the Way of the Gods, emphasizing the concept of "life."[20] Here he argued that the concept of the Way of the Gods transcends the self and expresses the life of the state and the entire world.[21]

In the fourth to the fifteenth lectures, Kakei discussed the superiority of the Japanese myths as recorded in *Records of Ancient Matters* and *Chronicles of Japan*, and of the gods which appeared in these myths[22]. In these lectures, he repeatedly stressed that the gods appearing in these myths were endowed with "life which naturally creates itself," and that this displayed a "root-and-branch relationship" order between the gods. The concept of life and the order of gods with the ancestral god Amaterasu at the top repeatedly appeared in Kakei's court lectures.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth lectures, Kakei tackled actual problems and explained how the myths from the *Records of Ancient Matters* and *Chronicles of Japan* were the very base on which the imperial family and the constitution were established. He asserted for example that Article 1 through 4 of the Meiji Constitution which, for example, specified rule by an unbroken line of emperors, succession to the imperial throne through the male line, divinity of the emperor, sovereignty

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17 Yamane Yukio, *Kenkoku Daigaku no Kenkyū.* Kyūko Shoin, 2003, p.156.

18 Ibid. p.240.

19 Kakei Katsuhiko. (1944) *Kannagara no Michi Goshinkō Sokkiroku*. Vol.1, beginning of a book.

20 Kakei Katsuhiko. (2003.11) "Kannagara no Daidō (Vol.1)." *Yaegaki* Vol.7, p.5.

21 Ibid. p.6.

22 Kakei Katsuhiko. (2005.11) "Kannagara no Daidō (Vol.9)". *Yaegaki* Vol.15, p.6. Kakei Katsuhiko. (2004.11) "Kannagara no Daidō (Vol.3)." *Yaegaki* Vol.10, pp.6-7.

of the emperor, and obedience to the constitution, could never be altered at any time in the future[23].

Finally, from the eighteenth to the twentieth lectures, he insisted that as a religion, the Way of the Gods was superior to all other religions.[24] The Way of the Gods was an exemplary religion that prioritized relations with the state. He stressed that the people of Japan were striving to improve actual living conditions, through the force of a creed which sought to contribute to and achieve the ideals of the state.

7. Concept of The Whole World under One Roof 八紘一宇: *Hakkō ichiu* and the Japan–Manchukuo relationship

There were two noteworthy points in *The Great Way of the Gods*. The first was the concept of "The Whole World under One Roof" (*Hakkō ichiu*), and the second was the relationship between Japan and Manchukuo. Kakei cited the former as a justification the Pacific War. Kakei stressed that the concept of "Whole World under One Roof" was a process of natural manifestation of the essence inherent in the Japanese state, and was not the grounds for mutual conflict[25]. He claimed that the war was caused due the West's lack of understanding of Japan's true intentions. According to him, the concept of the "Whole World under One Roof" was, no matter what, merely the process by which the power of the Japanese gods led by Amaterasu would be revealed to the world.

The next point was the relationship between Japan and Manchukuo. Kakei maintained that Manchukuo now followed the Way of the Gods under the guidance of the Japanese emperor and Japan. As a state, although Manchukuo was still immature, it clearly had the potential to become a fully mature state. Kakei concluded that Manchukuo would doubtlessly by revering the emperor and following the Way of the Gods, receive the spirit of the Way of the Gods, and help awaken from delusion the world's entire population.[26] Thus, for Kakei, Manchukuo was established under the spiritual guidance of Japan and still in an immature state. But, in the future, as a state under the guidance of the Way of the Gods, it could become like Japan and spiritually lead the people of the world.

8. Reaction of Puyi and his court

What kind of influence then did Kakei exert on Puyi, the Manchukuo emperor? As discussed earlier, Empress Teimei, for instance, was a staunch supporter of Kakei. But did Kakei have the same effect on Puyi? Put simply, the answer is no. Puyi recalled in his postwar memoirs that, while he was not sure about the Japanese reaction to Kakei's ideologies, he himself had never for a mo-

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23 Kakei Katsuhiko. (2009.2) "Kannagara no Daidō (Vol.16)." *Yaegaki* Vol.26, p.6.

24 Kakei Katsuhiko. (2003.11) "Kannagara no Daidō (Vol.20. No.4)." *Yaegaki* Vol.41, pp.6-7.

25 Kakei Katsuhiko. (2009.1) "Kannagara no Daidō (Vol.17. No.2)." *Yaegaki* Vol.29, p.6.

26 Kakei Katsuhiko. (2014.8) "Kannagara no Daidō (Vol.20. No.6)." *Yaegaki* Vol.43, p.6.

ment considered Kakei's ideas to be of any value to him or his country[27]. In other words, Kakei's court lectures explaining the hierarchical order of the empire were simply too difficult for Puyi to accept.

9. An attempt at colonial indoctrination—successes and setbacks

If we except from consideration the Manchukuo emperor Puyi and his top-ranking officials, then the object of Kakei's lectures at the educational organizations or in settlers' villages was mostly people who had migrated from Japan to Manchuria. The popularization of *yamatobataraki* was limited to settlers' villages and did not appeal much to colonial subjects. Moreover, for Puyi and his associates, Kakei's lectures were completely unacceptable because he simply repeated the rhetoric that Manchukuo should beg for Japan's guidance.

Kakei's doctrinaire theory of colonial rule greatly emboldened the bureaucrats and soldiers who were dispatched from Japan to the colony. However, so far as the actual governing of Manchuria was concerned, despite being appointed as a founding committee member of the National Foundation University, Kakei's ideas were mostly rejected by the leaders of Manchukuo because they were considered unsuitable for actual educational requirements. Emperor Puyi did not accept Kakei's ideologies because it placed Manchukuo in a subordinate position to the Japanese emperor. Moreover, hierarchical ranking of citizens within the empire, another idea proposed by Kakei was also not accepted beyond Japan. In short, his ideologies and activities remained attractive only to a select group elites with their roots in Japan.

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[27] Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi. (1964) *The First Half of My Life; From Emperor to Citizen: The Autobiography of Aisin-Gioro Puyi* Vol.2. trans. Ono Shinobu, Nohara Shirō, Niijima Atsuyoshi and Maruyama Noboru. Chikuma Shobō, 1992, pp.97-98.

Monuments to Worship and Warfare: The Intricate Relationship between Religions and Modernities in Japanese Monuments

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Abstract

This essay explores a relationship between religions and modernities through monuments in Japan. We point out two significant arrivals of monuments in Japan.

Firstly, they were introduced from China around the 7th century and spread with Buddhism. They were regarded as a type of outdoor Buddhist statues and therefore as religious. They were erected for such reasons as salvation, consolation, purification and so forth. Until the 19th century, popularization and diversification of them proceeded across the country.

This long-standing tradition was shaken by the second arrival of monuments after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Secondly, monuments were reintroduced from western nation states as an urban, public and non-religious way to mobilize state integrity by honoring national heroes. The new-born government struggling for justification of its sovereignty but with chronic financial troubles preferred monuments in this second sense as a means to bolster reverence for the emperor within the limited budget. On the other hand, monuments in the first sense were basically banned as "superstitious practices," which seemed incompatible with the image of Japan as an emerging civilized nation.

However, religious monuments were never eradicated. In fact, the number of such newly constructed monuments grew rapidly. What then prompted their "revival"? It was the prevalence of wars. As the scale of the wars expanded, the number of victims increased. However, the government found it difficult to respond to the growing desire to commemorate the victims mainly for financial reasons. The creation of religious monuments was then demanded in order to fill this vacuum. Most of them were requested by colleagues and relatives in order to console the war dead. Additionally, memorial services around monuments were often conducted by both Buddhist and Shintoist priests and were attended by military officers and public servants. Ultimately, the increasing number of such monuments and services eroded the regulations of the government and came to serve the needs of those promoting militaristic propaganda after the 1930s.

Introduction

From the 18th to 19th century, a significant number of monuments were erected mainly in the urban public spaces of western countries. They were always in memory or honor of "national heroes" such as kings, politicians, soldiers, entrepreneurs, academics, and artists. We regard them literally as symbols of the formation of nation-states in modern times.[1] In addition, these monuments often appropriated religious symbols, for example crucifixes or sacred icons. This was mainly due to the cultural dimension of religions. In the West, Christianity remains a rich reference source for mobilizing the national integrity emotionally and aesthetically.[2] In sum, western monuments have connected modernity with religiosity in order to bolster nationalism. As a result, when some monuments happened to survive the afterlife of the political organizations that produced them, their "religiosity" was sometimes interrogated from today's perspective. For example, it was often questioned whether they were compatible with the constitution that stipulated separation of church and state.

Figure 1 *Chukon-hi*
(Photographed by the author)

The situation has been largely the same in Japan. In particular, *Chukon-hi* 忠魂碑, a monument devoted to the victims of the wars in which the Meiji government (1868-1945) engaged, has been regarded as problematic as testified to by the many lawsuits associated with it. One of the points in dispute has been whether the public endorsement of *Chukon-hi* and the memorial services conducted around it might violate the religious freedom guaranteed by Article 20 of the Constitution, which has been valid since 1945. Some insist that it should be unconstitutional because "praying" at such monuments was previously encouraged in pre-war public education as a means of bolstering nationalism and militarism.[3]

However, we should refrain from comparing monuments in pre-war Japan with western ones. In contrast to the latter, which could make use of religious symbols, Japanese monuments that had even a slight reference to religiosity were strictly prohibited by the Meiji government, as we will discuss in detail below. This fact is interesting in two senses. First of all, this seems in direct opposition to a still prevailing discourse that the "State Shinto" was the coercive politico-religious

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1 Sous la direction de Pierre Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire*, 1, 2 et 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1997).

2 In 2011, the European Court of Human Rights described crucifixes in Italian schools as cultural instead of religious. *Lausti and Others v. Italy*, ECHR 2011.

3 See Yasuo Ohara, *A Study on Chukonhi* (Tokyo: Akatsuki-shobo, 1984).

ideology endorsed by the government. If "State Shinto" had been an established religion, why would the government have hesitated to build Shintoistic monuments? Secondly, repeated official bans indicates that some monuments in Japan still carried religious meanings in violation of the government's will. Why did the government refrain from erecting religious monuments and who still needed them?

Figure 2 *Chukon-hi*
(Photographed by the author)

This essay shall answer these questions by pointing out the two different arrivals of monuments at Japan. The first of these occurred in the 7th century and spread across the country with Buddhism. Until the 19th century, it was taken for granted that monuments were erected to support salvation or offer consolation. They were regarded as a kind of outdoor Buddhist statue and therefore as religious in the first place. However, this long-standing tradition was unsettled by the second arrival of monuments after the Mei-ji Restoration in 1868. This time, they were reintroduced from western countries as modern, public and non-religious installations designed to praise national heroes. This essay shall depict the intricate story of this complex relationship between religions and modernities by exploring the dialectics of these two different types of monuments in modern Japan.

Ⅰ. First Arrival of Monuments in Japan

It goes without saying that monuments were not "invented" in modern times. We can find monuments anywhere and at anytime if we define them as "a statue, building, or other structure erected to commemorate a noble person or event."[4] Pre-modern Japan also had its own history of monuments.[5]

Figure 3 Buddhist Monuments
(Photographed by the author)

Monuments were firstly introduced to Japan from Tang era China via Korea around the 7th century. However, it was Buddhism that caused them spread across the country. Buddhist priests built them as Stupa, or a small stone tower to enshrine sacred relics or texts. In the 12th to the 13th century, not only priests but also the laymen of the ruling

4 *Oxford Dictionary of English: Second Edition Revised* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

5 See Itaru Chidiwa, *Pray of Stone Tablets and Towers* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2007).

classes such as the nobles, warriors and wealthy farmers, began to erect monuments for fear of frequent disasters and the prevailing theory of *Mappo* 末法, or the latter days of Buddhism. They believed that they could gain deeds and console the dead by building stone monuments with sacred images or Sanskrit words carved on the surfaces, which referred to Buddhist deities and saints such as *Dainichi Nyorai* 大日如来, *Amida* 阿弥陀仏 and *Jizo* 地蔵菩薩 . Around the 15th century, peasants and townsfolk also began to erect them. Monuments became popular across class difference by the end of the 17th century when the literacy rate increased, networks of stone transportation were established, and organizations of masons developed. At the same time, ordinary people began to build family tombstones. One scholar holds that "the culture of stone monuments" formed itself in the Edo period.[6]

Figure 4 *Koshin-to*
(Photographed by the author)

Such popularization of monuments went with their diversification. Monuments were erected not only on orthodox Buddhist teachings but also on other beliefs and practices. For example, ones called *Koshin-to* 庚申塔 were often built on the outskirts of villages in order to celebrate the completion of *Koshin-machi* 庚申待, or an all-night service (and party), which was based on a myth mixing Buddhism, Shintoism, Taoism, and other agricultural folk rituals.[7] Repeated disasters also prompted the creation of various monuments. A significant number of monuments remain among those erected from the 17th to the 19th century in memory of eruptions, fires, earthquakes, shipwrecks and so forth in the precinct of *Eko-in* 回向院, a Buddhist temple in Tokyo that was built as a burial place for the dead by the fire in 1657.[8] Sekine counted approximately 100 monuments commemorating those killed by the frequent famines in Aomori Prefecture, the northern area of the main island of Japan.[9]

In sum, we can point out the following three things regarding the first arrival of monuments at Japan: 1) the culture of erecting monuments outside became popular across class differences until the 18th century; not only clerics but also laymen built them; 2) the reasons why monuments were needed were basically religious; the purposes behind erecting them varied and included the desire to gain merit, console the dead, remove something evil, and pray for a huge harvest; and 3) large-

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6 Sugi Hitoshi,"Village Culture as Seen in Non-literary Materials: Distribution of Monuments with Verses by Basho and the Information Network of Regional Haiku Circles," in *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History*, Vol. 97, 2002, pp. 35-6.

7 Hiroyuki Ishigami, *The archaeology of Koshinto in the Edo Period: A typological and epigraphical analysis of stone monuments in Japanese folk belief* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2013), p. 1.

8 Eko-in (ed.), *The History of Eko-in* (Tokyo: Eko-in, 1992), pp. 36-52.

9 Tatsuhito Sekine, "The Society of the Northern Extremity of the Japanese Main Island in the Edo Period, seen through Famine Monuments," in *History*, Vol. 105, 2005, p. 50.

scale disasters often prompted a significant number of monuments to be erected in a short period; building small monuments seemed to be a way for a community to respond to the unexpected death toll that was often massive in scale.

In addition to their popularity, however, we shall indicate the vulnerability of such monuments. They easily became neglected and obsolete because they were not necessarily affiliated with established religions. To make matters worse, the growing anti-Buddhism movement after the 19th century often caused the destruction of outdoor monuments that had Buddhist images.[10] The new government established in 1868 had to deal with such a situation as one of the first tasks of its religious policy. At that time, monuments began coming from abroad again.

Ⅱ. Second Arrival of Monuments in Japan

The second arrival of monuments was from western countries after the Meiji Restoration in 1868.[11] At this time, they were introduced as urban installations in order to honor national heroes publicly without any associated to religious practices. For example, Fumio Murata, a journalist, went to London and reported about monuments from there, such as "The Monument" (completed and opened in 1677), "Nelson's Column" (in 1843), and "Crimea and Indian Mutiny Memorial" (in 1861). According to him, monuments were non-religious because they coexisted with Christianity, which in theory rejected idolatry. Monuments were public because they were erected for the kings and servants honored by the nations. Monuments were urban because they were installed in the midtown area. Murata was surprised that they allowed for commemoration without any rituals or offerings, which Japanese shrines took for granted.[12]

The first reference to western monuments in the official documents of the Meiji government was also related to the policies regarding shrines. On November 18, 1876, the Ministry of Religion and Education sent an inquiry to the Grand Council of State related to whether it would permit a plan for "erecting a stone or bronze statue of a deity in the manner of western monuments" on the grounds of a public shrine that was dedicated to "a meritorious servant," rather than extending its buildings. On January 25, 1877, the Council approved the plan, which failed to be realized in the end.[13] This was not exceptional but one of a number of similar plans proposed in those days.[14]

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[10] Kunihiko Shimizu, "The Meiji Era Anti-Buddhist Movement as Seen from the Removal and Destruction of Jizo Statuary," in *Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol.92, Issue 2, 2018, pp. 329-352.

[11] The term *Kinen-hi* 記念碑 in itself was coined as the Japanese equivalent for the English "monument" or "commemoration" in the 1870s. Shirou Onodera, "Semantic Change of *Kinen* 記念 in the Japanese and the Chinese language in the End of the 19th century," in Yoshihiro Ishikawa et al. (ed.), *Development in Translation of Concepts in Modern East Asia* (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 2013), p.173.

[12] Fumio Murata, *Travels to the West*, Book I, Vol. 2 (Hiroshima: Izutsuya Katsujiro, 1869), pp. 22-23.

[13] "The inquiry about erecting stone or bronze statue in the precinct of an official shrine", as of November 18, 1876, in *Collections of Official Documents: the Inquiries from the Ministry of Home Affairs (II) in January 1877,* possessed in National Archives of Japan.

[14] Shigeatsu Shimizu, "A Study on the Inquiry about Erecting Stone or Bronze Statue in the Precinct of an

It is important to examine the historical background if we are to understand why such plans were proposed. After the Restoration, the new government had to justify the coup against the Tokugawa Shogunate and establish the legitimacy of its sovereignty by mobilizing reverence for the emperor. As a solution, several shrines for past loyalists were built[15] as "exceptional official shrines," which had been legislated to be supported financially by the government since 1871.[16] As a result, grassroots movements emerged across the country that sought to promote local loyalists and demand official endorsements for them. However, plans to build exceptional official shrines for them were always refused mainly because the government was afraid of expenditures expanding too much.[17] On August 31, 1872, the Ministry of Finance, which took charge of funding official shrines, prohibited the new construction of shrines without permission in order to tighten expenses for the official supports of them.[18] Accordingly, erecting western-style monuments became an attractive choice for those who wanted to commemorate someone or something within these limited budgets.

There was another reason to recommend monuments. Such monuments were regarded as a means of separating Shinto rituals from "superstitions" and developing the former as a kind of "national ceremony." Such anti-superstition and pro-monument sentiments often appeared in newspapers and journals in the early Meiji period followed by the official regulations on popular rituals and practices such as those related to shamans or diviners.[19] Some writers held that the construction of monuments to national heroes was good but enshrinement of them as gods was bad because the latter was incompatible with the process of modernization and civilization that the Japan of that day had to undertake.[20] Others indicated that monuments were rather desirable because building shrines would only result in feeding Shinto priests and indulging under-educated people.[21] However, such discourses comparing monuments with shrines served to not only denounce but also support the latter. One writer suggested that Shinto shrines should be "purified" from something religious because they were in practice national monuments in order to conduct public ceremonies rather than

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Official Shrine: Established Shrines in Kyoto and the Concept of Monument in the Early Meiji Period," in *The Journal of Association of the Study of Modern Japanese Art History*, Vol 22, 2013, pp. 112-129.

