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日本の諸宗教

Special Issue:
Japanese Religions and the Global Occult

Guest Editors:

Ioannis Gaitanidis
Justin Stein

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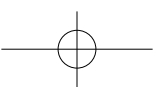The opinions expressed in articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the position of the NCC Center.
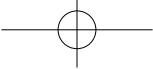
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Special Issue: Japanese Religions and the Global Occult

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Editorial

We are happy to finally publish Japanese Religions no.44. This volume should have reached the printers in 2020, but owing to delays caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, its publication was pushed back to March 2021. We are very sorry for the inconveniences this delay might have caused. However, the articles are innovative, stimulating and simply fun to read. We also hope that "Japanese Religions and the Global Occult: An Introduction and Literature Review" by the guest editors will be a very good guide to this new and growing field of studies.

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Ioannis GAITANIDIS and Justin STEIN

Japanese Religions and the Global Occult: An Introduction and Literature Review

As with the relationships between *shūkyō* and "religion" and *supirichuariti* and "spirituality," the Japanese term *okaruto* is embedded in a global network of practice and discourse around "occultism," but is also informed by the politics of local practitioners and the media, and by scholarly narratives that try to make sense of them. In this introduction, we present: 1) an overview of the varied relationships between Japanese religions and "the global occult," 2) an analysis of the Japanese-language scholarship on occult phenomena from sociological, cultural studies, and intellectual historical perspectives, and 3) a brief chronology of modern Japanese occultism. We conclude with some theoretical considerations about how to conceive of the Japanese occult vis-à-vis a transnational community of practice, including the roles of media, translation, and affect.

Keywords: new religious movements – occultism – *okaruto* – *reijutsu* – spiritual healing – spiritualism

If one was to ask a passerby in Tokyo's streets what they think of when they hear the word *okaruto* (a Japanization of the English "occult"), chances are that they will bring up (possibly with a nostalgic smile) a scary urban legend or the performance of someone bending spoons with their mind that they saw on television or read about in a magazine. As in the rest of the world, the occult in modern Japan is inextricable from popular media narratives (Partridge 2012), even though, as we will discuss in this introductory paper, the discursive and epistemic fields associated with this concept in Japan have, in many ways, emerged out of particular circumstances, albeit still connected to global flows of ideas and practices.

A case-in-point is how discussions about the *okaruto* have so closely linked the popularization of that term in the early 1970s to several socio-historical factors of that time (see Ichiyanagi 2006 for the most authoritative book on this period) that it has become near-impossible to think of the phenomenon in Japan without considering contemporaneous worldly conditions. To illustrate this, we will discuss below three of the most-mentioned reasons for which the *okaruto* attracted the Japanese popular imagination in 1973 and proceed to link those to three general trends in scholarly literature about occultism and related currents published in Japan to date. We will then offer a short history of occultism in Japan and end this introductory paper with what

we think are this special issue's contributions to the fields of Japanese religions, Western esotericism, and the broader nexus of religion and global modernity. Before this, however, as the focus of this special issue is to examine interactions between Japanese religions and the global occult, it may be prudent to briefly address how we conceive of these organizing terms of "Japanese religions" and "the global occult."

Religion, Japan, and Japaneseness

In the last decade, a number of books have examined the contested, ever-incomplete process of constructing the category of "religion" (*shūkyō* 宗教) in Japan and the consequences that naming certain organizations "religions" and others "not-religion" have for those organizations, the Japanese state, its foreign relations, and the Japanese public's perceptions of what and what is not "religious" (Josephson 2012, Hoshino 2012, Isomae 2014, Maxey 2014, Thomas 2019). There is no need to recapitulate all of their arguments here (especially as many of our readers are already familiar with them), but we simply wanted to gesture to the growing scholarly consensus that the question of what constitutes "religion" is a constructed, political category—not a *sui generis* entity— and that the uses of "religion" as an analytical category does not always align with its emic uses.

For example, the articles in this issue by Okumura Daisuke and John Person both look at healing practices in interwar Japan in which practitioners purportedly radiated vital force from their hands; although their promoters described these forces in relation to spiritualism in the former case and a kind of ancient Shinto—literally "the national religion" (*kokumin shūkyō* 国民宗教)—in the latter, they did not consider them as "religions." In the parlance of their day (examined in more detail below), these practices were likely understood as "extraordinary techniques" (*reijutsu* 霊術) or "mind cures" (*seishin ryōhō* 精神療法),[1] although their detractors may have considered them "quasi-religions" (*ruiji shūkyō* 類似宗教), a term used by the popular press to deride those movements as inauthentic or superstitious and also used by the state to criminalize them (Endō 2006). Regardless, as these movements conducted ritualized practices explained by reference to mysterious forces associated with spirits and *kami*, we believe they deserve discussion within the pages of *Japanese Religions* regardless of whether or not they are understood as "religions."

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1.   This translation is meant to evoke American metaphysical traditions, where "mind" refers not only to a personal consciousness but also a transpersonal macrocosm that can heal via influxes of "spirit" or "energy" (Albanese 2007, 13-16).

Turning our attention to the other term in this journal's title, what makes religions (however one defines them) "Japanese"? They cannot be defined in purely geographical or ethnic terms, as "Japanese religions" have been understood as going abroad, where they are practiced by people who are of Japanese descent and by people who are not (Mullins and Young 1991, Clarke 2000, Nakamaki 2003, Pereira and Matsuoka 2007). In his contribution to this issue, Philip Deslippe examines the role of White American occultists in the early history of the Buddhist Mission of North America, the organization established by Nishi Honganji in 1898 to spread Jōdo Shinshū in the United States and Canada. This study is clearly about "Japanese religion" even though it is outside of Japan and many of the protagonists are not of Japanese ethnicity because it is about the propagation of a religious form that took shape in Japan. However, an emphasis on origins creates another conundrum. Jonathon O'Donnell's contribution focuses on a Japanese minister promoting "third wave" evangelical Christianity in contemporary Japan; as this discourse arose in the late twentieth-century U.S., shouldn't this be an example of "American religion" by the same logic of origins that Jōdo Shinshū in the U.S. is "Japanese"? One way around this apparent dilemma is to take the approach that claims of national identity are not self-evident, static "natural kinds" but rather dynamic, context-dependent "interactive kinds" that transform the realities they ostensibly represent (Stein 2017, 24-25). Like the question of whether something counts as "religion," the argument that something is Japanese or non-Japanese is as much (or more) a political contention than an observation about the world. As such, we take a broad approach to our conception of "Japanese religions," erring on the side of inclusion to trace possible connections across emic boundaries, fully realizing that some of the actors we take into consideration might consider their practice neither "Japanese" nor "religious."

The Global Occult

Stemming from the Latin *occultus* ("hidden, secret"), occultism is inextricably linked to esotericism (from the Greek *esōterikós*, "belonging to an inner circle"), of which it is generally considered a subset, although the two are sometimes used synonymously. While these terms are no more natural kinds than "religion" or "Japanese" and can also be considered scholarly inventions or floating signifiers (von Stuckrad 2005, 9-10; Bergunder 2010), they have taken on certain conventional referents in the academy in addition to their more blatantly political emic uses. Esotericism and occultism tend to refer to strategies toward gnosis—means of achieving knowledge that is transcendent, absolute, eternal, and/or divine—that involve initiation and secrecy. The esoteric and occult are constructed in opposition to the exoteric and freely accessible; they are often associated with hierarchical structures and elitism, as well as modes of cultural critique. They are also considered to be "the Other of science and rationality" (Hanegraaff 2012, 254), although many who helped shaped modern science and the social sciences

engaged in esoteric and occult pursuits (Josephson-Storm 2017), and occultism was particularly "committed to the guiding principle of reason and played to a formalized concept of rationality even as it contested a strictly secular rationalism" (Owen 2004: 12).

While terms like "occult philosophy" and "occult sciences" (both denoting magic, astrology, divination, and alchemy) were used in Europe since the sixteenth century, "occultism" began to be used in the nineteenth century and, as an etic category, it tends to be applied to practices, beliefs, and social formations that began at that time (Hanegraaff 1996, 2006). The family of practices produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often associated with occultism—including spiritualism, Theosophy, New Thought, mesmerism (in both its hypnotist and "magnetic healing" forms), and, to varying extents, yogic and meditation movements—draw on premodern discourses and bodily practices, but they are marked by modern concerns. For example, their proponents claimed (and continue to today) that their practices were more rational than contemporary science, because what they considered the crude materialism of scientific naturalism unjustly dismissed vast swaths of human experience as mere illusion.

One of the core questions in the study of esotericism and occultism is whether they are cross-cultural categories of structurally-similar practices that have arisen independently in different locales (Asprem 2014) or whether they have been produced out of particular discursive strategies of categorizing knowledge and practice that should be historicized and provincialized as "Western" (Hanegraaff 2015). When *mikkyō* 密教 ("secret teachings") is translated as "esoteric Buddhism," does it point out how secrecy practices legitimize and lend social status to teachings and leadership in a similar way as they do in Euro-American settings? Should strategies of secrecy in Japanese religious history be considered as a kind of "Eastern esotericism" that can be productively compared with its "Western" forms? Or are the linguistic, conceptual, and praxic differences so great that it is a form of cultural chauvinism to assume they can be reduced to a(nother) European category?

As we will demonstrate below, the boundaries of the discursive field of the occult/ *okaruto* include different phenomena at different times and places; they can even be contested by contemporaries arguing for their own vision. Avery Morrow (2018) gives a particularly vivid example of how the "boundary work" involved in naming esotericism in early twentieth century Japan resists both the cross-cultural and the historicist research programs in his recent treatment of the founder of Japanese religious studies, Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治 (1873–1949). Anesaki's interest in the occult and esoteric is apparent in his citation of the British psychical researchers F. W. H. Myers (1843–1901) and Sir Oliver Lodge (1851–1940) to support his own theory of "the immortality of spirit" in 1918 (when the World War provoked a global spiritualist revival), yet he simultaneously critiqued Ōmoto 大本 (a new religious movement that engaged in spirit possession, discussed below) for its "esotericism," in the sense that its proponents' public

claims were based on concealed knowledge. Thus, Morrow concludes, the boundaries of esotericism (or occultism) lack the consistency demanded by both the cross-cultural and the historicist research programs, as they are always drawn by local actors as befits their purposes.

Anesaki, who spent years studying in Europe and teaching in the US, was attracted to British psychical research and averse to his compatriots' arguments from gnosis unrevealable to the uninitiated, but some Westerners coming to Japan had quite different relationships with the occult and the esoteric, while similarly privileging the foreign over the all-too familiar. When the American Percival Lowell (1855–1916) climbed Mt. Ontake in 1891 and observed *kamigakari* 神憑り possession rites for the first time, he believed he had found "an esoteric cult imbedded in the very heart and core of the Japanese character and instinct, with all the strangeness of that to us enigmatic race" (1894: 13). Despite its title, nowhere in his *Occult Japan, or The Way of the Gods: An Esoteric Study of Japanese Personality and Possession* (1894), which describes this and many subsequent encounters with Japanese men and women who became possessed by *kami*, does he explicitly compare *kamigakari* to the spiritualism that was commonplace in his native Boston, perhaps due to his belief in Japanese singularity. In the book's most comparative passage, he calls the Japanese mediums the "civilized cousins of the medicine-men of North America, of the shamans of savage tribes the world over, and Christian scientists generally"; he felt the Japanese possession specialists were inherently different (and superior) because they were "not in the least hierarchic": anyone, regardless of social class or training, could be possessed by the gods if "sufficiently pure" (Lowell 1894, 99-103). Lowell's (ironic) grouping of the "hierarchic" followers of Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910, who founded The Church of Christ, Scientist in Boston in 1879) with "savage tribes", and his placement of both as inferior to Japanese spirit mediums suggests he was unaware that American-style spiritualism had come to Japan just a few years earlier in the national fad of *kokkuri-san* (detailed below), which would likely have been known, if not practiced, by many whom he detailed.

This introduces another, separate but related question that further complicates matters: is "global occultism" better conceived of as a Western phenomenon that "spread" to new environments and adapted to local conditions (Bogdan and Djurdjevic 2013, 5) or as an inherently hybrid phenomenon, formed out of transnational/transcolonial exchange "that bonded newly accessible non-Western traditions with newly discovered Western technologies" (Green 2015: 384). Despite our use of the term "global occult" in the title of this special issue, we suggest that one possible solution to this question is to reconceive this phenomenon in terms that go beyond flattening and (implicitly) binary descriptions such as "global"/"local" or "Western"/"Japanese," which can inadvertently essentialize and overstate the uniformity of particular movements and/or national cultures. Perhaps a focus on specific networks—whether translocal, transnational, transimperial, et cetera—can better maintain the particularity of

individual actors within internally-diverse social assemblages.[2] Yet, as discourses do not only spread from place to place, but also between, among, and within intersecting communities of practice, perhaps we should also begin to think of "trans-epistemic" movement to describe a different kind of cross-pollination of ideas. The following sections detail the movement of the term *okaruto* ("occult") and the development of varied, interrelated discourses among Japanese practitioners, media, and academics.

July 7, day of the occult:
Three approaches to explaining the 1970s fascination with okaruto.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that every commentator on Japan identifies the year 1973 as a turning point in the country's recent history. Known as the year of "the first oil shock," the Arab oil embargo of 1973 announced the end of the country's postwar economic "miracle," which led to Japan's first postwar decline of GDP the following year (Flath 2014, 137-138). The ensuing industrial, economic, and social changes have been linked by scholars to every singly area of Japanese life, including the occult. For example, this global economic crisis has been argued to have spurred a popular fear of (and fascination with fiction dealing with) the social costs of Japan's frenetic progress: industrial diseases (see Kaneko 2006). One of the representative genres of the so-called "occult (media) boom" of the 1970s was apocalyptic fiction (part of today's nostalgic image associated with the word *okaruto*), whose depictions of humans-turned-monsters who had suffered from the inhumane and over-rationalist pace of Japan's development and returned to take their revenge not only encapsulate the era's rising environmental consciousness, but also illustrate the contemporaneous "subjective turn" that Yumiyama Tatsuya links to the student protests against the Vietnam War and growing critiques of economic growth and social hierarchy (Yumiyama 2004, 254).

Simultaneous to these developments, the post-1973 *okaruto* intersected with global media culture in forms like the Israeli psychic Uri Geller, who first appeared on Japanese television in a program broadcast at 11 pm on Christmas Eve 1973 to demonstrate his ability to bend and break a metal pipe. Then, in February 1974, Geller appeared live this time to show his spoon-bending skills and compete with an eleven-year-old Japanese boy, Sekiguchi Jun, who, influenced by Geller's first appearance, claimed to possess similar powers. As a result, from early April to mid-May 1974, three days did not pass without some type of segment about supernatural powers being broadcast on Japanese television (Takahashi 2019, 98), and in that year alone, 41 specials on the paranormal

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2.   Thomas Tweed has modeled this approach in his "translocative" analyses of "occult Buddhism" (Tweed 2005, 2015). See also Stein 2017.

were shown (Ishii 2008, 21). 1973 was also the year that Colin Wilson's *The Occult: A History* (1971, Random House) was first translated into Japanese as simply *Okaruto* (by Nakamura Yasuo, published in two volumes by Shinchōcha), encouraging fans to dive further into the historical roots of the ideas and practices they witnessed in Geller's televised performances or in novels dealing with the supernatural (often dealing with Christian demonology), such as *The Exorcist* (translated into Japanese by Uno Toshiyasu 宇野利泰 in 1973 and published by Shinchōcha). The opening of the homonymous film by William Friedkin in Japan on July 7, 1974, established that date as the *okaruto kinenbi* (commemoration day for the occult).[3]

A third, more recently developed, string of arguments regarding the popular appropriation of the word *okaruto*, places the 1973–74 phenomenon within Japan's intellectual and religious histories, which, as this special issue demonstrates, are no less entangled with global trends than the socio-economic and popular media situations. Famously labeled "the rush hour of the gods" (McFarland 1967) and often used as a counterproof to the secularization thesis (see Casanova 1994, Stark 1999),[4] the 1950s~1970s[5] saw the dramatic increase in membership numbers of several religious groups that had been founded in the prewar period, such as Soka Gakkai 創価学会 (see McLaughlin 2018, esp. Chapter 2) and Shinnyoen 真如苑 (Montrose 2018), as well as new, postwar organizations (such as Sukyo Mahikari 崇教真光 and Byakko Shinkokai 白光真宏会), some of which tend to promote pacifist and internationalist ideals, in stark contrast with the imperialist thought of the earlier decades (Kisala 1999).[6] Quite significantly, books written by members of these groups started swarming Japanese bookstores and became mixed in with an increased number of "occult" publications (including translations from English material). Between 1965 and 1979, at least 5 to 7

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3.   The film is said to have provoked a "panic" in both senses of the word. Cinephiles talk of the "Exorcist generation" while some audience members later reported to have "experienced" similar possessions. For more on the impact of the film (and novel) in Japan, see Taniguchi 2006.

4.   Ian Reader, scholar of contemporary religion in Japan, disagrees with these arguments, arguing that "the Japanese data indicate the reverse: a striking decline of religious institutions and of much of the 'folk' religion, individual piety and belief" (Reader 2011, 10).

5.   Following the American occupation of Japan and the establishment of a new constitution that aimed to protect religious organizations from state interference, a substantial number of new groups sought to acquire the status of religious corporation in immediate postwar Japan. Between 1946 and 1949, for example, 386 new religious organizations were officially registered (Terada and Kojima 2016, 15).

6.   Two recent English-language handbooks on "new" religious movements in Japan are Staemmler and Dehn (eds.) 2011, and Pokorny and Winter (eds.) 2018.

books of some kind of religious/supernatural/occult content appeared on the yearly list of Japanese bestsellers, probing sociologist of religion Sumika Masayoshi to argue that the 1970s saw, for the first time, popular books on religion and publications promoting specific religious organizations compete for the same readership out of the same bookstore shelves (Sumika 2006, 138). This means that the postwar religious revival happened in combination and in constant exchanges with an occultist revival, similar in many ways to what was happening in the United States and Western Europe.[7]

Yoshinaga Shin'ichi (2006, 250, 254) notes, for example, that the first sighting of a UFO on Japanese soil was photographed in August 1957 by a famous journalist of the aviation industry who was knowledgeable of the American situation,[8] and who, in August of that same year, founded with three other men, the Cosmic Brotherhood Association (Uchū Yūkō Kyōkai 宇宙友好協会), Japan's first UFO research group. Interestingly, many initial members of the association (including one of its co-founders) were members of Seichō no Ie 生長の家, a religious organization originally founded in 1930, inspired by Fenwicke Holmes' New Thought literature, and currently the "Japanese new religion" with the second largest following outside of Japan, after Soka Gakkai (Staemmler 2018). Later on, in the 1970s, at the peak of the "occult media boom," high-ranked members of the religious group Agonshū 阿含宗, which was yet to reach official status (this came in 1978; see Baffelli and Reader 2018 for a detailed study of this group), published with students of the University of Kyoto a periodical (see Image 1) that aimed in part to inform its readers of the latest developments abroad, including travel reports from "spiritual" tours in the U.S.

Image 1
"Supirichuaru Amerika" ("Spiritual America"), in *Seija* 『聖者』 ("Saint"), vol. 2, p. 6, Nov. 1976

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7. See, for example, Hugh Urban's (2011) description of the case of the Church of Scientology, especially Chapters 1 and 3.
8. The Japanese translation of *Inside the Space Ships* by George Adamski (the first and best known "UFO contactee") came out that same year, whereas Takahashi Yutaka 高橋豊's translation of Adamski and Desmond Leslie's *Flying Saucers Have Landed* had already been published in 1954.

The above three approaches to understanding the 1970s popularization of the word *okaruto* in Japan, are, we argue, representative of the three types of scholarly work that has, to date, discussed occultist, spiritualist, and other associated ideas and practices as they developed in the country from the early modern period until today. There are undoubtedly overlaps between these three perspectives, but for the sake of convenience and clarity, we have attempted to divide the Japanese-language scholarship on this subject along the *sociological* approach, the *cultural studies* approach, and the *intellectual history* approach.[9] However, before we delve into a review of the academic literature, we ought also to discuss the elephant in the room: *okaruto* does not necessarily mean "occult".

What is okaruto*?*

As with the relationships between "religion" and *shūkyō*, "spirituality" and *supirichuariti*, and other Japanese concepts that translate or transliterate non-Japanese words, the emic meaning of *okaruto* is intimately associated with the narratives that it came to collectively refer to at a particular point in time, namely the 1970s. Popular books on *okaruto* ideas and practices (for example, Harada 2012, Hatsumi 2012, Mori 2012, Maeda 2016, ASIOS 2019) often categorize under this banner eschatological (and mostly apocalyptic) beliefs and conspiracy theories,[10] legends about cryptids,[11] individuals with extraordinary powers, UFOs and fringe science, and ghosts and other types of supernatural creatures that are often seamlessly blended with the folk category of specters (*yōkai* 妖怪). What unites all these is a general feeling of *fushigi* 不思議, the "mysterious," or as Michael Dylan Foster creatively translates this word, "that which

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9.   There have been of course publications from other fields of interest, most notably (para) psychology. See, for example, Watanabe and Nakamura 1998, Kikuchi 1999, Nakamura 2003.

10. The number one bestseller in 1973 was the science-fiction novel narrating the disappearance of Japan, *Nihon Chinbotsu* 日本沈没 (*Japan Sinks*, by Komatsu Sakyō 小松左京), which was made into a film the same year (and adapted several times since). As David Leheny notes, the film has received tremendous scholarly attention, perhaps unjustified, since disaster movies were ubiquitous in cinema worldwide at the time (Leheny 218, 192).

11. In Japanese, cryptids are usually referred to as U(nindentified) M(ysterious) A(nimals), an English neologism created in 1976 by the then editor-in-chief of a Japanese science fiction magazine, who was inspired by the acronym UFO. Similar "hidden" contributions to English by Japanese speakers can be found in the earlier history of occult beliefs in Japan: Fukurai Tomokichi, for example, when he published the English version of his monograph *Tōshi to nensha* 透視と念写 in 1931, he translated it as *Clairvoyance and Thoughtography*. It is believed that "thoughtography" is a word made up by Fukurai to convey the meaning of *nensha* 念写 (Warren 2008, 8).

cannot be grasped in thought" (Foster 2009, 17). From this perspective, *okaruto* is therefore nothing more than part of late twentieth-century Japanese folk religion, in the same way that, for example, contemporary spiritualist seances in Norway can be located within revivals and (re)constructions of beliefs surrounding the dead among Viking cultures (Kalvig 2017, 9) or that the "New Age" is "a sub-type of 'popular religion'" (Sutcliffe 2003, 11) that arose in the UK and US but has since gained transnational appeal.

As we have seen above, however, the Japanese term confounds a large amount of practices that have tended to attract the attention of researchers only when they become visible and, to some extent, self-conscious,[12] through socio-religious movements and groups that both feed off and sustain a large media culture. In fact, it is only from the 1980s, as a reaction to the 1970s *okaruto* boom, that scholars in Japan slowly started looking into the history of spiritualist, occultist, and other ideas originating from similar epistemic fields in modern global history. In this way, we could argue that the post-1980s Japanese academic interest in these fields resembles the development of scholarly literature concerned with the "New Age," which by the time it attracted scholarly attention in the 1990s, had already lost its emic appeal (Introvigne 2001), and most certainly been replaced by other terms that continued to express its "popular millennialism" (Robertson 2015). Nevertheless, like for the "New Age" in the Western hemisphere, the 1970s Japanese phenomenon described above spurred at least three strands of research that, as we summarize below, almost immediately introduced a blend of etic and emic terms to trace the history and contemporary manifestations of *okaruto*/occult.