[15] For example, *Minatogawa Shrine* 湊川神社 was established in Kobe, Hyogo Prefecture in 1872, which was dedicated to Masashige Kusunoki (1294-1336), a warrior who joined the troop of the Godaigo Emperor (1288-1339) against the Kamakura Shogunate.

[16] The Information Department of the Cabinet (ed.), *The Complete Collection of Laws and Regulations in 1872* (Tokyo: Hakubunsya, 1887), p. 199.

[17] The total number of them was 28 at last. See Yoshikawa Kobunkan (ed.), *Handbook of History of Modern Japan* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2007), pp.436-7.

[18] Research Institute on Japanese Classics (ed.), *Current Laws and Regulations on Shrines* (Tokyo: Mizuhokai, 1907), p. 515.

[19] A Notice issued by the Ministry of Religion and Education as of January 15, 1873, in Yoshio Yasumaru and Masato Miyadi (ed.), *Religion and State*, Iwanami Shoten, Publishers, 1988, p. 452.

[20] "Expelling the Idolatry," in *the Choya Paper* as of November 11, 1876.

[21] "Readers' letters," in *the Tokyo Daily Paper* as of January 4, 1874.

religious rituals.[22] A higher official justified a policy supporting shrines on public money without violating the freedom of religion by underlining similarities between monuments and shrines. That official insisted that shrines should work in the same way as monuments and therefore not be religious at all.[23]

On the other hand, pubic endorsement of "imported" monuments often caused oppression to "indigenous" monuments, which had been basically erected in a Buddhist way as we mentioned. On October 4, 1884, the Ministry of Home Affairs issued an official instruction, which defined monuments as "something to inspire the people by honoring someone's deeds during their lifetime" and prohibited monuments from being erected on public lands except for "ones to those who did great achievements for the nation."[24] Based on this instruction, the ministry checked all plans to erect monuments on public lands and evaluated whether they should be permitted, which resulted in a ban on all monuments with even a slight reference to religiosity in their practice. Let us examine some examples from Saitama Prefecture, a central region in the mainland of Japan. On February 12, 1898, some inhabitants in *Tansyo* Village 丹荘村 inquired about their plan to erect a monument that incorporated a Buddhist ritual in order to console the victims of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). The ministry rejected it insisting that it was not permitted to erect monuments for religious use.[25] This rejection demonstrated an indifference the type of religious monument concerned. Both proposals from the Buddhist priests of the *Myoan* Temple 妙安寺 in *O'oka* Village 大岡村on October 27, 1895[26] and from the parishioners of the *Tsukinowa* Shrine 月輪神社in *Miyamae* Village 宮前村 on January 28, 1897[27] were rejected. The inclusion just once of the phrase "erecting to mourn for the dead" in an application was enough to be scrutinized and judged too religious to be permitted.[28]

In sum, monuments were reintroduced from western countries to Japan in the Meiji period as modern, public and nonreligious installations, which could replace or renovate Shinto Shrines, and which would have been against the process of modernization and civilization if their religious (or superstitious) dimensions remained. Therefore, "imported" monuments were deemed suitable as a means for mobilizing nationalism and enlightenment within the limited budgets if they were without any religious elements. On the other hand, all "indigenous" monuments were practically banned since they had been

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[22] "An opinion on separation of ceremony from religion," in *the Tokyo Daily Paper* as of September 23, 25, and 26, 1890.

[23] "Amendment proposed by the second department of the Grand Council of the State," as of June 19, 1885, in "Revision of Shrine Policy," *Supplementary Volume of Official Documents*, Vol.1 (1886-1897), held in National Archives of Japan.

[24] The Police Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs (ed.), Collection of Police Laws and Regulations (Tokyo: The Police Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs, 1893), p. 355.

[25] Reference Number: 2372-2 in *Official Documents of Saitama Prefecture in the Meiji period (ODSP),* held in Saitama Prefectural Achieves.

[26] Reference Number: 2353-3 in *ODSP*.

[27] Reference Number: 2354-4 in *ODSP*.

[28] Reference Number: 2377-10 in *ODSP*.

basically erected for religious purposes.

Ⅲ. "Revival" of Religious Monuments in Modern Japan

However, "religious monuments" continued to be erected despite the official prohibition on them. In fact, the number of them rapidly increased after the 20th century. Who built them and why? We point out that the increasing number of wars and war dead accounted for their proliferation.

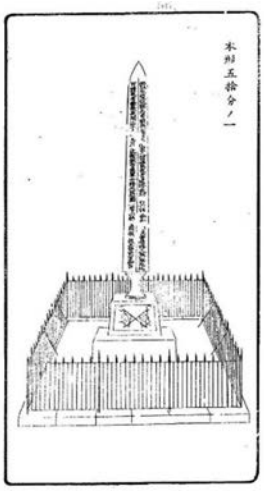

Figure 5: The Monument to the Imperial Guards, Cited from *The Monument to the Imperial Guards* (Aichi: Yosuke Sato, 1884)

It is true that the Meiji government had already began to conduct a memorial service for the victims who had joined the national army since 1868.[29] This was mainly done in the Shintoist manner. Shrines dedicated to the war dead were called *Shokonsya Shrine* 招魂社. One of them was built on *Kudanzaka* Hill Road 九段坂, Tokyo in 1869 and was renamed the *Yasukuni Shrine* 靖国神社 in 1879. Since then, in principle, all soldiers who were killed on the battlefield were enshrined there.[30] However, *Yasukuni Shrine* was dedicated neither to civil victims nor those military ones who had died not on duty but from diseases or accidents during their service, despite the fact that these victims accounted for most of the war dead.[31] It was true that there were other Shokonsya Shrines under prefectural management, but they were only funded in a limited fashion.[32] In sum, the government failed to satisfy all the demands to commemorate the war victims sufficiently. Therefore, a significant number of small monuments were erected in order to fill this vacuum.

Although the victims in the Seinan War (1873) were enshrined to the *Yasukuni Shrine* on November 13, 1877, monuments to them were also erected across the country. For example, the garrisons of Shiga, Osaka and Aichi Prefecture built ones in their own districts in 1878, in Kumamoto and Tokyo in 1879, and in Osaka in 1883[33]. It is interesting to note that the erecting of these monuments was often accompanied by memorial services conducted with the help of priests, although they were often designed in a conic or pointed form emulating western monuments. On November

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[29] Decree 385 and 386 of the Grand Council of State as of May 10, 1868, in the Information Department of the Cabinet (ed.), *The Complete Collection of Laws and Regulations in 1867* (Tokyo: Hakubunsya, 1887), pp. 159-160.

[30] Yasukuni Shrine (ed.), *History of Yasukuni Shrine*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Hara Shobo, 1983), pp. 1-313.

[31] For example, about 90% of all the victims were from disease in the Sino-Japanese War. Akira Nakatsuka, "Sino-Japanese War", in *Encyclopedia of Japanese History* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1979-1997).

[32] Koremaru Sakamoto, A *Study on the Formation of the State Shinto* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), pp. 396-401.

[33] *Records of Imperial Prize (1878-1886)*, possessed in Archives of Imperial Household Agency.

24, 1878, a commemoration of Seinan War took place around the monument erected on the land of the *Onjoji Temple* 園城寺, Shiga. The commander of O'otsu Station of Shiga Garrison asked the chief priests of the *Hiejinja Shrine* 日枝神社 to conduct a Shinto ritual. Four days later, Buddhist priests were also invited from the *Higash-honganji Temple* 東本願寺 in order to chant sutras.[34] In 1879, the governor of Wakayama Prefecture planned to erect a monument to honor residents who had died in recent battles. Memorial services had been regularly practiced around it until the *Wakayama Shokonsya Shrine* was built in 1928.[35] A tie between erecting monuments and conducting rituals can also be noted as having occurred on the battlefield. On December 21, 1894, the Japanese army conducted a memorial service at a public cemetery near the Jinzhou District of China, where the army had advanced during the Sino-Japanese War. At the ritual, a monument was erected as an altar with prayers and offerings dedicated by the military officers. Several newspapers and journals later reported these events in detail.[36] Finally, the construction of such monuments became more organized when the Association of Imperial Reservists was formed on November 3, 1910, which ultimately had more than three million members. One of the main duties of the association was to conduct memorial services for the war dead. Most of its local branches chose to erect a monument as a reasonable way to practice such rituals.[37]

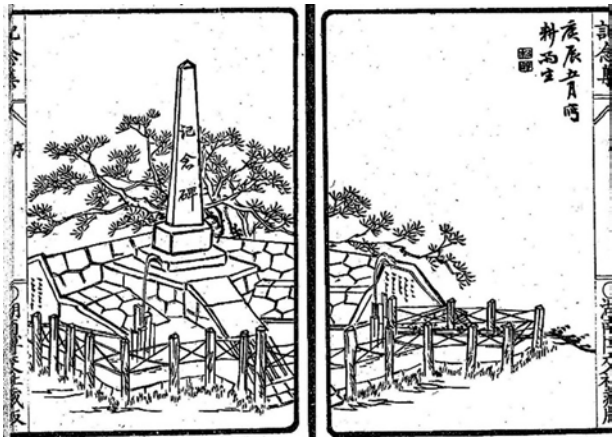

Figure 6: A Monument to Seinan War in the Onjoji Temple, Cited from Konanhakukosya (ed.), *Memorial Collection*, Vol.1 (Shiga: Konanhakukosya, 1880)

At first, the government did not distinguish such war monuments from the religious ones. It preferred restricting itself from encouraging them, even if they were supposed to mobilize nationalism and help conscription by glorifying the war dead. On April 22, 1898, the Ministry of Home Affairs rejected the plan to erect a monument to "those who died in battle conquering China" in Saitama Prefecture because "monuments were not to allow worship either in a Buddhist or Shintoist way."[38] However, the increasing number of wars and war dead forced the government to ease its regulations.

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34 Toshiko Kyoroku (ed.), *Materials of Prefectural Governor Yasutada Kagote,* Volume. I (Tokyo: Marunouchi Publisher, 1985), pp. 222-3.

35 The Editorial Committee of the City History (ed.), *History of Wakayama City*, Volume. 3 (Wakayama: Wakayama City, 1990), pp. 166-7.

36 *Graphic Magazine on Manners*, Issue 86, Toyodo Publisher, 1895, pp. 9-10.

37 Tadatoshi Fujii, *The Association of Imperial Reservists* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), pp. 54-6, 79-80.

38 Reference Number: 2372-2 in *ODSP*.

A turning point came with the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), in which approximately 84,000 Japanese people were reported to be killed.[39] There remain two official documents suggesting a change in the government's policy on monuments. In the notification as of December 26, 1904, the Minister of Home Affairs expressed sympathy for the first time with popular sentiments to mourn the war dead by erecting monuments, although there were still grave concerns about having too many monuments constructed.[40] The following instructions issued by the Minister on June 15, 1906 enabled prefectural governors to judge applications for monuments without inquiring about them with the Home Minister. Under these instructions, which replaced the above-mentioned instructions issued on October 4, 1884, one monument to one person or event in one city was officially permitted unless it resembled a tombstone.[41] From this time forward, monuments were checked not in terms of their purpose and function, but rather based on their number and design. As a result, religious monuments were not denied *qua* religious. On October 8, 1906, the first war monument in Saitama Prefecture was approved.[42] In 1916, the government withdrew its decision of 1897 and permitted erecting war monuments on a schoolyard for the first time.[43] It was not until the 1930s that the government endorsed some local elementary schools making their students salute these monuments as a part of educating "Japanese Spirits."[44]

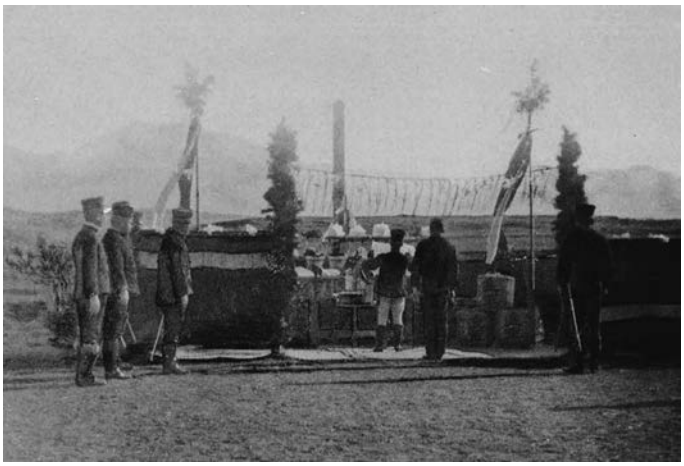

Figure 7: Memorial Service in Jinzhou District of China in 1894, Cited from Koreaki Kamei, Collection of Photographs on Warfare in 1894-1895, Vol.2 (Koreaki Kamei, 1897)

In sum, not only "under-educated peasants" and "superstitious figures" but also military officers and civil servants who were trained in a modern way needed religious monuments in order to meet the growing desire to commemorate the war dead, which the government failed to satisfy sufficiently. Therefore, the more wars were intensified, the more monuments were erected with simplified but regular memorial services conducted around them. However, it was not the case that the government took the initiative in erecting monuments in memory of war victims. On the contrary,

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39 Tetsuo Huruya, "The Russo-Japanese War" in *Encyclopedia of National History.*

40 Jiro Kagotani, *Thought on State and Education in the Modern Japan* (Kyoto: Aunsya, 1994), pp. 350-1.

41 Ibid, pp. 352-2.

42 Reference Number: 2399-36 in ODSP.

43 Tokyo Academic Society on Public Administration (ed.), *Source Book of Regulations Recently Established by the Ministry of Education* (Tokyo: Genbunsya, 1938), p. 79, 82.

44 Kagotani, *Thought on State and Education*, pp. 355-361.

it often denied such monuments because they were regarded as too religious even if they were supposed to help with mobilizing nationalism or militarism. In fact, the accumulation of religious monuments undermined the official regulations and set the stage for the appropriation of them by those seeking to educate "Japanese Spirits," especially from the 1930s.

Ⅳ. Conclusion

This essay explored a relationship between religions and modernities through monuments in Japan. We pointed out two significant arrivals of monuments in Japan. Firstly, they were introduced from China around the 7th century and spread with Buddhism. They were regarded as a type of outdoor Buddhist statues and therefore as religious. They were erected for such reasons as salvation, consolation, purification and so forth. Until the 19th century, popularization and diversification of them proceeded across the country.

This long-standing tradition was shaken by the second arrival of monuments after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Secondly, monuments were reintroduced from western nation states as an urban, public and non-religious way to mobilize state integrity by honoring national heroes. The new-born government struggling for justification of its sovereignty but with chronic financial troubles preferred monuments in this second sense as a means to bolster reverence for the emperor within the limited budget. On the other hand, monuments in the first sense were basically banned as "superstitious practices," which seemed incompatible with the image of Japan as an emerging civilized nation.

However, religious monuments were never eradicated. In fact, the number of such newly constructed monuments grew rapidly. What then prompted their "revival"? It was the prevalence of wars. As the scale of the wars expanded, the number of victims increased. However, the government found it difficult to respond to the growing desire to commemorate the victims mainly for financial reasons. The creation of religious monuments was then demanded in order to fill this vacuum. Most of them were requested by colleagues and relatives in order to console the war dead. Additionally, memorial services around monuments were often conducted by both Buddhist and Shintoist priests and were attended by military officers and public servants. Ultimately, the increasing number of such monuments and services eroded the regulations of the government and came to serve the needs of those promoting militaristic propaganda after the 1930s.

The case of Japanese monuments tells an intricate story of a complex relationship between religions and modernities, in which traditional rituals and practices supported mainly at the grassroots level unexpectedly resulted in emotionally compensating for an insufficiency in Japan as an emerging modern and civilized nation. This was done by not obeying but rather undermining the coercive policies of the government, which basically had denied them as "out of date" and "superstitious."

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Reconsidering the Relationship between Japanese Martial arts and Religion: Case Study of Mt. Mitsumine and Kyokushin Karate

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Abstract

Japanese martial arts, including karate, have been often associated with religion. Although Shintō, Zen Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism may explain cultural background of Japanese martial arts, contemporary martial artists do not necessarily consider these traditions as important in their everyday life. To research the relationship between martial arts and religion in contemporary society, it is instead important to take into the account martial arts students as well as their emotional and spiritual needs, such as mental well-being and the sense of belonging. In the case study of Kyokushin karate I attempt to show that Kyokushin karate practitioners tend to develop strong sense of belonging and high degree of loyalty toward the Kyokushin karate school. I have conducted the research mainly through regular training of Kyokushin karate in Japan, participation in winter camp at Mt. Mitsumine, participant observation of tournaments and open-type questionnaires. Research results show that Kyokushin karate practitioners consider Kyokushin karate not so much as sport and recreation, but rather as a lifestyle. Participants believe daily practice provides them with life-meaning, sense of belonging, mental well-being and spiritual support, as well as with guideline for values, etiquette and interpersonal relations. It is possible to argue that Kyokushin karate and its teachings to some degree function as religion and spirituality since it is able to provide psychological support in accordance with practitioners' needs.

1 Introduction

Japanese martial arts are a part of Japanese culture and history as well as one of Japan`s most successful export products. In the academic field, however, martial arts have not gained much attention. The existing studies that explore the relationship between Japanese martial arts and religion have been focused mostly on the religious and cultural ideas, such as Zen Buddhism, Shintō, Confucianism and *bushidō* and their role in martial arts. Modern marital arts students, however, do not seem to be particularly interested in these ideas. Therefore, to research the relationship between martial arts and religion in contemporary society, it is important to take into the account individuals, their mental and spiritual needs, such as mental support and the sense of belonging to particular martial arts school or *ryūha* (流派).

A number of martial arts are fragmented into numerous organizations, suborganizations, schools or *ryūha* and many independent dōjō (*dōjō* 道場). In the context of martial arts, a *ryūha* can be defined as a group that consists of a teacher (or more teachers) and students. Teacher gives directions through established orthodoxy and orthopraxis, however, he can also begin to develop his own practices and methods of teaching (Lorge 2016, 910). While in the context of Japanese martial arts the word *ryūha* already appeared in Edo period, in the context of karate, however, it was first used after 1922 when karate entered Japanese mainland and started to blend with indigenous Japanese martial arts culture, i.e. *kobudō* (古武道)[1] and *gendai budō* (現代武道)[2] (Mottern 2001, 235). In 1974, Draeger claimed that there are more than seventy different karate schools (1974, 124)[3]. Modern *ryūha* are labelled with different reputation and prestige. Moreover, each *ryūha* has its own methods of training, techniques, rules and ethics, history and even mythology. The question, "To which *ryūha* do you belong?" therefore is not so unimportant as it may seem. Namely, it is the sense of belonging and loyalty to the particular *ryūha* that is of crucial importance.

There is no *ryūha* that could truly count as representative one as well as there is no *ryūha*`s teaching that could reflect a general image of Japanese martial arts. There is, however, a sufficient amount of the same essence among all the *ryūha*. With words of Friday and Seki[4], "While the anatomy of each *ryūha* is unique, the physiology of most is similar" (1997, 10). Detailed study of individual *ryūha* may thus enable a researcher to gain a broader insight into Japanese martial arts.

I have chosen Kyokushin karate as a case study because (1) Kyokushin karate as full-contact

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[1] Meaning "old martial arts". Refers to Japanese martial arts that were established before Meiji Restoration in 1868.

[2] Meaning "modern martial arts". Refers to Japanese martial arts that were established after Meiji Restoration.

[3] Fourteen most widespread schools are: Chitō-ryū (千唐流), Gōjū-ryū (剛柔流), Gosoku-ryū (剛速流), Isshin-ryū (一心流), Kyokushin (極真), Shūkōkai (修交会), Shindō jinen-ryū (神道自然流), Shitō-ryū (糸東流), Shōrin-ryū (少林流), Shōtōkan (松濤館), Shuri-ryū (首里流), Uechi-ryū (上地流), Wadō-ryu (和道流) and Yōshūkai (養秀会).

[4] Seki Humitake (関 文威) is nineteenth generation *shihanke* (師範家 headmaster) of the Kashima Shinryū (鹿島神流).

school has developed rather unique philosophical and spiritual way of thinking which is very different from traditional semi-contact schools of karate, and (2) Kyokushin karate is one of the few martial arts that has formed a sacred site.

Regarding research methodology, I participated in the International Karate Organization Kyokushinkaikan (Kokusai Karatedō Renmei Kyokushinkaikan 国際空手道連盟極真会館, hereafter IKO Kyokushinkaikan) winter camp on Mt. Mitsumine in Chichibu in Saitama prefecture in January 2018 and 2019, and four times in various outdoor trainings between 2017 and 2019. Furthermore, between February and March 2018, I was conducting a research in which I was gathering students` opinions, views and impressions through interviews and questionnaires.

2 Religious and spiritual aspects of Japanese martial arts

At this point I would like to clarify the definition of martial arts. There are three established terms in Japanese which can be interpreted in English as "martial arts": *budō* (武道), means "martial way", *bujutsu* (武術) indicates "martial techniques", and *bugei* (武芸) denotes "martial art". The Nippon Budokan (日本武道館), currently one of the central organizations for the promotion of Japanese martial arts, uses the word *budō* as the equivalent word for martial arts. Namely, *budō* originates from combat and martial techniques (*jutsu*) and has evolved through centuries into a method of self-development, which is implied in the word "dō" (道) or "way". The main aim of *budō* is seeking to cultivate a character through physical training, meaning that one improves sense of judgement, and becomes disciplined individual who is capable of making contribution to society (Bennett 2009, 17). There is, however, no consensus among researchers on definition of martial arts and how can they be distinguished from martial or combat sports, such as kickboxing and mixed martial arts. Some researches, e.g. Lorge (2016) and Lloyd (2014) do not make a distinction between martial arts and martial sports. Lorge (2016, 906) defines martial arts as "taught skills for violence, leaving the definition of violence a quite broad category that would encompass sports. […] the primary aim of martial arts is skills in the use of violence, leaving any spiritual component in a subsidiary role." On the other hand, researchers such as Monahan (2007), Keenan (1989) and McFarlane (1990) limit their definition of martial arts to systems that can roughly be called "traditional", emphasize internal training and morality, respect the cultural background and tend to have spiritual or humanistic value. I agree with the latter group and consider Kyokushin school of karate as martial art because beside sparring (*kumite* 組手), it also places great importance on studying the forms (*kata*型・形) and basic techniques (*kihon* 基本), respects its cultural background[5], and emphasizes strict behavior standards in dōjō[6] as well as at tournaments[7]. Moreover, spiritual and humanistic

[5] E.g. bowing to the *kamidana* (神棚 Shinto altar) when entering and leaving dojo, as well as at the beginning and at the end of each practice.

[6] E.g. bowing to the partners whenever training together, and group cleaning of dojo after each practice.

[7] E.g. at 50th All Japan Open Karate Championship on 28 October 2018, one of the competitors did not bow properly when entering the sparring area and thus immediately received penalty point (*chūi* 注意).

value is observable through daily practice and belt examinations, when it is specifically emphasized that “the ultimate goal of Kyokushin karate is not victory nor defeating a partner but aiming toward perfection of character”.

There have been only few researches made on the topic of religion in Japanese martial arts. Research approaches that were used in previous studies can be sorted into three categories. First, historical approach discusses how religious ideas intertwine with martial art culture within the context of Japanese history. Bodiford (2001, 2010), for example, offers historical insight into the interlacement of Japanese martial art culture and spiritual development, with particular focus on how Zen Buddhism, Confucianism and bushido ideology have become incorporated into martial art practices and developed within martial art culture. Moreover, Gainty (2013) briefly discuss how social movements in late Meiji period appropriated the meanings of national body, bushidō ideology and martial arts and in this way helped to form the modern Japanese nation and state.

Second, philosophical or ethical approach deals with manners, etiquette and appropriate behavior of martial artists. In the center of this approach are phrases such as *zazen* (座禅), *mushin* (無心no-mind or mindless), self-control, ethical virtues, etiquette and hierarchical order. The book of Graham Priest and Damon Young (2014) is supposedly the first academic work that explores the significance of martial arts for the contemporary philosophy and deals with religio-philosophical dilemmas within the study of martial arts, such as why does sparring in Japanese martial arts require courtesy and what kind of explanation for ethical behavior do Shintō and Zen Buddhism provide. Furthermore, Keenan (1989) and McFarlane (1990) debate over the concept of *mushin* as well as over spiritual and humanistic value of East Asian martial arts. Moreover, Yamada (2001) critically discuss Herrigel`s work Zen in the art of archery and clarifies the process through which the mystical bond between Zen Buddhism and archery has been formed.

Third, mind-body problem (*shinshin mondai* 心身問題) approach considers human mind and body as unity. This approach most often studies the relationship between human mind and body through the techniques of abdominal breathing (*fukushiki kokyū* 腹式呼吸) and usage of *ki* energy (*ki* 気). According to Friday and Seki (1997) and Yuasa (1993), martial arts teach that abdominal breathing enables practitioners to control and defeat opponents without relying solely on physical strength. They supposedly learn how to manipulate and harmonize their *ki* with the *ki* of their partners, and thus become able to predict partner`s movements before they become perceptible by other senses. Perception of *ki*, however, is supposedly possible only through specialized mind-body training and cannot be perceived by the ordinary consciousness. Namely, *ki* moves with breathing, and when it moves, it affects the activities of the mind. The rhythm of breathing can be thus used to focus and culture the *ki*, as well as to change and stabilize the mind. Through these practices, the martial artists are supposedly able to liberate the creative force which help to sense an opponent`s movements and intentions, intercept his attack, treat diseases, and even prolong their lives.

Furthermore, triumphant posing (*gattsupōzu* ガッツポーズ) as well as any other disrespectful behavior is strictly forbidden at tournaments.

While these discussions all occur on macro level and may explain cultural background of martial arts in Japan, it does not seem that they in fact have important impact on general population of modern karate practitioners. I instead conducted a research on micro level and focused on the viewpoint how students relate karate practice to their everyday life, and what kind of emotional and spiritual support, values and morals do they gain through practice. The results of my research, which I conducted in collaboration with students of IKO Kyokushinkaikan, suggest, that practitioners place more value to the teachings of the karate school they belong to, i.e. Kyokushin karate, rather than to the general ideas of Shintō, Zen Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism. This brings us to the question, what role do the attachment and commitment to particular karate school have in the meaning that practitioners obtain emotional support, achieve self-growth and develop worldview.

3 Mt. Mitsumine as sacred site of Kyokushin karate

Kyokushin karate school as well as IKO Kyokushinkaikan organization was founded by Ōyama Masutatsu (大山 倍達, 1923–1994) in 1964. Kyokushin karate is considered to be the first form of full-contact karate and is often seen as a contrast to traditional semi-contact karate or *sundome* (寸止め, meaning "stopping before one *sun*[8]"). The terms "full-contact" and "semi-contact" refer to the amount of the body contact with the partner during sparring. According to the semi-contact rules of sparring, the attack should stop just before touching the partner`s body, therefore not making any direct contact between partners. In the case of full-contact rules, however, the attack touches the partner`s body and thus making a direct contact. Because of the direct full-contact it is necessary to take into the account partner`s body features, such as sex, age, physical strength and weight, and adjust the strength of the attack. Ōyama pursued the idea of real-life style of combat and efficiency and built his image as martial artist based on physical strength for which he was named "Godhand" (*Goddohando* ゴッドハンド*, also Kami no te* 神の手) (Ōyama 1973, 3). In his career, he supposedly fought some dozens of bulls (Ōyama 1977, 167–171). Even though it cannot be proved whether or not these fights actually occurred, his image as bull-slayer (*ushikoroshi no Ōyama* 牛殺しの大山) together with his public demonstrations of *tameshiwari* (試し割り)[9] and his charisma helped him to gain reputation and popularity. On the other hand, however, he also received much criticism and disapproval from traditional karate organizations, such as Japan Karatedō Federation (Zen Nippon Karatedō Renmei 全日本空手道連盟, JKF), and Japan Karate Association (*Nihon Karate Kyōkai*日本 空手 協会, JKA). They labelled Kyokushin karate as "fighting karate" (*kenka karate* 喧嘩) and considered it as "false way" or heresy (*jadō* 邪道) (Kojima and Tsukamoto 2006, 137).

The practice of *kangeiko* (寒稽古 cold training) on Mt. Mitsumine is considered as one of the most difficult challenges in Kyokushin karate school. It is held every year from 4 to 6 January and I participated in 2018 and again in 2019. During these three days participants underwent various

[8] *Sun* (寸) is unit of length, approx. 3.03 cm.

[9] *Tameshiwari* means a practice of breaking bricks and wooden boards.

training sessions and the average temperature was around -7°C to 0°C. The camp started with all of the participants dressed in *karategi* (空手義) paying respect to Ōyama at his memorial site. The following two days started at 6 am with the morning practice on the shrine grounds (*keidai* 境内). It was followed by *sanpai* (参拝 visiting a shrine and praying) inside the front shrine (*haiden* 拝殿), which was conducted by the *kannushi* (神主 Shintō high priest) and lasted for 45 minutes. During prayer, the shrine was open and participants were sitting in the *seiza* (正坐) position wearing only *karategi*. After the *sanpai*, participants performed a memorial service for Ōyama in front of the ancestral spirit shrine (*soreisha* 祖霊社). The most important practice of the *kangeiko* is so-called *takiabi* (滝浴び), which means training under the frozen waterfall.

FIG 1: Morning prayer inside the front shrine. IKO Kyokushinkaikan. 5 January 2018.

In Japan, mountains are a very common location for martial arts training, and many practitioners of karate, aikidō, jūdō and kendō conduct kangeiko with the purpose of strengthening their physical and mental endurance. The origins of *kangeiko* can be traced back to the Shintō myth related to the purification ritual called *misogi* (禊). Izanagi visited his deceased wife Izanami in the "Land of Darkness", the underworld, where he came into contact with the dead. After he returned to "the Land of the Middle", he washed off the impurity (*kegare* 穢れ) at a small river in Himuka in Kyūshū. The washing of impurity with water is called *misogi* and Izanagi`s purification is considered as the first ritual of cleansing. According to Shintō texts Kojiki (古事記) and Nihon Shoki (日本書紀), during *misogi* Izanagi first produced "deities of evil" (*magatsu hi no kami* 禍津日神) and then "deities to rectify evil" (*naobi no kami* 直毘神). At the last

FIG 2: Part of the group training under the waterfall. IKO Kyokushinkaikan. 5 January 2018.

stage of his purification, when he washed his right eye, his left eye, and then his nose, his "three children", deities, were born (Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大御神, Tsukiyomi-no-mikoto 月読尊 and Sunanoo-no-mikoto 須佐之男命). This indicates that *misogi* purifies the body and mind, but most importantly, it restores the vital energy necessary for life, helps the practitioner to overcome mental obstacles and prepares him for new challenges. This legend also explains why most shrines include clear streams (Nobutaka 2003, 58).

In general, the image of sacred mountains is based on animistic worldview of nature. The animistic worldview includes the idea that deities, demons and other supernatural beings dwell in natural objects and phenomenon such as wind and rain, fire and water, thunder and lightning, rocks, trees and mountains. These objects are believed to be alive with consciousness and spiritual powers of their own and are therefore able to influence human life in both good and evil ways. Animistic beliefs caused a sense of awe and respect in people towards these objects and natural phenomena (Miyake 2005, 27). The case of Kyokushin karate and Mt. Mitsumine, however, is different from general interpretations of sacred mountains where kangeiko are held. Namely, Mt. Mitsumine is worshiped as sacred mountain among Kyokushin students because Mt. Mitsumine is considered as birthplace of Kyokushin karate, or in other words, birthplace of Kyokushin community. In the center of the sacred site is the founder of Kyokushin karate, Ōyama Masutatsu.

Ōyama practiced *kangeiko* on Mt. Mitsumine together with his students every year from around 1957 until his death in 1994. He chose Mt. Mitsumine for mountain training because he was inspired by Yoshikawa`s novel *Musashi* (1935), which is a life story about swordsman and warrior Miyamoto Musashi (宮本 武蔵, c. 1584–1645) but with some fictional elements and events. In chapter "Two Drumsticks" Yoshikawa describes how Musashi supposedly developed a style of combat with two swords (Nitō-ryū二刀流) on Mt. Mitsumine while watching the hands of one of the *taiko* drummers wielding two short club-shaped drumsticks during a performance. He realized that the principle in drumming is the same as in swordsmanship. Ōyama was more than impressed with Musashi and admired him since he was not only skillful swordsman, but was also accomplished in writing, painting and carving (Ōyama 1994, 97).

In 1989, the Mitsumine shrine presented Ōyama with a gratitude letter for the years of dedicated mountain practice on Mt. Mitsumine. After his death in 1994, his soul was enshrined as divided soul

FIG 3: Memorial service for Ōyama in front of the ancestral spirit shrine. IKO Kyokushinkaikan. 5 January 2018.

(*wakemitama* 分御霊) in ancestral spirit shrine (*soreisha* 祖霊社) in Mitsumine shrine. Furthermore, his students built a monument to publicly commemorate him. In terms of Shinto belief, *wakemitama* indicates a divided soul and is created through religious ritual. During this ritual original soul is split into two and the second soul is then invited to another location where it is re-enshrined while the original soul remains in the original shrine. Speaking metaphorically, the re-enshrinement process is similar to lighting a new candle from a burning (original) one, namely, the light of the first candle is in no way diminished as it becomes two. The *wakemitama* has therefore all the qualities of the original kami and is therefore "alive" and permanent (Smyers 1996, 89). Although the process of creating *wakemitama* is rather common practice in Japan, in this case I believe it indicates a special connection between Mt. Mitsumine and Ōyama.

Kyokushin karate practice on Mt. Mitsumine goes beyond the concept of a *kangeiko*. Namely, karate training together with *sanpai* and memorial service for Ōyama form a practice which has many similarities to pilgrimage. Pilgrimages are one of the most common phenomena found in almost every major religious tradition, however, they are not necessarily limited only to official religious domain. Authors, such as Reader and Walter (1993) and Margry *et al*. (2008) deal with so-called secular pilgrimage and sacred sites in popular culture and claim that the concept of pilgrimage is not limited to visiting churches, shrines and holy sites connected to official religious traditions. The concept of pilgrimage, especially in modern culture, also includes the secular sphere, such as sports, entertainment and places where tragedies and accidents have occurred. A variety of activities, such as visiting the homes of famous authors and visiting the graves and memorial sites of musicians can be understood in terms of pilgrimage (Reader and Walter 1993, 5).

Jan Margry *et al*. (2008) similarly focused on the various new forms of pilgrimage, which are to some extend a result of changes in society and in the field of religion in the second half of the 20th century. These kinds of pilgrimages are usually categorized as "secular pilgrimages". The term secular pilgrimage is composed of two contradictory words, namely "secular" and "pilgrimage", and is often difficult to define. In this case, however, the term indicates an opposition to "religious pilgrimage". In a wider sense, Margry defines pilgrimage as, "A journey based on religious or spiritual inspiration, undertaken by individuals or groups, to a place that is regarded as more sacred than the environment of everyday life, to seek transcendental encounter with

FIG 4: Ōyama`s memorial site at Mt. Mitsumine. Author`s photo. 6 April 2016.

specific cult object for the purpose of acquiring spiritual, emotional or physical healing or benefit" (Margry *et al*. 2008, 17). Margry calls these secular pilgrimage sites "hybrid locations", since they have mostly secular, but at the same time also some religious elements (Margry *et al*. 2008, 323). On the outside, visits to graves and places where tragedies have occurred do not show many similarities with religious rituals. For this reason, it is necessary to consider how visitors experience these kinds of places and take into the account elements such as finding meaning in life, identification with community, finding the sense of belonging as well as strength, support and resolutions and expressing gratitude (Margry *et al.* 2008, 32). Furthermore, one of the major themes of hybrid locations is the close relationship between pilgrimage, heroic figures and death. In other words, hybrid locations have distinct person-oriented veneration. Namely, at these sites, martyrs, cultural heroes, saints and those killed in battles and wars symbolically survived their deaths and now their graves or the sites that are associated with them function as place where their souls live on and where people can express emotions (Reader and Walter 1993, 17–20).

In my research, students often expressed that to them Ōyama is either cultural or personal hero. Among the fifty-three participants in the questionnaire survey, six of them have directly met Ōyama at some point in their life. The ones who never met him, however, expressed that he has indirectly influenced them and their life. For example, 19-yearl old male *yūdansha* wrote that to him, Ōyama represents "unreachable and irreplaceable man", while 51-yearl old male *yūdansha wrote*, "I have never directly met or talked to Ōyama, but to me he is a god-like person". Mt. Mitsumine as a sacred site of Kyokushin karate school has the ability to produce a feeling of group identity, sense of belonging and to strengthen group consciousness. As many participants expressed, Ōyama did not only founded a particular karate school, he "created a brotherhood" which shares similar values.

4 Kyokushin karate as source of mental support and self-development for its practitioners

In my research I was focused on strong attachment and commitment of Kyokushin karate practitioners to Kyokushin karate school, as well as on how they gain emotional and spiritual support by practicing Kyokushin karate. I have conducted a research through open-type questionnaires where Kyokushin karate practitioners described in their own words their personal attitude, experiences and attachment to Kyokushin karate school. Among fifty-three participants involved in the research, forty-one of them were *dan* rank holders (*yūdansha* 有段者)[10] and twelve of them were color belt practitioners (*iroobi* 色帯)[11], mostly with ranks from eight to first *kyū*. The age of the practitioners involved in the research was between sixteen and seventy-four years old and belong to the various dojo in the Kantō area.

When describing their motives for beginnings, very few participants stated that their primary

[10] Practitioners holding a black belt.