Some preliminary notes on terminology

Although, the term *okaruto* holds popular value as to the media cultural imagery that it is usually associated with, it is only recently that the term *okarutizumu* (occultism) has begun to enter academic vocabulary in Japan. More common in Japanese-language scholarly writings on phenomena that would be the equivalent of Western occultism are terms using the character *rei* 霊 ("spirit"), such as *reisei* 霊性 (lit., the quality of *rei*, often translated as "spirituality") or *reijutsu* (霊術, lit., "spiritual techniques" or "extraordinary techniques"). Like previously mentioned regarding "occultism," these analytic categories are constructed upon emic usages, with which they do not always perfectly align, but to which they are substantially indebted. For example, contemporary understandings of *reisei* (and the later *supirichuariti*) have been significantly influenced by the thought

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12.   In the same way, the "New Age movement" and its subsequent scholarly study resulted from "the cultic milieu having become conscious of itself" (Hanegraaff 1996, 17).

of D.T. Suzuki (1972 [1944]), who combined Buddhist modernist, Western esoteric, and Zen elements to present an (orientalist) idea of religion that was appealing to twentieth century audiences (see Borup 2004, Yoshinaga 2005). At the same time, scholarly understandings of the occult-type of therapeutic techniques that thrived in Japan in the early twentieth century came to strongly associate them with the term *reijutsu*, following Nishiyama Shigeru's influential typologies of Japanese new religions (described below) and the pioneering historical work of Imura Kōji (1984a).

However, when the term *reijutsu* first appeared in 1903, in the works of experimental hypnotist Kuwabara Toshirō 桑原俊郎 (1873–1906), the prefix *rei* did not refer to "spirit," as it is understood today, but rather meant "extraordinary" (*reimyō* 霊妙) or "wonderful," as in Kuwabara's expression *seishin reidō* 精神霊動 ("the wonderful movement of the mind") (Yoshinaga 2018, 183). At the same time, the use of the word *shinrei* 心霊 to translate terms such as "psychic" in English spiritualist literature imported to Japan in the first decade of the twentieth century facilitated the later associations between *rei* and spiritualism (Ichiyanagi 2020, 45-49). However, despite the popularity of the term *reijutsu* in late twentieth-century scholarship to describe the occultist surge of alternative therapies in the Taishō period, at the time they were more commonly described in terms of *seishin ryōhō* ("mind cures") than *reijutsu*. Ichiyanagi Hirotaka argues that concepts such as *rei*, *kokoro* 心 ("heart-mind"), and *tamashii* 魂 ("spirit") became discursive floaters torn in a fight between the *seishin* 精神 ("mind, spirit") that the recently imported scientific knowledge could not "explain" and the *seishin* that the expansion of science absorbed as an object of analysis (Ichiyanagi 2014, 24). Accordingly, despite the overlapping meanings of *seishin ryōhō* in the prewar decades (which could be used to reference psychotherapy, autosuggestion, breathing methods, hands-on-healing, meditations, etc.), in the postwar period it came to simply reference "psychotherapy," with no occultist connotation (Harding 2015, Yoshinaga 2015).

From new religions to spirituality: rei 霊 *and sociological approaches to the "occult"*

What one needs to take out of all these terms, which were often used interchangeably at the time, is the importance they attributed to techniques (*jutsu* 術), regardless of how these were meant to work. This emphasis on the practical dimension of religious experience—and its contrast with the intellectualist, belief-centered exegeses that had occupied the study of religion in modern Japan up to that time (Terada and Kojima 2016)—is a large part of why they began to receive scholarly attention in the 1970s and 1980s. Already in 1979, the sociologist of religion Nishiyama Shigeru had coined the term "new-new religions" (*shin-shinshūkyō* 新新宗教) to describe religious groups that gained popularity in the 1970s, among which he identified a sub-category of organizations (such as God Light Association [GLA] and certain subgroups of Sekai Mahikari Bunmei Kyōdan) whose teachings promoted a counter-rationalist ethos and

emphasized "occultism (*okarutizumu*), magic (*jujutsu* 呪術), and mysticism (*shinpishugi* 神秘主義)" (Nishiyama 2016 [1979], 175). Later, Nishiyama would add these religions to a larger category of groups which includes early twentieth century organizations such as Ōmoto (see Stalker 2008) and Taireidō (see Yoshinaga 2008) and which he called the "*reijutsu*-type" (*reijutsu-kei* 霊術系) new religions, because "they have turned *reijutsu* into their main weapons for salvation and for their propagation by manipulating the components and the effects of godly, human, and animal spirits, 'proving' the existence of such spirits, bringing about relief from calamities such as disease, and attracting good luck" (Nishiyama 1988, 171).

Shimazono Susumu, perhaps the most famous representative of the sociological approach, talked originally of the *seirei shinkō* 精霊信仰 ("spirit belief"), which he saw as having risen at the start of the twentieth century in competition to three "Others": "traditional" spirit belief of village societies, belief in salvation gods, and rationalism (1987, 139-143). Borrowing the term "new-new religions" (*shin-shinshūkyō*) from Nishiyama, Shimazono compares the post-1970s religious movements to their predecessors, but distinguishes them as "post-modern", in that they responded to different needs, namely feelings of emptiness (rather than poverty, illness and struggle), and employed newly popularized psychological and person-centered techniques to preach self-development and benefits related to a holistically-conceptualized universe (Shimazono 1992, 23-50). Together with these new religious groups, however, Shimazono argued that the post-1970s "religious boom" included two other phenomena: "the rise of a magico-religious popular culture," referring to the aforementioned *okaruto* boom, and the "new spirituality movements" (*shin-reisei undō* 新霊性運動), which he positioned as something less organized than new religions, but expressing a more unified worldview than the popular *okaruto* (ibid. 54).

Although his original distinction between these three phenomena seems to have been mostly based on the relative (and perceived) homogeneity of their corresponding worldviews, Shimazono's later arguments focused on the "new spirituality movements" (also *shin-reisei bunka* 新霊性文化 or "new spirituality culture"), which he developed in discussion with studies of the New Age in the Anglo-American West.[13] These endeavors would eventually reflect early twenty-first-century debates on the rise of spirituality (Heelas et al. 2005, Shimazono 2007, Aupers and Houtman 2010,

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13. It is significant to note here that the first English-language academic publication (Mullins 1992) on the Japanese New Age mentions the popularity among Japanese readers of both Shirley McLain's *Out on a Limb* and books by the founder of the 1980s new religion Happy Science or Kōfuku no Kagaku 幸福の科学, reflecting earlier (and perhaps more correct) stages of understanding, in which the distinction between ("bad") religion and ("good") spirituality had not yet appeared.

Watts 2020) and form the basis of a new subfield of scholarly interest on spirituality (*supirichuariti*, see Itō, Kashio, and Yumiyama 2004) in post-Aum Japan. In brief, the popularization in 1977 of a category of books and magazines named *seishin sekai* 精 神世界 (lit. "the spiritual world," see Shimazono 2007 [1996], 13), which were mostly translations of Anglophone New Age literature, turned scholarly attention to a distinction between "positive spirituality" and the "scary/entertaining occult". Although the spiritual world was perhaps no more than the Japanese counterpart of New Age in the West (Prohl 2007, 359), Shimazono and others have attempted to position the Japanese "phenomenon" within global debates about the "spiritual, but not religious," while at the same time arguing that Japan is unique because Japanese new spirituality culture does not reject "traditional spirituality" (Shimazono 1999, 2004) and is more in tune with the characteristic Japanese "non-religious religiousness" (Horie 2019, 35-37).

It is worth noting here that Shimazono and other post-1970s sociologists used these arguments to steer away from earlier sociological attempts to adapt Weberian theory to the Japanese case, and argued that, on the contrary, the multitude of new religions that appeared in twentieth century Japan were "proof" that there had never been any disenchantment in Japan (Ōtani 2018).[14] These scholars were probably also reacting to more contemporary evaluations of the social role of religious groups whose aggressive media presence in the 1980s and 1990s had attracted criticism (Baffelli 2016) and their image had hit "rock-bottom" after the 1995 Aum affair, to the extent that even the study of organized religion lost its appeal (Dorman 2012). Eventually, even if there are overlaps with the third approach to the occult that we discuss later in this paper, sociological studies of the occult in Japan developed out of an interest in those "new-new religions" that shared epistemic fields of the 1970s fascination with the *okaruto*, before joining contemporary discourse on the New Age and new spiritualities. In other words, an excision seems to have been made gradually within the sociology of religion in Japan, through which, the character *rei* ("spirit"), originally found in Nishiyama's *reijutsu*-type of new religions, lost its mysterious, uncanny, "hidden" meanings to become progressively associated with a positively evaluated, inner, expressive religiosity called *reisei-teki* ("spiritual"), that culminated in the complete purification of *rei* in its replacement by its loan word *supirichuaru*.[15]

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14. In refuting the applicability of the Protestant work ethic framework to the Japanese case, Shimazono has argued that the Japanese early modern ethic was a "philosophy of the heart," devoid of a purely religious goal (Shimazono, 2004, 43).

15. Horie argues that the "Western notions of 'spiritual' and 'spirituality' are more religious than the Japanese equivalent" (Horie 2009), but this only reflects how the word has been constructed in Japan in contrast to a notion of "religion" based on non-Christian conceptualizations.

Spectres, ghosts, and the supernatural:
kaii 怪異 *and the cultural studies approach to the occult*

The uncanny qualities of *rei* were, in a sense, salvaged from the 1990s onwards by becoming the focus of new developments in cultural studies, stemming mostly from analysis of Edo-period literature, and then spreading into studies of other media, such as manga and Japanese horror cinema, which reinvented and gave new breath to research on the *kaii* 怪異: the unrealistic (*genjitsu ni arienai*) or strange (*fushigi*) (Ichiyanagi 2016). In his brief review of the field of *kaii* studies (2020, 5-9), Ichiyanagi Hirotaka, the chief representative of this approach to the study of the occult, notes that the 1990s popular rediscovery of a genre of stories, called *kaidan* (怪談),[16] literally tales of the strange and mysterious, coincided with several scholarly projects centered on the study of *yōkai* (妖怪)[17] and other historical folklore treatments of what has been considered as strange and monstrous in Japanese oral and textual traditions. Although, some of this research still echoes old orientalist treatments (see, for example, Lafcadio Hearn's *Kwaidan*, 1904) by sometimes falling into essentialist and homogenizing arguments regarding the uniqueness of the Japanese psychology that these traditions allegedly reflect, the last two decades have seen a plethora of scholarly work that has focused on the historical contingency and social co-construction of the strange. Notable examples are Takaoka Hiroyuki's analysis of the appearance of "ghosts" (*yūrei* 幽霊) in conjunction with the beginnings of Japanese urbanization (Takaoka 2016), Taniguchi Motoi's study of *kaidan*'s shifting content in the progress of the Japanese nation from Meiji to Heisei (Taniguchi 2009), and Itō Ryōhei's examination of the methods and processes of transmission of supernatural and occult content on the internet (Itō 2016).[18]

However, perhaps no one has done more in this field than Ichiyanagi Hirotaka, who in only the last twenty-five years has been involved in editing, writing or contributing to nearly forty books, many of them in collaboration with the publishing

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16. Perhaps one should not be surprised that, like for *okaruto*, there is also a day for commemorating *kaidan* (*kaidan no hi*) which falls on August 13, and which was established in 1993, following the success of Kaidan Night, a yearly national tour of *kaidan* storytellers headed by Inagawa Junji (http://www.inagawa-kaidan.com/)

17. Komatsu Kazuhiko and his work at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies was instrumental in establishing a field of "specter studies" (*yōkai-gaku*) and for popularizing this aspect of Japanese culture nationally and internationally.

18. For English-language contributions, see Foster 2009, 2015 and Reider 2002 and 2010.

house Seikyūsha and Yoshida Morio, also a specialist of modern Japanese literature. Ichiyanagi's original research, which began with detailed examinations of the infamous "clairvoyance incident" (*senrigan jiken* 千里眼事件) in late Meiji (Ichiyanagi 1994) and the 1900s interest in hypnosis that preceded it (Ichiyanagi 1997), remain groundbreaking in our understanding of the impact of European and American scientific theories on the modern Japanese "unconscious" (Ichiyanagi 2014) and the formation of "the strange (*kaii*) as the Other" in twentieth century Japanese media culture (Ichiyanagi 2020). As a result, Ichiyanagi's cultural studies approach often seeks to link the content and format of media dealing with strange phenomena with what these stories (*monogatari* 物語) reveal about the mood and feelings (of insecurity) of the society in which they were produced, and also with how media simultaneously reinforce feelings of strangeness *and* create new occult content. His studies of literary content are therefore multidisciplinary, from textual analysis to media studies and intellectual history, but, like the eight-volume *Nightmare Library* (*Naitomea sōsho*, 2005~2011) that he co-edited with Yoshida Morio, they often both seek to understand and at the same time celebrate the entertaining value of *kaii* as subcultural genre. In this, they can be conceived as the Japanese counterpart of research in Victorian culture and the occult, for example, which has also thrived in the last two decades (e.g. Franklin 2018), or, more generally, of scholarly interest in "the occult and [blank]", where the blank can be "film," "music," "comics" and the like (see for example part 4 of Partridge ed. 2015), or "[blank]: A Cultural History", where the blank is an established theme in the popular culture of the second half of the twentieth century, such as ghosts (Owens 2017) or zombies (Luckhurst 2016).

Metaphysical religion, esotericism, and mind cures:
seishin ryōhō 精神療法 *and the intellectual history approach to the study of the occult*

If *kaii* is to be treated as a culture of its own, it is inevitable that it is to be separated, even if artificially, from the "mainstream," both by some of those who espouse it and also by those who study it. On the other hand, the cultural studies approach has demonstrated that, if the strange, the occult, and the supernatural have attracted the imagination of such a multitude of narrators and audiences, including such canonical figures as Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916) and Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892–1927), it must have been less "deviant" and "rejected" than it has been assumed. Echoing, therefore, similar trends in the study of entanglements between esotericism and scientific, intellectual, and religious thought in European and American history (Hanegraaff 1996, Hammer 2001, Sutcliffe 2002, Albanese 2007), a third approach to the study of the occult has been developing more recently in Japan, which locates the phenomenon more firmly in the translocal historical contexts of intellectual and religious exchange both within Japan and abroad. This approach undoubtedly started with the aforementioned work of Imura Kōji, who noted the

continuities and innovations between *reijutsu* and Buddhist, Shinto, and folk religious traditions in Japan (Imura 1984a), but who was also writing during the 1980s and 1990s, when the *okaruto* was undergoing an "externalization" (*gaizaika* 外在化) (see Yoshida 2009, the sequel to Ichiyanagi 2006's edited collection on the 1970s). Briefly, the 1970s fascination with the strange seems to have pushed occult narratives into everyday life and encouraged: 1) the outsourcing of these narratives to illustrate and explain contemporary social issues, such as child abuse, or support the popularity of New Age science[19] books and other theories regarding healing and therapy that had started flooding the Japanese market, 2) the Japanese media audiences' interest in supernatural phenomena outside of Japan, and 3) the export of Japanese occulture as part of the globalization of Japanese popular culture which began during that same period (see Tsutsui 2010).

Scholars writing in Japanese henceforth noted that healing (*iyashi* 癒し) had, by the end of the 1980s, started attracting popular interest, and this led to several collaborations between sociologists of "new spirituality culture" and sociologists of therapy and welfare, such as Tanabe Shintarō and Araya Hidehiko, on several projects centered around the religious dimensions of therapy.[20] From an examination of contemporary healing practices in and outside of Japan among religious groups, both established and new (Araya, Shimazono, Tanabe, and Yumiyama 1995), to an interpretation of self-help, self-development, and other trends in a rising "therapy culture" as new ways to seek human connectedness (*tsunagari* 繋がり) (Tanabe and Shimazono 2002), these scholarly efforts eventually made the important jump to analyzing the historical continuities of such therapeutic concerns throughout Japan's modern history (Tanabe 1989, Tanabe, Shimazono, and Yumiyama 1999 and Shimazono 2003). In doing this, they, in a sense, set up the ground for the two major themes (found in the last chapter of Tanabe, Shimazono, and Yumiyama 1999) that have since occupied the intellectual history approach to the study of occult: the parallels and exchanges with similar, not purely biomedical therapeutic concerns found worldwide, and the critical role played by self-cultivation or *shūyō* 修養 (see Kurita 2018) in linking early modern and modern religious concerns with political and social thought across the Japanese intellectual world.

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19. Imura was himself a proponent of New Age science (see Imura 1984b, 1984c) or "New Science" as it was called in Japan, in yet another Japanese neologism created during that period to refer to work such as Fritjof Capra's *The Tao of Physics* (translated into Japanese in 1979). For more on "New Science", see Ichiyanagi 2009.
20. Incidentally, the 1980s and 1990s saw also the firm establishment of the disciplines of medical anthropology and cultural psychiatry in Japan.

Yoshinaga Shin'ichi's scholarly work perhaps exemplifies best this third approach to the study of the occult as he has been behind several efforts (including the present special issue!) to both examine the Japanese role in translocal networks of esoteric and occult (especially Theosophical) thought and practices and to link these to modern developments in the Japanese Buddhist (intellectual) world (for English publications, see Yoshinaga 2009, 2012, 2014a, 2014b, 2015, forthcoming). In all these endeavors, the word *seishin* 精神 (which roughly translates to "psyche," as, like that term, it refers to the non-physical self, whether mind, soul, or spirit) and the related term *seishin ryōhō* ("mind cure", see footnote 1) has played a significant role in understanding the concerns of such a variety of individuals involved in these intellectual networks, especially as it became associated with both Buddhist notions of salvation *and* with popular wishes for self-cultivation. Yoshinaga's fifteen-volume anthology of *seishin ryōhō* (2004) has been and continues to be instrumental in defining the key primary texts of Japanese occultism, especially as it always includes hints to the concurrence with contemporary debates within organized religious organizations—including Shinto, Buddhist, Christian, and new religious movements—as well as the constant influx of European and American ideas and practices, which were not always duly recognized as such by their Japanese importers, translators, and audiences. More than anything else, occultism in Japan can be conceived as a locus where modern religious, therapeutic and ethical concerns were debated freely by a loose network of intellectuals coming from a variety of backgrounds (Yoshinaga 2020). In the end, all these "extraordinary" (and later "spiritualist") techniques (*reijutsu*) used to control the otherwise commonly unexplainable phenomena (*kaii*), had as their ultimate purpose to manipulate (and often improve) the *seishin*, the psycho-spiritual, which was intimately connected to the physical realm, and beyond (for the latest collaborative study on *seishin ryōhō* see Kurita, Tsukada, and Yoshinaga 2019).

To readers familiar with the field of Western Esotericism, the above three approaches may sound comparable to the three approaches identified by Egil Asprem and Kennet Granholm in their edited volume, *Contemporary Esotericism* (2013, 23). Although trying to find too many correspondences between Japanese and English scholarship may render our paper excessively "esoteric," the social scientific "Partridge approach" shares similar methods and concerns with the sociological approach of Shimazono and scholars of *supirichuariti*; the discursive "von Stuckrad approach" has commonalities with the cultural studies trend in Japan, represented by Ichiyanagi and others; and "the Hanegraaff approach" undoubtedly reminds us of the historiographical research exemplified by Yoshinaga and his circle. However, like the European scholarship, there are, as already demonstrated, several overlaps between the three approaches, to the extent that such a categorization is helpful only to convey the contours of this field of study, and not to encourage the idea that there exists some kind of academic factionalism.

A chronology of occultism in Japan up to the 1970s

The reception and production of modern occultism in Japan was shaped by earlier practices such as shamanism (Imura 2014) and personal cultivation (Sawada 2004). Many of these practices—including divination, spirit mediumship, healing prayer rituals called *kaji kitō* 加持祈祷 or *yose kaji* 寄加持 in which the practitioner embodies a Buddhist deity, incantation, and the production of healing talismans and charms— were outlawed in the early years of the Meiji state as "superstitions" (Kawamura 2007, Josephson 2012, 2013). Thus, the first waves of what might be understood as occultism in Japan, starting around Meiji 20 (1887), have been understood as substitutes for these proscribed practices (Imura 2014, Yoshinaga 2015).

From 1885, hypnotherapy began to spread among Japanese elites, including medical doctors and researchers, as it was considered to provide a scientific explanation for "the magical phenomena of religion", including spiritual healing (Yoshinaga 2015: 85ff.). Then, beginning in late 1886, Japan underwent a brief but powerful fascination with a three-legged tray called Kokkuri-san 狐狗狸さん ("Mr. Nodding," but using the characters for foxes, dogs, and *tanuki*, three animals known for their ability to spiritually possess humans). A miniaturized version of the Western spiritualistic practice of table-turning (similar to the later Ouija board), Kokkuri-san became a national phenomenon; contemporary reports say nearly every household in Japan, regardless of region or class, experimented with it. As questions posed to the device commonly included the diagnosis of misfortune, including illness, this practice somewhat resembled prohibited spirit interrogation traditions, but it was tolerated as an imported American phenomenon rather than a folk superstition (Ichiyanagi 1994, Foster 2009).

Contemporaneous with the importation of these Western spiritual technologies, a cohort of Japanese Buddhist intellectuals, including Inoue Enryō 井上円了 (1858– 1919), Kiyozawa Manshi 清沢満之 (1863–1903), and Shaku Sōen 釈宗演 (1860– 1919), engaged with Western philosophy to create forms of "new Buddhism" that stressed elements that would later be described as fundamental aspects of "spirituality," including personal development, direct experience, the importance of lay practice, and antipathy to institutional authority. These intellectuals had a complex relationship with the occult: Inoue wrote articles criticizing Kokkuri-san, but also claimed hypnotherapy's efficacy explained the healing potential of religious faith (Yoshinaga 2015, 88-89).

While the modernist intellectual trend continued for decades, it was overshadowed in the early twentieth century by hypnotism and spiritualism which, beginning around 1903, saw major resurgences in the modern spaces of salons, lecture halls, research groups, and therapists' clinics. Publishing on hypnotism particularly exploded, with nearly fifty titles containing the word (*saiminjutsu* 催眠術) released between 1903

and 1905 (Yoshinaga 2015, 85) and many more were published on related topics, like clairvoyance (*senrigan* 千里眼). Hypnotists and spiritualists made claims to scientific rationality and offered medical and personal development applications, helping fill the role of suppressed forms of early modern spiritual therapies but with the trappings expected of the production and circulation of fully modern forms of knowledge. The aforementioned "clairvoyance incident" of 1910–1911 involving Tokyo Imperial University psychology professor Fukurai Tomokichi 福来友吉 (1869–1952) led to the end of this "boom" around the start of the Taishō period (1912–1926),[21] but key concepts and practices from hypnotism and spiritualism took on new life in subsequent decades under the rubric of *seishin ryōhō* or (increasingly from the late 1920s) *reijutsu*.

Between the 1910s to the 1930s, many new techniques were developed which incorporated aspects from self-cultivation, mesmeric healing, and controlled spirit possession practices, emphasizing methods involving abdominal breathing (*kokyūhō* 呼吸法), laying-on-of-hands (*teate* 手当て), and automatic bodily movements (*reidō* 霊動). A contemporary book entitled *Reijutsu to reijutsuka* 霊術と霊術家 (*Reijutsu and Reijutsu Therapists*) estimated there were thirty thousand *reijutsuka* practicing in Japan at that time, and described dozens of distinct therapies (Reikai Kakusei Dōshikai 1928). The largest occult therapies, like Taireidō 太霊道 (The Way of the Great Spirit) and Kenzen Tetsugaku 健全哲学 (Wellness Philosophy), attracted tens of thousands of followers, in part through their use of print media, such as inexpensive pamphlets and books, as well as frequent advertisements in major newspapers (Yoshinaga 2008, Hirano 2016). Some new religious movements of the time also engaged in occult practices, the most notable being Ōmoto, which attracted hundreds of thousands of followers in the years leading up to its 1921 state suppression with its spirit possession practice called *chinkon kishin* 鎮魂帰神; after the suppression, their leader, Deguchi Onisaburō 出口王仁三郎 (1871–1948), adapted this practice into a less sensational method of channeling spiritual energy called *miteshiro otoritsugi* み手代お取次 (Stalker 2008, 89-105; Staemmler 2009).