[11] Practitioners holding a "color" belt.

motive and reason for taking Kyokushin karate up was intentionally seeking a way for self-development. They also stated, however, that they became interested in self-development through karate after a few years of practice. According to research results, most of the Kyokushin karate students use in the everyday life the idea called "Kyokushin spirit" (*Kyokushin no seishin* 極真の精神). Ōyama developed the philosophy of Kyokushin spirit by intentionally selecting ideas from established religious traditions, such as Zen Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism, which he then reinterpreted in a way that they corresponded to his own view of life and martial arts. He chose the idea of abdominal breathing from Daoist traditional Chinese medicine (*kanpō* 漢方), the concept of *mushin* and practice of meditation from Sōtō school of Zen Buddhism, manners, moral and filial piety from Confucianism, and the idea of cultivating literary and military arts (*bunbu ryōdō* 文武両道) from bushidō ideology (Ōyama 1994, 24–27). Through this eclectic selection he developed personal brand of spirituality which he summarized in a saying, "Keep your head low, eyes high, mouth shut and mind open, base yourself on filial piety and benefit others" (Ōyama 1994, 72). In this context, "head low" symbolizes modesty, "eyes high" means ambition, "mouth shut" indicates calmness, and "mind open" is metaphor for kindness and selfishness. Furthermore, Ōyama believed that benefitting other people starts with respect and appreciation toward one`s parents (Ōyama 1994, 72–75).

To sum up, Kyokushin spirit emphasizes personal growth, respect, perseverance, courtesy, gratitude, endeavor and modesty. Participants often described Kyokushin karate, and especially Kyokushin spirit, as "an anchor for the heart" (*kokoro no yoridokoro* 心の拠り所) and "something that makes my life worth living" (*jibun no ikigai* 自分の生き甲斐). For example, 23-year old female color belt wrote, "Japan does not have so much sense of piety. It is possible to say that Japan is secular country. For this reason, I think that moral code such as 'Dōjō kun' is valuable for modern people as an anchor for the heart."

Furthermore, many of the participant described Kyokushin karate as "karate with soul" (*tamashii no aru karate* 魂のある空手) or "soul karate" (*souru karate* ソウル空手). This refers to the full-contact method of training. Practitioners wrote that through full-contact you "give and receive pain" and as 22-year old yūdansha explained, because of direct blows with bare hands and feet this kind of pain is peculiar to martial arts and cannot be experienced in any other sport such as football, baseball or basketball. Participants believe that true strength is not merely physical strength, but kindness and compassion to others as well as cooperation and altruism and expressed that they believe they have more sympathy and compassion for other people`s pain than they would have without full-contact.

Moreover, participant wrote that they tightly relate karate practice with their everyday life. They claim that in their daily life they strive to behave according to standards taught in Kyokushin karate, meaning that one should be self-confident and show uprightness, but at the same time avoid arrogance and boasting about your abilities. It is possible that this awareness is present from the moment when one becomes formal member and makes a commitment to the Kyokushin karate organization. When joining, the member signs an entrance pledge which is addressed to *kanchō*, that

he or she will obey the rules of one`s dojo, endeavor to behave as a student also in one`s daily life, and never do anything to bring disgrace upon the dojo. Members thus strive in daily life outside of dōjō "not to damage the reputation of Kyokushin karate" and "not to dishonor the Kyokushin name" with inappropriate behavior.

5 Conclusion

In previous studies the relationship between Japanese martial arts and religion has been discussed though the religio-cultural concepts, such as *zazen*, *mushin*, self-control, *ki* energy and abdominal breathing. Martial arts, however, are not timeless, from social changes isolated entity, and religious traditions that played important role in the past are not necessarily considered as important among modern karate practitioners. I believe that the attachment and commitment to the particular martial art school has to be taken into the account because practitioners tend to develop a strong personal relationship with their martial art school.

In the research, I focused on the general students and their personal experiences with Kyokushin karate and realized that for Kyokushin karate students, training on Mt. Mitsumine and daily practice is not a mere recreation, but rather a lifestyle. Karate practice provides life meaning, sense of belonging, self-development, mental support, inspiration and empowerment. We can say that modern karate practitioners have transformed martial arts in a way that they correspond to their spiritual and mental needs. Furthermore, from the phrases and the words used in research descriptions we can see that students` way of thinking, worldview and whole value system in daily life is defined through "Kyokushin spirit". I believe that approach where *ryūha* is central study topic has a potential to further research the relationship between martial arts and religion and will help to explore the role of religion and spirituality in contemporary Japanese martial arts.

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Comparison of the Worship of the Tu Di Gong between Japan and Vietnam

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Abstract

The Japanese, like many peoples in the world, believe in polytheistic religions which is indicated by their significantly diverse types of worship. Based on the original ideas of Shinto (a Japanese folk religion), there are two main worship groups: human worship and nature worship. Among these, Tu Di Gong is of the most popular. The article provides an overview of Tu Di Gong in Japan in comparison with Vietnam.

1. The worship of the Gods of Land of the Japanese

Japanese folk culture in general, the worship of Tu Di Gong in particular has not attracted much attention of researchers and academics in Vietnam. There are not many specific studies analyzing in detail the worship of the Gods of Land in Japan and comparing to the same type of worship in Vietnam. While the Vietnamese people worship the Gods of Land who are also called the gods protecting the land, in the belief of the Japanese, there are many different gods protecting the land.

Definition: There are many different interpretations; however, according to Takashi Kakiyama in the "*Gods of Japan*" (*Nihon no kami* / *日本 の 神*), the Gods of Land worshiped in Japan include: Mountain Gods and Gods of Soil who have the common function of protecting the land [Takashi Kakiyama, 2000: p. 126]. Today, the concept is extended, the founding ancestor of a family and the god who reclaimed the land are both considered as the Gods of Land. For example, gods worshiped in Kiyomizu (清水寺) in Kyoto, Jinushi Daimyōjin (地主 大 明 神), Uwajima city, Ehime Prefecture, even Fujiwara no Kamatari (worshipper of the Tenji Emperor), Tanzan Jinja (談山 神 社) in Nara Prefecture are also considered as the gods protecting the land. In some places, the deceased person can become a local god after some time and be worshiped at the clan's tomb. [Takashi Kakiyama, 2000: p. 127]

Main gods and worship rituals: In modern view, in addition to the diversification of worshiping objects, places of worship and forms of worship have also become varied. In the primitive faith, the place of worship was often on the edge of the forest, on the top of the hill, even in a certain corner. Today the Gods of Land are worshiped in small temples made of wood or stone, sometimes a straw temple. The presence of the Gods is signified by small stone statues, or natural stone blocks, *Yorishiro* manifestations, rolls of new straw, or stone towers manipulated by mankind.

Among the Gods of Land worshiped in Japan, the first to be mentioned is Yashiki gami (屋 敷 神 / the God of Soil), is the god who governs the land that the family build a house to live. *Yashiki gami* is found in most places of worship in Japan, from living place of a family to a local temple. *Yashiki gami* is also called by other names such as *Ujigami* (氏 神), *Uchigami*(家 神/ family's god), *Jigami* (地 神/ god of the land) and *Jinushi gami* (地主神/ landlord god) [Naoe Hiroji, 1966]. In some cases, the god is also called by the name of the shrine where the god is worshiped, such as *Inari* (稲 荷 神社), *Shinmei* (神明 神社), *Gion* (祇 園 神社), *Hakusan* (白山 神社), *Tenjin* (天神), *Hachiman* (八 幡 神社) and *Wakamiya* (若 宮 神社) [Iwai Hiroshi, 2005a].

According to Yanagita Kunio [Yanagita Kunio, 1951] and Takami Hirotaka, the worship of *Yashiki gami* is divided into three main categories: First, the gods are worshiped in every household and the gods protect the family's asset; Second, the gods are worshiped in the patriarchal family (honke / 本家) (Zokudan, kazoku / 家族); Third, the god is worshiped in the branch families, and this is the type of *Yashiki gami* who has the oldest history [Takami Hirotaka, 2006: pp. 14 -35]. Folklore researchers say that these gods functioned almost like the tutelary god of a village, who help to prevent evil or the curse against the family. *Yashiki gami* worship is usually performed twice

a year, in spring and autumn, corresponding to the conversion time of *Tano kami* (田 の 神 / rice god) and *Yama no kami* (山 の 神 / mountain god).

Yama no kami is the term used to refer to the gods worshiped in the mountains, but there is a difference between the gods worshiped in the delta and the gods worshiped in the mountain. This difference is due to the different functions of the gods worshiped in the temples [Iwai Hiroshi, 2005b]. In addition to the gods residing on mountains are commonly called mountain gods, the gods residing on high and dangerous mountains like a volcano often have another function that is protecting the land. Those gods are typically worship in the temples on the mountains of Oyama, Otaki, Fatih, Tateyama, Ishizukuyama, Hikiyama of Nara Prefecture .

The manifestations of *Yama no kami* (mountain god) are found everywhere in Japan, in some places the god is called *Sanjin* (山神 / Son Than), in other places the god is called *Jūni yama kami* (十二 山神 / the Twelveth Mountain God), Ōsato sama (オサトサマ), Sagamisama (サガミサマ) (Iwai Hiroshi, 2005b). In the ancient society, most of the Japanese lived by farming, hunting, gathering and fishing, so they worshiped Yama no kami and Ta no kami. They said that in spring and autumn, *Yama no kami* and *Ta no kami* (mountain god and rice god) will always appear together, flying across the jungle into the villages. When spring comes, Yama no kami gods go down the mountain, visit the field and become *Ta no kami*. This change is associated with the development cycle of rice and agricultural production. After harvest, Ta no kami gods return to the mountain and turn into Yama nokami. The point can be seen here is that the kami (gods) is formed on a single entity and characterized by changes over time, according to the production cycle.

For the Japanese who live in the plains, *Yama no kami* is the god presenting agricultural production who is responsible for carrying irrigating water as water-heads start from mountains. In contrast, for the mountainous ethnic groups who live by hunting, gathering, burning charcoal, doing forestry, the *Yama no kami* is the god rotating between mountain god and rice god. In some areas, it is believed that *Yama no kami* is goddess. This god gave birth to 12 children, corresponding to 12 months of a year, therefore, the god represents fertility. This conception leads to the identity of the fertility god under the names of *Ubu Sunagami* (産 土 神), the god governs birth and infant. In those areas, the statue of *Yama no kami* is the image of the couple Kijishi and Rokuroshi [George Alphonse DeVos and Hiroshi Wagatsuna, 1966]. There are some noteworthy point in *Yama no kami* worship, that is in northeastern Japan, during the feast of god worship, women are forbidden to go to the mountains. As a result, in this area, *Yama no kami* is attached to an ugly old woman. *Ta no kami*, also known as rice god, is a term commonly used throughout the country.

In some parts of Yamanashi and Nagano, the gods included *Nō Gami* (農　神/ Agricultural god), *Saku gami* (作 神 / The God of Creation). In the Northern Kinki, people call Ta no kami as the god of production *Tsukuri gami* (作 り 神). People in the Izumo basin use other names: the god of raising Inokami (亥 の 神) and the god of land Jikami (地 神). Meanwhile, in the inland and coastal areas of Kyushu, the god of raising is called *Ushi gami* (丑 神) [Iwai Hiroshi, 2005.] In the Northeast, people combine *Ta no kami* together with Ebisu, people in the West combine *Ta no kami* with

Daikoku, therefore, *Ta no kami* become the god governing three areas: sea, forest, and agriculture.

Rice festival honors rice god is usually held in mid-spring and fall, this is the period waiting for harvest. During these cycles, people celebrate Saori / 早 降 and Sanaburi / 早上. In the spring and fall, the celebration of rice festival is held throughout the country, and this period is the period of transfiguration of the two gods, Yama no kami and Ta no kami. This is based on the fervent belief of the ancient Japanese who said that in the spring, the gods went down the mountain to the village and became the god of rice, in the autumn, rice god leave the family to go up the mountain and again become the mountain god. In general, although there are many similar views on Ta no kami, there are some differences in worship rituals among different provinces.

Thus *Yama no kami, Ta no kami*, and *Yashiki gami* become the three most important worshiped gods of Japanese folk belief, and they are special deities whose function is to protect the land's holder [Norman Havens and Nobutaka Inoue; 2001: pp. 84 - 90].

There is another god who is also considered as god of land, namely *Sae no kami* (塞 の 神), also known as *Sakai no kami* (境 の 神) is the guardian of the border. The god *Sae no gami* has a similar role as a tutelary god who guards the boundaries between the villages where people live, prevents demons, diseases and natural calamities, and also prevents dead souls from entering the world of the living [Nogami Takahiro; 2007].

According to *Kojiki* (古 事 記) and *Nihongi* (日本 紀 / Japan), when the god Izanagi chased Izanami from the hell *Yomi* (黄泉 / Hell), even when he passed Yomi's door, Izanagi was stopped by a large rock. In order to be able to go further, the god prompted and threw the stone, passing through that gate. Later, according to Japanese folklore, he became the god of border *Funado no kami* (岐 の 神) and he is also known as *Sae no kami*, *Tsuki tatsu funado no kami* (衝 立 船 戸 神). *Sae no kami* not only governs the borders, mountain roads but also prevents the invasion of the devil into the village. In the scripture *Engishiki*, Sakai no kami is also known as *Michiae no matsuri* (道 饗 祭) and is united by three gods: *Yachi mata hiko* (八衢比古), *Yachi mata hime* (八衢比古), and *Kunado* (久 那 斗) [Norman Havens and Nobutaka Inoue, 2001: pp. 84-90].

In ancient times, the god *Kunado no kami* was worshiped in the corner of the village with the image of a couple of a man and a woman (god and goddess). The book by *Honcho Seiki* (本 朝 世 紀) noted in detail that in Heian period, *Sae no kami* were sculptured by wood and were attached to the image of male and female sexuality. In addition to *Funado no kami and Sae no kami*, the worship of border guarding gods also existed in prominent denominations such as in *Jisō* (自 葬), the image of the Bodhisattva, who always helped the followers of Buddhism on the path from one world to another and helped people when they were in trouble. This is a popular embodiment of Sae no kami [Kawamura Kunimitsu, 2005].

With some analysis above we have some idea s about the worship of the god of the Japanese.

2. Vietnamese's worship of god of land

Definition: The land genie of the Vietnamese is one of the "Trinity" system. In that trinity, Kitchen God governs the kitchen, Land Genie protects the home and the wife of the gods is supposed to take over women's work and garden produce "[Tran Hanh Nguyen, 2004: p. 104]. In the view of the ancient Vietnamese, the concept of worshiping land genie is to pray for the family to be happy, lucky, and wealthy and this is one of the traditional culture of the Vietnamese people. So the Vietnamese have the phrase "Land has genies, river has Sea God", which means places with gods are protected. According to the researcher Toan Anh, the Gods of Land is the most important god of the family, more important than every other god. The Gods of Land are the guardians in a household, defining the family's faith. Thanks to the Gods of Land, evil souls cannot penetrate to disturb people in the house [Toan Anh, 2001: p. 78].

Shapes and characteristics: According to the folklore description, Land Genie is a god with full body, slightly fat, big belly, with a smiling face and holding an areca spathe fan. The image of a genie with big belly means that people always want to live a prosperous life. In fact, the Gods of Land have different shapes, sometimes as a male, a female, an old man, an animal, a tree, sometimes as a treasure or a familiar thing in people's daily life.

Worship ritual: In the worship ritual the Vietnamese people, Land Genies are often visualize as two males and one female. According to Tran Hanh Nguyen and Toan Anh, Vietnamese people use three paper hats (or one) and three tablets (or one) to represent the three gods. Every year, those symbols will be burned and be replaced by new ones on the New Year (Land Genie worshiping ceremony). Two male hats with two slightly upward wings are on two sides, and the female hat without two wings is in the middle. If you offer one hat, then it is for the God of Land. Each hat also comes with a set of clothes, a pair of shoes and paper money. Paper money usually has five colors, representing the five elements, metal, wood, water, fire, and soil [Tran Hanh Nguyen, 2014: p. 105]. In most of Vietnamese family, the Land Genie altar is often placed on the side of the ancestral altar. For families without ancestral altar, the Land Genie altar is placed in the middle, and the altar is often simpler than the ancestral altar, which includes an incense-table near the back wall of the house. On the incense-table, there is a small tray with three wine stations, incense burner, and a couple of candles. Behind is the tablets of Land Genies. On the tablet of these three gods, it writes that Kitchen God master the kitchen, Land God governs things in the household, Goddess governs shopping and the garden. If there is only one tablet, which means "Trinity", then on the tablet there has the following Sino-Vietnamese words: "Blessing Land Genies", or "Land Genies and Family Protector", or "Happiness Genies of Five Directions". It shows that, in the opinion of the Vietnamese, these gods are very respected.

People worship the Land Genies on the feast days, first day of a month, full moon day, and on the important occasion related to land such as pond digging, well digging, ground breaking, field opening, or grave digging. Worship offerings can be vegetarian or salty. Vegatarian offerings usually include golden and foil paper, betel and areca, and fruits. Salty items include wine, chicken,

spring rolls or a tray of different dishes. On the occasion of death anniversary or new year eve, the family often offers salty dishes on the alter of Gods of Land. Particularly in the occasion of the first proclamation to ancestor, family has to worship Gods of Land and this worshiping is similar to the ancestor worshiping [Toan Anh, 2001: p. 86]. When making ritual offerings to worship ancestor, family always prepares offerings to worship Gods of Land, praying for the blessings of the family. Especially for Vietnamese people, the most important ceremony is the worship ceremony on the 23rd day of the Lunar calendar. According to traditional beliefs, on this occasion Gods of Land fly to the heaven to report everything happening in the house of the owner during a year to the King of the heaven. The King of the heaven will base on the report of the gods to determine the blessing for the family. In addition to betel and areca, wine, water, incense lamps, gold and silver paper, fruits and chicken, people also offer shoes, hats, clothes and carp (some of families replaced carp by paper fish).

The worship of the Gods of Land (Tao quan) has therefore become both solemn and religious. At the same time, this belief makes people constantly remind themselves to work in accordance with moral norms and moral status, to protect the welfare of the whole family. This reflects the notion of inner thoughts and value trends of Vietnamese people.

3. Similarities and differences in the worship of the Gods of Land of the two countries

Similarities:

First, the worship of the Gods of Land of the two countries has bold folk characteristics associated with the daily life of residents.

Second, it is the respect of the people of the two countries with the worshiping. In both Japan and Vietnam, the Gods of Land are considered as important gods and worshiped all year round.

Third is the flexibility. While the Vietnamese people's worship rituals are influenced and penetrated by some Chinese cultural elements, the flexibility in Japanese's worshiping is the functional transformation of God *Tanoyama into Yama nokami.*

Fourth, most of the Japanese and Vietnamese considered the Gods of Land as male with the responsibility of managing the land, protecting the house as well as bringing prosperous wealth to each family or the blessing of the family. Therefore, the Gods of Land are classified as the most important gods in bothe countries. This is probably a similarity in the religious worship of both countries.

Differences:

First and foremost is the rich diversity of the system of worshiped Gods of both countries, but the number of deities in the system of Japan is more diversified than of Vietnam. Japan's Gods of Land include: Kitchen God, God of Land/Soil, Mountain God, Border God, and Saints - clan patriarchs or people who reclaimed the land after death are honored as Gods of Land. In the Vietnamese system, there are only three Gods of Land: Kitchen God, Land Genie and Goddess.

Second, the worship rituals of the Gods as well as the offerings on the altars in Japan are quite

simple. In contrast, the worship rituals and the offerings on the altars in Vietnam are more diversified. Although the beliefs have been imported from China, they have been localized. The number of days of worshiping the Gods of Land in Vietnam is more than in Japan, as the Japanese usually worship the gods on new year eve, festives and special occasions, and the Gods are invited as witnesses. In contrast, the Vietnamese worship the Gods more often. Even in some Vietnamese families, the Gods of Land and Fortune God are worshiped on the same altar, so people worship daily.

Third, the worshiping of the Gods of Land in Japan is mostly done by men, while in Vietnam both men and women can participate in this form of worship without distinction.

Fourth, places of the worship of the Japanese are quite simple, mostly in the temple, in the forest, on the mountain or even in some corners. In Vietnam, the Gods of Land are worshiped solemnly on separate altars in each family, and most of the houses of the Vietnamese have the altar of the Gods of Land.

Fifth is the diversity in the functions of the Gods of Land in the two countries. The Gods of Land of the Japanese are not simply the guardians of the land, but can be the guardian of the border (*Sae no kami*), the god of mountain (*Yama no kami*). For the Vietnamese, the Gods of Land (Land Genies), in addition to the function of guarding the land, they also master the kitchen and garden, because in Vietnamese's perspective land, house and kitchen tie together and are equally important.

Finally, it can be said that: whether similar or different, the worship of the Gods of Land is an important feature in the cultural life of the two countries, and has been maintained, preserved to today. At the same time, through this practice, we an also better understand the humanistic philosophy of the tradition of both Japanese and Vietnamese people. Consequently, the preservation of this traditional culture is particularly important, requiring attention from many sides, including the states and each individual.

NOTES

* Sacred objects, temporary representations of Kami, Yorishiro: 依り代・依代・憑り代・憑代: In Nihon Shoki and Kojiki, it has been recorded that, from the ancient times, substitutes of this type have been used to represent gods, such as mirrors represented God of the Sun, while beard symbolized the Gods with human origin.

* The reason is that they think that Mountain God Yamanokami is not interested in women, he views women as dirty because they have menstruation.

∗Saori (welcome new rice transplant), Sanaburi (celebrate rice to harvest)

∗∗Engishiki 延喜式 is a book about ancient Japanese rituasl and rules.

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Islamic Debates on the Environment: An Examination of Religious Rationales in Contemporary Iran

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Abstract

In recent years, Iran has problematized an issue that was previously considered less significant, yet that now draws greater attention from its religious establishment; the environment. While increasing efforts to bolster its industrial sectors, Iran has been experiencing severe environmental problems, especially those relating to the air, water, and soil. What was used to be outside of "Islamic concerns" has now become contentions of heated debates among religious leaders as well as environmental scientists. These debates are giving rise to diverse interpretations of Islam, while, at the same time, shaping and being shaped by the country's modernization processes in which the governance of state affairs is mainly organized through scientific rationality. This paper looks at the development of a religious tradition that is unfolding alongside modern scientific knowledge. In particular, it highlights the ongoing debates concerning the environment among religious leaders and environmental experts in Iran, and examines how Islam, as a conceptual framework, is drawn upon to address these emerging issues.

Introduction

Iran's environmental problems became evident in the late 1990s when the country significantly intensified economic activities as a way to financially recover from the devastating Iran-Iraq war. Meanwhile, urbanization and population growth in city areas aggravated environmental problems relating to the air, water, and soil, in particular. Although Iran continually tackles environmental challenges, their efforts do not seem to bear fruit; on the contrary, the country recently has witnessed the escalation of environmental problems and has come to view them as a matter of national security. The Iranian government is now trying to cope with environmental crisis from differing points of view; for example, the ecological approach based on scientific studies of the environment currently serves as a main methodological framework in Iran. In addition to this approach, another distinctive framework is emerging in recent years: Islam. Religious leaders and government officials have begun to stress the importance of environmental protection from the viewpoint of Islam and are thus introducing a new measure to contain environmental challenges in the country.

How are Islamic discourses of the environment in Iran being addressed and developing in the modern politics of the environment in which science plays a prominent role? In order to explore a range of Islamic debates on the environment, this paper turns to a work of a prominent Islamic scholar as well as an exchange of views between Friday prayer leaders (religious leaders) and environmental experts that I recorded during my fieldwork in Tehran in 2016.

Islam and the Environment in Contemporary Iran

Islam provides the faithful with a conceptual framework to make sense of environmental quandaries in Iran and elsewhere (Dien 2000; Foltz 2003; Haq 2003). In recent years, many experts draw attention to Islamic principles to consider and account for the environmental problems we witness today (Omīq 2006; Ṭarraqī 2016; Velāyī 2009). Generally, God, for them, is the omnipresent creator and designer of the universe within which humans and other beings are hierarchically ordered. Every component that makes up the orderly universe is considered valuable, while at the same time serving as a distinctive sign of the omnipresent God. Humans, as the only beings bestowed with free-will, are said to play a special role in keeping the environment in its appropriate condition; one of their crucial roles is to retain the God-given order that adeptly sustains the environment. According to them, when this order goes awry, the system of the environment begins to malfunction, the phenomenon which we commonly call environmental crisis. To explain this disarray, the religious leaders typically point to humans' excessive greed and desire as the triggers of disruptive changes to the environment. It is in this light that, they argue, the teachings of Islam offer guiding principles to regulate and curtail human greed and thereby to properly sustain the order of the environment. In effect, the well-being of the environment is evaluated by how well its order is maintained alongside human activities.

In Iran, one of the leading religious scholars sets the tone of debates concerning Islam and the environment. Ayatollah ʻAbudollāh Javādī-Āmolī is considered one of the key intellectuals of

the Islamic Revolution of 1979 and remains influential in Islamic scholarship. Trained initially in a seminary school in Amol and eventually in Qom, the largest center for Shiite scholarship in the world, he has attained prominent status as a religious scholar in a variety of fields, including that of the environment; his expertise on the environment culminated in the publication of a seminal book entitled "Islam and the Environment (*Eslām va Moḥīt-e Zīst*)" in 2009. My research suggests that this book serves as a platform for many—from religious experts and government officials to non-religious environmental activists—to address environmental problems from the viewpoint of Islam. Therefore, an examination of this book helps our understanding of the purview of environmental discourses of Islam in Iran upon which the scholarship of the environment is elaborated and expanded.

In the book, ʻAbudollāh Javādī-Āmolī highlights some qualities of Islamic precepts that would refine and enrich certain aspects of non-Islamic sciences. In particular, he argues that verses of the Qur'ān enhance non-Islamic scholarship. All sciences, he claims, are perceived through human wisdom which itself is bestowed by God. Therefore, all sciences, whether they be natural sciences or other kinds, are religiously oriented. For him, all end results of reason and statement are religious. He further remarks that long-held opinions (*neẓārat*) of Imams are also invaluable sources of knowledge (Javādī-Āmolī 2009: 114-115). This particular understanding is reflected in the ways he conceptualizes an Islamic approach to environmental problems in the book; he usually provides Quranic verses or hadith of Imams as a conceptual tool to confront modern problems.

One of the book's chapters is devoted to the discussion of spiritual acts that would benefit the environment, especially the proper commitment to one's occupation (*kār*). He provides rationales of why moral forces can be exerted through such commitment. Ayatollah Javādī-Āmolī (2009) argues that, because one's occupation and one's character are correlated with each other, committing to a "suitable occupation" is of particular importance in character building: "Those who are going after money cannot choose a suitable job for themselves. They not only hurt themselves but also tarnish their character at the same time" (262). In contrast, engaging in honorable, virtuous jobs can generate spirituality and morality inside the workers, enabling them to disentangle the complexity that restrains society, he explains. He attributes his rationale to the following commentary by the sixth Shiite Imam: "God loves glorious (*shokūhmand*) and excellent (*ʻālī*) jobs, while he does not favor lowly and easy jobs." To further advance his point, he frames his argument within a tradition of Muslim families, which is still widely cherished in Iran, wherein the father is responsible for selecting suitable occupations for his children. Thus, Ayatollah Javādī-Āmolī looks at the commitment to a proper occupation as a key practice not only to build one's character but also to create a healthy environment in which community members are able to live by the principles of spirituality and morality, not by those of greed. Furthermore, he draws on commentary of an Imam to demonstrate some contributions of Islamic teaching to resolving environmental problems.

It is interesting to note that, in his argument, the exegetical authorities do not offer technical explanations for environmental sciences *per se*. Rather, he offers a solution based on Islamic prin-

ciples that focuses on the moral force of individuals, which is different in kind from the solutions offered by environmental sciences. Yet, Ayatollah Javādī-Āmolī does not object to the knowledge made available through environmental sciences: "Although environmental sciences are concerned with the natural sciences, their effectiveness in improving human ways of life and health has its background in the human sciences and religious orientations" (Javādī-Āmolī 2009: 127). What he authorizes is the interpretation of religious sources against a scholarly milieu in which ecological sciences have become prominent for dissecting environmental problems. Thus, according to his understanding, Islam and ecological sciences do not operate independently from each other.

Exchange of Views: Friday Prayer Leaders and Environmental Experts

I observed during my fieldwork that Islamic discourses of the environment are illuminated through the dialogues between those who specialize in Islam and those who specialize in environmental sciences. In order to look at how Islamic discourses are made pertinent to non-Islamic environmental schemes, namely those of ecological science, the paper now turns to an exchange of views between government officials of science and Islamic leaders that I encountered during my fieldwork. I had the opportunity to attend a meeting in March of 2016 where Friday prayer leaders and environmental experts discussed ways to mitigate environmental problems. The Friday prayer leaders who were present deliver sermons every Friday in nearby mosques and are thereby fashioning religious orientations of the faithful (Adelkhah 2000). The environmental experts in the meeting were trained in scientific disciplines in Ph.D. programs, distinctively different programs from those at seminary schools. Examining the debate among these officials helps us see how officials of Islam are accommodating their views to the discussion of environmental problems with the scientific (i.e., environmental) experts, an encounter increasingly becoming urgent in Iran (Najmabadi 2014; Tappan 2015).

One of the foremost concerns addressed by the environmental experts in the meeting was technical matters; for example, the environmental experts spent a great amount of time discussing environmental justice (*'edālat-e zīst-i moḥītī*), sustainable development (*towse'eh-'e pāydār*), and the effects of greenhouse gas (*gāzhā-ye golkhān'eh*). Their concerns reflected core concepts of environmental sciences through which they explore the workings of "the environment" as an object of scientific studies. In light of these themes, one of the participants in the meeting commented that "unless we meet proper conditions for sustainable programs, we will not be able to control the problems of global warming, polar ice melting, land lost to sea level rise, and, moreover, world security." He then stated that the preservation, restoration, and sustainable development of natural resources have been central tasks at the DOE. Comments like this highlight the nature of discussion initiated by DOE environmental experts; that is, the environment is a material object that can be properly maintained with appropriate management.

In the following Q&A session, Friday prayer leaders had opportunities to express their concerns, to ask questions, or simply to have dialogues with the environmental experts. I noticed that,

they focused their attention on practical issues of the environment rather than on technical ones. Many of their comments were related to Islam in one way or another; for example, some emphasized the importance of tree preservation from an Islamic perspective, while another raised the issue of stray dogs in town, an animal considered unclean in Islamic traditions.

What is interesting is that they did not address technical aspects of environmental problems *per se*, but they spoke about the attitudes of religious faith with which to combat them. In the meeting, Friday prayer leaders often expressed their concerns by referencing anecdotes of revered religious leaders. One of them, for example, spoke about the general attitude toward natural resources that Iranians ought to have: "Even in times of war, the Prophet (may peace be upon him) encouraged his followers not to pollute wells, not to cut trees, and not to start fire in the field. Why can we not do the same now, in a time of peace?" Quoting a verse of the Qur'ān "It is God who created the heaven and the earth" (32: 4), another Friday prayer leader pointed out that "as long as people see the sky, the land, and in-between as being separate from each other, we will not be able to solve environmental problems." Friday prayer leaders in the meeting authorized religious interpretations of sacred sources to agree with and accommodate environmental concerns problematized in environmental sciences. In other words, religious leaders defer technical matters of the environment to DOE officials (i.e., scientists); while at the same time, using religious rationales to discuss environmental concerns (Stolz 2018).

Although environmental experts seemingly frame environmental debates through the language of modern science, the relation of authority over environmental knowledge between environmental experts and Friday prayer leaders is not completely asymmetrical. During the discussion, a DOE official addressed some particular ways in which Islamic principles are exercised to push forward their environmental agenda, stating that "the Islamic principle of 'enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil' in the realm of the environment is a key tool to bring forth the desired outcomes of our efforts." According to Izutsu (2002), the term "what is good" refers to the source of rightness that lies in the will of God, whereas "what is evil" means any acts that would conflict with God's commandments (213-221). With reference to God, the DOE official sees the actions of individuals as an ultimate cause of environmental conditions. Furthermore, it is Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khāmene'ī, who is granted the authority to influence the ways in which environmental policies are laid out and then implemented in the country. In this meeting, indeed, both environmental experts and Friday prayer leaders were invited to discuss Ayatollah Khāmene'ī's religious interpretations of existing environmental problems in Iran. Thus, Islam, to some degree, also shapes the parameters of environmental debates among environmental experts. The meeting between Friday prayer leaders and environmental experts showcases the interplay of Islam in environmental debates in Iran.

Concluding Remarks

This paper looked at how Islam has entered the debates concerning environmental problems in Iran and introduced some parameters of rationales employed by prominent religious leaders as

well as environmental experts in the country. By showing some examples of Islamic debates in the realm of the environment, it attempted to demonstrate how traditions of Islam have been developing through the debates of the environment at a particular time and place. This paper was not intended to cover a full-range of what Islamic discourses of the environment might look like. It rather attempted to argue that a corpus of knowledge disseminated through the religious leaders crucially both reflects and is reflected by the relations of authorities of Islam and science. My argument is that the course of environmental discourses of Islam is contingent upon how the environment is problematized, debated, and instituted at a given time and place.

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When Japanese Buddhism and Chinese Folk Religion Meet in Hong Kong: Representation and Interpretation of Soka Gakkai in the Chinese Settings

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Abstract

Soka Gakkai (SG) is a New Religious Movement (NRM) founded in Japan in 1937 based on the teachings of Nichiren Buddhism. Along with globalization, SG has expanded to the global religious market including Hong Kong. Established in 1963, Hong Kong Soka Gakkai International (HKSGI) has nowadays extended its memberships beyond the community of ethnic Japanese in Hong Kong and successfully built a strong grass-roots network among ethnic Chinese (approximately 50,000 members in total). This paper discusses the development and localization of HKSGI, with a focus on the interactions between SGI and local folk religion when they meet in Hong Kong. For instance, how has SG represented itself in Hong Kong, where most people practice a fusion of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism? On the other hand, how have the local Chinese people interpreted the practices and teachings of SGI, which are so different from the form of Buddhism they have been practicing? Based on a short case study of a HKSGI member's funeral, I also explore how local religiosities may be incorporated into SGI practices and how such fusion is made possible considering the localization strategies of SGI. In short, this paper argues that the principle of *zuiho-bini* (local application of Buddhist doctrines) has allowed SGI to adapt to local Hong Kong cultures and provides room for cultural diversity to flourish during the localization process.

Introduction

In a globalized world, the flow of economic and cultural influences has become more rapid. In the dimension of religious exchanges, we can find religions breaking through geographical and cultural boundaries and being practiced by people of different backgrounds. The spread of religions from its origin to other cultural soils, which took several decades in the past, is now facilitated by the rapidly changing technologies of transportation and communications which allows massive transfer of religious information and mobilization of human resources. In other words, globalization has not only brought closer the economic markets, but also the religious markets; consumers now have more choices in the ''marketplace of religions'' than before.

The increasing flow of cultures (including religion) across national boundaries has furthered the debate over "globalization vs localization". Globalization emphasizes the unification of world's order, which, many people argue, will ultimately lead to the homogenization of culture, whereas localization is a force counteracting or resisting such trends by upholding local characteristics (Fotopoulos, 2001). We might be tempted by such notion of "global vs local" to view cultural encounters as a fight between "foreign cultures" and "local cultures", in which each side is trying to eliminate the other. In fact, cultural encounters are, in most of the cases, a process of interactions and communications between foreign cultures and indigenous cultures, rather than the imposition of cultural hegemony from the producers on the receivers. More interestingly, new forms of "hybrid" cultures are often created during such encounters. For instance, try to google "McDonald's in Thailand" and you will see pictures of Ronald McDonalds with Thai greeting. Whenever a new form of culture arrives, it affects the local community and at the same time is adopted, modified, and nurtured by the local soil with indigenous elements.

The "hybridization" of culture also occurs during the encounters between different religious traditions. Foreign religions are often adopted in the new cultural settings with local colors, as shown in the case of Maria Kannon in 17th century Japan when Christianity was prohibited and the popular hybrid image of Guanyin (the Bodhisattva) and the Virgin Mary in 14th China (Song, 2008).

Following this line of argument, this paper explores what happens when a Japanese religion, namely Soka Gakkai International, encounters folk religions in Hong Kong. How has SG represented itself in Hong Kong, where most people practice a fusion of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism? On the other hand, how have the local Chinese people interpreted the practices and teachings of SGI, which are so different from the form of Buddhism they have been practicing? In particular, based on a short case study of a HKSGI member's funeral, I explore how local religiosities and traditional values may be incorporated into SGI practices and how such fusion is made possible considering the localization strategies of SGI.

HKSGI: An overview

Founded in 1937, Soka Gakkai (SG) is a New Religious Movement (NRM) originated in Japan based on the teachings of Nichiren Buddhism. Along with globalization, which is defined as the

increasing flow of people, information, goods, services, and other resources across the national and cultural boundary (Wuthnow and Offutt, 2008), SG has expanded to the global religious market. Nowadays, SG has established its branches in 192 countries in North and South America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and Oceania, with a membership of 12 million worldwide ("About us", SGI official homepage).

The history of SG in Hong Kong can be traced back to the 1950s when there were around 15 SG members who joined the movement in Japan and came to Hong Kong independently. Since there was no formal SG organization at that time, these members maintained their faith through practicing *gongyō* (chanting) on their own. In January 1961, Ikeda Daisaku, the president of SG at that time, made his first visit to Hong Kong and initiated the formal establishment of a SG branch in this small city. In September 1963, Hong Kong Soka Gakkai Buddhist Society was officially established. A young Japanese college graduate, Kajiura Hisashi (who later adopted a Chinese name Lee Kon Sau) was appointed by Ikeda to lead the organization who still occupied that post until 2009 (Lee, 2009).