With the rising of militarism in Japan and new regulations regarding medical practice, the number of *reijutsu* practitioners declined, some of them turning to

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21. It also effectively ended mainstream institutional support for the field of abnormal psychology (*hentai shinrigaku* 変態心理学) (which Fukurai taught) in Japan, which not only impacted parapsychological research (then called "psychical research" in the West), but also clinical psychology more broadly (Takasuna 2012). Interestingly, Fukurai's former student, Nakamura Kokyō 中村古峡 (1881–1952), established a "semi-academic" society, whose journal (*Hentai Shinri* 変態心理, 1917–1926) attacked occultist practices, particularly Ōmoto's *chinkon kishin*, described below. See Oda et al. 2001; McVeigh 2017, 100-101.

more body-focused techniques, such as Noguchi *seitai* 野口整体, or joining larger organizations of professional therapists that allowed them to survive under more recognized standards of work. The Theosophical Society and other global networks of occultists lost many of their Japanese members in the 1930s and 1940s,[22] but the role that the Pacific War has played as a "convenient" threshold of (dis)continuity is also more recently being revised. Indeed, some prewar *reijutsuka* such as Okada Mokichi 岡田茂吉 (1882–1955) and Taniguchi Masaharu 谷口正治 (1893–1985)—both high-ranking members of Ōmoto in the early 1920s—continued their practices (based on Ōmoto's) and eventually established their own religious groups: Okada founded Sekai Kyūsei-kyō 世界救世教 (Church of World Messianity), and Taniguchi founded Seichō no Ie which, as previously mentioned, was in the immediate postwar years involved with occultist endeavors such as the Cosmic Brotherhood Association (CBA).[23] Others returned from the war with new ideas about the place that Japanese religious thought "ought" to play in a pacifist world, and a surge of new translations of occultist literature flooded again the Japanese market, often thanks to individuals, such as Miura Sekizō 三浦関造 (1893–1960), who had managed to expertly navigate the politics of the war years and reinvent themselves in the postwar (Yoshinaga 2010). Despite the aforementioned attention by scholars and media to the influx of foreign materials on occultism from the 1970s on, the legacy of premodern shamanistic practices continues to inform "spiritual therapists" (*supirichuaru serapisto*) in contemporary Japan (Gaitanidis 2012, Gaitanidis and Murakami 2014).

The ensuing popularization of television and a new market for periodicals targeting specific religious and occult interests, coupled with a growing interest in (and reinventions of) local magico-religious techniques (see, for example, Ōmichi 2016, 2017 on the *itako*) eventually led to the occult boom of the 1970s and the subsequent developments mentioned earlier in this paper. As with the early twentieth century's popularization of hypnotism and spiritualism, here the use of "boom" flags several important phenomena that should be kept in mind when reading scholarship in Japanese.

First of all, as we have seen, a significant amount of scholarly research on the occult relies on the "boom" motif of Japanese media to trace popular trends and argue

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22. For a detailed examination of Theosophical activities in interwar Japan, see Čapková 2020.

23. These postwar organizations received a degree of state protection that had been denied to prewar groups like Ōmoto due, in part, to the production of the category of "new religions" (*shinshūkyō*) through campaigns by the Federation of Japanese New Religious Organizations (Shin Nihon Shūkyō Dantai Rengōkai 新日本宗教団体連合会), which received the support of Japanese scholars of religious studies (Thomas 2019, 230ff.).

for larger social, cultural and ideological shifts. The term "boom", however, ought to be handled with caution, because the act of announcing its existence sets it up as both timely corrective and ephemeral fad; its arrival to the scene silently suggests its imminent departure.[24] Thus, when spiritual therapists and clients; purveyors and consumers of spiritual goods; and the journalists (and sometimes scholars) who covered them generally portrayed their activities and products as novel, based on groundbreaking revelations, and indicative of the dawning of a qualitatively new era, they act out the conventions of the "boom" phenomenon.

Secondly, the significant role played by media in the development and spread of the occult has yet to attract further theoretical interest (with some exceptions, see Natale 2016, Takahashi 2019). Indeed, the media (especially magazines as well as newsletters and "amateur"-produced material) have not just been transmission tools, but full-fledged actors that support networks, accelerate flows, and construct markets. More importantly, perhaps, the occult owes much of its "power" and legitimacy to the printed/typed word, the drawings of imaginary worlds, the readership fees, the work of translators, the encyclopedic possibilities, the copy-paste. In all this, the speed at which news circulates depends on the editors, curators, influencers, and taste-makers of these media products, and, hence, such figures ought to be given more attention in descriptions of popular fascinations with the occult.

This Special Issue

The articles we have in this issue demonstrate the diverse ways that Japanese religions intersect with the global occult. Philip Deslippe's paper shows American occultism as an arena that facilitated White engagement with Japanese Buddhism and that helped enable Shin Buddhism's adaptation to American settings. Moreover, he demonstrates how these interactions led to the uptake of U.S. Spiritualist and New Thought songs into a transnational Buddhist hymnal.

Okumura Daisuke and John Person's papers both examine healing practices developed in interwar Japan which mirror each other in interesting ways. While Okumura shows how Matsumoto Chiwaki 松本道別 (1872–1942) produced a "scientific" form of mesmerism that he closely tied to Western science by describing it in terms of "human radium," Person demonstrates that Mitsui Kōshi 三井甲之 (1883–

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24. In this way, the Japanese media's use of "boom" functions somewhat like the "turn" motif in English-language academia. See also Baffelli (2016, 19-22) on the interplay between bookstore marketers, and media in creating a so-called "religion boom" in 1970s and 1980s Japan.

1953) attempted the inverse: a fully nativized form of palm healing that is "verified" scientifically, but that is incidental to its ostensible ancient Japanese roots. Interestingly, as Matsumoto developed his healing practice while imprisoned as a socialist and Mitsui promoted his as a means of resisting Marxism, they provide examples of how occultist healing practices in interwar Japan intersected with both left- and right-wing politics in an interesting contemporaneous parallel with how, despite the conflicts between leftist Theosophists and the rightist occultist René Guénon and his followers, they engaged in similar modes of Orientalism, perennialism, and hierarchical thought (Godwin 1994, 198-200; Ingram 2007).

The Christianity S. Jonathon O'Donnell describes and the occult forces it opposes, are self-consciously at once Japanese, Western, and "global." The article reminds us of the need to go beyond "postglobal" religious identity politics (Borup 2020) and also reconsider what is really "new" or "alternative" about the occult (in the same way that NRMs are perhaps less "new and "alternative" than we have conceived; see Baffelli and Reader 2018, 164-167).

Although it is not technically part of the special issue, this issue of *Japanese Religions* also includes a partial translation of an article by Itō Satoshi on medieval beliefs regarding Mt. Takakura near Ise Jingū, including associations of it with the Heavenly Rock Grotto (*ame no iwado* 天岩戸) where Amaterasu Ōmikami famously hid. Although Itō-sensei's text was not written with "the occult" in mind, as the central text he analyzes is "The Secret Comments about Takakura" (Takakura Hishō 高倉秘抄) which contains descriptions of the "secret rites" (*higi* 秘儀) at the Takakura grotto, even this article illustrates the pre-modern "culture of secrecy in Japanese religion" (Scheid and Teeuwen 2006) that provided cultural resources with which modern Japanese would make sense of transnational occult forms centuries later.

Finally, if we were to suggest a framework for future research in the global occult, this issue illustrates how Japanese religionists participated in the global occult from the Meiji period to the present day by different combinations of six processes: 1) *importing* or *receiving* occult practices, ideas, artifacts from abroad; 2) *translating* foreign occult practices, ideas, and objects for Japanese audiences through *adapting* them to local settings and *hybridizing* with practices and beliefs that already existed in Japan; 3) *developing* original occult practices and teachings influenced by imported and/or translated ones; 4) *reimagining* earlier forms of Japanese religion in light of the global occult; 5) *exporting* Japanese practices, whether by teaching or training foreigners in Japan who take them abroad or by actively proselytizing overseas; 6) *interacting* with foreign occultists through correspondence, foreigners' lectures or classes in Japan, and overseas study and travel. These six processes help problematize three questions that perhaps ought to continue occupying the minds of researchers in the field of "the global occult": 1) *what occult?* (the terminology issue); 2) *whose occult?* (the origin issue); and 3) *how global?* (the scale/medium issue).

In summary, as widely recognized in religious studies, concepts like *okaruto*, which excite popular imagination, are double-edged swords when used as analytical categories by intellectuals and commentators who argue for larger sociocultural shifts, because they are burdened with the particular connotations of that signifier (e.g., *okaruto* as European cultural import, as media trend, as 1970s Japanese social mood, etc.). Moreover, when considered part of longer historical processes, such shifts may not be such sudden discontinuities as some contest; in this case, "occult Japan" has been essentially translocal and trans-epistemic since at least the late nineteenth century, and the same can be said about the last forty years of Japanese-language scholarship on this phenomenon, which in many ways, mirrors Anglophone trends in the study of Western Esotericism. In this sense, the occult is undoubtedly no one's *and* everyone's. For it seems to be always associated with human affect and emotions: marvelous *rei*, uncanny *kaii*, scary *okaruto*; rather than rejected knowledge, perhaps what the papers in this issue illustrate is therefore a modern repression of certain emotional experiences, which various media and mediators have nevertheless specialized in recording, transmitting, and creating with the speed and innovation characteristic of modern technological progress. The scale at which these experiences have been shared seems to become larger and larger as research, like the four papers in this issue, continues to unveil the global intellectual connections that sustain them and which now point towards the idea that the occult is not as hidden as we had originally thought. The question therefore that will continue to occupy us is not "what global occult?", but "how global is which occult?"

We are grateful to Professor Yoshinaga Shin'ichi, the editor of *Japanese Religions*, for having offered us the chance to put such a special issue together, and we also thank all the authors (and co-translator) of the papers and book reviews for their continuous collaboration despite the pandemic and associated challenges. We hope the arguments made in this special issue will be read widely and will inspire researchers in Japan and abroad to consider including "the occult" and related phenomena in their future scholarly endeavors.

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Philip DESLIPPE

Bunko Bishop:
Swami Mazziniananda, the Udana Karana Order,
and the Buddhist Mission of North America

One of the most unusual, influential, and overlooked figures in the early history of
Buddhism in the United States was Swami Mazziniananda (pseudonym, unknown–1931),
a former patent medicine salesman and quack doctor who became a spiritualist minister
and fortune teller while claiming dubious credentials as a Buddhist bishop at the turn of the
century. This article traces the rise of Mazziniananda and his connections to the Buddhist
Mission of North America, as well as the circumstances surrounding their split and his
final years. I suggest that the best way to understand the figure of Mazziniananda—his
mixture of Buddhism and occultism, real engagement with other Buddhists and fabricated
titles and rituals—is as a type of Buddhist "wandering bishop." Finally, I argue that in light
of his close ties with the Japanese Buddhist establishment, the influence of his liturgy and
hymnals, and the deep engagement with the occult by his contemporaries and the members
of the Dharma Sangha of Buddha that preceded him, Swami Mazziniananda is best seen
not as a marginal or atypical figure, but rather as central and emblematic of the Euro-
American Buddhist converts of his time and the deep linkages between occultism and the
history of Japanese Buddhism in America.

Keywords: American Buddhism – Buddhist Mission of North America (Buddhist
Churches of America) – Jōdo Shinshū – Metaphysical Religion – Occultism

On a late October evening in 1905 in the Sawtelle district of western Los Angeles,
twenty-seven Americans formally converted to Buddhism. The group of businessmen,
educated women, and elderly veterans of the American Civil War assembled for the
ceremony in a modest venue that was filled with sympathizers and incense smoke on
the inside, and surrounded on the outside by curious onlookers who extended out into
the street. After a musical introduction and roll call, the initiates heard a sketch of the
Buddha's life and then made a series of vows based on the five lay Buddhist precepts:
abstain from killing, believe in enlightenment, lead pure lives, refrain from lying, and avoid

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1. "Initiated To Udana Karana," *Los Angeles Herald*, 20 October 1905; "Take Buddha As
    Their Idol," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 October 1905, p. I13.

intoxicants.[1] This was not the first time that Euro-Americans had formally become Buddhists: Henry Street Olcott took pancasila vows in 1880, Charles T. Strauss converted in a ceremony led by Dharmapala in 1893, and about a half-dozen Americans from San Francisco became Buddhists and formed the Dharma Sangha of Buddha in 1900. The event in Los Angeles, however, was undoubtedly the largest of its time, and as the initiates of the Udana Karana order openly talked about building a new Buddhist temple for themselves in Los Angeles, it seemed that a significant chapter in the history of American Buddhism was poised to be written.

The details of the ordination, however, suggest that something was seriously amiss. After the ceremony, the newly-minted Buddhists "gave an exhibition drill in the Hindu deep-breathing exercises" and talked about "developing mediums at Buddha's shrine."[2] The Buddhist cleric who led the service claimed to be the "master of the Temple of Benares" and described the enlightenment of the Buddha as a matter of astral travel. He wore an outfit consisting of several robes and turbans of different colors (and an additional tartan sash), and his name sounded as much Italian as Indian: Swami Mazziniananda. With a background in quack medicine, he stumbled into the role of Buddhist leader and established himself through a series of made-up titles, invented rituals, and outlandish costumes.[3]

Mazziniananda was one of the most remarkable and absurd figures in the history of Buddhism in the West. He parlayed a dubious background into a career that lasted nearly three decades and included a significant and influential thirteen-year relationship with the Buddhist Mission of North America. Mazziniananda conducted hundreds of English language services throughout northern California, ordained scores of people as Buddhists, created liturgies that received national attention, compiled hymns from Spiritualist and New Thought groups that shaped Jōdo Shinshū services in North America for decades, and had connections to some of the most prominent and important Buddhists of the time including Paul Carus (1852–1919) and Shaku Sōen 釈宗演 (1860–1919). Mazziniananda's Buddhist career and his connections to the Buddhist Mission of North America show how central the occult was to early Euro-American converts to Buddhism and efforts by the Buddhist Mission to reach beyond the Japanese in America.

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2.   "Take Buddha As Their Idol."
3.   While having no single or fixed meaning, the term "quack" has typically denoted in varying degrees: false pretenses to medical skill, aggressive or ostentatious promotion, practitioners or remedies outside of the medical establishment, and those who were engaged in fraud. More than a pejorative, "quackery" would have been the term used in Mazziniananda's time and is still used by organizations such as the Food and Drug Administration and the American Medical Association.

Death of a Salesman, Birth of a Swami

According to the fantastic and improbable accounts given over the years by Mazziniananda himself, he was born in 1827 in the Iranian city of Isfahan to a Parsi father and a mother who was a "full-blooded Bengalee born in Benares."[4] After his father's death, Mazziniananda moved to India at the age of seven with his mother and was promptly put into a monastery at Lhasa where he studied at the feet of the Dalai Lama for almost two decades. After being ordained a Jain monk, Mazziniananda left monastic life in Tibet and was reunited with his mother in England who had married "a noted mathematician of Welsh extraction" named Morgan. On his mother's advice, he perfected his English and then gained three or four degrees from the University of Oxford and European institutions of higher learning before returning to a contemplative monastic life in Lhasa. Mazziniananda claimed that he first arrived in America in 1893 to attend the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago as "Lord Abbot of the Golden Temple" and representative of "the Himalaya regions" alongside the "famous Jaina monk" Gandhi (who was in South Africa at that time), Swami Vivekananda, and "many other orientals."[5]

Perhaps the only part of Mazziniananda's claimed origins that holds up to scrutiny or logic is the year of his arrival.[6] While there is no record of him appearing at the well-documented Parliament of 1893, he does appear in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania that summer as "Dr. Mazzini" alongside a British-born patent medicine salesman named William Henry Veno. Veno came to the United States in 1887 and established a business in Pittsburgh manufacturing "Veno's Lightning Cough Cure," a nostrum that contained glycerin, alcohol, chloroform, and resin.[7] Veno promoted his products through tours and print advertisements that were bolstered by audacious claims of himself as a miraculous wonder-worker and his product as a remarkable cure that could

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4.   "Life Sketch of the Very Reverend Swami Dr. Mazziniananda," *Light of Dharma*, December 1907, pp. 14-15; Paul Carus, "A Buddhist Prelate of California," *The Open Court*, February 1912, Volume 26, Number 2, pp. 65-70.

5.   "Life Sketch of the Very Reverend Svami Dr. Mazziniananda, Abbot of the Udana Karana Order of the Jain Sect of Buddhists," *The Light of Dharma*, December 1907, p. 14.

6.   The near-constant observations by reporters of Mazziniananda's British accent—at times referred to as Cockney—suggest a high likelihood that he was born and raised in England.

7.   Corley, T. A. B. "Veno, Sir William Henry (1866–1933), Patent Medicine Entrepreneur." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed on 20 April 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-93363.

"break the back of death."[8] "Dr. Mazzini" assisted Veno and promoted his remedies to audiences, and was billed as a former junior staff surgeon in the Franco-German war and a polyglot capable of speaking eleven languages.[9]

Mazzini left Veno in 1894 to start a questionable medical practice of his own. He settled in the central Michigan town of Jackson and offered himself to the public as "E. Leo Di Mazzini"— a holder of four advanced degrees, a Fellow of the Theosophical Society, and a specialist in various chronic diseases.[10] Mazzini would give consultations by mail and travel to nearby towns to see patients. In the summer of 1898, he married under the name "Dr. Etienne Saint Francisco Xaviere Leo di Mazzini," and census records from 1900 show he and his wife living together in Battle Creek, Michigan, the epicenter of health reform. Mazzini was still active as a doctor as late as May 1902 when he wrote to the *Carolina Medical Journal* and told the profession of the "incalculable benefit" he found with "Celerina (a patent medicine made up of celery and cocaine) in conjunction with electricity."[11] That was followed by a two-year period when Mazzinianda separated from his wife and stopped playing the role of doctor, only to appear in San Diego and work as a psychic reader, palmist, and masseur for a short time before moving to Los Angeles.[12]

According to a sworn affidavit given later, Dr. Mazzini arrived in Los Angeles in April of 1905 and established himself in the downtown Grand Pacific Hotel. After he had been in the city for about a month, Mazzini took the advice (and a small personal loan) from another resident and bought robes, candles, an image of the Buddha, and "other Pharanalia [sic] for personating a Buddhist priest" and ordered books by mail to get caught up in his new profession.[13] The Grand Pacific Hotel was also home to Rahula, a self-proclaimed teacher of a Hindu "system of mental and spiritual development" and possessor of "all the mysteries of the Orient" who read fortunes for money and claimed to head an Asian religious order known as the "Udana Karana."[14] When Rahula suddenly disappeared in late May, Mazzini broke into his room and helped himself to the missing Hindu's books and teaching materials.[15] In only six weeks'

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8.   Display Ad, *Lebanon Daily News*, 24 June 1893, p. 1.

9.   "An Interview With Veno (Display Ad)," *The Patriot* (Harrisburg, PA), 7 July 1893.

10. Classified Ad, *Jackson Citizen Patriot*, 25 July 1898, p. 8.

11. "Original Communication," *Columbia Medical Journal*, May 1902, p. 222.

12. Classified Ad for "Dr Mazzini, Psychic Reader," *San Diego Union*, 29 October 1904, p. 9.

13. Bessie Beatty, "Truth Makes Fake Mediums Squirm," *Los Angeles Herald*, 18 November 1906, p. 5.

14. Classified Ad, *Los Angeles Herald*, 13 November 1904.

15. From affidavit quoted in Beatty, "Truth Makes Fake Mediums Squirm."

time, when a reporter from the *Los Angeles Herald* came to the hotel to write a mocking story on Rahula's disappearance, Dr. Mazzini had adopted his predecessor's turbaned and berobed persona, assumed Rahula's temple housed within the hotel, and claimed the mantle of the Udana Karana Order under which he would ordain several dozen people as Buddhists.[16]

While it may seem like an abrupt shift, the early quack medicine career of Dr. Mazzini provided good training for Swami Mazziniananda's new role as Buddhist clergy. The historian James Harvey Young described the itinerant seller of patent medicine as "the first promoter to test out a multitude of psychological lures by which people might be enticed to buy his wares" (1961: 42), and Swami Mazziniananda doubtlessly used the techniques and skills he acquired during his time hawking the products of Veno and as a spurious doctor in Michigan, from using specious honorary titles and exaggerating his age to his abilities to charm a crowd and think on his feet. Mazziniananda's experiences with medicine shows, the variety of entertainments that were commonly used to draw a crowd and then entice them to buy patent medicines, also easily transferred to the elaborate religious services he would later carry out. Young's description of the medicine show as entertainment aided by "exotic costume" and centering on the "pontifical assurance… of a commanding figure in a tall hat and cutaway coat" (1961: 190) comes incredibly close to a description of Mazziniananda's Buddhist services.

The success of Mazziniananda in Los Angeles was only short-lived. One of his elderly converts was struck with paralysis while attempting the swami's "Buddhist breathing exercises" and Mazziniananda was then kicked out of the hall he held meetings in after failing to pay rent.[17] Things became much worse in November 1906 when the *Los Angeles Herald* launched a massive muckraking campaign against spiritualists and fortune tellers in the city. While he claimed to be a Buddhist cleric, the bulk of Mazziniananda's activities were dedicated to making money from psychic readings and conducting spiritualist meetings and seances. The *Herald* made Mazziniananda their favorite target, and in a litany of articles about him published within a single year, they sent undercover reporters to his seances, exposed his "temple methods," mocked his public drunkenness as "communing with the spirits," and at one point referred to him as a "little rat-eyed faker."[18] The enormous pressure put on

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16. "Hindoo Prophet Goeth Hence: His Followers Seek Him Far and Wide, Their Money Taketh Wings," *Los Angeles Herald*, 16 July 1905.

17. "Hit By Wind of Swami," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 February 1906; "Swami Outfit Melts Away," *Los Angeles Times*, 27 February 1906.

18. "Mazziniananda Gets One Square Meal," *Los Angeles Herald*, 18 August 1907.

Mazziniananda led to him repeatedly being arrested, fined, jailed, and forced to appear in court. By the end of the following summer he had fled Los Angeles.

Mazziniananda with Rev. Kino Kaizō 紀開蔵 at the Fresno Buddhist Church in 1909 (from the article "Gorgeous Celebrations Held in Oriental Quarter of Fresno" in the *Fresno Morning Republican* on May 2)

The Buddhist Mission of North America and Mazziniananda

Less than a month after his departure, Mazziniananda was already established in San Francisco thanks to connections he had made in Los Angeles a few years earlier, most likely with Uchida Kōyū 内田晄融 (1876–1960), the first minister of the Southern California Buddhist Church (founded 1905) and then fourth director of the Buddhist Mission of North America in San Francisco. In September of 1905, only a few months into his newfound career as a Buddhist cleric and a few months before

he initiated twenty followers into the Buddhist dharma and his Holy Brotherhood of the Udana Karana Order, Mazzinianananda gave a speech and shared a stage with several Japanese Buddhist dignitaries at a large event in Turner Hall in downtown Los Angeles: Rinzai Rōshi Shaku Sōen, his student (and future popularizer of Zen and Shin Buddhism) Suzuki Daisetsu Teitarō 鈴木大拙貞太郎 (a.k.a. D.T. Suzuki, 1870–1966), the aforementioned Uchida, and Izumida Junjō 泉田準城 (1868–1951) of the Buddhist Mission of Los Angeles (and later the first bishop (*rinban*) of Higashi Honganji Los Angeles Betsuin).[19] Sōen himself wrote about this event and claimed that "Rev. Uchida Kōyū and Mazzinianananda made speeches in that hall with a big audience of one thousand people."[20] The description of the event as "a grand treat for American believers and students of the higher life" and the presence of a trio of local spiritualists providing a "fine programme of oriental music" suggest that Mazzinianananda was instrumental in its organization. Three days later, a smaller reception for Shaku Sōen was held at Mazzinianananda's Buddhist temple in the Grand Pacific hotel with an estimated 300 guests streaming in to bow "in true oriental style" to Shaku and receive his blessing.[21]

The Buddhist Mission of North America was one of the most important religious organizations for Japanese immigrants in the United States. Started by a pair of ministers sent to San Francisco in 1898 by the Nishi Hongwanji branch of Jōdo Shinshū, the main efforts of the BMNA revolved around conducting rituals, teaching Buddhism, and preserving Japanese language and culture among the largely bachelor Issei. Scholarly work holds that during the first decades of its existence, there was little propagation by the Buddhist Mission beyond the Japanese American community. Arthur Nishimura (2008: 99-100) cites the 1906 earthquake in San Francisco as a reason for the cessation of "Caucasian study classes, services, or group" activities. Thomas Tweed (2000) argues for a limited and mostly intellectual Victorian engagement with Buddhism that could be bookended by the year 1912. Tetsuden Kashima (1977: 80-81) claims that there were no non-Japanese ministers in the proto-Buddhist Churches of America until the 1930s, Kenneth Tanaka (1999: 6) claims that the Buddhist Mission "rarely carried out active propagation activities beyond the existing Japanese American communities," and Michael Masatsugu (2008: 436-437) claims that Euro-American interest in and conversion to Buddhism only went beyond individuals and extended to a "critical mass" after the Second World War.

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19. "Society Meetings," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 September 1905; "Buddhist Temple for Los Angeles," *Los Angeles Herald*, 18 September 1905.
20. See: Shaku Sōen, *Ōbei Unsuiki* (Kinkodo, 1907), pp. 44–45.
21. "Buddhists Give Reception," *Los Angeles Herald*, 21 September 1905.

The Buddhist Mission of North America, however, made significant efforts to spread Buddhism to Euro-Americans on the West Coast in the years preceding the First World War, and the bulk of those efforts centered around Swami Mazziniananda. While staying tethered to the Buddhist Mission in San Francisco by periodically conducting services in English there, Mazziniananda also conducted services, gave sermons, and conducted ordinations in at least seven other Californian cities including Santa Cruz, Watsonville, Sacramento, Woodland, Stockton, Fresno, and Hanford.

In May 1908, Swami Mazziniananda brought his Udana Karana Order to a rented hall in Santa Cruz, where he gave lectures on Buddhism, while also teaching classes on yogic breathing and holding seances at his personal residence. Mazziniananda later dedicated a Buddhist Temple in the same hall with the assistance of three Japanese priests from the Buddhist Churches of Watsonville, Fresno, and Oakland. According to newspaper accounts, the ceremony was an elaborate affair with incense, candles, secret symbols, and the swami wore a turban and three robes of red, white, and purple.[22] In 1911, Mazziniananda took up a brief residence as the "English preacher" and leader of "English Choral Services" at the Buddhist Church of Watsonville and then began a year-long stay with Rev. Kudō Edatsu 工藤慧達 (1878–1932) at the Buddhist Church of Sacramento. Mazziniananda conducted both regular and "solemn pontifical" services in English, and, as was his custom, he also conducted parallel work by giving lectures for a Spiritualist ministry at a rented hall in the city. In mid-1912, Mazziniananda spent a short while at the Buddhist church in Stockton, where he gave sermons in English and conducted "solemn vespers and benediction" services, and by the end of the year he was situated within the Buddhist Church of Fresno, where he did similar work.[23]

During this peripatetic period of supporting the BMNA's Buddhist churches, Mazziniananda was also building up his own institutions and profile. Articles of incorporation for the Udana Karana Order of Buddhists and Jain Philosophy were filed with the state of California in April 1911, and three months later Mazziniananda dedicated the "Seventh Temple" of this Order as he ordained three San Francisco residents as Buddhists in the transitional headquarters of the Buddhist Mission. The event was covered in newspapers around the country and described as "the first occasion in the history of Buddhism in the United States that native Americans of the white race have ever been raised to the priesthood."[24]

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22. "Buddhist Temple Dedicated with Ritual and Program," *Santa Cruz Surf*, 7 December 1908.
23. See Display Ads in the *Evening Mail* of Stockton for 18 and 25 May 1912 and 1 June 1912.
24. "Americans Made Buddhist Svamis," *San Francisco Call*, 25 July 1911; "American Buddhist Priests," *Syracuse Herald*, 25 July 1911.

Swami Mazzinianananda also codified his Buddhist liturgies in the following year. Paul Carus, who been corresponding with Mazzinianananda for about a year prior, published a biography of the "Buddhist Prelate of California" and his very Catholic-like "Order of the Buddhist High Mass" across twenty pages replete with photographs and musical notation in the February 1912 issue of his magazine, *The Open Court*. While Mazzinianananda's account of the liturgy being a faithful account of the services done in "Llhassa" [sic] strained credulity (and readers wrote into *The Open Court* to say as much), Carus himself seemed to have believed in Mazzinianananda's account, despite being a well-educated Buddhist sympathizer. In private correspondence Carus asked Mazzinianananda if the swami could help him send letters to the Dalai Lama.[25] Later in 1912, Mazzinianananda incorporated another entity while in Fresno—the Maha-Bodhi Society of Truth Seekers—and published a forty-four-page *Service Book and Hymn Book* that included a reprint of the Order of Buddhist High Mass, the Vesper Service and Benediction, thirty-eight hymns, the organization's constitution and by-laws, and display advertisements from local Japanese American businesses and a Fresno optometrist who served as the president of the Society.

Mazzinianananda claimed that he was born, ordained, and later, opened his Church of Universal Truth, all on the fourth of April, a date that could conveniently dovetail with the birthday of the historical Buddha. For over two decades, Mazzinianananda made that time of year the occasion for elaborate events that celebrated the Buddha and himself (not necessarily in that order), hosted special guests, included ceremonies such as the "solemn pontifical high mass" and various ordinations, musical performances, and festivities such as banquets and receptions. (At the celebration of his claimed eighty-seventh birthday in 1912, Mazzinianananda gave souvenirs of the event to those in attendance.) At the first of these events in 1910, there was a three-hour service in honor of the Buddha's birth at the San Francisco temple that began with Mazzinianananda reading a list of "felicitations… from potentates and savages of the East" that celebrated his own birth, not the Buddha's, and culminated in his initiating an American into the priesthood.[26] Later, in 1915 and then 1920, there were additional "golden" and "diamond episcopal" jubilees that commemorated Mazzinianananda joining the Buddhist clergy.

Between February and December 1915, San Francisco was the site of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, a massive world's fair that saw an estimated total of nineteen million visitors. Among the over 800 meetings and smaller congresses that were held in conjunction with the Exposition, the BMNA hosted a World Buddhist

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25. Letter from Paul Carus to Swami Mazzinianananda, dated 3 April 1911 (Open Court Publishing Company Records, 1886–1998, 1/2/MSS 027).

26. "Anniversary of Buddha Celebrated at S.F. Temple," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 April 1910.

Conference, which took place over a week in August with hundreds of attendees and delegates from Japan, India, Burma, Ceylon, Mexico, and Hawaii. Mazzinianananda was the nominal president of the Conference, gave the welcoming speech, accepted a bronze medal presented to the Buddhists by the exposition, and was seated in the center of the front row of a photograph taken of the assembled delegates.[27] While Swami Mazzinianananda continued in his role for the Buddhist Mission of North America over the next several years, he also continued in his roles outside of it. He lectured at the Divine Church of Spiritualism in 1918, and in 1919 was made a director of the First Psycho Science Church in Oakland and incorporated his own Church of Universal Truth.[28]

In the spring and summer of 1920, Mazzinianananda made two separate visits to the town of Guadalupe on the central California coast: the first in late April for a festival to commemorate the *parinirvana* of the Buddha held by the local Japanese Buddhist Association and the second visit in July for the tenth anniversary of the Guadalupe Buddhist Church. On both occasions, Mazzinianananda gave himself top billing above other Buddhist officials in the promotion, granted himself the titles of "His Holiness" and "Lord High Priest of L'Hassa Thibet" and put his name in bold type.[29] On the second visit Mazzinianananda held services at the local Buddhist church, but also gave lectures on telepathy and yogic breathing for money at other local venues and gave his title to local reporters as "pastor of the Church of Universal Truth in Oakland."[30]

Shortly after his pastoral visit to the Central Coast, Mazzinianananda ordained Harvey Spencer Lewis (1883–1939), founder of the American Rosicrucian group known as the Ancient and Mystical Order Rosae Crucis (AMORC), as a Buddhist priest in a small ceremony in front of twenty people inside the Buddhist Church of San Francisco. As "Dr. H.L.S. Sobhita," Lewis would assist Mazzinianananda in his services and occasionally give sermons, but he only went public with this ordination after the death of Mazzinianananda, and the biography of Lewis published by his son decades later refers to his ordination by Mazzinianananda as an honorary degree that Lewis begrudgingly accepted out of politeness.[31]

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27. "Buddhist Priests to Get Exposition Medal," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 August 1915.

28. Classified Ad, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 March 1918; "Officers Named by Psycho Scientists," *Oakland Tribune*, 10 February 1919.

29. Display Ad, *Santa Maria Times*, 30 April 1920; Display Ad, *Santa Maria Times*, 20 July 1920.

30. "Buddhist Priest Will Lecture Here," *Santa Maria Times*, 26 July 1920; "Buddhist Priest Will Speak Again Tonight," *Santa Maria Times*, 30 July 1920; and "Buddhist Priest Ends Lectures Here," *Santa Maria Times*, 4 August 1920.

31. "Important Rosicrucian Documents, No. 2," *Rosicrucian Digest*, vol. 11 No. 8 (September 1933); Lewis, Ralph M., *Cosmic Mission Fulfilled* (San Jose: Supreme Grand Lodge of AMORC, Inc., 1966), pp. 185–188.

The Separation of the Buddhist Mission of North America from Mazziniananda

Soon after the ordination of Lewis, the thirteen-year relationship between Mazziniananda and the Japanese American Buddhist establishment was dissolved and the swami gave his farewell sermon at the Buddhist Church of San Francisco on October 17, 1920.[32] Although there is no clear evidence as to why this separation occurred, it is possible that the split was instigated by personal animus towards Mazziniananda from a rival within the Buddhist Mission named Mortimer T. Kirby (1877–Unknown). The British-born Kirby travelled to Japan in 1913 after he developed an interest in Buddhism, and there he joined the Sanmaji Kai 三摩地会 or the Society for Samadhi and then took Rinzai Zen monastic vows and the name Shaku Sōgaku 釈宗覚 at Engakuji under Shaku Sōen (Yoshinaga 2013). For a short while Kirby tried to propagate Buddhism by himself in Canada and then went to San Francisco around early 1920.

According to an acerbic article written for *The Young East* in 1927, Kirby claimed that his first exposure to "Buddhism Among Americans" was with Mazziniananda and the "hocus-pocus" of his "Pontifical High Mass," which he found ridiculous and counterproductive to the spread of true Dharma. Kirby wrote in *The Young East* that he conducted a "private inquiry and much correspondence" and brought his findings to Bishop Uchida who then ousted Mazziniananda and put Kirby in as his replacement. There is evidence that Kirby did carry out an investigation of Mazziniananda and was thorough enough to uncover the swami's past as a fraudulent medical doctor in Jackson, Michigan, twenty-five years earlier.[33] Six months before Mazziniananda was ousted, Kirby was appointed by Uchida as "Sogaku Shaku, the Lord High Priest over the English-speaking Section of our Buddhist Religion," the only such person "recognized by us who are at this present time the only legal representatives of Buddhism in the Americas."[34]

There were also larger political reasons for the Buddhist Mission to distance itself from Mazziniananda. Only a few months earlier, in July 1920, California's U.S. Senator and former mayor of San Francisco James Duval Phelan (1861–1930) testified in a series of congressional hearings held in California about Japanese immigration. Consistent with his long-standing attacks on immigrants from Asia and foreshadowing

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32. "News of Churches," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 October 1920.
33. See: "What Lazy Man Died in 1895?: Buddhist Priest Asks Odd Question in Letter to Chief Hudson." *Jackson News*, 29 August 1920, p. 1.
34. Appointment of M.T. Kirby dated 3 April 1920. (BCA from JANM Box No. 1.01.01, Folder 1920).

many of the claims that would justify the internment of tens of thousands of Japanese Americans decades later during the Second World War, Phelan claimed that there were seventy-six Buddhist temples in California dedicated to Shintoism and worship of the emperor and that these sites kept their members dangerously loyal to Japan, not America. "The dangers of Japanese immigration," said Phelan to the committee, was that "they carry with them their temples and idols and superstitions" (United States Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization 1921: 21).

Some of the statements made by Phelan during the proceedings were reprinted in the *San Francisco Examiner*, including one in which he described Buddhist temples as "penetration of our State by that non-moral people whose hovels… appear everywhere to take the place of our Western civilization."[35] Reverend Uchida wrote a response to Phelan's charges and it was also included in the proceedings. In it, Uchida stressed the democratic nature of Buddhism and denied the accusation of emperor-worship in the Buddhist churches, stating that they had "nothing to do whatsoever with Shintoism, politics, or any imperialistic policy formulated by the Japanese Government" (United States Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization 1921: 576). Uchida corrected Phelan's overestimation by noting that there were only twenty-five Buddhist churches, and then went into detail describing them as part of a highly organized and regulated religious body that operated under the management of the Buddhist Mission of North America with clergy that were properly authorized and ordained.

Mazziniananda's freewheeling actions undercut Uchida's claims of a singular and well-ordered Buddhist body. While participating in the Buddhist Mission, Mazziniananda kept his own parallel organizations in the Udana Karana Order of Buddhists and the Church of Universal Truth, held a role as director of the First Church of Psycho-Science, and gave guest lectures for groups such as the Divine Church of Spiritualism. The frequent ordinations that Mazziniananda also conducted both within and beyond the Buddhist Mission, and his unchecked and extravagant use of honorary titles for himself and others, all made it more difficult for the Buddhist Mission to be seen by the public as a transparent and legitimate representative for Buddhists in the country. In light of Phelan's attacks, many of Mazziniananda's previous public statements also ran the risk of being used as incriminating evidence against Japanese Buddhists in America: Mazziniananda portrayed Christianity as "the stupid dogma of hell and damnation," vastly overestimated the number of Buddhists in the country, and claimed that Buddhism was a rapidly growing faith among Americans.

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35.   "Immigrants Peril State, Says Phelan," *San Francisco Examiner*, 13 July 1920, pp.1 and 3.

In October of 1920, a few months after the Congressional hearings and a few days after the Buddhist Mission severed its ties with Mazziniananda, Phelan spoke out in favor of an amendment to the California state constitution that would further restrict Japanese farmers from owning land or holding long-term leases. In his appeal to voters, Phelan put Buddhism front and center and claimed that with an alleged eighty-four temples, "Japan has colonized our Pacific Coast, California… with her people, customs, and religion."[36] Rev. Uchida seems to have made efforts during this period of intense scrutiny through the summer and early-autumn of 1920 to shore up the English section of the Buddhist Mission by ordaining (and in some cases re-ordaining) American converts and carefully denoting their title, role, territory, and the expanse and limits of their authority under the Buddhist Mission.[37] Severing ties with Mazziniananda would seem to be a natural culmination of these efforts.

Another liability could have been found in the earlier connections between Mazziniananda and the Ghadar Party, a group of South Asian revolutionaries on the American West Coast who sought to overthrow British colonial rule in India. At the dawn of the First World War, they found common cause with a German government that was eager to supply money and arms to a group who would foment insurrection in India and hamper the British war effort. The conspiracy was thwarted by British Intelligence and in the spring of 1917 there was a wave of arrests across the United States on federal charges of conspiracy that lead to the five-month long Hindu-German Conspiracy Trial in San Francisco, that was, up to that point, the longest and most expensive trial in American history. Among the first people arrested in San Francisco were Solon Leonhauser and his wife Maria, high ranking members of Mazzinianand's Udana Karana Order. Headlines referred to Solon Leonhauser as an "old Buddhist priest" and he was quoted following his arrest as saying, "My wife and myself are philosophers. We are followers of Buddha. We love the religion of the Hindu and in that way they have become our friends… Their religion is ours. We are Buddhists."[38] Solon was one of three men ordained into the Udana Karana Order of Buddhists as "Devadathat Svami" by Mazziniananda six years earlier, and he and Maria were

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36. "Phelan Makes New Plea to Bar Out Japs," *San Francisco Examiner*, 20 October 1920.
37. M.T. Kirby was made "Lord High Priest over the English-speaking Section" in April, Robert and Alice Clark were appointed "to the full charge of the American Buddhist Organizations" in the Bay Area in June, and then the Clarks were ordained again "into the Priesthood of our Shin Sect" in September. See: Buddhist Churches of American Collection at the Japanese American National Museum (Ordination Box No. 1.01.01, Folder 1920).
38. "Old Buddhist Priest Held As Plot Head," *San Francisco Examiner*, 11 July 1917.

respectively listed as president and vice-president in the Udana Karana Order's articles of incorporation.[39]

In court, the Leonhausers were accused of serving as intermediaries between the Indian revolutionaries and the German agents, specifically hosting a formal dinner at their house that was attended by Ram Chandra, president of the Ghadar Party, and the German Imperial Consul General Franz Bopp.[40] Testimony during the trial revealed that Maria Leonhauser played a central role in overthrowing Ram Chandra, the Ghadar Party's leader from 1914 to 1917, by forwarding charges of corruption against him to the exiled leader Har Dyal, which eventually led to Ram Chandra's resignation and a contentious division among the revolutionaries in America.[41] The trial reached a dramatic conclusion on its last day when Ram Chandra was shot dead in the middle of the courtroom by another defendant, who was then killed by a United States Marshall. Less than a week later, in late-April 1918, Mazziniananda held a "solemn pontifical requiem" for Ram Chandra at the Buddhist Church on Pine Street and gave a sermon with the theme "There Is No Death" to a modest crowd of less than two dozen people that included the widow and two children of Ram Chandra.[42]

Through his ordinations and rituals, Swami Mazziniananda had repeatedly connected the Buddhist Mission to the center of an international conspiracy, and these connections would have aged poorly. During the two-and-a-half years between the events surrounding the Hindu-German Conspiracy trial and the Buddhist Mission's break with Mazziniananda, the United States had moved into the midst of the First Red Scare, a period of widespread fear of foreign radicals punctuated by general strikes, anarchist bombings, and a government crackdown led by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. While the Ghadar Party had some public support at the time of the trial, an association with them would have been seen in a dramatically worse light in 1920 with the shifting context of the First Red Scare and a growing view of Ghadar as a terrorist organization of foreign radicals (Coulson 2017: 56-60). With the connections to Ghadar, along with the internal pressures of M.T. Kirby and the external anti-Japanese pressures of Phelan, there were plenty of reasons for the Buddhist Mission to cut ties with Mazziniananda.

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39. "Americans Made Buddhist Swamis," *San Francisco Call*, 25 July 1911; and *ibid*.
40. "Old Buddhist Priest Held As Plot Head," *San Francisco Examiner*, 11 July 1917.
41. "Ram Chandra Exposed by Aged Woman," *San Francisco Examiner*, 10 January 1918.
42. "Buddhist Church Holds Requiem for Ram Chandra." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 April 1918.

The Later Incarnations of Swami Mazzinianda

The split with the Buddhist Mission of North America had little effect on Mazzinianda's operations. After only two weeks, he established a new institution about a mile away from the Japanese Buddhist Church that was alternately referred to as the American Buddhist Church of the Dharma and the Buddhist Cathedral of San Francisco, and Mazzinianda continued to hold Sunday services as he did before. His Church of Universal Truth kept running in Oakland, and in the beginning of 1923, he incorporated yet another organization, the American Great White Lodge of the Great White Brotherhood. During this time, the Church of Universal Truth also hosted and sponsored a range of figures in the metaphysical world with Mazzinianda often playing the role of a formative influence. One of the most important of these was Edwin John Dingle (1881–1972), the founder of Mentalphysics who, despite being described as living in retreat in Oakland until 1927, was the president of the Church of Universal Truth for over a year starting in 1926 and would later date his career in "ministry" to this time.[43]

Starting in 1925, many South Asian yoga teachers who started touring the country to give public lectures and lead private classes in various cities made Oakland a stop on their itineraries (Deslippe 2018). "Maneck of India" lectured on divine healing under the auspices of the Church of Universal Truth at the Leamington Hotel in 1929 and Sant Ram Mandal similarly addressed the women of Oakland's Ebell Club on "Rosicrucian and Masonic Symbols" in 1931.[44] Yogi Wassan made at least seven stops in Oakland under the Church of Universal Truth on his cross-country travels between 1929 and 1934, and Hari Mohan Singh, a pioneering aviator who remade himself into "Yogi Hari Rama" and went across the United States in one massively-successful, three-year tour, seems to have settled on his flamboyant persona after being hosted by Mazzinianda early on in his yogic career (Deslippe 2019).

The birthday observances that Mazzinianda held annually, beginning in 1910, helped to strengthen his questionable claims to be the oldest ordained Buddhist in the world and also gave him considerable free publicity. On multiple occasions, newspapers ran stories about the aged Buddhist and his fantastic past, and for his part Mazzinianda was always able to provide an interesting angle and memorable quote

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43. "Dingle Heads Church of Universal Truth," *Oakland Tribune*, 21 August 1926; "Founder Will Outline Mentalphysics Growth," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 November 1961, p. 16.

44. Display Ad, *Oakland Tribune*, 20 April 1929 and "Dr. Mandal of India to Speak," *Oakland Tribune*, 10 June 1931.

for reporters. In 1923, Mazziniananda thumbed his nose at Prohibition and expressed hope that he could "paint the town red" and drink on the occasion of his upcoming centennial birthday.[45] In 1930, he wistfully told the Associated Press in a story that was syndicated nationwide that he was probably "too Westernized" to return to the Lhasa monasteries of his youth, and looked to the long life ahead of him by saying, "I'm not good enough to go to heaven, and I'm not bad enough to go to hell, so I guess I'm destined to spend a good many more years on this earth."[46] The Buddhist bishop was in newspapers across the country again in July of 1930 after the death of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the British author and creator of the character of Sherlock Holmes. Doyle was an ardent spiritualist, and after his passing, psychics and mediums on both sides of the Atlantic, including Mazziniananda, gained publicity by attempting to establish contact with him. Mazziniananda claimed that Doyle was a friend of his in life, but the claim is hard to substantiate.[47]

Despite the publicity, this was doubtlessly a period of decline. The Church of Universal Truth lost their home of nearly a decade— rented space in a building for the fraternal organization known as the Knights of Pythias— at the end of 1928 and spent the next few years moving from one location in Oakland to another, often with large periods of time between when no services were held. Underneath his public claims of vigor and youthfulness as the world's oldest Buddhist priest, Mazziniananda was in declining health and other members of the Church of Universal Church increasingly gave lectures and led services in his place. Mazziniananda nearly died from a bout of pneumonia in 1927, and a portrait of him published in 1930 shows him with cataracts in his right eye and a mouth sunken in from several lost teeth.[48]

On December 9, 1931, two months after he told a reporter for the *Oakland Tribune* about his "recipe for longevity" for an article subtitled "Hale at 106," Swami

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45. "Bishop Will Paint Town Red at 100; Dry Law's Wake," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, 17 April 1923, p. 33; "Buddhist Bishop Sees Finish for Prohibition Law," *San Francisco Examiner*, 6 April 1923, p. 6.

46. "Bishop Observes 106th Birthday," *Evening Independent* (Massillon, Ohio), 5 April 1930; "U.S. Buddhist Bishop 105," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 April 1930, p. 12.

47. The two could have met when Doyle toured the United States in 1923 and gave lectures on psychic phenomena in San Francisco and Oakland. As his travel memoirs attest, Doyle made a point to visit mediums and spiritualists such as Mazziniananda at every turn while in America, but there is no mention of the Buddhist bishop in those accounts, and perhaps more importantly, Mazziniananda never made claims to knowing Doyle while Doyle was alive and able to deny his claims while still on the earth.

48. "A Message From A. Conan Doyle," *Mystic Magazine*, November 1930, p. 28.