The organization was renamed Soka Gakkai International of Hong Kong (HKSGI) in 1991 due to the separation of Soka Gakkai and Nichiren Shoshu in Japan. Under Lee's leadership, HKSGI expanded steadily and the membership reached 42,000 in 1998. The figure further increased to 50,000 in 2011 (Metraux, 2001: 28). The current president of the organization is Mr. Ng Cho Yuk, and Lee became the Honorary President of HKSGI and the vice-president of SGI. The transition of leadership from ethnic Japanese to a Hong Kong person also indicates the gradual localization of HKSGI.

Representation of SGI in Hong Kong

My previous paper (Ng, 2012) argues the localization of SGI in Hong Kong is quite successful (as seen from the steady increase of membership) because of the five strategies adopted by the organization, which are (1) building an image of an organization that promotes education, culture, and peace, (2) emphasizing its Buddhist origin,(3) adopting a low-profile policy, (4) promoting the idea of individual empowerment, and (5) emphasizing the cultural proximity between Japan and Hong Kong. In this paper, I focus and further elaborate on the second point, arguing how SGI has strategically represented itself in Hong Kong as a "general/lay Buddhist organization" to adapt to the Buddhist religiosity widely embraced by ethnic Chinese in Hong Kong.

Buddhism is one of the most influential religions in Hong Kong. While not necessarily calling themselves Buddhists, many Hong Kong people are, to different extent, committed to the teachings and practices of Buddhism in their everyday life in the form of "folk Buddhism" (Overmyer 1972), which can be understood as a combination of Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist doctrines, ritual traditions, and ancestor worship. According to the Hong Kong Government (2016), there are more than one million followers of Buddhism in Hong Kong (total population is around seven million), similar to the results 11.4% suggested by the World Vale Survey (2013).

Also, thanks to the media adaptation of Buddhism-related works of literature (such as *Journey to the West*, or Xiyou Ji), Buddhist teachings, which have already taken root in Chinese societies, became further popularized in Hong Kong culture and language system. For instance, phrases and vocabulary with Buddhist origin are widely used in everyday life, such as Karma and "good will be rewarded with good, and evil with evil". Buddhist monks and nuns are often highly respected, and Buddhist teachings and values well-received by the general public.

While the positive perception of Buddhism in Hong Kong may be advantageous to SGI development, the kind of Buddhism Hong Kong people are familiar with is a form of Chinese folk Buddhism but not a specific sect of Japanese Buddhism known as Nichiren. Throughout my research, less than 10% of the people I talked to have ever heard of the term "Nichiren". Strategically speaking, therefore, instead of over-emphasizing the Nichiren background, identifying itself as a ''general'' Buddhist organization seems to be more effective when it comes to earning public acceptance.

Throughout my research, I found that HKSGI, whether intended or unintended, has adopted a similar strategy of highlighting its status as a "lay" and "general Buddhist" group. For example, an event held to recruit new members are called "Buddhist Teaching Seminars for New Friends". As the name suggests, there is little indication of which sect it belongs to. The speaker introduced SG as a ''Buddhist group'' at first and mentioned its Nichiren background after a while. It serves to send a clear and strong message to the audiences that SGI is, *first and foremost*, a Buddhist organization in nature. The notion of Nichiren Buddhism is introduced when it comes to the question of which Buddhism is most suitable in the age of *mappo*[1].

Similarly, on HKSGI official website, magazines (e.g. *New Century Magazine*), and newsletter (e.g. *Lai Ming Newsletter*), HKSGI tends to describe itself as a "lay Buddhist organization" at the very beginning, and that fact that it is based on the Buddhist teachings of Nichiren often comes next. Creating a first impression of HKSGI as a "lay Buddhist organization" seems to be of higher priority than explaining its origin. For example, the original Chinese text found on HKSGI official homepage is as follows:

> Soka Gakkai International of Hong Kong (HKSGI) is a lay Buddhist association (in Chinese: 民間佛教團體) that promotes peace, culture, and education based on Nichiren Daishonin's Buddhism. (translated by the author) ("About HKSGI", HKSGI Official Homepage)

Calling itself a "lay Buddhist association" makes it sound closer to the ordinary people and less hierarchical in terms of organizational management. In fact, it is important for the group to emphasize its grassroots nature because its separation from Nichiren Shoshu in 1991 means the group

[1] According to Buddhist teachings, human history can be divided into three stages: *shobo* 正法, *zobo* 像法 and *mappo* 末法. In the period of *shobo* (the Age of Right Dharma), Buddhism prospers and leads people to enlightenment. While in *zobo* (the Age of Semblance Dharma), Buddhism becomes established firmly in society but has signs of decline. Finally, when it comes to *mappo* (the age of degeneration of the Dharma), Buddhism completely loses its power to help people (Kirimura, 1980).

is no longer under the control of clergies and is managed only by lay people.

Cultural Festival 2011 is one of the biggest highlights in recent HKSGI history. On the pamphlet disturbed to all participants (including non-members), there is a short introduction about the organization, which writes "SGI is a lay Buddhist association with more than 12 million members in 192 countries and territories worldwide". The rest of the passage then covers the education, cultural, peace activities of SGI. Information about its Nichiren background seems to be omitted. As the pamphlet is a promotional material to be read by non-members as well, I am tempted to believe that the organization might be trying to portray itself as a "lay Buddhist group" and dilute its Nichiren background in their "first encounter" with potential recruits.

Identifying itself as a member of the larger Buddhist community also helps the organization cut ties with the so-called "evil cults". This is important because Hong Kong people have a negative impression of Japanese religion, as they still remember the tragedy of "sarin gas incident' happened on 20 March 1995, when members of the notorious Aum Shinrikyo released sarin to several lines of Tokyo Metro, causing 13 deaths and injuring nearly one thousand people. For this reason, many Hong Kong people became resistant (or even hostile) to Japanese new religions, and such public sentiment is an obstacle to SGI's development. Therefore, it is preferable for HKSGI to represent itself as a member of the Buddhist family at the very beginning and makes clear of its Nichiren lineage in the second step.

When SG and Local Religious Cultures Meet/Clash

Gohonzon vs Buddha Statues

The most commonly practiced religion in Hong Kong is a mixture of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, or sometimes known as *Sanjiao* ("three-religion"). Many people set up altars at home to worship ancestors, Buddha, Bodhisattva, and/or some kinds of Taoist deities like Tu Di (earth god), Zao Jun (kitchen god), and Guan Gong (Lord Guan). Also, visiting Buddhist temples and Taoist shrines is a regular activity for some, and a seasonal activity for many. Especially, due to a practical approach to religion, people in Hong Kong often visit temples and shrines on special occasions to pray for earthly benefits, such as business prosperity, good luck, and recovery from disease. In addition to temple/ shrine visits, in Chinese religious cultures, the object of worship is often in the form of a physical and human-like image, such as Buddhist and Bodhisattva statues. These characteristics of Chinese religiosities and practices have presented some daunting challenges to SGI.

In SG teachings, chanting the mantra *nam-myoho-renge-kyo*, or daimoku, in front of a mandala known as *Gohonzon* can "unfailingly transport one across the sea of life's inevitable sufferings to the distant shore of enlightenment" (SGI Nichiren Buddhism Library). While the organization applies the Buddhist idea *zuiho-bini*, or "the adaptation of Buddhism to the unique traditions of any particular culture" (Metraux, 1996: 44), chanting *daimoku* in front of *gohonzon* is an important notion that should be strictly followed by all members as it is the core of SG teaching and practice.

The worship of religious symbols other than *Gohonzon* is strongly prohibited.

In Hong Kong, this has become a big issue. As many members had been folk Buddhism practitioners before they joined SG, they strongly felt that worshipping Buddha or Bodhisattva statues, as well as ancestors and other deities, and/or visiting Buddhist temples and/or Taoist shrines are "normal practices" for being a Buddhist. Therefore, many members feel odd to worship *gohonzon* because it is "a scroll containing Chinese and Sanskrit characters" (*The Gohonzon*, SGI official homepage) without any images of Buddha or Bodhisattva. Some members wonder if SG considers itself as a member of the Buddhist traditions and community, why they are not allowed to do what they have been practicing "as a Buddhist". In fact, a similar problem has occurred in Japan in the 1950s when SG was under the leadership of Toda Josei. In response to the popular practice of ancestor worship in Japan, which is against the teachings of SG, he developed an aggressive way to attack other religions and encouraged the practice of smashing household ancestral altars (Tamaru, 2000).

To deal with member's doubts about the worship of *gohonzon* and clashes between SG practices and folk religious practices, HKSGI has never gone so far as to smash members' altars. Instead of ordering members to strictly follow SG teachings in an aggressive way, the organization has taken a gradual and tolerant approach. First of all, HKSGI encourages members to "gradually" give up worshiping objects other than *gohonzon* because it understands that it takes time for members, especially the elderly, to completely get rid of their reliance on Buddha and Bodhisattva images. Most senior members I have interviewed believed that having a transition period is more practical as it is difficult for some members to adapt to a sudden change of religious beliefs and practices.

To promote current and potential members' understanding of *gohonzon* is also an important step. An item about *gohonzon* is specially created in the "frequently asked question" session of HKSGI homepage. Here is part of the answer.

> Why is there no Buddhist idols? What is the Gohonzon?
> […] Based on the fundamental teachings of Buddhism, Nichiren Daishonin taught that one could not attain enlightenment or open the path to true happiness by worshiping an external Buddha figure […] The Gohonzon (object of worship) which Nichiren Daishonin had inscribed is the mandala that is fully endowed with the mutual possession of the ten worlds, which is the manifestation of the entity of life. ("Gohonzon", HKSGI homepage)

During SG meetings, *gohonzon* is a topic frequently used in lectures and discussions. Senior members from the education division visit different branches occasionally and give lectures on SG teachings, explaining the meaning and power of *gohonzon* to junior members. The first and foremost important idea they want to emphasize is that *gohonzon* embodies all divine deities. Chanting *daimoku* in front of *gohonzon* basically means praying to the universe and to all the divine deities, including Buddha and Bodhisattva. In a sense, members do not necessarily have to entirely abandon their belief in Buddha or other deities since they are substantially part of what *gohonzon* represents:

the entity of life and the ten worlds ("Gohonzon", HKSGI homepage).

Another important belief that is repeatedly highlighted during SG meetings is that *gohonzon* is not "a representation of something we lack or must acquire from a source outside ourselves," but something that "mirrors the qualities of our inherent Buddha nature, such as wisdom, courage, compassion and life force." ("Gohonzon", SGI homepage). Therefore, the main purpose of chanting in front of *gohonzon* is not to worship the Buddha or Law as externals, but rather to reveal one's Buddha nature:

> […] reciting portions of the Lotus Sutra while facing the Gohonzon, is an act of reaffirming and revering the dignity of their lives as well as the dignity of all life. By revering the Buddha nature inherent within their own lives and depicted in the Gohonzon, practitioners are able to manifest the qualities of Buddhahood. ("Gohonzon", SGI homepage)

At the end of each chant, members are required to make four prayers, namely "appreciation for life's protective forces", "appreciation for the *Gohonzon*", "for the attainment of *kosen-rufu* (spread of Buddhism)", and "personal prayers and prayer for the deceased" (HKSGI, 2010). The whole religious practice is known as *gongyo*. Since prayers are directed to "protective forces", which may refer to all divine deities, and also to the deceased, the concerns of folk Buddhist practitioners, like the worship of Buddha and ancestors, are indeed taken care of, in a subtle way, within SG's practices and belief system.

One Funeral Two Styles

Like any other religious traditions, SG has its own style of funeral services, which is characterized by the continuous chanting of *nam-myoho-renge-kyo*. In Hong Kong, family members usually respect the final wishes of the deceased and conduct the funeral according to his/her religious beliefs. However, conflicts may still occur when family members of different religions insist to arrange the funeral in the religious style they prefer. The following is a story of a SG member who I interviewed in 2011.

Mrs. M's mother passed away in 2007. Even though both Mrs. M and her mother are members of SG, some of her family members are not. Because her mother passed away without leaving a word about the style of her funeral, her family members had an intensive argument over the arrangement of the funeral service. While Mrs. M preferred to respect her mother's religion and organize a SG-style funeral, non-SG family members felt uncomfortable with this idea because they believed the funeral was supposed to be a private and family matter rather than an event that would be attended by so many "strangers" (SG members). They preferred the funeral to be conducted in the Taoist style, as it was more common and familiar to other relatives. After some intensive discussions, Mrs. M and her family members finally reached a consensus. They decided that the funeral would be conducted in two styles: *first*, the Taoist, *and then*, SG.

The first half of the funeral was held in the Taoist way. Taoist priests were hired to chant scriptures and play Taoist music with drums and woodwind instruments at the funeral hall. The climax of the Taoist funeral service is a ritual known as *po-dei-juk* (破地獄) or hell-breaking, in which a priest waves a sword to turn away evil ghosts and saves the deceased from hell. Funeral participants and guests also burned joss paper during the ritual; it is believed that the ghost money is used as "crossing fee" for the deceased to leave the underworld. The ritual ends by symbolizing the deceased enters the karmic cycle and receives a new life.

When the Taoist part of the funeral ended, the priests left the hall with their instruments; family members, relatives, and friends who are not SG members also excused themselves from the room. After a while, around twenty SG members started to enter the hall. Someone approached the stage and placed a large wooden cabinet there. When everyone was seated, a senior member opened the cover the door of the cabinet and revealed the *gohonzon* hidden inside. After beating the bell a few times, all members began to chant simultaneously. The hall was filled with the echo of *nam-myoho-renge-kyo*, which was then followed by the chant of Lotus Sutra in Sanskrit. Everyone was absorbed in the environment. Mrs. M believed that her mother could finally rest in peace with the power of *gohonzon* and *daimoku*. Eventually, everyone seemed to be satisfied with the funeral arrangement.

In the above case study, it is interesting that even though Mrs. M's mother was a SG member, the funeral was not conducted entirely in the SG style. The combination of Taoist and SG funeral in Mrs. M's mother's case is a "compromise" to respect the religious sentiments of both her mother, Mrs. M, and other family members, as well as to maintain their family relationships. At first, I was inclined to believe that the organization itself might not view very positively the idea of incorporating two religious elements into one single ritual since it seemed to challenge the exclusive nature of Nichiren Daishonin's Buddhism. Nevertheless, as the case study shows, as long as there is no violation of the core of SG teachings (such as Taoist and SG elements co-existing in the same place and at the same time), HKSGI is willing to respect and countenance, if not accept or support, elements of other religions. This can be considered as an example of *zuiho-bini*, the strategical adaptations to local cultures without changing the core of SG teachings. This principle provides room for cultural diversity to flourish during the localization process of SG. More importantly, it helps the organization to avoid conflicts with other religions and allow its members to be more flexible in dealing with non-members.

Local Interpretation of SG Teachings

Some important religious concepts were localized and re-interpreted with local flavors. For example, *ningen kakumei*, or human revolution, is an important idea in SG teachings, which means that "the fundamental process of inner transformation whereby we break through the shackles of our 'lesser self', bound by self-concern and the ego, growing in altruism toward a 'greater self'" capable of caring and taking action for the sake of others, ultimately all humanity". ("A Great Human

Revolution", SGI Official Homepage). As this concept does not exist in Chinese Buddhism and the word "revolution" has a strong political meaning, many members found it difficult to understand its connotation in a religious sense. To solve this problem, some members borrow Confucian ideas to help them interpret this concept. A member said "As the famous confusion saying goes, 'cultivating the moral self, regulating the family, maintaining the state rightly and making all peaceful' is the ideal virtues of all human being. This means that Confucianism suggests that human beings can achieve the status of 'Saint' or 'moral person' through our own effort. This way of thinking resonates with the core value of SG that everyone can become Buddha" (Interview with Mr. S, 60 years old, dated 10 December 2010). Confucian ideas have taken roots in Chinese cultures and can, therefore, serve as rich references for members to interpret difficult SG concepts in a local way.

Another example is *itai-doshin,* or "different bodies, same soul". It means that different individuals could work together and create the desired outcome. Many members prefer to use the analogy ''big family'' when asked to explain the meaning of this Japanese concept. They often said SG is like a family and members are linked together spiritually. In fact, in Chinese cultures, a family is the basic social unit and primary provider of support and welfare for individuals. Belonging to a big SG family implies kin relationships between all members, which is very similar to the original meaning of *itai-doshin*. In this way, Hong Kong members have a better understanding of *itaio-doshin* by considering themselves as members of a big family. Such reinterpretation is also considered a reason for SG's success in Asia as Metraux (2000: 425) argues ''it provides members with a new extended family'', which has declined with rapid urbanization and modernization.

Conclusion

This paper discusses the interactions between Soka Gakkai and folk religiosity in Hong Kong. I argue that the organization has represented itself as a lay Buddhist organization highly tolerant of local cultures, in order to earn the support and acceptance of local people, who are more familiar with folk Buddhism. Following the principle of *zuiho-bini*, the organization also applies a more tolerant approach towards local religious cultures. While worshiping anything other than *gohonzon* is strictly prohibited in SG teachings, instead of forcing members to immediately abandon their past beliefs, it allows some time for them to understand and adapt to the new practice. The case study of a SG member's funeral in both the Taoist and SG styles (though separately) suggests the organization respects the preferences of non-SG members and tolerates elements of other religion. On the other hand, Hong Kong members have interpreted SG teachings with local favors. The concepts of *ningen-kakumei* and *itai-doshin*, which are foreign to Hong Kong members, are understood with the help of Chinese Confucian and family ideas. In the localization process, both representation (images building of SG in Hong Kong) and reinterpretation (understanding SG teachings with local colors) have served as important forces shaping SGI development in the Hong Kong settings, allowing a Japanese new religion to develop some characteristics different from its place of origin.

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SGI Official Homepage, "A Great Human Revolution", available https://www.sgi.org/about-us/president-ikedas-writings/human-revolution.html (accessed March 31, 2019)

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Democratization of Science and Technology via Religion?: The Case of Won Buddhism and its Historical Periodization

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Abstract

What can be the reason for the existence or meaning of religion in the 21st century - the era of science and technology? The case of Won Buddhism is a good counterexample to those religious skepticisms. As a branch of Korean new religion, Won Buddhism has practiced religious businesses closely related to science and technology. Those businesses have always been about the latest industrial or technological objects of each period. The history of Won Buddhism shows that its recognition and intervention to the material, industrial and science- technology has continued from the beginning to now. It is due to the uniqueness of Won Buddhism's Doctrine. Won Buddhism has realistic recognition and understanding of science and technology in the core of its religious doctrine - from the reasons for the opening of the religion to the scripture of the founder. Again, it is due to the uniqueness of Won Buddhism's time understanding which has effects on religious periodization. Periodization does a core function in religious mobilization because changing people's time perception by defining a period or era lead to change of their thinking, belief, and practice. Most of the religions except Won Buddhism provide periodizations based on a providential understanding of time so they cannot put science and technology which are the result of human practice in the center of their religious doctrine. However, Won Buddhism's understanding of time is historical so it can recognize and understand science and technology in doctrinal level. Then, this study will discuss why the case of Won Buddhism is important and could be a role model of religion in the era of science and technology. In the era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, science and technology and its management and control become more elitist. In this circumstance, the involvement in science in technology via religions which are a fundamentally organizational phenomenon of a mass of people and their collective action can be the starting point of democratization of science and technology. That is what has been done by Won Buddhism.