Mazzinianananda was found dead in his apartment.[49] He left behind no estate and would have been unceremoniously buried in a potter's field if it was not for a last minute phone call from a charitable member of the Church of Universal Truth.[50] In an ironically fitting tribute to his life, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *New York Times* dutifully reported Mazzinianananda's myths about himself as facts in their obituaries as they described him as a centenarian Buddhist bishop who was friends with the late Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.[51]

Portrait of Mazzinianananda in 1916 (from the self-published poetry chapbook *Thoughts*)

Bhikkhus Vagantes *and* Hakujin *Hymns*

Few traces of Mazzinianananda survived in the records of and histories created by the Buddhist Churches of America (as the Buddhist Mission became known in 1942), and as a result there is hardly any mention of him within secondary histories and scholarly

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49. Nancy Barr Mavity, "Aged Priest Tells How To Live Long," *Oakland Tribune*, 2 October 1931, p. 20.
50. "San Jose Man Saves Bishop From Potter's Field," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 December 1931.
51. "American Buddhist Bishop Found Dead," *Los Angeles Times*, 9 December 1931; "Dr. Mazzinianananda Dies at 106," *New York Times*, 10 December 1931.

works on Buddhism in the United States. One possible reason for this exclusion was Mazziniananda's behavior and reputation. As with M.T. Kirby, many within the Buddhist Mission may have seen Mazziniananda as embarrassment who was best forgotten. Another is that Swami Mazziniananda came to Northern California with his own dubious credentials and was never officially ordained a minister through the American Jōdo Shinshū establishment, and so would not have been included on any official rolls. There was also the confusion created by Mazziniananda's elaborate backstory, his lengthy and unusual name, and the numerous titles that were added and subtracted to it, particularly when references to Mazziniananda moved back and forth in translation between English and Japanese. There are records of Mazziniananda that name him as "Svami Mazziniananda" in Watsonville, "Dr. Swami Mavviniamanea" in Fresno, and as both "Dr. Madhinanda" and an unnamed "Buddhist Missionary from India" in Sacramento.[52]

The details about the life and activities of Swami Mazziniananda make it difficult to place him within distinct and exclusive categories or easily situate him within a larger history of Buddhism in America. In this sense, he could be compared to other figures such as Sufi Abdul Hamid and Ida Craddock, whose beliefs and practices were a complicated metaphysical mixture, but were still placed by scholars respectively within the larger histories of African American engagement with Buddhism and yoga in the United States, despite having only tentative links to those traditions (McNicholl 2018; Jain 2015: 22-29, 133). Mazziniananda could be seen as having two parallel careers as an occultist and Buddhist, at times moving back and forth between them. Most often he existed simultaneously within both of them. The most glaring example of this occurred in Sacramento when listings for him at the Spiritualist Mission and Buddhist Church ran side-by-side in the local newspaper.[53] An exposé published in 1915 described Mazziniananda's work in Los Angeles as "a great mixture of 'fake' Buddhism, Roman Catholicism, and modern spiritualism" and Mazziniananda as a "medium (who) wore the costume of a Buddhist priest."[54] It was a description that was as accurate as it was pejorative.

Several scholars have described nuances within modern Buddhism by employing forms of Christianity as points of explanatory comparison. Gananath Obeyesekere (1970) famously used "Protestant Buddhism" to describe a moment in nineteenth-

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52. "The Svami Spoke," Evening Pajaronian (Watsonville), 06 February 1911; "Elaborate Ceremonies To Mark Buddha's Birthday," *Fresno Morning Republican*, 2 April 1910; and *Buddhist Churches of America: Volume 1, 75 Year History 1899–1974.* Chicago: Nobart, p. 150.
53. See: "Church Listings" in *Sacramento Bee*, 6 May 1911.
54. David P. Abbott, "Some Famous Exposures," in *The Lock and Key Library* (New York: The Review of Reviews, 1915), p 83.

century Sri Lankan history where the "norms and organizational forms" of modern, urban, elite Buddhists reformers were often derived from Protestant Christianity, and could also be seen as being "Protestant" in spirit with Buddhists protesting against Christianity similarly to how Christians protested the Catholic Church during the Protestant Reformation. Stephen Prothero (1995) built upon the same term to describe the Buddhism of Henry Steel Olcott as "a complex creolization of traditional Theravada Buddhism, Protestant modernism, metropolitan gentility, and academic Orientalism." I have argued that the Venerable Lokanatha (né Salvatore Cioffi), an Italian-born immigrant to America who converted to Buddhism in the 1920s and became a global missionary and reformer, could be considered as something like a Catholic Buddhist (Deslippe 2013: 178), since, unlike Olcott, he embraced austerities, monasticism, popular traditions, and devotional practices from various cultures in ways suggesting a continued influence from the Catholic worldviews of his childhood, despite his sincere devotion to Buddhism and his sharp renunciation of the Church as "the Religion of Dictatorship."[55]

If there is a similar category through which we could understand Swami Mazziniananda, I suggest that it is as a Buddhist "wandering bishop." In the Western Christian tradition, wandering bishops or *episcopi vagantes* have been those who exist outside established churches or dioceses, even excommunicated, but still can administer sacraments and maintain valid orders of consecration, and thus be able to continue apostolic succession. While existing prior to the Middle Ages, the number of wandering bishops increasing dramatically with the Anglo-Catholic movement and Occult Revival of the nineteenth century. David Barrett has described modern wandering bishops as those "who collect several different lines of transmission of apostolic succession, and who will happily (and sometimes for a fee) consecrate anyone who requests it" (2006: 301). Peter Levenda (2005) has contended that ordination through wandering bishops is an expeditious, if unscrupulous, way of becoming credentialed as the head of one's own small spiritual kingdom without the inconveniences of belief, training, or the cure of souls; it can be seen as a form of extended ecclesiastical role-playing, with all of their various titles, ornate rituals, and organizational forms not being means to an end, but ends in themselves.

Rather than collecting titles from others, Mazziniananda simply created and adopted a dizzying array of his own religious, learned, and esoteric credentials: Venerable, Right Reverend, Bishop, Sri, Swami, Yogi, Lord Abbot, High Priest, Pastor, Monk, Maha Thero, His Holiness, Grand Hierophant, Master of Arts,

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55. Letter from the Venerable Lokanatha to Alexander Cioffi, dated 10 September 1948 (courtesy of Alexander Cioffi Jr.).

Doctor of Literature, Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Science, Medical Doctor, Sir, Thirty-third Degree Mason, Fellow of the Theosophical Society, and member of the chivalric Order of Saint John; all in addition to being knighted in Egypt, and a veteran of both the Sepoy Mutiny and Crimean War. He was just as prolific in the creation and incorporation of his own organizations: the original Udana Karana Order in 1905 (with a "Black Chapter" for select members who would hold séances in a completely darkened room on certain nights), the Raja Yoga School of Udana Karana Order of Buddhists in 1907, the auxiliary Swastika Society in 1908, the Udana Karana Order of Buddhists and Jain Philosophy in 1911, the Maha-Bodhi Society of Truth Seekers in 1912, the Church of Universal Truth in 1919, and the American Great White Lodge of the Great White Brotherhood in 1923.

The titles that Mazziniananda gave himself, the organizations that he created, and perhaps most importantly, his association with the Buddhist Mission to North America for over a decade, all created a backdrop of legitimacy that allowed Mazziniananda to steadily dispense with titles and conduct ordinations for others with some perceived measure of authority. There were the original twenty-seven Angelenos who "took Buddha as their idol" in their initiation into the Udana Karana order in 1905; Henry Locke who was inducted into the Buddhist priesthood in 1910; the three men (including Solon Leonhauser) "made Buddhist swamis" in San Francisco in 1911; the ordination of a hypnotist named Harold Powers (who was also his alleged great-grandson) in Sacramento in 1912; a "solemn ordination service" provided over by Mazziniananda at the Buddhist Church of San Francisco in 1918; the ordination of H. Spencer Lewis in 1920; an "installation into the Great White Lodge" and "investiture of robes" in Oakland in 1922; a "solemn initiation into the Great White Lodge" (preceded by a performance of Professor Lipka the "world renowned magician") and "initiation of neophytes" that both occurred in 1923; and finally, the initiation of twenty-eight candidates into the Great White Lodge and the "Consecration to office of Sanyassin [sic]" of one Melvin Duncan in 1924.[56]

Seen as a type of Buddhist wandering bishop, the ordination of H. Spencer Lewis of the AMORC in 1920 would be the emblematic moment of Mazziniananda's

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56. "Take Buddha As Their Idol: Sawtelle Proselytes Pin Faith To Hindu God," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 October 1905; "Anniversary of Buddha Celebrated at S.F. Temple," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 April 1910; "American Made Buddhist Svamis," *San Francisco Call*, 25 July 1911; "Buddhist Priest is Ordained Here," *Sacramento Bee*, 22 April 1912; Classified Ad, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 April 1918; Display Ad, *Oakland Tribune*, 1 April 1922; Display Ad, *Oakland Tribune* 31 March 1923; "Death is Subject," *Oakland Tribune*, 20 October 1923; Display Ad, *Oakland Tribune*, 5 April 1924.

career: one dubious but efficacious set of credentials used to create another and done within a modestly-sized but overly-embellished ordination service. More importantly, the constant churning of organizations and titles into revenue may have been Mazziniananda's ultimate purpose. The official articles of incorporation for the Udana Karana order in 1911 and the Church of Universal Truth in 1919 both state the granting of diplomas and the empowering of ministers as among the purposes of their formation, and, doubtlessly, those who received investiture through Mazziniananda made considerable investments of money to him for services, ritual dress, and certificates. There are indications that membership in Mazziniananda's organizations (outside of the Buddhist Mission) included monthly dues, and display advertisements constantly allude to him offering private courses of instruction and individual services that were likely paid.

The phrase most commonly associated with wandering bishops is the description of the rites they administer as being "valid, but illicit." Perhaps the most apt description of Swami Mazziniananda's place within the history of Japanese Buddhism in the United States is that he was illicit, but valid. Seeing Mazziniananda as a type of wandering bishop allows an understanding of him that goes beyond questions of legitimacy and institutional affiliation, and instead focuses on what he did. During the opening session of the 1915 Buddhist Congress, the acting secretary, Ernest E. Powers, resigned over his objections to Mazziniananda and told the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "[Mazziniananda] professes to be the head of the Buddhist Church in America, but the Japanese Buddhists do not recognize him. He is permitted to speak in the Japanese church here because of his admitted excellence as a pulpit orator."[57] To be allowed to speak within an institution is a very real form of recognition, however, and despite not holding an official title, Mazziniananda was allowed to represent the Buddhist Mission time and again through his sanctioned presence.

Mazziniananda's strongest and most long-lasting influence on the Buddhist Churches of America (as the Buddhist Mission was known after internment and the Second World War) may have been through liturgy and music. Most accounts of Japanese Buddhism in America point to the 1924 publication of *The Vade Macum: For Use in Buddhist Temples*, a collection of hymns and ceremonies created by three white converts Dorothy Hunt, Ernest Hunt, and A. Raymond Zorn, as a significant moment in the history of Japanese Buddhism in the United States as the earliest service book and collection of *gathas* in English (Wells 2002: 88; Tweed 2012: 36; Mitchell 2014: 363; Williams 2019: 323n14) or as a marker of the production of

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57. "Officer Resigns at Buddhist Congress," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 August 1915.

English language *gathas* occurring both in Japan and North America (Mitchell 2006: 141). George Tanabe described the *Vade Macum* as "the primary if not the only handbook for English hymns and services" between 1924 and 1939, and its influence as being so strong and long-lasting that he saw "the international ideal of Ernest and Dorothy Hunt" and "the religion of the *Vade Macum*" present despite an emphasis on Japanization and Shinshū-specific teaching over the subsequent decades (Tanabe 1998: 223, 236). But with publication of Mazzninanda's Buddhist High Mass in *The Open Court* and his *Service Book and Hymn Book of the Maha-Bodhi Society of Truth Seekers* published in 1913 when he was settled in Fresno, and the ability to connect the titles and lyrics of specific hymns across time, it is possible to reposition Mazziniananda as a more accurate creator of the earliest service book and collection of *gathas* in English, and trace his influence, through M.T. Kirby, to the Hunts and their *Vade Macum*.

Kirby was much closer to, and more strongly influenced by, Mazziniananda than his efforts to get him removed from the Buddhist Mission and his acerbic writings for *The Young East* in 1927 would suggest. Advertisements in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, and the *Oakland Tribune* show that Kirby regularly assisted Mazziniananda in his services from April to August of 1920, and Kirby carried on as Mazziniananda's successor by holding weekly services in much the same manner in San Francisco, before leaving for Honolulu to propagate Buddhism and conduct English-language services at the invitation of Bishop Imamura Yemyō 今村恵猛 (1867–1932), the bishop of the Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii. The move to Hawaii did not seem to change much. Two newspaper articles provide a detailed look at the English language services Kirby conducted in Hawaii, one by Albert W. Palmer, the pastor at Honolulu's prestigious Central Union Church, who visited the English service at the Hongwanji Temple in 1921 soon after Kirby arrived in Hawaii, and another three years later for the *Honolulu Advertiser*.[58] Both describe services that closely resemble the high pontifical masses of Mazziniananda, including hymns identical to those in the 1913 hymnal of the Maha-Bodhi Society of Truth Seekers: "Lead Kindly Light," "Fellowship" (sung to the tune of "Blest Be the Tie That Binds"), "Joy to the World," and "Hymn to Buddha."[59]

Historians have described Kirby as ill-suited for his task in Hawaii and his stay there as a disastrous period of unnecessary and harmful antagonism towards

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58.   Albert W. Palmer, "American Buddhist Ceremony," *The Friend* (Honolulu), January 1922, Vol. 41, No. 1, 1, 4, and 15; and "Former English Churchman Is Now Head of Buddhist Mission Work in Honolulu," *Honolulu Advertiser, Sunday Morning*, 2 March 1924, 10.

59.   The final hymn was also published at the end of Mazziniananda's article "Personality" for the December 1907 issue of *Light of Dharma*.

Christianity that was left to Dorothy and Ernest Hunt to make right (Hunter 1971: 132-134, 151-154; Tamura 1994: 205, Tanabe 2005: 89; Ama 2011: 70-71). But as much as the Hunts were a corrective to Kirby, there is also evidence that, in their creation of the *Vade Macum*, they too were influenced by Mazziniananda. At least six of the hymns published in the *Vade Macum* of 1924 had been published a decade earlier in Mazzinianand's *Maha-Bodhi Society of Truth Seekers* hymnal: "Coronation," "God Within," "Infinite Love and Wisdom," "Rejoice," "The Doctrine," and "There is No Death." In turn, the considerable influence of the *Vade Macum* extended the lifespan of the unacknowledged selections from Mazzinianand's hymnal and further entrenched them into Jōdo Shinshū ritual life. Five of the hymns from the *Maha-Bodhi Society of Truth Seekers* hymnal of 1913 were included in the 1932 edition of the *Vade Macum*, and the sixth hymn, "Infinite Love and Wisdom," while not included in the 1932 edition, had even greater longevity as it was included in at least five other collections over the next four decades.[60]

Although scholars have noted that it was "clearly modeled after Christian service books" (Wells 2010: 179) and "reflected the themes of popular Protestant Christian hymns" (Stowe 2004: 158), the preface to the first edition of the *Vade Macum* reassured readers that "all the ceremonies and hymns have Buddhist Authors and are founded on the Dharma." But several of the hymns that moved from Mazzinianand's hymnal to the *Vade Macum* had unique, earlier origins that were not Buddhist, but metaphysical, despite misleading claims in the *Vade Macum* that they were authored by Paul Carus or were "ancient chants." "Infinite Love and Wisdom" was sung in meetings of the New Thought group the Unity School of Christianity at the turn of the century, and "There Is No Death," "God Within," and "Coronation" were all sung by Spiritualist groups during the nineteenth century with the latter in use before the American Civil War.[61] "Rejoice," another hymn included in both the *Vade Macum* and Mazzinianand's service book, also reveals a likely source of the Spiritualist hymns

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60. See: *Standard Buddhist Gathas and Ceremonies: Japanese and English* (Kyoto: Publication Bureau of Buddhist Books, 1939); *Buddhist Gathas and Ceremonies* (Los Angeles, 1943); the *Young Buddhist Companion* (1954); *Praises of the Buddha* (Honolulu, Revised 3rd edition, 1962); and the *Buddhist Service Book* (Buddhist Churches of America, San Francisco, 2nd Printing, 1967).

61. See: "Truth Students of Chicago," *Unity* vol. 19, no. 1 July 1903, p. 39; *The Spirit Minstrel: A Collection of Hymns and Music for the Use of Spiritualists in Their Circles and Public Meetings* (Boston: Bela Marsh, 1860), p. 21; *The Spiritual Harp: A Collection of Vocal Music for the Choir, Congregation, and Social Circle* (Boston: Banner of Light Publishing, 1868); and *The Spiritual Lyre: A Collection of Songs for the Use of Spiritualists* (London: J. Burns Progressive Library, 1870), Hymn #42.

used by Mazziniananda: the group of Euro-American converts to Buddhism that preceded him.

Thomas Tweed made an undated pamphlet of "Rejoice" the centerpiece of an article for *The Eastern Buddhist* and speculated that it was "printed and used between 1900… and 1907" and was used by the group of early Euro-American converts known as the Dharma Sangha of Buddha (Tweed 2012: 37). While not referenced in his article, the connection between the hymns of the Dharma Sangha of Buddha and those of the *Vade Macum* is made clear in an article published by the *San Francisco Examiner* in April 1902 about a service held at the Buddhist Mission on Polk Street in honor of the Buddha's birthday. Just as Albert Palmer would do nearly two decades later in Hawaii, the writer for the *Examiner* preserved a brief, but detailed account of the service that included mention of a hymn sung "in the sweet melody of 'Ye Banks and Braes'" that included the line "let the whole earth with joy resound," exactly the same opening line and style of the "Rejoice" in the undated pamphlet, Mazziniananda's hymnal, and the *Vade Macum*.

The Dharma Sangha of Buddha has been described as the "Caucasian counterparts" to the "Japanese Buddhists of California" (Fields 1992: 145) and as a product of a "modernity (that) involved multidirectional movements across borders" (Tweed 2012: 53), but a closer inspection points to a more specific and revelatory conclusion—at least six of the eight Euro-American members of the Dharma Sangha of Buddha mentioned in two articles published in late-May 1900 by the *San Francisco Examiner* were deeply involved in the occult.[62] Eliza R.H. Stoddard was listed in local newspapers and the San Francisco-based *Religio-Philosophical Journal*—before, during, and after the creation of the Dharma Sangha—as a Spiritualist medium who gave private readings and conducted "test circles."[63] Agnes White wrote to the editor of the same *Religio-Philosophical Journal* to request that they publish more descriptions of Spiritualist phenomena and "not hear of fraud," and described herself as a "helper" who wanted to "let in the light."[64] Charles Frank Jones was noted as having "devoted himself to an exhaustive study of physical and metaphysical phenomena" and gave several lectures in Los Angeles in 1894 on vegetarianism, esotericism, healing, and the Divine Mind.[65]

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62. "The First Buddhist Church in America Established in this City," *San Francisco Examiner*, 27 May 1900; "Teachers of Buddhism," *San Francisco Examiner*, 30 May 1900.

63. See Classified Ad in the *Oakland Tribune*, 4 June 1897; Classified Ad in the *San Francisco Examiner* 28 January 1900; "Medium's Directory" in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* for 5 October 1899, 4 August 1900, and 14 September 1901.

64. "Letter from Mellitta, Cal." *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, 20 October 1898.

65. See "City Briefs," *Los Angeles Times*, 22 February 1894; Unity Church Listing, *Los Angeles Herald*, 20 February 1894.

Three other members of the Dharma Sangha had both deeper connections to the occult as well to one another. George Carpenter was a medical doctor and active Spiritualist in the Midwest for decades before moving to California in 1897 where he lectured for Spiritualist churches, camp meetings, and state conventions in Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco, before joining the Buddhist fold. Before coming to the United States, John Rex Guelph Norman had a checkered past as a "self-styled 'Doctor' and 'Professor'" who created specious Buddhist and Spiritualist organizations in Burma, and was denounced in Theosophical circles by Henry Olcott for "obtaining considerable sums of money on false pretenses."[66] While he was a lecturer at the Buddhist Mission and its vice president and physician, Guelph Norman was mercilessly mocked in the *San Francisco Examiner* as a charlatan "Yogi" who claimed to be the son of the Prince of Wales through a morganatic marriage.[67] Jenny Ward Hays, the recording secretary for the Dharma Sangha, was the daughter of Carpenter and later the wife of Guelph Norman, and was also a proficient musician and performer. She played the piano at Guelph Norman's lectures and performed at Spiritualist gatherings in the Bay Area with her son from a previous marriage just before the formation of the Dharma Sangha of Buddha.[68] Hays was the likely creator of the English-language Buddhist hymns used at the Buddhist Mission and the one who repurposed the Spiritualist hymns that eventually made their way to Mazziniananda and then to the *Vade Macum*.

Revealing the Occult within the Buddhist Mission of North America

Near the end of his life, Mazziniananda wistfully told a reporter, "I am the last of my line."[69] He intended the statement to romantically reflect on his place in the specious lineage of the Udana Karana Order of Jain Buddhists, but it was true in a more profound sense. By the time of his death in 1931, much of what comprised Mazziniananda's alleged Buddhism would have seemed anachronistic. A new type of Euro-American convert to Buddhism had begun to emerge in the United States during the interwar decades that was well-read, aligned with the Japanese Buddhist establishment, and interested in Buddhism qua Buddhism (Ama 2015).

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66. Henry S. Olcott, "Executive Notice," *The Theosophist*, February 1899, p 8 ½.
67. "A Yogi In Our Midst," *San Francisco Examiner*, 17 June 1900, p 24; Church Notices, *San Francisco Examiner*, 23 September 1900.
68. Classified Ad for the American School for Opera and Drama, *San Francisco Call*, 27 August 1905; Listing in the *San Francisco Examiner*, 1 April 1900, p. 16.
69. Nancy Barr Mavity, "Aged Priest Tells How To Live Long," *Oakland Tribune*, 2 October 1931, p. 20.

Mazziniananda was emblematic of an unbroken presence of occult-influenced Euro-American converts in the Buddhist Mission of North America that began close to the Mission's beginnings and extended for decades. This presence not only preceded Mazziniananda with the members of the Dharma Sangha of Buddha in the 1900s but also continued with those who worked alongside him and continued after his departure, such as M.T. Kirby and Alice and Robert Clark.

Alice Clark worked professionally as a Christian Science healer both before and during her time as a Buddhist and lectured on psychic phenomena and delivered Spiritualist messages alongside Mazziniananda.[70] She and her husband Robert gave lectures at The Hall of New Thought and Applied Psychology (including one titled "Was the Buddha A Leader and Teacher of New Thought?") and at the Oakland Center of Mind and Soul Culture (along with healing demonstrations) while connected to the Buddhist Mission of North America.[71] Similarly, M.T. Kirby was introduced to Buddhism through his involvement with the Theosophical Society in Canada, and while serving Buddhist organizations in both California and later in Hawaii, he gave lectures clearly designed to appeal to Spiritualists such as "Death and After" and "Buddhism and Spiritism."[72] In Honolulu, Kirby lectured on "Business Psychology" at the New Thought Center and gave talks at the Metaphysical Center on "The Inner Breath" and on "Life Forces" for the "Occult Students' Course" there.[73]

Thomas Tweed noted the influence of the occult on several key late Victorian advocates of Buddhism (2000 and 2005), but also suggested in the final chapter of *The American Encounter with Buddhism* that part of the "ineffective institutionalization" of Buddhism in America at the turn of the century was due to "esoterics" being "poor candidates for unqualified allegiance to Buddhism" (Tweed 2000: 154). While there was little unqualified allegiance on the part of the Euro-American "esoterics," they were still a significant part of the Japanese Buddhist establishment in America during the early-twentieth century. As they wove Buddhism together with Spiritualism, fortune telling, New Thought, Theosophy, Rosicrucianism, Freemasonry, and esoteric views of Christianity, they conducted English language services, created liturgies, and

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70. "Toes Regrown By Buddhist Priestess," *San Francisco Examiner*, 3 June 1923; Display Ad, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 August 1920.

71. Display Ads in the *Oakland Tribune* for 20 July, 20 August, and 10 September 1921; and Display Ads in the *Oakland Tribune* for 6 May and 27 May 1922.

72. Listing for Buddhist Church, *Sacramento Star*, 25 September 1920; Listing for Hongwanji Temple, *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 3 May 1924.

73. Display Ad, *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, 4 January 1922; Listings for Metaphysical Center, *Honolulu Advertiser*, 1 April and 14 March 1923.

served as a public face for the Buddhist Mission. It is tempting to view figures such as Mazziniananda through questions of authenticity, sincerity, or cultural appropriation, but as David Chidester (2005) argued in his study of religion and American popular culture, even fakes do "authentic religious work." While outlandish and fabricated, Mazziniananda's use of pomp, titles, ceremony, and position could still be effective. One Euro-American student of Mazziniananda was "intrigued" by both his "quackery and beautiful ceremonies" and still converted to Buddhism (Murano 1939: 40).

Further, these questions might have been of little consequence to the Buddhist Mission at the time. At Mazziniananda's annual "Feast of Buddha Grand Solemn Pontifical Celebration" in 1913, Rev. Uchida not only gave a sermon alongside him, but also directly wrote to potential guests in advance of the event to request their attendance.[74] The *San Francisco Chronicle* mistakenly ran a classified advertisement for the event under the heading "Salesmen Wanted" instead of "Church Notices," but it was a mistake that spoke to a larger truth.[75] With a background in the occult and as a literal salesman of patent medicines, Mazziniananda sold Buddhism well. In reports published in the *Beikoku Bukkyō*, various branches of the Buddhist Mission within California were quick to note that the speeches and services of Mazziniananda were well-attended. In 1910, the Watsonville Buddhist Society reported that he filled the hall during his afternoon and evening lectures, and the following year the Sacramento Buddhist Society noted that many *hakujin* (white people) attended his English-language sermons; and nearly twenty of them flank Mazziniananda in a group photograph taken on the steps of the Buddhist Church there.[76] Two American newspaper reporters in Watsonville and Sacramento respectively noted the "large" and "crowded" congregations that they found at Mazziniananda's services during that same time.[77]

Judith Snodgrass (1998) argued when Paul Carus' *Gospel of Buddha* was translated into Japanese by Suzuki Daisetsu and published in Japan by Shaku Sōen, its warm reception in Japan had less to do with the merits of the work itself than its "strategic value" in demonstrating Japanese Buddhism as compatible with modernity, science, and Western intellectuals, and that this was something that it accomplished, in part,

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74.   See: "Letter to Mrs. Richard Savain from Koyu Uchida" in Gertrude Bass Warner Papers, 1879–1954, Held by the University of Oregon (Box 3, Folder 1).

75.   Classified Ad, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 April 1913, p. 44.

76.   *Beikoku Bukkyō* April 1910 (11/4) and March 1911 (12/3); *Buddhist Churches of America: Volume 1, 75 Year History, 1899–1974* (Chicago: Nobart, Inc., 1974) p. 150.

77.   "Farewell Sermon," *Evening Pajaronian* (Watsonville, CA) 6 February 1911; "Tribute to Late Monsignor," Sacramento Bee, 1 November 1911.

just by the "fact that such a book had been written" (340). Similarly, the questionable aspects of Mazziniananda's activities may have been less important than the strategic value of his English language services and the non-Japanese crowds that he drew to the branches of the Buddhist Mission, and the very fact that those services and crowds existed. Rev. Uchida, the Bishop of the Buddhist Mission of North America from 1905 to 1923, said that his organization was "not satisfied to settle in America as an 'extension of Japanese Buddhism' or 'religion that followed immigrants'" (quoted in Moriya 2010: 117).

Mazziniananda was in many ways a "bunko bishop," drawing on both the word's Japanese and English meanings. His knowledge of Buddhism was not acquired through any scholarly or monastic training, nor through any recognizable lineage, but was created through hastily bought books and his emulation of other self-exoticizing con men of his time. Although he entered the Buddhist fold under fraudulent claims, he furthered Uchida's aims and was efficient in helping the Buddhist Mission extend beyond the Japanese American community of Issei during the first decades of its existence. Mazziniananda, along with the Dharma Sangha of Buddha, M.T. Kirby, and the Clarks, highlights how the occult was not only a significant presence among early Euro-American converts to Buddhism, but was a powerful force of mediation and acculturation for the Buddhist Mission of North America.

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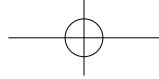
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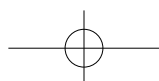(Trans. by Matthew Anning and Ioannis Gaitanidis)

Matsumoto Chiwaki's Theory of Human Radioactivity: A Case of Reception of Western European Science in Japan[1]

As modern European and American scientific thought was being introduced in nineteenth-century Japan, Japanese intellectuals simultaneously adopted concepts that had already lost their legitimacy in Western scholarly circles (such as "imponderable fluids") and recent discoveries that were about to revolutionize science (such as radioactivity), leading to the invention of new concepts that combined both local and translocal scientific and occult ideas. This paper presents such a case by describing the "discovery" by Matsumoto Chiwaki, a *reijutsuka* active at the fringes of Japanese academia, of "human radioactivity": the idea that humans have the capacity to emit radioactivity that affects objects and human bodies, with the ultimate objective of curing diseases.

Keywords: Matsumoto Chiwaki – human radioactivity – imponderable fluids – mesmerism – occult science

This paper is an examination of certain views of anatomy and nature from the Meiji era to the early Showa era, focusing on the scientific concepts of "radioactivity" and "imponderable fluids." This case reveals a distinctive and unusual culture of thought that was associated with the reception of Western scientific thinking in modern Japan, especially as it was expressed by Matsumoto Chiwaki 松本道別 (1872–1942), a *reijutsuka* 霊術家[2] who worked at the periphery of the academism of Japanese imperial universities.

The first section offers an overview of the relationship between traditional Japanese ideologies and the modern Western European scientific thought that was introduced into Japan from the 1850s onwards. The second section provides an explanation of "imponderable fluid," an important concept for the history of science and the central theme of this paper. The third section covers the circumstances in Japan around the reception of the concept of "imponderable fluid," while the fourth section uncovers the mystical adoption of "radioactivity." Finally, the fifth section is a discussion of Matsumoto's ideas. The lengthy introductory explanations before the investigation of Matsumoto's case serve to cover a relatively specialist subject: the history of the Japanese reception of the imponderable fluid concept. Sections 1 to 4 consist, therefore, of a comparative cultural history of science in Japan and Euro-America.

Traditional Thought and Modern Scientific Thought

How was scientific thought formed in modern Japan? From a historical perspective, the archetype of modern Japanese scientific thought was an amalgam of various scientific ideas that had emerged in Western countries, such as England, the United States, Germany, France and the Netherlands, and which rushed into Japan like a disorderly torrent, flooding an intellectual world that lacked at the time a systematized conceptual framework. Various scientific ideas of Euro-American origin were therefore translated and introduced into the modern Japanese intellectual world in a fragmented way. New associations were, as a result, created and some ideas took on new meanings. What occurred was not a transplanting of individual ideas, but rather the formulation of a new discursive space that used the Japanese language to frame these ideologies relationally. From that discursive space arose a mixture of preexisting Japanese ideas and Western scientific ideas, that led to frequent back-and-forth movements between rationalism and mysticism, universality and specificity, the modern period and the premodern period, science and the unscientific, Japan and the West. I offer below three examples.

First, Ishizuka Sagen 石塚左玄 (1851–1909), a Meiji-era doctor, wrote a theory of nutrition called *shokuyō* 食養 (*Food Cures*). In it, he coins the doctrine of *fūfu arukari* 夫婦アルカリ (lit. "marital alkalis") to describe a division between foods that he considered as high in sodium ions (what were known as *yang* foods in traditional Chinese medicine 漢方 *kanpō*) and foods that were high in alkali ions (*yin* foods). In an attempt, therefore, to use the two types of ions to explain the correspondence between *kanpō* and the *yin-yang* divinatory system that forms its basis, the sodium salt is seen as the husband, and the potassic salt is seen as the wife. Another example is that of Oka Asajirō 丘浅次郎 (1868–1944), a biologist who significantly contributed to the adoption of evolutionary theory in Japan. Oka's vision of humanity's eventual collapse, which he connected to evolutionary thought, had much in common with the Buddhist theory of impermanence. Looking for other examples further into the twentieth century, the

idea of *Nihonteki kagaku* 日本的科学 (Japanese Science) that was promulgated before and during WWII, aimed at formulating a unique science based on the Japanese mind by placing natural science (usually seen as "universal") in the particular historical and ethnic context of Japan. The physiologist Hashida Kunihiko 橋田邦彦 (1882–1945), who was a representative proponent of this theory, equated the Western European notion of holism with the Zen Buddhist concepts of *busshin ichinyo* 物心一如 (lit. "unity of body and mind"), and further linked it to ultra-nationalistic totalitarianism.

Naturally, there was a merging of premodern ideas with science at the dawn of modern scientific thinking in the European West too. At the end of the Enlightenment era and after the French Revolution, for example, an event held in Paris called the Festival of the Supreme Being (*Fête de l'Être Suprême*), promoted the belief in and worship of reason. Later, in the Romantic era, traditional philosophical and theological topics, such as the human spirit or theophany, were translated using scientific concepts reflecting the Enlightenment's reasoning. These heralded the transition from Romanticism into Naturalism (including what could be called Natural Scientism). Influenced by studies of electricity in the previous century by Luigi Galvani (1737–1798) and Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), the nineteenth-century German Romantic poet Novalis (1772–1801), for example, thought that the essence of the human spirit or the foundation of the universe all originated from electric sparks. The philosopher Franz Xaver von Baader (1765–1841) saw lightning as a theophany.

However, modern Japan saw stranger and more complicated examples than the above. Concepts of vastly different origins and logical standards became curiously enmeshed and gave rise to unusual new theories. In Western Europe, science blended with philosophy, religion, and literature, even while preserving its continuity with the local culture. In other words, the harmonious body of knowledge that had, since ancient Greece and Rome, slowly blended together, from about the eighteenth century split into newly formed academic disciplines, which, in turn, produced concepts that interacted between each other and moved across these disciplines, even though they shared a common origin. Japan, however, witnessed a double structure, where the modern science of the European West was overlain onto Japanese thought. This is what makes Japan's case a peculiar one.

To see how Japanese scholars of the theory and history of sciences have made sense of this situation, I take the example of the 1980 publication by Murakami Yoichirō 村上陽一郎, *Nihonjin to kindai kagaku* 日本人と近代科学 (*Modern Science and the Japanese*) in which the author summarizes the above phenomena as follows (Murakami 1980: 10-17). Murakami argued that Western European modern scientific thought is structurally based on six elements:

1. the division between objectivity and subjectivity
2. the denial of anthropomorphism
3. mechanical naturalism and the exclusion of teleology
4. control over Nature

     5. the idea of progress
     6. individualism[3]

At the time of Japan's importing of modern Western European science, the national goal was "to enrich the nation and fortify the army" (*fukoku kyōhei* 富国強兵). The principles stemming from the above six-part structure differed greatly from those that lay at the foundations of Japanese culture, but those differences were ignored, and science was introduced as technical knowledge. Thus, the foundations of Japanese thinking were preserved, and modern Western European science was added on top of them as a technological system. That is to say, there was no conflict or standoff, at least superficially, between the fundamental constructs of modern Western European science and Japanese thought and culture. In other words, the foundations of Japanese thought and culture did not collapse under modern Western science. This is the general gist of Murakami's argument. After all, the schema described by Murakami is, even by today's standards not unusual since it only points out a dualistic structure of culture that has sometimes been called "Japanese spirit, Western technology" (*wakon yōsai* 和魂洋才) or "Eastern ethics, Western arts" (*tōyō dōtoku, seiyō geijutsu* 東洋道徳西洋芸術), and which has been supported by many surveys of historical documents and detailed theoretical debate.[4]

    Then there is the work by Watanabe Masao 渡辺正雄, also titled *Nihonjin to kindai kagaku* 日本人と近代科学 (*Modern Science and the Japanese*, 1976), in which the

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3.   From today's point of view, there are reservations about the idea that these six points are the foundational principles of modern Western European science. Murakami himself in this same publication includes some reservations about these six points. For the purpose of this paper, it is sufficient to recognize that in Western European modern science there are several foundational ideological constructions, but I cannot investigate the suitability of each item here.

4.   Nevertheless, one can raise doubts in regards to Murakami's argument that contrary to the Christian creationism that is a fundamental construct of modern Western European science, "we, Japanese, never conceived of a creator of nature, nor did we ever recognize in a creator the existence of a strong will imposed onto this universe" (Murakami 1980: 22). Even if the Christian God is different from the *Zōkasanshin* (造化三神 the Three Creator Gods), *Amenominakanushi* 天之御中主神, *Takamimusuhinokami* 高御産巣日神 and *Kamimusuhinokami* 神産巣日神 that appear in the *Kojiki* 古事記 (*Records of Ancient Matters*) and in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (*The Chronicles of Japan*), and even if the Creation in Christianity (*tenchi sōzō* 天地創造) and the Creation in Japanese mythology (*tenchi kaibyaku* 天地開闢) are not simply the same thing, they prove that at least since the eighth century, we Japanese possessed the idea of (a) creator god(s).

author identifies three primary issues with the introduction of modern science and the adoption of Western academic culture in Japan:

> 1. only the technologies were introduced, copied and applied without concern for the cultural and ideological basis that gave rise to them;
> 2. each area of study was taken up separately as a specialized field, without regard to the close connectivity that linked each of the various disciplines of Western academic culture; and
> 3. Western scientific and domestic cultures were allowed to coexist with no association between each other (Watanabe 1976: 7).

This, too, in general terms, should not be taken as an incorrect judgement, although there is some doubt about the third point. On this point, Watanabe himself alludes, for example, to the "exceptional case" of Oka Asajirō, who "assimilated the biology and theory of evolution that he had learned in Germany, after reconstructing those under the Japanese ideological framework of impermanence (*mujō* 無常)" (Watanabe 1976: 6).

Yet, questions remain as to whether, as Murakami and Watanabe state, modern Western European science and Japanese culture have always been in a two-layered relation, from the time the former was introduced to Japan up until recent years; and whether this relation persisted in the form of "Japanese spirit, Western technology." Furthermore, were there mostly cases of no association between Japanese culture and Western scholarly culture, as Watanabe claims? And were instances such as Oka's indeed exceptional?

This paper intends to show that the matter was otherwise. Indeed, when we focus on those among Japan's modern scientific thinkers who have been largely ignored by historical studies, namely those who were not part of the academic community (which centered around the imperial universities), then we find examples that illustrate a different story and which inform my earlier use of the adjective "peculiar."

Through the following analysis of Matsumoto Chiwaki's ideology, I want to show that, far from the simplistic two-layered construction claimed by Murakami, complex discourses abound in the reception of Western European science in modern Japan, and that the discursive space of this era presents the characteristics of a sort of heterotopia (Foucault 2005: 9). My examination of the concept of "imponderable fluid" is precisely part of such a heterotopia.

Imponderable Fluids

An imponderable fluid is literally a fluid whose weight, volume, and other qualities cannot be measured, and one which often cannot even be seen or perceived. It was initially a concept which was introduced in late medieval and early modern Western European scientific thought, in order to explain physical, biological, and chemical phenomena. Various types of *subtle fluids* were imagined at the time: the term *caloric*

was coined to describe the phenomenon of heat; *phlogiston* explained the phenomenon of combustion; *animal spirit* was the principle associated with the various mechanisms of life; and *ether* was thought to be the most universally present fluid because it carried light and gravity. Advances in the field of chemistry, the accumulation of anatomical and physiological knowledge, and the development of thermodynamics put the existence of the caloric, the phlogiston, animal spirit and the like into doubt. And even if these came to be later understood as concepts referring to kinds of energy and to quantifiable chemical and electrical functions of living organisms (such as the functions of the endocrine system and the electrical potential of the nervous system), the question as to whether *ether* actually existed or not continued to be a point of great interest in Western European scientific thinking up until the end of the nineteenth and into the beginning of the twentieth century.[5]

In the natural philosophy of ancient Greece, ether was the substance that was considered to be the structural element of the celestial world. It differed from the four elements (earth, water, fire, air) which constituted the earthly world. In the early modern era, ether was assigned the role of the medium by which forces such as magnetism, gravity, light and electricity were transmitted. Traditionally from ancient times, Western European ideas regarding nature did not recognize remote action, namely the existence of a force that would act in the space between two distant objects.

5.　The modern concept of ether as an imponderable fluid ceased to play a role in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Through the concept of the electromagnetic field proposed in 1864 by James Maxwell (1831–1879), it became clear that electricity and magnetism work through fields. Unlike imponderable fluids, a field is not a substantial entity, but rather a space in a so-called state of tension. And it was thought that a body could affect another body directly depending on the nature of the field. At the same time, according to Maxwell's theory, electricity and magnetism are unified into an electromagnetic field where one gives structure to the other. The concept of ether was further pushed into the background of the history of scientific thinking, when in 1887, two American physicists, Albert Michelson (1852–1931) and Edward Morley (1838–1923) carried out an experiment to accurately measure ether. This experiment was carried out thoroughly, but they were unable to observe it. For more on the transition from the concept of a *force* that causes an effect at a distance, to the concept of a *field*, see Hesse (1961). However, one could consider that more recent concepts in theoretical physics, such as *zero-point energy* and *the Higgs particle* play, at least partly, what once used to be the role played by the concept of ether. In fact, these concepts of zero-point energy and the Higgs particle can essentially be taken as the ether of modern times; thus we cannot claim that the concept of ether has completely disappeared. For more on this topic, see, for example, Whittaker (1951); Takeuchi (2000: 241–242); and Ōguri (2012).

Ostensibly, phenomena like magnetism, gravity, light, and electricity, which appear as if they work in the space between two remote objects, were explained by assuming the existence of some kind of medium. Ether (and various other imponderable fluids) was nothing more than such a medium. Depending on the era and author, electricity and magnetism themselves were conceptualized as imponderable fluids, and there was a time when even fire was thought to be an imponderable fluid.[6]

A crucial topic in the history of Western European theories of imponderable fluids, especially in its relationship to modern Japanese scientific thinking, which I discuss in the second half of this essay, is that of *animal magnetism*. Animal magnetism is a concept proposed by a German-born doctor who worked in Paris, Franz Anton Mesmer (Frédéric-Antoine Mesmer, 1734–1815).[7] Mesmerism (animal magnetic therapy), which Mesmer was performing at the end of the eighteenth century, was based on the control of an invisible, imponderable magnetic fluid thought to be diffused throughout the universe. By coordinating the flow of this fluid inside the human body, the treatment was meant to cure the diseases of the mind and the body. This treatment, which today would be considered a kind of hypnosis, swept across late eighteenth-century Europe and the New World and became very popular.[8]

Followers of Mesmer formed a lodge (later, the Society for Universal Harmony or Société de l'Harmonie Universelle) to promote the spread of mesmerism, and their activities produced favorable results. This Society also played the role of a kind of secret society which fostered a radical political ideology later associated with the French Revolution. In 1784, Louis XVI (1754–1793), no longer able to overlook the fervor of mesmerism, established a board of examination made up of members of the Faculty of Medicine and the Academy of Sciences, and also an investigative commission from the Royal Society of Medicine. The conclusion of both commissions was that they found

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6.   For more on the history of the concept of imponderable fluids, see Metzger (1930) and Shimao (1976). For more on the relationship between the human body and imponderable fluids, Yoshinaga (1996) provides an extremely important discussion.

7.   Although Mesmer was born in Germany, it is his activities in Paris that are significant for animal magnetic therapy. Since most of the sources I used for this paper are originally written in French, I use a Japanese transliteration of his name that is based on the French pronunciation (*Mesumeru*). And the same rule stands for "mesmerism" (*mesumerisumu*). As I will later note, in Japan these words were, however, originally imported through the English language, hence the more frequent *Mesumā* and *mesumerizumu*.

8.   Ellenberger (1970) remains the classic study that equated mesmerism to hypnosis and placed it within the history of psychiatry. For research on the social history of mesmerism in Europe from the end of the 18th century into the first half of the 19th century, see Darnton (1968).

absolutely no evidence of the physical existence of any kind of magnetic fluid, and they resolved that mesmerism was an act of imagination (Ellenberger 1970: 76). After that, writings that were critical of mesmerism were published one after the other. Then in the same year, a demonstration of mesmerism carried out in the presence of the Prince of Prussia, ended in failure, and Mesmer became greatly discouraged. He left Paris the following year and disappeared from the front stage of history.[9] Soon after Mesmer left the scene, his pupil, Marquis de Puységur (1751–1825) reframed the treatment of animal magnetism as "magnetic sleep" (*sommeil magnétique*). This development subsequently led to the concept of hypnotism and mesmerism, as a technique using an imponderable substance called animal magnetism, retreated into the background of medical history.

Nonetheless, in the English-speaking world, there continued to exist, even into the nineteenth century, a number of theorists who took mesmerism to be the operation of imponderable fluids. For example, John Bovee Dods (1795–1872), one of the most famous American mesmerists, in his *Six Lectures on the Philosophy of Mesmerism* (Dods 1854),[10] maintains a substantialist view that asserts the existence of imponderable fluids. In this work, he argues that the human nerves "are charged with a nervo-vital fluid, which is manufactured from electricity," and that "the nervous systems [contain] the magnetic fluid" (Dods 1854: 16). It is said that 3,000 copies of this book were sold in the month after its publication (Yoshinaga 1996: 118), a number that attests to its significant influence. In England too, professor of medicine at the University of London, John Elliotson (1791–1868), the authoritative president of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, began from 1837 to take an interest in mesmerism, and on his way to becoming England's first eminent mesmerist, he espoused the substantialist stance that explained mesmerism in terms of magnetic fluid (Oppenheim 1985). In continental Europe, mesmerism eventually came to be known at the phenomenon of hypnotism, while in the English-speaking world, the imponderable fluid-explanatory model continued to exert a certain level of influence, even though this was not necessarily the mainstream stance.[11]

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9.   He later moved via Vienna to a small village in Switzerland where he lived the rest of his life peacefully until his death in March 1815.

10.   Originally published in 1843, in Boston, by Willam A. Hall & Co. (*Translators' note:* here, the original Japanese text writes 1847, but in the course of checking the sources of this paper, we corrected this date to 1843, which appears to be the earliest date of publication. The original documents can be read online on the website of the HathiTrust Digital Library, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100133446)

11.   However, in England, only a few scholars recognized magnetic fluids (as did Elliotson); most medical scholars in the 1830s and 1840s were skeptical of the existence of animal magnetism. See Oppenheim (1985: 274-275).

This point becomes important later when we look at the history of the reception of mesmerism in modern Japan. At the beginning of the nineteenth century in continental Europe, mesmerism became less popular as a medical procedure. Still, it continued to exert an influence in broader cultural fields such as literature, philosophy, and in political and religious ideologies.[12] For example, Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) wrote in *Prometheus Unbound*, "borne beside thee by a power … Magnet-like, of lovers' eyes" (Shelley 1820); and Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), writes in his short story of 1833, *Le Message*, "…attraction magnétique, impossible à expliquer" [a magnetic attraction, impossible to explain] (Balzac 1833: 362). Such expressions attest to mesmerism's and animal magnetism's impact on the cultural history of the West.[13]

At this point if I was to frame up a conceptual history of imponderable fluids, including mesmerism and animal magnetism in the Western European context, it would be as follows:

1 – Phenomena such as magnetism, gravity, light, and electricity, which were seen as acting in the space that separates objects, from the seventeenth century onwards came to be understood as manifestations of the effect of a medium, a substance called imponderable fluid. These substances, during the development of chemistry, biology and thermodynamics in the nineteenth century, were then re-conceptualized as various types of energy. Furthermore, after detailed experiments and the development of the theory of electromagnetic field, ether was not only discarded in theoretical terms but also invisible in actual measurements.