1. Introduction

Now is the age of science and technology. Every main social domains such as business, politics, governance, civil society, and even religion consent to it.[1] Furthermore, there is also the expectation that this present age will be transcended by science and technology soon. In 1913, Péguy said "the world has changed less since Jesus Christ than it has done in the last thirty years."[2] It continues to be true. For now, 2019, the world has changed less since the beginning of Anno Domini than it has done in the last thirty years, 1990. Péguy's word will still be valid in 2045 when humanity might reach the Singularity. According to Kurzweil, at that point, human beings will overcome their biological characteristics, and, due to technological development such as artificial intelligence, intelligence itself will be no longer a category that belongs only to human.[3] That is, Human practice and characteristic and even the nature of human constantly change by the development of technology. In that sense, Human also is technological being. This fundamental transformation of humanity itself also changes the relationship between human and other things including religion. All these discourses are centered on defining and regulating the temporal such as age or period. How we define a period have various effects and meanings for human. In this age of science and technology, the relationship between them and religion has not been amicable.

In Western world, this has been the case since the end of the Middle ages when scientists had begun to release discoveries that contradict religious contents such as the Bible. when the scientific mode of thinking and practice became a foundation for everyday life, not remaining as a mere tool, which is the definition of modernity, Religion had begun to engage with science.[4] It was not only because scientists' discoveries refuted the contents of religious scripture, which were sources of pain for medieval scientists. Before the modern age, religion was the only thing which dominated everyday life, thinking, and practice of people before the modern age. However, when the scientific mode of them started to pervade every aspect of their life, Religion could not tolerate science which became a competitor.[5] These concern and hostility of religion were grounded. More and more people worship science and technology with admiration and awe,[6] and there is even a religion named after science.[7]

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1 Zuboff, S. (1988). In the age of the smart machine: The future of work and power (Vol. 186). New York: Basic books. pp. 3-16; Kurzweil, R. (1990). The age of intelligent machines (Vol. 579). Cambridge: MIT press.

2 Lowenthal, D. (2015). The past is a foreign country-revisited. Cambridge University Press. p. 395

3 Kurzweil, R. (2005). The singularity is near: When humans transcend biology. Penguin. pp. 16-30

4 Lindberg, D. C., & Numbers, R. L. (Eds.). (1986). God and nature: historical essays on the encounter between Christianity and science (No. 81). Univ of California Press.

5 Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (1997). Dialectic of enlightenment (Vol. 15). Verso. pp. 32-34

6 Stenmark, M. (2017). Scientism: Science, ethics and religion. Routledge. pp. 3-16

7 Kent, S. A. (1999). The creation of 'religious' Scientology. Religious Studies and Theology, 18(2), 97-126.; p. 99; Bambridge, W. S. (1987). Science and religion: The case of Scientology. The Future of New Religious Movements, 59. pp. 74-75

In East Asia, even though Confucianism, which was one of the most dominant religion, although had a tendency to look down on artisans and engineers, it was not opposed to or try to exclude Science and technology but aimed to use them well because Confucianism was not just a religion, but also a theory of governing or managing the world. When it comes to Buddhism, some of Western intellectuals of the Enlightenment period praised it as a religion for science that does not conflict with it.[8] Nevertheless, religions of East Asia also attacked by science and technology in a different way. After terminating western middle age, science and technology established a new material civilization and started invasion to the rest of the Earth. It was the beginning of colonialism and imperialism. The Western Invasion of East西勢東漸 based on progressed science and technology weakened Confucianism and Buddhism which were state religions by destroying their states. On the basis of results, we can say that religions of East Asia also failed to defend itself from science and technology.[9] That is to say, while science and technology are continually developing and strengthening their influence on the world, religions of both East and West had not been able to recognize and cope with such inevitability in advance. Western churches had been in hopeless competition with science and technology for the recognition and understanding of the world. Buddhism and Confucianism did not compete with science and technology directly. However, they also failed to have capacity to protect their influence or themselves when the power of science and technology was rising.

Most importantly, after the paradigm shift from religion to science and technology, because of the rationalization of every aspect of human thinking and practice, religion was excluded from public decision making. If the domain of everyday life were still under religious control at least, this exclusion would not have been accepted. In that sense, the separation of religion and politics means that the everyday life of people has been disenchanted to a considerable level.[10]

Then, what is the reason for existence or meaning of religion that has been pushed out by science and technology in almost all public and social areas in the 21st century? As Marx argued, Is not religion just opium which has no public and emancipatory power and reproduces just illusions that interfere with scientific and technological thinking and understanding?

Won Buddhism圓佛敎 is a good counterexample to those religious skepticisms. In this article, after looking at the aspects of Won Buddhism's technology-related practices, we will see why Won Buddhism could have a religious doctrine which could adapt to the age of science and technology and further induce them in a humanistic direction, not forcing them to fit their preexisted doctrine. Only when religion takes the scientific and the technological as objects of its religious practice un-

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[8] Abelsen, P. (1993). Schopenhauer and Buddhism. Philosophy East and West, 43(2), 255-278. p. 255; Ratanakul, P. (2002). Buddhism and science: Allies or enemies?. Zygon®, 37(1), 115-120. p. 116

[9] Dubois, T. D. (2005). Hegemony, Imperialism, and the Construction of Religion in East and Southeast Asia 1. History and Theory, 44(4), 113-131. pp. 121; 131 ; King, R. (2013). Orientalism and Religion: Post-Colonial Theory, India and" The Mystic East". Routledge.: pp. 114-115

[10] Gauchet, M. (1999). The disenchantment of the world: A political history of religion. Princeton University Press.

der these conditions, It can produce valid results unlike the failure of previous religions. The main argument of this article is that it was possible because Won Buddhism had a unique understanding of time and periodization distinguished from both other Korean new religions and major traditional religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Confucianism. Then, the article will be concluded by discussing why it is important to look at the example of Won Buddhism in our age.

2. Industrial and Technological Practice of Won Buddhism

Won Buddhism is one of Korean New Religions which is established in 1916. Its beginning seemed humble, but one hundred years later, Won Buddhism is, surpassing Confucianism which had been a state religion for five hundred years, the fourth largest religion in Korea with 80,000 believers.[11] It is the most successful Korean new religion sequentially established between the mid-19th century and the early 20th century. However, the achievement of Won Buddhism is not just quantitative. Won Buddhism's religious business has always been about the latest industrial or technological objects of each period. The best and latest example would be Won Buddhism's "Sunshine Temple Project."

This project is to participate in the movement against nuclear power, which has been heightened by the Fukushima Incident and moves toward an ecologically friendly society. This is not much different from the environmentalist movement of other religions. However, Won Buddhism has built a number of small-scale photovoltaic facilities via cooperative association established by it in order to participate in making alternative energy system to nuclear power. Between 2013 and 2016, relatively brief length of time, Won Buddhism had built one hundred of photovoltaic facilities and it is still going on. In this process, Won Buddhism was in a cooperative relationship with the administration of Seoul city, and this practice of Won Buddhism led to the participation of other major religions in Korea such as Christianity and Buddhism to establish photovoltaic facilities in their religious building. As for the meaning of this practice, one practitioner of Won Buddhism said as follows:

"It has been over a hundred years since Won Buddhism was established so now Won Buddhism should do social activities... The reason why Won Buddhism was first established was, It came out with a motto, "As material power is unfolding, Let us unfold our spiritual power accordingly." Then, after 100 years, what will we do for society? We did this."[12]

Moreover, Won Buddhism also provides an opportunity for members engaging in the field of science and technology to introduce and teach the latest trends emerging from the relationship be-

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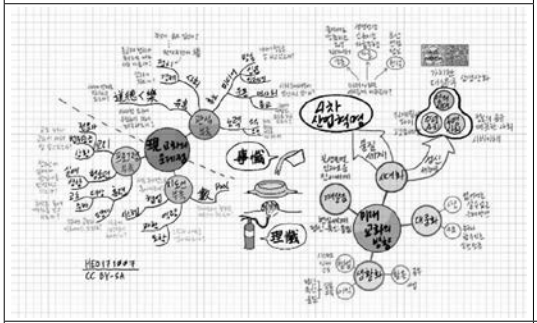
[11] Korean Statistical Information Service, 2015, http://kosis.kr

[12] Jung Suh Young, Yun Sun-jin. (2017). An analysis on the process and expansion of the Won Buddhism's sunshine temple project. Space&Environment, 62(0), 141-182. p. 166

tween technology and society such as 4th industrial revolution.[13]

The interest and active practice of Won Buddhism in the technical field was not only recently. Since its establishment, Won Buddhism's first project was a reclamation project of a tideland. In 1919, after the one year construction, they named that land Jeong-Gwan-Pyeong貞觀坪. It relieved the economic difficulties of the people in the region which was the early base of Won Buddhism.[14]

photovoltaic facilities installed on the rooftop of Won Buddhist temple, with Won Buddhists holding pickets against nuclear power[15]



Visual aid inserted in a local Won Buddhism news in Seoul's article explaining the Fourth Industrial Revolution

Location of photovoltaic facilities installed throughout South Korea by Won Buddhism[16]

Figure 1. Technology Involved Practices Won Buddhism

[13] Hanulan Sinmun, Huh, In-Seong, the Era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the orientation of reformation in the second century of Won Buddhism http://www.hanulan.or.kr/index.php?mid=feature&document_srl=150912

[14] Park, J. Y. (2014). Won Buddhism, Christianity, and Interreligious Dialogue. Journal of Korean Religions, 109-131. p. 115

[15] Won Buddhism sinmun, Min, So-Yeon, Round 圓 Shaped Sunshine Power Generation Cooperative Association is now producing electricity for four large-sized refrigerators from 6.6 m2 http://www.wonnews.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=201072

[16] Round Shaped Sunshine Power Generation Cooperative Association, Current Situation of Power Plant http://wonsolar.co.kr/%EB%B0%9C%EC%A0%84%EC%86%8C%ED%98%84%ED%99%A9

This started as a representative project of the "Perfect both soul and flesh靈肉雙全", one of the core concepts of Won Buddhism doctrine. In doctrine, this is applied to three dimensions: First, in the individual practice, a believer should train both one's mind and body. Second, in religious life, one should harmonize monastic life with its secular aspect. The third dimension relates to the Opening Motto of Won Buddhism: believers of Won Buddhism should promote the development of both spiritual culture and material civilization based on scientific knowledge.[17] The Scripture of Sot'ae-san, the founder of Won Buddhism, contains the contents as follow:

"Scientific knowledge helps improve material civilization, and moral cultivation helps strengthen spiritual culture. Hence, the perfect world needs moral cultivation in humanity as well as scientific advancement. ... The world, morally advanced but materially backward, however, is like a man who is mentally healthy but physically crippled. Thus, the world cannot be a perfect one if either of the two is deficient; a paradise can only be realized when material civilization and spiritual culture advance in balance."[18]

The doctrine of Won Buddhism emphasizes not only moral power, which was suggested as a strategic position for religion while the power of science and technology rising and has been stressed by major traditional religions until today, but also the material aspect of society and science and technology on which material civilization based. This is why Won Buddhism had established an economic cooperative association and industrial foundation for Farming including sericulture and orchard, livestock, horticulture, and Oriental medicine so eagerly.[19] The history of these businesses of Won Buddhism shows that its recognition and intervention to the material, industrial and science-technology has continued from the beginning has continued to this day.

We can get the explanation of the religious distinctiveness of Won Buddhism that made this possible from the reasons for the opening motto of the religion: "As material power is unfolding, Let us unfold our spiritual power accordingly."[20] To say the conclusion first, Won Buddhism was able to recognize and understand what will be the future shaped by the power science-technology and its meaning because it has a different meaning of words 'material' and 'Unfolding開闢' from other religions. Won Buddhism did not set the cause of Unfolding to transcendental divinity or providence, but to practice of human. Additionally, "Unfolding of the material world" in the doctrine of Won Buddhism did not interpreted as a physical-cosmological world of nature but as the

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[17] Lee, J. (2009). Cultivating the self in cyberspace: The use of personal blogs among Buddhist priests. Journal of Media and Religion, 8(2), 97-114. p. 101

[18] Chung, B. (2003). The Scriptures of Won Buddhism : A Translation of Wonbulgyo Kyojon with Introduction. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 191

[19] Chung, B. (2003). The Scriptures of Won Buddhism : A Translation of Wonbulgyo Kyojon with Introduction. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 134

[20] Chung, B. (2003). The Scriptures of Won Buddhism : A Translation of Wonbulgyo Kyojon with Introduction. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 114

rise of western material civilization caused by the development of science and technology. The development of this logic is due to historical and geopolitical reasons. These will be covered in the following sections.

3. Doctrinal Recognition of Science and Technology in Won Buddhism

In order to understand the uniqueness of Won Buddhism doctrine, it is necessary to understand the situation of the state and society of Joseon at the time of emergence of Won Buddhism. As a result of the expansion of Western power, just like the other countries of Asia, Joseon also underwent a drastic change in diplomatic and social situation. Before external factors appeared, Joseon was already in an optimal social situation for change internally. Entering 19th century, in Joseon, most people suffered from impoverishment due to the plunder of Corrupted bureaucrats, and so a series of uprisings appeared. It was in the optimal situation for the rise of new social thought. At first, Seohak(西學, Western Learning) which was the whole of knowledge, thoughts, and culture of the West including Catholicism had been becoming popular in Joseon society, But from the mid-19th century, Expansion of the Western power threated not only governing elites but also the people of Joseon both directly and indirectly especially via China's defeat in the Opium War. People of Joseon tried to find another alternative system of thought or religion neither Confucianism nor Western Learning. That is to say, they needed a new religion indigenous to their nationality and It appeared in the forms of new religions.[21]

The rise of Donghak(東學, Eastern Learning) was the output of those needs. Its religious influence profoundly expanded enough to the mobilizes five hundred thousand to the Donghak peasant movement. According to Song Ho-Keun, who is a renowned and influential thinker of Korea, This was the first politically significant popular uprising in the entire history of Korea. It shows that Korean new religions relate modern political concepts such as people's democracy and formation of citizenship.[22]

After the failure of that movement Donghak itself is inherited by Cheondoism(天道敎) and many other derivative new religions such as Jeungsanism(甑山敎), Won Buddhism appeared.[23] These Korean new religions that appeared in that environment described as above could not help but have to face the Western power. However, the important thing is that Won Buddhism has included such perception of the West in its core doctrine not like any other traditional and relatively new religions.

In the Canon and the Scripture of Sot'aesan, The cataclysm onto Korea is mainly described

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[21] Park, Maengsoo, 2018, "A Study on Community Movement of Donghak and Won-Buddhism as a Way of 'Non-Western Modern Era' - Focus on the Public Characteristic -," Won-Buddhist Thought & Religious Culture, Vol. 76, 9-48. p. 12

[22] Song, Ho-Keun (2016). The birth of the citizen in modern Korea. Paju, rea(South): Nanam.

[23] Kim, N. H. (2016). A Study of Salvation Types in the New Religions of Early Modern Korea. International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture, 26(1), 163-189. pp. 174-175

through the expression of "Material" and "Material civilization". There are four places where the word "Western" used in the scripture of Sot'aesan and the following statement is a decisive basis for the interpretation that the 'Unfolding of the Material' and 'Material Civilization' that he argued are those were coming from the West:

"The Master said, ''The level of advancement of today's world is comparable to the dawn, the moment when the dark night is almost gone, and the bright sun is about to rise in the east. That the West is civilized first is like the light brightening the mountain tops in the west first when the sun rises in the east. When the sun reaches the zenith of the sky, its light shines upon the whole world equally. At that time people will realize the world of great morality and true civilization.''"[24]

The "Bright Sun" in the quotation above which illuminates the West first is a metaphor for the source of modern civilization. If so, it is science-technology and modern rationality which have developed them. As a result, Material civilization emerged brightly from the west first and then headed east as in the history of "Western Invasion of East." Since the "Bright Sun" is a religious symbol of the fundamental causing phenomena, science and technology likened to the "Sun" means that they have the position with the same importance as that of moral in the whole system of religion. As discussed repeatedly in the doctrines of Won Buddhism, the unfolding of the new world started with the unfolding of material. So, If the sun which opens up the unfolded new world with its light brighten the west first as he said, it means that material civilization which is the precedence of the new era comes from the West first.

Many Won Buddhism theorists also has submitted the same interpretation. Kim who is the president of Won Institute of Graduate Studies in Pennsylvania, US and in charge of missionary work in Northern America, argued that "Sot'aesan defines the radical change of Western material civilization as the development of matter." in her interpretation of the Opening motto.[25] In addition, Chung who translated the scripture of Won Buddhism into English argued "he perceived that material civilization, partially brought into Korea by Westernized Japan, threatened the spiritual well-being of humanity in Korea.[26] Park who is the president of Wonkwang University in Korea which is founded by Won Buddhism also interpreted expressions like 'material civilization' and 'power of money' used by the founder Sot'aesan as 'scientific civilization of modernity in the West' and 'Cap-

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[24] Chung, B. (2003). The Scriptures of Won Buddhism : A Translation of Wonbulgyo Kyojon with Introduction. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 343

[25] Kim, B., (2000). Concerns and Issues in Won Buddhism. : pp. 34-37, quoted from Im, C. H. (2009). Korean Christians and Won Buddhists in dialogue on suffering. Fuller Theological Seminary, School of Intercultural Studies. p.92

[26] Chung, B. (2003). The Scriptures of Won Buddhism : A Translation of Wonbulgyo Kyojon with Introduction. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. p. 6

italism'.[27] All of them are leaders of the religion, and their interpretation of the contents of the scripture of Won Buddhism is credible. They all share the interpretation that the material Unfolding and material civilization in doctrine are Western modern civilization based on science and technology.

To sum up, the recognition, consciousness, and practice of Won Buddhism on science and technology have been done from the core doctrinal level rather than superficial or just practical. How was this possible? What is the meaning of this? Understanding Won Buddhism's theory of time answer to these two questions at the same time. In the next section, the importance of understanding time, contrasting two kinds of time understanding of religion, and then the effects of those time understandings of religion are discussed in sequence.

4. The Uniqueness of Time Understanding and Periodization in Won Buddhism

In order to answer the questions above, we need a theoretical approach to the concept of the Unfolding(or the Great Opening, 開闢) which is used as a framework to understand the new material civilization based on science and technology and its resulting cataclysm. This "Unfolding開闢" is short for "後天開闢the unfolding of the later heaven" and it means the beginning of a new era fundamentally different from the previous one which continued after the first Unfolding, the creation of heaven and earth which is shared by almost all religions. That is to say, this concept of Unfolding is about time and has an effect on our time consciousness. It is a periodization - the frame which periodizes time which continuously flow into two or more segmented categories.