2 – Mesmerism as a therapy based on animal magnetism, an imponderable fluid acting on living organisms, came to be understood by mainstream scientists not as a function of the substance known as animal magnetism, but rather as a hypnotic effect caused by the practitioners' speech and conduct.

These two points, as the philosopher Ernst Cassirer pointed out in his *Substance and Function* (Cassirer 1910),[14] can be understood as the transition from substance (imponderable fluids) to function (energy, field theory, and hypnosis theory). Following on from that, I want to re-emphasize the following point:

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12. For example, even today in English, the verb "to mesmerize" (lit. to use a Mesmer-like technique) means to put someone under hypnosis, or to charm someone as if one had hypnotized that person.
13. Examples like this are abundant in nineteenth-century European literature. For more on the influence of mesmerism in the history of literature, see Tatar (1978).
14. In this paper, *Funktionsbegriff* is translated as "function."

3 – In the English-speaking world of even the mid-nineteenth century, there were still some theorists who used the principles of imponderable fluids to explain mesmerism. Furthermore, the concept of magnetic fluids continued to echo in the fields of literature and philosophy.

The above is a broad survey of the scientific theories of "force" and "function" in the history of Western European scientific thought from the early modern era until the late nineteenth century.

How was this kind of conceptual arrangement from the history of Western European scientific thought imported into modern Japan? This was, of course, no simple matter of importing, which is probably foreseeable given our reference to the heterotopian nature of cultural thought in Japan at the time.

In the next section, I will clarify how this heterotopia encountered the imponderable fluids which had all but vanished in Western Europe, and what kind of reaction this concept elicited. Here a cultural trend emerged that, in fact, ought to be appraised as nothing else than 'mesmerizing.'

The Reception and Popularity of Mesmerism in Japan

The doctor Shibue Chūsai 渋江抽斎 (1805–1858), made famous through the biography penned by Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862–1922), had a son, Shibue Tamotsu 渋江保 (1857–1930). Tamotsu appears in Ōgai's *Shibue Chūsai* (1916), and, is the semi-protagonist of the story's second half. In the later Meiji period, Shibue Tamotsu produced many publications related to hypnotism, under the pen-name Shibue Ekiken 渋江易軒.[15] Among them was a piece titled *Jinshin jiryoku suiminjutsu* 人身磁力催眠術 (*Human Magnetic Hypnotism*, 1909), in which "human magnetism" was nothing else than Mesmer's animal magnetism.

Mesmerism was introduced quite early into Meiji Japan. The earliest appearance that we can ascertain was published in 1873 by Shibata Masakichi 柴田昌吉 and Koyasu Takashi 子安峻編: *Fuon sōzu eiwa jii* 附音挿図英和字彙 (*An English and Japanese Dictionary: Explanatory, Pronouncing, and Etymological, Containing all English Words in Present Use, with an Appendix*, Nisshūsha 日就社). The entry on mesmerism is translated as *dōbutsu jikiryoku* 動物磁気力 (animal magnetism). The first book about mesmerism was written by Suzuki Manjirō 鈴木万次郎, published in 1885: *Dōbutsu denki gairon* 動物電気概論 (*An Introduction to Animal Electriciy*, Iwafuji Jōtarō 岩藤錠太郎). Although Suzuki does not mention the name of the original author anywhere in

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15. See Shibue 1909a to 1909h. See Shibue 1910 for a collection of translations from English texts. For more on Shibue Tamotsu and mesmerism, see chapter 6 of Nagayama (2007).

the book, we can presume that it contains translations of a selection of Dods' works.[16] Furthermore, it is evident from the title of these translations that there is confusion between or a mingling of animal magnetism and animal electricity (galvanism); in Europe, a similar mingling of these terms can be observed in German Romantic literature and philosophy.

In this way, mesmerism, equated with hypnosis, was vigorously introduced into Meiji Japan, and went through a phase as a popular cultural phenomenon. For example, in *Wagahai wa neko de aru* 吾輩は猫である (*I am a Cat*, 1905) by Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916), there is a scene where Mr Kushami (Mr. Sneaze) is subject to hypnotism by Doctor Amagi (although the hypnotism doesn't work). Then there is the short story, *Masui* 魔睡 (*Hypnosis*, 1909), by the aforementioned Mori Ōgai. It is a story about the feelings of a husband, a university professor, who suspects his pregnant wife was sexually assaulted by a doctor while she was hypnotized.[17] There is also *Hōkan* 幇間 (*The Jester*, 1911) by Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎 (1886–1965), with a scene where a geisha called Umekichi hypnotizes the jester Sampei, and although the technique is not effective, Sampei pretends to be hypnotized in order to please Umekichi. In the same way, therefore, that Balzac, Shelley and other writers of early nineteenth-century Western Europe came to include the theme of hypnosis in their literature, the recently introduced hypnotism inspired the Japanese literature of the early twentieth century too.

Although I used the expression "mesmerism, equated with hypnosis," we must still consider in more detail whether they were truly equated. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, when mesmerism was introduced into Japan, the mainstream view in Europe was that hypnotism was not a physical phenomenon due to an imponderable fluid called animal magnetism, but rather a psychological phenomenon due to the hypnotic effects that a therapist's words had on a patient. Yet influential theorists of

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16.   *Translators' note:* More specifically, pp. 1-11 are a translation of pp. 8-17 of *Six Lectures on the Philosophy of Mesmerism* (Boston: William A. Hall, 1843); pp. 11-15, pp. 17-21, pp. 21-32 and pp. 32-42 are from pp. 18-23, pp. 51-57, pp. 205-224 and pp. 216-224 respectively of *The Philosophy of Electrical Psychology* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1852). The provenance of the content of pp. 15-17 is unknown. Ioannis Gaitanidis would like to thank Yoshinaga Shin'ichi for this information.

17.   *Translators' note:* Mori apparently used the outdated term *masui* ("magic sleep," which by late Meiji referred to anesthesia) instead of *saimin* (the current term for hypnosis) in order to distance the story from the real experience of his wife with a famous physician associated with the imperial household, upon whom the doctor of the story is modeled. See Ichiyanagi (1994: 122–138); Michael Dylan Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade* (University of California Press, 2009), p. 243, n. 17.

mesmerism in mid nineteenth-century England and America continued to ascribe it to a physical phenomenon, namely the imponderable fluid of animal magnetism. In addition to the aforementioned examples of Dods and Elliotson, there was also the mesmerism-influenced odic force (Lebenskraft Od) proclaimed by the German chemist Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Reichenbach (1788–1869).[18] Accordingly, by the 1870s, when we can confirm the first appearance of concepts referring to mesmerism in the Japanese discursive space, there is a high probability that writings treated of mesmerism in both senses: as a functional concept of hypnosis and also as a physical concept related to the effect of an imponderable fluid.

As stated at the beginning of this paper, even if dealing with the same phenomenon, writings produced by different authors, in diverse locations, periods and languages, and expressing various interpretations of that phenomenon flowed into Japan in a disorderly manner and were then decoded, translated, and introduced in fragmented form into the Japanese intellectual space, where each of these individual ideas acquired new meanings and interacted in new formats. What occurred then was a state of confusion: functionalist theories of mesmerism as hypnosis coexisted with substantialist theories of the imponderable fluid of animal magnetism, which also coexisted with other understandings as that, for example, seen in Shibue's *Human Magnetic Hypnotism*, where functionalist and substantialist interpretations of mesmerism become blended. In the end, the reason for all this was that mesmerism in Western Europe was the object of a conceptual tug of war between physiological and psychological discourses, in which the conceptual details often differed, and resulted in endless variations that exacerbated the already confusing situation, inviting even more chaos.

The Concept of Radiation

As therapies based on magnetism became more and more popular, news of the discovery of radiation soon became connected with occultism (*shinpishugi* 神秘主義). In 1895, when Wilhelm Röntgen (1845–1923) discovered X-rays, Tokyo University Physicist Yamakawa Kenjirō 山川健次郎 (1857–1931)[19] promptly learned of it and

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18. In the history of chemistry, Reichenbach is known for the discovery of paraffin and creosote. He pursued the 'od' from the 1840s, and the first time he wrote about the odic force is surely his *Odisch-magnetische Briefe* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1852).

19. A physicist and Yale graduate, Associate Professor at Tokyo Kaisei School (later integrated into the University of Tokyo). In 1879 he was professor at the University of Tokyo and in 1901 president of Tokyo Imperial University. He was the first professor of Physics at the University of Tokyo.

carried out a follow-up experiment. X-rays 'see through' matter.[20] Shortly after that, two women emerged: Mifune Chizuko 御船千鶴子 (1886–1911), who claimed clairvoyant abilities that allowed her to 'see through' objects at a distance without using X-rays, and Nagao Ikuko 長尾郁子 (1879–1911), who in addition to clairvoyance, claimed to perform "thoughtography" (*nensha* 念写) by exposing X-rays on to dry photographic plates [with her mind]. Fukurai Tomokichi 福来友吉 (1869–1952) and his team at Tokyo Imperial University carried out experiments to confirm Mifune's clairvoyant abilities, and Yamakawa himself assisted and collaborated on experiments of Nagao's clairvoyance and thoughtography. These are known as the the Clairvoyance Incident (*Senrigan jiken* 千里眼事件).[21]

In the rest of this paper, I selected, out of this chaotic discursive space into which Western European science had flooded, one *reijutsuka* who re-interpreted various spiritualist theories through the concepts of radioactivity and radiation, and who, as a result, constructed his own spiritual theories. The background to this was mesmerism. Now that I have established a firm premise, I will turn to the case of Matsumoto Chiwaki, and peer into one facet of the heterotopia of modern Western European science and occultism.

The Blending of Japanese Thought with the Concept of Imponderable Fluids: Matsumoto Chiwaki's Theory of Human Radioactivity

Matsumoto Chiwaki was a *reijutsuka* who was active from the Taishō era through to the early Shōwa era. Until one generation ago, there were only a few references to Matsumoto in the history of modern Japanese thought and culture.[22] His beliefs and practice became known in outstanding scholarly research such as *Yamai to shakai* 病いと社会 (*Illness and Society*) by Tanabe Shintarō 田邉信太郎 (Kōbundō, 1989); *Iyashi wo ikita hitobito* 癒しを生きた人々 (*Those Who Lived Through Healing*) by Tanabe et. al. (Senshū University Publishing, 1999); and *'Iyasu chi' no keifu* 〈癒す知〉の系譜 (*A Genealogy of Knowledge on Healing*) by Shimazono Susumu 島薗進 (Yoshikawa-kōbunkan, 2003); and also through the near-simultaneous publication by two print houses in 1990 of reprints of Matsumoto's major work, *Reigaku kōza* 霊学講座 (*A*

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20. *Translators' note:* Okumura here uses the Japanese word *tōshi* 透視 ("to see through"), which is used both for X-rays and for clairvoyance.

21. For more details, see Ichiyanagi (1994). *Translators' note:* For a discussion of the incident in English see Gebhardt (2004), Takasuna (2012).

22. Even the semi-classic general overviews, such as Aramata (1981) and Imura (1984), do not mention his name.

Course in Spirit Studies[23]), originally published in four volumes by the Reigaku Hall of the Headquarters of the Human Radium Society (*Jintai Rajiumu Gakkai Honbu Reigaku Dōjō* 人体ラジウム学会本部霊学道場) from 1927 to 1928.

It is said that Matsumoto Chiwaki (real name, Junkichi 順吉) was born in 1872 in Ise.[24] In his infancy, his body was weak, and he was often ill. In his middle school years, his interest in the ideology of the Freedom and People's Rights Movement[25] became the reason for friction with his school principal, and it is said that he spent time in a Zen temple in Kyoto to study Buddhism. According to Matsumoto, his family tree included a long line of Japanese *kokugaku* scholars;[26] it is thought that these origins and the influence of political activism led him later to embrace a socialism centred on the imperial house. He is recorded as having graduated from Waseda Gakuen 早稲田学園 and as having then focused his efforts on research about national historic scriptures (*kokuten* 国典), embracing Motoori Norinaga's 本居宣長 (1730–1801) school of Restoration Shintō (*Fukko Shintō* 復古神道).[27] After that, having been "a fervent practitioner of socialism," he was arrested in 1905 for instigating mass riots, and imprisoned until 1910.[28] In this era, many political prisoners experienced various ideological shifts behind bars—deepening their ideologies, developing them into

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23. See Tanabe (1990), for the four-volume set plus appendix with commentary published by Sōjinsha. The other one is Ōmiya (1990), published in a single volume by Hachiman shoten. In this essay, I have drawn quotes from Sōjinsha's edition.

24. Here, I give Matsumoto's dates as 1872–1942. The basis for this claim is the data on the National Diet Library OPAC, and also Tanabe (1990). Reference to Matsumoto's first name being Junkichi can be found in Tanabe (1990: 36–37). The following history of Matsumoto is taken from his own *A Course in Spirit Studies*, and also from the aforementioned Tanabe (1990).

25. *Translators' note:* The Freedom and People's Rights Movement Jiyū Minken Undō (*Jiyū Minken Undō*, 自由民権運動) emerged in the 1880s to call for elections and a constitution in Japan, inspired by various interpretations and combinations of Western liberal thought and earlier moral and political notions of fairness and benevolence.

26. *Translators' note: Kokugaku* (National Learning) was an intellectual nativist movement that arose in the eighteenth century around scholars who looked into early Japanese literature for "proof" of Japan's essential (i.e., non-Chinese / non-Confucian) character and roots.

27 This is taken from page 1 of Volume Three of *A Course in Spirit Studies*. Doubt remains as to whether "Waseda Gakuen" refers to Waseda University. It first opened in 1882 as a Tokyo College, and then it changed its name to Waseda University in 1902.

28. Around the same time, Ōsugi Sakae 大杉栄 (1885–1923) was also imprisoned for inciting mass riots. Matsumoto had associations with Ōsugi and the socialist Fukuda Hideko 福田英子 (1865–1927). See Tanabe (1990: 14).

something else, or even renouncing them—and Matsumoto was no exception. He was in prison in the coldest time of winter; yet each of his experiences—the coldness that would pierce the bones through the meager layer of prison clothes; his body, which did not even catch a cold despite the cruel conditions; the song of the sparrows through the iron-barred window—fueled his meditations. It is said that he even studied evolution and biology while in prison.[29]

The following is an outline of the conclusions he reached from his research and thinking while he was behind bars. First, Matsumoto argues, humans acquired upright bipedal mobility through the process of evolution. As a result, standing and walking applied pressure to the internal organs. Then, with the liberated front legs (the arms), humans made many discoveries and started cooking their food. Another result of this was that intestines weakened and lost their vital energy (*kakki katsuryoku* 活気活力). Through the invention of clothing, humans lost the furry coat bestowed upon them by heaven. Since then, humans fell out of the grace of the *kami*, and no matter how much they conquer and use Nature, they suffer her revenge. And so, despite the advances of medicine, human bodies only become weaker. This is the punishment of Nature. Thus, "we stand before our extinction, if we don't wake up from the artificial and fail to return to live out a natural life" (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 4–5). With this conclusion in his heart, Matsumoto left prison and made a point of living a natural life to the best of his abilities. For this he saw animals as a benchmark (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 6), and so he avoided cooked food, he bathed in natural sunlight and cold water, and he practiced deep breathing. As a result, he allegedly achieved excellent health and physical constitution.

Matsumoto sought a way to achieve even greater physical robustness. He tried such physical and spiritual/spiritualistic techniques as the popular Okada Method of Quiet Sitting (Okadashiki seizahō 岡田式静坐法) of Okada Torajirō 岡田虎二郎 (1872–1920), and the Taireidō 太霊道 (The Way of Great Spirit) of Tanaka Morihei 田中守平 (1884–1929).[30] Through this research, he arrived at the notion of *human radium* (later renamed *human radioactivity*). I will discuss the details of human radioactivity later in this section, but to explain it simply: every person has a unique radioactivity and can heal sickness through control of this radioactivity. In order to promote his research and spread this concept, Matsumoto established in 1917 the Human Radium Society (Jintai Rajiumu Gakkai 人体ラジウム学会) and became its president. He recruited

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29 This was shortly after the first publication of a general introduction to evolutionary theory in Japan (Oka 1904), and such knowledge was at the time considered one of the latest scientific developments.

30 For more on Okada and his method of meditation, see Kobori (1999). For more on Tanaka and *Taireidō*, see Yoshinaga (2006).

members, held lectures, and allegedly cured diseases with human radium. In 1922, the Society published the first volume of *Jintai rajiumu ryōhō kōgi* 人体ラヂウム療法講義 (*Lectures in Human Radium Therapy*).

Around the same time, Matsumoto also devoted himself to research on spiritualism (*kōreijutsu* 交霊術). From 1927 and into the following year, the culmination of his work was published in the aforementioned four volumes of *A Course in Spirit Studies*, a compilation of texts on human radium theory and spiritualism. After that, he continued practicing healing, writing, lecturing and researching on human radium theory until his death from illness in 1942.

Matsumoto lived fundamentally as a *reijutsuka*, and, apart from the events surrounding his imprisonment in his younger years, he can be said to have had a relatively uneventful life. Nonetheless, his ideology, as expressed in *A Course in Spirit Studies* is replete with novel and eccentric ideas. He absorbed the thought of the natural scientists of his time, and although he wrote in a popular tone, he must have had considerably intellectual tastes. Let me now examine his human radium theory, as it appears in *A Course in Spirit Studies*.

First, in the foreword to the four volumes, he declares: "This course is a series of lectures on spirit studies (*reigaku*); it is organized as a juxtaposition of my recent discovery of *human radioactivity*, with the essentials of *reijutsu* from the East and West, of olden and contemporary times" (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 1: 1).[31] What, then, is this human radioactivity?

As we mentioned earlier, after his release from prison, Matsumoto studied biology and evolution; he essentially considered what life is about. He acknowledged the workings of the *reishi*[32] advocated by Tanaka Morihei. Still, he claimed that "these effects are the same as the animal magnetism which Mesmer advocated for in earlier times, and they don't take into account the more fundamental functions of human life" (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 8). It seems that he had become dissatisfied with mesmerism. "Apart from biology and evolution, I commenced research into radium, which had drawn much attention amongst Japanese scholars at the time. However, my research was limited to simply reading books, because I could not possibly buy the extremely expensive equipment. One day in the *Yorozu Chōhō* 萬朝報 newspaper, I read an article about a Dr Kaas (ドクトル、カース), an assistant at Heidelberg University in Germany,

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31. All emphases in the quoted text hereafter are in the original. *Translators' notes:* in-quote emphases are marked in italics.
32. *Translators' notes:* Tanaka Morihei, the founder of Taireidō, had claimed that *reishi* 霊子 (spirit particles) emanating from the *Tairei* 太霊 (Great Spirit) formed the essence of all phenomena.

who discovered that radium had an effect on human internal organs. Contrary to things like *thoughtography*, which had raised issues in the academic world,[33] this newspaper struck me as a new hint, and this bud of a concept that was human radium began to bloom" (Matsumoto 1928, Vol3: 8).

With only this information, it is difficult to determine who Dr Kaas was and precisely what his discovery was.[34] In any case, Matsumoto soon carried out experiments. His were ideas he simply thought up after becoming dissatisfied with mesmerism, and they were truly bold undertakings. As the possible effects of suggestion cannot be eliminated from physiological or psychological experiments, he decided to perform physics experiments. He had learnt that radium radiation causes crystals to change color. He, therefore, experimented on some opaque crystals he had at hand, and reported that "the part that I hold in my hands gradually turns slightly clear," and further, "when I exhale on them strongly, one crystal progressively turned *transparent*." Matsumoto even claimed that these phenomena were reproducible. Over an experimentation period of about a month, he blew air on several dozens of crystals, and although there were differences in the level of transparency, he reached the conclusion that "human radiation has the ability to turn opaque crystals transparent" (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 9). Through similar methods, he later succeeded in an experiment turning sugar cubes brown, and in 1917, he reported succeeding in using his breath to cause exposure to zinc sulphide photographic plates (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 9–10).[35] Motivated by these results, Matsumoto contacted the newspapers, but the only paper to cover his story was the *Kokumin Shinbun* 国民新聞 (*People's Newspaper*), and this report contained negative comments from the manager of the store which provided the photographic plates.

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33. *Translators' note:* Matsumoto probably refers here to the Clairvoyance Incident and to Fukurai Tomokichi, whose research on thoughtography eventually forced him out of Tokyo Imperial University.

34. *Translators' note:* further research in the process of this translation revealed that there is a high probability that this Dr Kaas is a certain Dr Albert Caan (1882–1938), a Dutchman who researched radiotherapy in Heidelberg from 1908 to 1912, and who wrote in 1911 an often-quoted paper in which he claimed organs emit radiation. The paper, "Über Radioaktivität menschlicher Organe" (On the Radioactivity of Human Organs) is accessible online at the Library of Heidelberg University, https://digi.hadw-bw.de/view/sbhadwmnkl_b_1911_5/0001/thumbs. Ioannis Gaitanidis would like to thank Juljan Biontino for his help in identifying Albert Caan.

35. Later, Matsumoto realized there were problems with this experiment. See page 32 of the same publication.

After that, with the help of his senior and close friend, Wadagaki Kenzō 和田垣 謙三 (1860–1919),[36] he asked the aforementioned physicist Yamakawa Kenjirō, who had previously carried out tests on thoughtography and had since become the president of Tokyo Imperial University, to conduct an experiment, but he received no reply. According to Matsumoto, "When I pressed Dr Wadagaki, he told me, 'The situation is like this. After President Yamakawa, I first brought it to the attention of Dr Nagaoka Hantarō 長岡範太郎[37] of the *Department of Sciences*, who thought that it was a matter of abnormal psychology, and so he passed it on to *Humanities*'s Dr Matsumoto Matatarō 松本亦太郎. However, Dr Matsumoto said this had to do with physiology, and so he referred it to the medical school. There, the president of the *Medical School*, Dr Aoyama Tanemichi 青山胤通, looked at the documents, claimed that he understood the idea, and that it was a *healing method based on physics*, so he passed it on to Dr Manabe Kaichirō 眞鍋嘉一郎, so, surely, we'll get a response soon'" (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 11). In the end, however, none of the professors from the imperial university responded to Matsumoto's idea of human radium.

Matsumoto continued his own private study and discovered that the rays emitted by human radium were *alpha rays* (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 13). After that, he developed his own device for detecting human radium, and he furthered his research into physics. When he was absorbed by his research into biology and evolution, he had claimed to "*simply be a materialist, convinced of the absence of god and the soul.*" But as he progressed his research into human radioactivity, "influenced by *Western psychical research (shinrei kenkyū* 心霊研究)," he started leaning towards spiritualist theories (*shinreiron* 心霊論) (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 15-16).[38]

Next, I turn my attention to Matsumoto's lectures to understand the details of the concepts of human radium and human radioactivity, whose 'discovery' led him to embrace spiritualism (*shinreijutsu* 心霊術). Matsumoto provides a general explanation of radium and radioactivity in *Scholarly Principles (Gakuri* 学理), the third volume of *A Course in Spirit Studies* (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 17–31). In terms of the scientific knowledge of that time, his understanding seems valid and accurate. His references include high standard works, such as *The Interpretation of Radium* (New

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36. An economist and graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, who became professor in the Law School of the same university in 1886, and then Professor in the Department of Agriculture in 1898.

37. *Translators' note:* this is probably Nagaoka Hantarō 長岡半太郎 (1865–1950), a pioneer of physics in Japan, who was at the time professor at Tokyo Imperial University.

38. The Western European scientific research into spiritualism he refers to here is probably the spiritualist ideologies of such late 19th century and early 20th century scientists as Sir William Crookes (1832–1919) and Alfred Wallace (1823–1913); for more, see Oppenheim (1985).

York: Putnam's Sons, 1909) by the English chemist Frederick Soddy (1877–1956), who won the Nobel Prize in 1921 for his research into isotopes and radioactive decay (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 18). Matsumoto explains that human radiation has the same physical properties as the ordinary radioactivity of substances such as radium. He draws focus to the fact that both forms of radiation can cause exposure to photosensitive substances. He admits that there was a flaw in the 1917 experiment using zinc sulphide exposure plates (presuming that they contained small amounts of radium at the time of purchase), but stresses that the following year he carried out an experiment using powdered and crystalline zinc sulphide. Upon confirming with the supplier that these contained no radium, he kneaded the zinc chloride with his fingertips and saw it emitting a blue light. He says that he was then convinced of the existence of human radiation (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 33). He explains that human radioactivity has the same physical properties as radium, and thus can cause ionization, exposure on the retina, and color change in crystals and rock sugar.