It is not unusual for religion to have a concept or frame for periodization. Confucianism temporally categorized the time into two periods. The Golden age of three dynasties and comparatively fallen age came after that. The period of the three dynasties, Xia, Shang, and Zhou ruled by seven sage kings, Yao, Shun, Wu, Tang, Wen, Wu, and the Duke of Zhou is regarded as an age of ideal times by Confucianists. So basically all the people who come in the latter age should endeavor to restore the politics and social order of that golden age.[28]

Making people believe that new era bound to come despite there is no substantial grounds is the core mechanism and strategy of religion which wants to mobilize many people to follow. Christianity also has not just an ideal past we have lost but also a future period bound to come. As it systemized in " On the Catechising of the Uninstructed" by St. Augustine, Christianity suggests a periodization which categorizes entire human history into six periods and each of them is 1000 years long. According to Christianity, after the Anno Domini, now is the sixth 1000 year period and, with the end of this period, the seventh period when the will of Christian God is fulfilled will come.[29]

Buddhism suggests periodization of three days: the Former, Middle and latter day of the law.

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[27] Park, Maengsoo, 2018, "A Study on Community Movement of Donghak and Won-Buddhism as a Way of 'Non-Western Modern Era' - Focus on the Public Characteristic -," Won-Buddhist Thought & Religious Culture, Vol. 76, 9-48. p. 33

[28] Huang, J., & Zürcher, E. (Eds.). (1995). Time and space in Chinese culture (Vol. 33). Brill.: p. 76

[29] St. Augustine, On the Catechising of the Uninstructed, Chapter 22. Of the Six Ages of the World.

The former was the days when the teaching of Buddha himself and his disciples were fulfilled well, just like the period of three dynasties in Confucianism. Then, in the middle day, the institution for that teaching remained, but the substantiality of it deteriorated and became superficial. At last, the latter day is the period lost all of that teaching and fallen to the degeneration in both form and substance. There is some difference according to the sect, but usually, they have claimed that the former and the middle day is each 500 or 1,000 years long and the latter day of the law lasts 10,000 years. Buddhism also suggests that, after the latter day of the law, the Maitreya - a messiah of Buddhism - will descend and save the people.[30]

All the other Korean new religions also have a feature of periodization because they share the same concept of the "Unfolding of the Later Heaven後天開闢." The periodizing theory of "Unfolding of the Later Heaven" originated from Confucian canon about time named Ju-yeok 周易 and the book of prophecy about the new age named Jeonggam-nok鄭鑑錄. That discourse had already been disseminated among the people of Joseon, then, Donghak systematized it as a thought of Korean new religions for the first time. It was succeeded by all subsequent Korean new religions including Won Buddhism.[31]

Then, Why all religions shares periodization as a common feature? It is because the periodization is a useful means for mobilization. It is not a phenomenon that is limited to religion. Many revolutionary political and social movements always rise with a declaration of the advent of a new ear. Moreover, in many cases, those movements of people had been verified those declarations with the religious claim. This is one of the reasons why, in some cases, the distinction between religion and social movements is not easy and appears to be one. However, It is also not limited to the period called the Middle age when religious mode of thinking and practice dominated the world. The modernists who tried to reorganize the world based on modern ideology such as nationality, sovereignty, and freedom tried to show that there is a time rupture between theirs and the previous by giving the name "Medieval" to the previous time. In this context, periodization is a political practice and we can call it politics of time.[32]

As we discussed earlier, religions present their periodizations as a normative category. It mobilizes people to follow religion and change their practice according to it. Confucianism defines the ancient period as an exemplary model of a political norm and human morality. Then, Confucianism also defines the time after that ancient-golden age as a fallen age when lost all those virtues of the

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[30] Berger, P. A. (1994). Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850;. University of Hawaii Press. p. 37

[31] Paik, Nak-Chung, 2016 文明의 大轉換과 後天開闢 a Great Turning in Civilization and the Unfolding of the Later Heaven. Mosinsaram: p. 55; Kim, Hong-Cheol. (2012). A Study on the Thought of the Unfolding of Modern-Contemporary Korean New Religion 近・現代 韓國 新宗教의 開闢思想 考察 . 韓國宗教 , 35, 5-40. pp. 10-11

[32] Davis, K. (2012). Periodization and sovereignty: How ideas of feudalism and secularization govern the politics of time. University of Pennsylvania Press.: pp. 23-25; Osborne, P. (2011). The politics of time: modernity and avant-garde. Verso Trade. p. 52

past thus it had been able to mobilize states and people by claiming they should restore the lost virtues of the ancient period. Under this influence, Chinese historical thinking had become a normative mirroring of the past toward the present.[33] In that context, Confucianism's tendency to worshiping the ancient 尙古主義 caused conservatism in politics and education because this way of time understanding cannot help but have a regressive orientation.[34] Similar dynamics also is applied to Christianity. The realization of God's will means redemption or judgment to an individual, with the providence of the time, so who wants to be saved should follow the creed. When it comes to Buddhism, Unlike the Christian Messiah, Maitreya is said not to judge people for their action. But many popular leaders of Buddhism mobilized people by claiming that oneself is the Maitreya and if people follow him, then he will save them when the society in disorder.[35]

All Korean new religions sharing the same periodizing concept of the Unfolding also did the politics of time. Following Ju-yeok's eschatology of Sang-won/Ha-won periodization, the cycle and length of each period are different according to the sects: There was a periodization which divided human civilization into two periods each 50,000 years long and it claimed that after 100,000 years elapse then human civilization will be over without cycling. Other theories suggest the trifold periodization of Sang-won, Jung-won, and Ha-won either each 60 years long thus cycles every 180 years or each 3,600 years long thus cycles every 10,800 years. The Unfoldings places between these periods.

Then, What was special for Won Buddhism? Except Won Buddhism, all of these religious periodization both traditional and new shares one common feature: Their peridizations are based on a transcendental divinity or order. A transition of the time and advent of a new era is done by Providence which is irrelevant to human practice.

Just like the traditional religion, in Korean new religions the time is periodized by cosmological order just like religions which had postulated providential theories of time. For example, Kang Jeung-san who is the founder of Jeungsanism, One of Korea's new religions which separated from Donghak at almost the same time as Won Buddhism, followed the same with the traditional religions by saying that the time of the advent of "the Unfolding of the Later Heaven" determined by the fundamental principle of sexagenary(甲子Gab-ja, cycles every sixty years) and what human can do is only wait.[36] This is a representative example of the providential understanding of time, and all

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[33] Huang, J., & Zürcher, E. (Eds.). (1995). Time and space in Chinese culture (Vol. 33). Brill.: p. 76

[34] Won Jae Lee. (2008). Confucian classicism in education in the early Choseon Dynasty. The Korean journal of history of education, 30(2),: p. 83; p. 96

[35] Yeo, Ik-Gu. (1985). The View of History of Contemporary Buddhism 現代佛教의 歷史觀 . 釋林 , 19,: pp. 615-616; Kim,Chul-soo.(1998). The Thought of the Latter Day of Law and the Characteristic of Sam-gye-gyo Social Movement 佛教의 末法 思想과 三階教의 社會活動性 . 社會思想과 文化 , 1: pp. 257-258

[36] Kim, Hyeong-Gi. (2004). 後天開闢思想 硏究 A Study on the Thought of the Unfolding of the Later Heaven, Hanul Academy: p. 22; p.150

Osborne, P. (2011). The politics of time: modernity and avant-garde. Verso Trade. pp. 53-55

of the traditional religions that we have examined above are following this mode of understanding. It is an ahistorical understanding based on the view that history is a change and its accumulation by human practice.[37]

Thus, when the understanding of the cause of the Unfolding changed from providential divinity or order to human practice which established material civilization based on science and technology, the Won Buddhism's understanding of time changed into a historical one. Won-Buddhism suggested that the later Unfolding had already come and it was a material one. Moreover, this material cataclysm is not caused by the providential or transcendental but by practices of human, especially who belongs to the western power. This was profoundly differentiated from other new religions shared "the Unfolding of the Later Heaven" thought especially in the aspect that its theory of time was historical and its objective was secular.[38] Because of this, Paik Nak-Chung, a renowned and influential thinker of Korea, evaluated Won-Buddhism as a most potential religion suit for contemporary society, especially in the aspect of that it aims to take control of consequences of modern science and technology and make them be subordinate to the people.[39]

5. Why the Case of a Religion Successfully Involving in Science and Technology Matters?

We don't know what will be happening to us in the future. Modern technology is taking over. What will be our place?

-A Piney Wood worker[40]

Why is this special case of Won Buddhism important? It is related to the contemporary political and technological context. In 1990, shortly after the collapse of socialist state, Francis Fukuyama, a world-influential thinker, declared "the End of History." According to our frame which dichotomizes understanding of times, the time after the end of history is the time dominated by providence. Fukuyama said that the current mainstream political-economic system, which is a combination of liberal democracy and capitalism, is the endpoint of human history that no human practice or effort can open a new era. This is the same structure as the periodization provided by religions with a providential understanding of time and its view on human and its practice. Many

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[37] Osborne, P. (2011). The politics of time: modernity and avant-garde. Verso Trade. pp. 53-55

[38] Park, Gwang-Soo. 2012. 韓國 新宗教 의 思想과 宗教文化 The Thought and Religious Culture of Korean New Religion, Seoul: 輯文堂 ; pp. 272-273; Kim, Yong-Hwi. (2012). The Donghak Thought of the Unfolding and New Civilization 東學의 開闢思想과 새로운 文明 . 韓國宗教 , 35, pp. 58-59

[39] Paik Nak-Chung. (2016). "Toward a Great Turning in Civilization : The Role of Religion". Won-Buddhist Thought & Religious Culture, 69, pp. 29-35

[40] Zuboff, S. (1988). In the age of the smart machine: The future of work and power (Vol. 186). New York: Basic books. p. 3

politically progressive scholars showed hostility to the argument of Fukuyama, and it was not only because his argumentation lacked substantial ground, but they intuitively knew that is an immobilization. What Fukuyama said means all the politically progressive movement means nothing. It is unbearable for all humans to be judged to be meaningless. There were two ways in which religious periodization worked. First, the new era is coming so if one participates in preparation for that earlier, that one will be rewarded more. Second, by declaring the new era has already come, religions convince people cannot sustain their previous way of life because they should adapt to the new order and circumstance. Fukuyama's Periodization for immobilizing has the same structure with the latter way of religious mobilization.

However, what stated by Fukuyama is actually of the political context. However, what stated by Fukuyama is actually of the political context. The history which Fukuyama said that it had been ended is only a political-economic one. The most obvious example of it is the discourse of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. An important thing to understand the fourth industrial revolution, which is a discourse rising recently, is to remind that it is a kind of periodization. It is not only me but many other scholars journalists, either exponents or critics of the 4th industrial revolution, also know that it is a periodization.[41]

Although it had been discussed sometimes earlier, the crucial moment of the rise of the Fourth Industrial Revolution discourse was World Economic Forum held in 2016, which present the fourth industrial revolution as its central theme. At the report published after this forum, the fourth industrial revolution, as it comes after the first, second and third precedents, is occurred by technological advances: at this time, ubiquitous internet, sensors, artificial intelligence and machine learning which enables the economy based on information goods, platform effect, and automation. The last one, automation, is believed to bring about the most profound change because it means the substitution of human labor. Because the majority of human earns its income by labor, it also means poverty for the substituted people and systemically intensified inequality.[42] More fundamentally, as automation being capable of not only physical but also mental function which was considered to belong to only human, the need for humanity itself become threatened.

It is not only the fourth one that the industrial revolution by advanced technology has put many people in trouble. Industrial revolutions have been always followed by mass political resistance because the effect of technological and organizational progress has always threatened the condition of laborers and people. First industrial revolution is followed by Luddite and Chartist movement try to protect their autonomic and economic rights in the relationship with the new social formation induced by the change of mode of production because it had deprived artisans and skilled laborers of

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41 The Economists, 2016, 'Have we reached the fourth industrial revolution?', https://execed.economist.com/blog/industry-trends/have-we-reached-fourth-industrial-revolution

42 Schwab, K. (2017). The fourth industrial revolution. Crown Business.: pp. 11-17

43 Hendrickson, K. E. (Ed.). (2014). The encyclopedia of the industrial revolution in world history. Rowman & Littlefield.

their position.[43]

The rise and fall of the socialist state can be understood to be originated from people's resistance and endeavor to establish an alternative system to capitalism which has grown up with technological development, of course, there may be disagreements about the actual achievement and its meaning of socialist state. In the period during and after the second industrial revolution, the rise of Marxism and Socialism appeared and tried to provide an alternative social formation - the relationship between labor class and the ownership of the means of production. Marxism and later socialism were basically friendly to the progress of science and technology, they only aimed to make the consequence, the fruit of science and technology belong to the people by class struggle. There are always some collective endeavor or action pursuing interest and autonomy by people respond to the industrial revolutions. We also can see the case of Won-Buddhism which try to provide control over the material civilization to people in Korea in the same context in from the mid 19th to early 20th century when those people were the victims of material civilization which appeared as the expansion of the powers of the world.[44]

However, when the end of history declared by Fukuyama. What people lost is the political way of pursuing control over the consequences of new technology and the industrial revolution induced by the former. The option only left for people is to be either a user or a consumer. They can only choose to adapt to it or to perish. In a survey conducted in Korea, the absolute majority of respondents answered that the fundamental technology of the fourth industrial revolution is good for the humankind but threatening them individually.[45] It shows their resignation. They know it threatening but there are no alternative option and possible collective movement. So they can do nothing but to

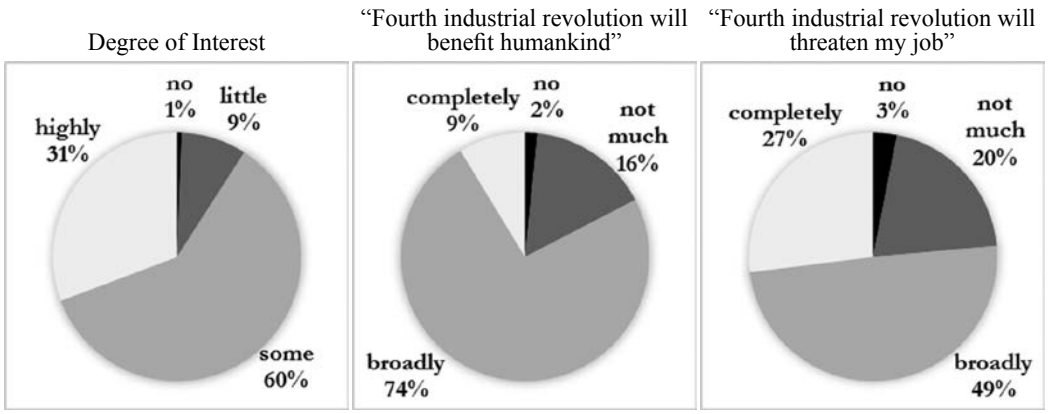

Figure 2. Public Perception Survey on the Fourth Industrial Revolution in South Korea

[44] Beaud, Michel (2015). The History of Capitalism: 1500~2010, translated by Kim, Yoon-Ja. Seoul: Puriwa Ipari .: pp. 256-265

[45] Korea Press Foundation, 2017, Public Perception Survey on the Fourth Industrial Revolution

evaluate them positively.

While politics and economy return to the providential time in which their future is already determined just like it were in the religious medieval, Only the technology goes on. Then we should look who was the provider of this discourse of the fourth industrial revolution and its substance. They are capitalist especially based on new technology such as information technology and their advocates.[46] No other group of people can do such things. In this sense, techno-capitalist is the ruler of our time because they are the only one group or class who can provide a periodization which can be mainstream and this exclusive only one periodization severely compromises the possibility of the appearance of social alternatives.[47] In that sense, periodization is a practice showing the gap of competencies between the social classes and the relational structure between dominators and subordinates.

The political, economic and technological context of the world has developed in this direction, and people has lost its political way to resist the sole lead of science and technology or the owner of them. At this point, Won Buddhism has attempted to intervene in the shaping of civilization based on science and technology through the doctrinal level recognition of their power and collective practice of people organized by religion. Therefore, the case of Won Buddhism is not only meaningful in terms of society's strategy for technology but also very important in the search for the meaning and the future direction of religion in the 21st century.

6. Conclusion

This study is about Won Buddhism as a unique case of religion's response to science and technology which are the core variable of the contemporary world. As a branch of Korean new religion, Won Buddhism has practiced religious businesses closely related to science and technology. It has been possible because Won Buddhism has realistic recognition and understanding of science and technology in the core of its religious doctrine. Also, it is possible because Won Buddhism's type of time understanding was a historical one. Thus, Won Buddhism can put something created by humanity such as science and technology which can close and open an era. Traditionally something which could periodize the time supposed to belong to divinity or providence. Periodization has a direct connection with mobilization. Religion should mobilize people to follow itself constantly because it is fundamentally based on many people sharing the belief and religious dogma in common. In this process, the understanding of time does a core role because it decides which type of periodization each religion would have.

However, in this study, the mechanism of the effect of periodization on mobilizing people or individual was not clarified. It will need a theoretical analysis of the relationship between time and

[46] We also consider the case of Schwab(2017). See also other than that: Schmidt, E., & Cohen, J. (2013). The new digital age: Reshaping the future of people, nations and business. Hachette UK.; Brynjolfsson, E., & McAfee, A. (2014). The second machine age: Work, progress, and prosperity in a time of brilliant technologies. WW Norton & Company.

[47] Lowe, L., Lloyd, D., Fish, S., & Jameson, F. (Eds.). (1997). The politics of culture in the shadow of capital. Duke University Press.: pp. 17-19; 31

meaning, more precisely, between history and meaning. A human being cannot help but make decisions on which action or way of life would be more meaningful. In this situation, the direction of history is one of the most core criteria for meaning-seeking decision making. Unfortunately, it seems that there is still no comprehensive theory on the relationship between history and meaning. However, key thinkers such as Heidegger, Bourdieu, and Fukuyama submitted argumentations in common that what can be historical would be the source of meaning and human being decides what and how to do something based on that criteria – whether it can be something historical.[48] However, clarifying and verifying the comprehensive model based on these argument requires a volume which exceeds the limit for a single study. Because this study should focus on analyzing the case of Won Buddhism and its practice and doctrine, the history-meaning framework only presented indirectly through cases of various periodizations and their mobilizing effects provided by old and new religions.

If it is true that participation in the making process of history guarantees the meaning of individual human being and their action, whether the possibility of involvement in science and technology is equally distributed among people is an important issue because science and technology is the most influential variable in shaping human history. Thus, the democratization of science and technology is an essential issue in this aspect. As argued above, religion is fundamentally a collective action of a mass of people and its operation comes from the level of everyday life and culture. Thus, if religion involves the matter of science and technology, it means changing what is elitist into a popular one. It is not right to equate the involvement of a mass of people with democracy. However, it can be the first step to the democratization of science and technology when people are continuously losing their capability to involve or control them in many other routes. In this situation, Won Buddhism appeared as an actual case of an attempt to democratization of science and technology via religion.

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