He then finally makes the following connection to spiritualist thought (*reigaku shisō* 霊学思想): "Alpha rays of radium are electrically positive, and *electricity causes a kind of vibration by stimulating the human nervous system*. It stands to reason from the outset that touching radium with the human body causes a stimulation" (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 41). *Reijutsuka* such as Morihei Tanaka and Watanabe Tōkō 渡辺藤交 (1885–1975) thought that spontaneous movements of the human body called *reidō* 霊動 (lit. "spiritual movements" or "extraordinary movements") were the initiating force behind healing. The fact that Matsumoto sees radium and electricity as having a vibrating effect on the body is an important connection with spiritualist thought. He also highlights the important relationship between breath and human radioactivity. Matsumoto claims that "breath generates human radioactivity" and explains this by using the theory of radioactive decay. He goes so far as to say that "the human spirit, the core of our lives, is… formless, yet, is *one kind of radioactive body*, and like radium, is ceaselessly emitting radiation" (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 44).[39]

From his knowledge that humans are radioactive and that radioactive waves stimulate changes in the human mind and body, Matsumoto began to embrace the idea of applying this human radioactivity to healing. From around 1919, he began experiments to heal disease, first trying on family and friends, and he argued that all experiments were successful (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 14). However, treating grave illnesses did not produce the results he had hoped for, and he keenly felt the need for further research. He applied himself to the study of anatomy and physiology, and

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39. Here, the word "radioactivity" is used to mean radiation. Furthermore, please note that, when Matsumoto equates human radium with human radioactivity, 'human radioactivity' signifies the radioactive nature of the human body.

made comparative studies with Japanese and Chinese medicine, massage, acupuncture and moxibustion, physiognomy, palmistry, yoga, prayer (*kitō* 祈禱), and a host of other techniques and systems concerning the mind and body. Out of this research, he eventually encountered the practice of spiritualism (*kōreijutsu*). The details are all contained in the fourth volume of his *Course in Spirit Studies: Spirit Possession and Communication* (*Kishin Kōrei* 帰神交霊). In this paper, it is not possible to investigate the entirety of his spiritual thinking; I will only examine his theories on human radium and human radioactivity, which I will summarize below.

Human beings have radioactivity. Human radioactivity has the same kind of physical and physiological qualities as radium's radioactivity, and it can exert an influence on the human mind and body. Moreover, the human spirit is a formless radioactive substance. Understood in this light, it becomes evident that *the theory of human radioactivity amounts to a Japanese mesmerism born at the beginning of the twentieth century*. Mesmerism was a claim that living things had magnetism in the same way that metals have magnetism, and that this magnetism can exert an influence on the human mind and body. In comparison to Mesmer—who never experimented with the measuring of the physical qualities of animal magnetism or claimed that the substance of the human spirit is a formless magnetic body—Matsumoto seems radical, even though his logic is structurally similar to that of mesmerism. As previously noted, Matsumoto is critical of mesmerism, or rather, he is dissatisfied with it. He states, "in the West, there are not yet theories of or references to human radioactivity; it is still called animal magnetism. They say that spirit possessions are manifestations that use the animal magnetism of a spirit medium" (Matsumoto 1928, Vol 3: 47). In other words, he acknowledges that human radioactivity is the same thing as animal magnetism: the imponderable fluid hypothesized in mesmerism.[40]

It is now clear that Matsumoto's concepts of human radium or human radioactivity were Mesmer's hypothetical subtle fluids, or imponderable fluids (such as the magnetic fluid); but why did Matsumoto give them such *disconcerting* names as "radium" and "radiation"? Why did Matsumoto, who possessed a correct knowledge of mesmerism, focus not on magnetism or electricity for his research on humans and life, but on radium and radiation? This is likely because *radium and radiation were part of cutting-edge science at the time*. In the same way that German Romantic poets and philosophers sought the source of their poetic sensibility and expression of God in the newest sciences of the time—the theories of Galvanism (animal electricity), and the electricity

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40. It can also be assumed that when Matsumoto refers to possessions and mediums here, he has in mind the English spiritualists such as Elliotson and his peers. On page 13 of Volume 4 of *A Course in Spirit Studies*, Matsumoto writes to the effect that he was referencing "voluminous reports from the English Society for Psychical Research."

of lightning—people who believe in the occult abilities of humans and the existence of godly beings often reference the latest science.

Incidentally, we imagine something quite dangerous these days when we hear references to radium or radioactivity. However, in Matsumoto's time, the circumstances were quite different from today. Radium is, of course, the radioactive element discovered by Marie Curie (1867–1934) and her husband, Pierre Curie (1859–1906). The word "radium" stems etymologically from the Latin *radius* (light or ray); *~ium* is a Latin noun ending, and in the modern language it is mostly used as an ending for the names of the metallic elements. Therefore, radium literally means an element which radiates. Furthermore, "radioactivity" is a term invented by Marie Curie, and it refers to the ability of a certain substance—such as radium—to emit radiation.

Today we know that the element radium is dangerous to human beings. But in 1896, when radium was discovered, the danger of radiation was not very well known, not even in the West. The danger of exposure to radioactivity first became known around 1895 when Röntgen discovered X-rays. From the end of the nineteenth century into the first half of the twentieth century, the harm of radiation gradually became clear, but we had to wait for the great calamities in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 for conclusive evidence of the danger of radiation for humans. Until that time, the effect of radioactivity on humans was not clearly known, and the idea that small amounts of these rays were actually beneficial for humans was not strange, as we can see in the contemporary vestiges of Japan's "radioactive hot springs." Accordingly, in the time of Matsumoto—from the Taishō era into the Shōwa era—the concepts of human radium and human radioactivity at the center of his theories did not bear the dangerous image that they carry today.[41]

Conclusion

In this paper, taking as example Matsumoto Chiwaki's thought, I examined the form that concepts originating in the scientific thought of Western Europe took when they entered Japan between the Meiji and the early Shōwa eras, and the kind of ideas and culture that they gave birth to. The main focus was the concept of imponderable fluids, which enter into the human body and also radiate from it, which Matsumoto called

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41. Even today, as in the example of radioactive hot springs, human cell stimulation by low levels of radiation is claimed to have health benefits. This effect is called radioactive *hormesis*. For more on the history or hormesis theory, see Dōmae (2001). There is much we still do not know about how Japanese understood nuclear energy and radioactive ways before the atomic bombs were dropped. Nakao (2015) is a valuable reference which analyzes representations of nuclear energy in Japan before the war through images of pre-war atomic bombs.

human radium and human radioactivity. In both cases, mesmerism was an important source of inspiration. Today, mesmerism is understood as having been introduced in modern Japan in the guise of hypnosis. However, mesmerism in Japan was not only a functionalist conceptual framework surrounding the simple phenomenon of hypnosis—namely, the effects of the imagination and of the suggestions induced by a therapist's utterances—but, as in this case, there were also conceptual frameworks theorizing the *substantial effects* of subtle fluids, as it had been in Western Europe at the end of the eighteenth century when Mesmer himself was alive. This paper makes clear the strength of Matsumoto's substantialist perspective.[42]

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42.　It is necessary to acknowledge the possibility that the conceptual framework which divides substantialist from functionalist theories was not necessarily clearly established in the Japanese discursive space around mesmerism at that time. In general terms the conceptual frameworks for materialism, spiritualism and the like already existed in the Meiji era, but it would require further detailed analysis as to how accessible those conceptual frameworks were to the proponents of mesmerism at the time.

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John Person

Palm Healing and the Japanese Right: *Tanasue no Michi* and the Body of the Imperial Japanese Subject

This paper will examine nationalist conceptions of body and healing in the early Showa era, focusing primarily on a branch of Reiki known as *tanasue no michi* ("the way of fingertips") and *tenohira ryōji* ("palm healing"). *Tenohira ryōji* was developed by Eguchi Toshihiro (1873–1946) and popularized as *tanasue no michi* by his more famous student Mitsui Kōshi (1883–1953), best known for founding the infamous nationalist organization Genri Nippon Society that attacked Marxist and leftist intellectuals in the 1930s and 1940s. Contemporaneous with other conceptions of the body and practices promoting health, *tanasue no michi* sought to bridge the emerging discourse of national health with emperorist ideology. Mitsui framed *tanasue no michi* as a form of worship that would strengthen familial and national bonds that complemented his theory of poetry as quintessential ethnic expression. *Tanasue no michi* reflected the cosmopolitan orientation of the early Showa right, as Mitsui sought to explain *tanasue no michi* in the context of the international discourse of science, particularly ray theories, and vitalist philosophies from Europe and the United States. This paper argues that right-wing conceptions of healing were products of modern epistemologies of science, health, and nation.

Keywords: healing – nationalism – Reiki – right wing – science

There have been two trajectories in the postwar legacy of Mitsui Kōshi 三井甲之 (1883–1953), a nationalist writer active in the first half of the twentieth century. Mitsui was a prolific writer who presided over nationalist opinion magazines that led efforts to silence and purge intellectuals critical of the state and emperorist ideology. Over the past thirty years, Mitsui's career has gathered the interest of historians working to account for the rise and domination of right-wing political discourse in the Showa years of Imperial Japan (Katayama 1992, Shōwa Joshi Daigaku, ed. 1997, Ishii 2002, Shiode 2003, Konno 2008, Kinoshita 2012, Nakajima 2017, Person 2020). Mitsui's second legacy results from his lesser known works on what he called *tanasue no michi* たなすゑのみち, or "the way of fingertips," which he claimed was a way to heal the body by simply placing one's hand on the

afflicted area.[1] Mitsui became interested in the practice in the late 1920s, and his works on the topic continues to be read by Reiki practitioners today. At the time of this writing, the only notable twenty-first-century reprinting of Mitsui's works is his 1930 monograph *Tenohira ryōji* 手のひら療治 (*Palm Healing*), reprinted in 2003 by a company devoted to Reiki.[2] To date, Mitsui's career as an evangelist of palm healing has been little more than a footnote in histories of the Japanese right wing.

In this article, I will explore Mitsui's writing on palm healing in light of his career as a polemicist and right-wing intellectual and draw out the political implications of *tanasue no michi*. Through the technique of *tanasue no michi*, Mitsui and his colleagues at the Genri Nippon Society sought to contribute to building a healthy populace in mind and body. In doing so, *tanasue no michi* was part of a three-part series of "ways" in which *tanasue no michi* (healing) and *oshimono no michi* をしものゝみち (diet) served in a supporting role to *Shikishima no michi* しきしまのみち, the way of cultivating one's ethnic consciousness through poetry. As a unified system, the three ways would together help the Japanese people to "master the laws and principles of labor that would allow them to pursue their duties as Japanese imperial subjects," and the restoration of the true politics of ancient times in the present.[3] Mitsui's interest in developing a theory and practice of nationalist (healthy) laborers (bodies) and imperial subjects (minds) coincided with a particularly heated round of negotiations with tenant farmers that worked on his land, a process which ended with Mitsui, in his own words, "exiled" from his own village.

Born in Yamanashi prefecture to a wealthy landowning family, Mitsui was a member of the intellectual elite, graduating from the First Higher School in Tokyo before attending Tokyo Imperial University, where he studied the *Man'yōshū*. Today, Mitsui is most remembered for his role in founding the infamous Genri Nippon Society, a civilian nationalist group at the forefront of campaigns to purge progressive and Marxist academics from the imperial university system

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1. Mitsui used both *katakana* and *hiragana*, seemingly interchangeably, in writing *tanasue no michi*. There are also examples in which he uses *kanji*, but these are far more infrequent.

2. Mochizuki Toshitaka 望月俊孝 (b. 1957), head and founder of Vortex, the Reiki school that republished Mitsui's book (among others on *tanasue no michi*), claims Eguchi Toshihiro in his Reiki lineage via his teacher, Mitsui Mieko 三井三重子 (no relation to Kōshi), who apparently studied under Miyazaki Gorō 宮崎五郎, Eguchi's son-in-law and Mitsui Kōshi's associate. See Stiene and Stiene 2003: 43.

3. The quote is taken from the Tanasue no Michi Society Statement (Tanasue no michi no kai sengen たなすゐのみちの会宣言), in Eguchi and Mitsui 1930: 12. The statement was undoubtedly written by Mitsui.

(Shiode 2003, Katayama 2006, Takeuchi 2006). Though this present essay focuses on Mitsui's engagement with palm healing, his role as one of the most active polemicists of Imperial Japan is worth emphasis. Together with his more infamous protégé Minoda Muneki 蓑田胸喜 (1894–1946), Mitsui targeted prominent progressive and leftist intellectuals, often suggesting that the political inflections of their writing were tantamount to treason. Imperial University professors were usually the target of these attacks, and their fear of the wrath of the Genri Nippon Society 原理日本社 meant that many self-censored their works to avoid attention.[4] Outside of the world of Reiki and Japanese nationalist activists, Mitsui's reputation is overwhelmingly negative, no doubt a result of the suffocating impact he had on political discourse in Imperial Japan.

Like other elite intellectuals of his generation, Mitsui frequently published essays and books on a broad range of issues, including literature, philosophy, science, religion, and contemporary politics. His main area of interest and expertise was *waka* poetry, and Mitsui viewed himself as the successor to Masaoka Shiki's 正岡子規 (1867–1902) Negishi Tanka Society 根岸短歌会, and served as the *waka* column editor for *Japan and the Japanese* (*Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* 日本及日本人), where he also contributed political opinion columns (Shōwa Joshi Daigaku, ed. 1997). As scholars have argued, the rise of Reiki in Japan developed in the context of wide interest in international forms of spiritualism and new scientific discoveries (Stein 2012, 2017; Hirano 2016). Mitsui's *tanasue no michi* was no different, and his eclectic writings on the thought of medieval Buddhist figure Shinran (1173–1262), the experimental psychology of Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), Goethe's *Faust* (1808), and issues related to health and science such as *tanasue no michi* were consistent with his broad interest in intellectual developments in the world.

Mitsui's *tanasue no michi* was based upon a method of palm healing developed by educator Eguchi Toshihiro 江口俊博 (1873–1946). Eguchi studied Reiki under Usui Mikao 臼井甕男 (1865–1926), the founder of Usui Reiki Therapy (Usui Reiki Ryōhō), the basis for the various forms of healing today known as Reiki. As a disciple of Eguchi, Mitsui brought the practice to a broader audience, editing a special feature in 1929 comprised of testimonials and a how-to manual in the national opinion magazine *Japan and the Japanese*. Mitsui wrote prolifically on *tanasue no michi* over the next two years, authoring the aforementioned *Tenohira ryōji*, co-authoring a manual with Eguchi, and publishing numerous essays in his own monthly magazine *Genri Nippon*, one of the most notorious right-wing

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4.   A literal translation of Genri Nippon might be something like "Japan Principle."

periodicals of early twentieth century Japan. In the co-authored manual, Eguchi credits Mitsui for providing an explanation to a power that he himself could not explain, and respectfully calls him "sensei," an indication of their collaborative partnership (Eguchi and Mitsui 1930: 20). While Eguchi approached *tanasue no michi* as a practical, economical method of healing that anyone could learn with a little bit of practice, Mitsui incorporated it as a bodily, ritual component to his nationalist theory of poetry and imperial subjecthood called *Shikishima no michi* (Tsukada 2019). It was Mitsui who introduced the archaic-sounding name *tanasue no michi* to the practice that Eguchi simply referred to as palm healing, or *tenohira ryōji*.

    There are few scholarly treatments of *tanasue no michi*. In an early critical treatment, Yoneda Toshiaki (1961) anticipated more recent work in remarking that *tanasue no michi* resembled a new religion (125). Shiode Tamaki (2003) provided a brief overview of the practice in his dissertation on the Genri Nippon Society and observed the importance of self-cultivation among right-wing organizations. Katayama Morihide (2006) discussed the practice in a lengthy endnote in a book chapter on the career of Mitsui. There he argued that Mitsui's focus on the body was an inevitable result of his overall tendency to abandon thought in favor of sublating individual struggles through an eternal present anchored on the figure of the emperor. Katayama (2009) later echoed this interpretation in a broader study of Japanese right-wing thought. In a short research report, Tsukada Hotaka (2015) suggested that interpreting Mitsui's *tanasue no michi* in the context of right-wing intellectual history is limiting, advocating for an approach that interrogates the relation between political ideology and popular healing practices. Tsukada (2019) expanded on these insights, concluding that Mitsui's *tanasue no michi* was notable for its leap beyond a method of spiritual healing (*reiryōjutsu* 霊療術), developing into a form of nationalist religion.[5] Tsukada's suggestion is an important one, and

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5. This latter study by Tsukada was published days before I submitted the initial draft of the present article, and thus I was not able to consult it at an early stage. I want to thank the editors of this special issue for working with me through the awkward timing of my submission. Tsukada's latest treatment of *tanasue no michi* is an important contribution to both the history of healing practices in Japan and the intellectual history of the Japanese right wing. Its value is magnified by the fact that it appears in an anthology that surveys the history of "folk spiritual therapies" (*minkan seishin ryōhō*) and the occult in modern Japan, co-edited by Tsukada, Kurita Hidehiko, and Yoshinaga Shin'ichi.

as we will see below, Mitsui's primary interest in *tanasue no michi* had to do with its potential as an integral component of a broader nationalist ideology that would solidify moral relationships in the family and the nation.

Mitsui first encountered *tanasue no michi* through his wife, who attended Eguchi's workshop (Mitsui 1929c). Soon afterwards, he developed a collaborative relationship with Eguchi, which culminated in the special issue of *Japan and the Japanese* devoted to *tanasue no michi* in June 1929. Mitsui's own nationalist political monthly, *Genri Nippon*, featured many articles on the topic over the next several years, detailing theories related to the healing method, as well as descriptions of workshops held in various locations. Mitsui tended to use the term *tenohira ryōji*, literally "palm healing," to refer to the practice when addressing a broader audience, such as in the case of *Japan and the Japanese* and books he authored on the topic. Palm healing, Mitsui noted, was a vulgarized way of referring to *tanasue no michi*, which used an ancient word meaning fingertips (*tanasue*) found in the eighth century *Nihon shoki*. Thus, the term *tanasue no michi*, literally the "way of fingertips," suggested a transmission of an ancient practice native to the Japanese revived in the modern era. In reality, Mitsui provided no evidence regarding the historical lineage of the practice, and instead tended to focus on scientific explanations, as we will discuss below.

Eguchi and Mitsui's promotion of *tanasue no michi* rested on two claims. First, the practice was not only effective against most afflictions, it could easily be learned by anybody. Thus, *tanasue no michi* served as a practical solution to the issue of high healthcare costs, which made medical treatment financially out of reach for most Japanese (Mitsui 1929c: 28-30, Eguchi 1929: 51). Second, the practice of healing strengthened social relationships, especially when practiced among family members, and contributed to a stable society, which they believed was founded upon adherence to a moral code rooted in tradition. This latter claim allowed Mitsui and his colleagues at *Genri Nippon* to weave anti-Marxist polemics into their championing of *tanasue no michi*. To them, *tanasue no michi* offered an authentic, Japanese foundation for social harmony, in contrast to what they saw as inauthentic, materialist diagnoses of social ills offered by Marxism. The years between late 1928 and 1932, during which Mitsui wrote the vast majority of his essays on *tanasue no michi*, coincided with a time when his anti-Marxist crusade was especially personal. As described in more detail below, Mitsui, a prominent landowner in Yamanashi prefecture, was forced to leave his village in the spring of 1929 due to heated disputes with farmers who were tenants on his land. He would return to his village in 1933, eventually serving as mayor and recovering his place of prominence in the community. His public expression of concern for the health of the nation and his crusade to spread the practice of *tanasue no michi* seems to have ended around that time, as his attention shifted to polemics against scholars he unilaterally labeled as traitors.

Science and Religion in the Practice of Healing

Scholars have frequently remarked on the popularity of transnational discourses of spiritualism and vitalist philosophy in the early twentieth century Japan as an important context to understanding the emergence of healing practices during that time (Stalker 2008, Hirano 2016). These practices were not necessarily a repudiation of logical and scientific thinking per se; many healing practitioners explained their methods using a scientific rhetoric. If laboratory science could not explain the effects of healing practices, it was not necessarily because healing did not take place; it was merely that science had yet to discover the methods to describe the phenomena. Mitsui, too, drew upon transnational trends in building his theory of *tanasue no michi*. He also employed the rhetoric of science, though like other healers of his age this did not necessarily mean that the phenomena and results that he was describing were repeatable and reproducible. It is notable that Mitsui came of age as a public intellectual in a climate in which the very idea of science (*kagaku* 科学) was under scrutiny from the perspective of philosophy.[6]

Mitsui explicitly argued that *tanasue no michi* was different from spiritual healing—his closing essay in the 1929 special issue was titled "*Tenohira ryōji is Not a Method of Spiritual Healing*" 手のひら療治は心靈療法に非ず. In explaining the practice, Mitsui relied on a broad, international array of scientific studies and philosophical theories. Mitsui's interdisciplinary approach to the explication of palm healing was consistent with his approach to the field of literature and philosophy. It was a self-consciously modern project, which sought to synthesize what he called "primitive ancient spirit" (*genshi kodai seishin*) and "modern culture spirit" (*kindai bunka seishin*) as well as the cultures of East and West (Mitsui 1929c: 46).[7] Mitsui viewed this synthetic approach to be the new trend in post-World War I intellectual culture that began in the realm of philosophy, and was now spreading to fields of pharmacology and physiology.

I have translated Mitsui's term *shinrei ryōhō* as "spiritual healing" here, but it is notable that he uses the term *shinrei* rather than *seishin*, a word that is perhaps

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6. On the history of Japanese philosophers engaging with conceptions of science, see for example Adams 1991 and Godart 2017.

7. This was a popular narrative among intellectuals since the Meiji era, including those who founded the Seikyōsha 政教社, the publisher of *Japan and the Japanese*. For discussion, see Pyle 1998 and Person 2020.

more frequently translated as "spirit." In their recent anthology on Japanese healing practices Kurita, Tsukada, and Yoshinaga (2019) employ the term *minkan seishin ryōhō* 民間精神療法, which we might also translate as folk spiritual therapies, as a category of healing practices that used powers invisible to the eye. Their use of this category is based on contemporaneous usage, and demarcates a range of healing practices that participants often differentiated from religion. The word "seishin" for Mitsui, however, held important meaning for a modern revolution in scientific thinking. Following Wilhelm Wundt's taxonomy of sciences, Mitsui proposed that the humanities, or *geisteswissentschaft* (*seishin kagaku* in Japanese, literally "spirit sciences"), contained the methods for an understanding of the world that accounted for human subjectivity, the unpredictable nature of which lay beyond the purview of logic and the natural sciences. When Mitsui employs the word "science" in describing his methods, he is referring to a notion of science in a broader sense than simply natural sciences.

Despite his arguments to the contrary, Mitsui's *tanasue no michi* fits squarely within the history of Japanese occult healing practices. In his overview of the history and historiography of *minkan seishin ryōhō*, Yoshinaga (2019) suggests that the period in which Mitsui operated witnessed an increase in healers identifying with religion (15-16). Indeed, as Tsukada (2019) points out in his contribution to the same volume, Mitsui described *tanasue no michi* as a "worship ritual of the national religion 国民宗教礼拝儀式" (177). Mitsui's appeals to "science" in distinguishing his practice from others was an important feature of that discourse, and not an anomaly. In Mitsui's case, it mostly amounted to an armchair anthropological conviction that politics and health could be improved by rediscovering and updating ancient practices he considered to be more authentic to human life.

Eguchi and Mitsui's writing on palm healing advocated a broad mindset to health encompassing concerns about nutrition and preventative medicine, which echoed the information campaigns of health experts and officials of that era. In the wake of World War I, Japanese officials in various government agencies sought to create a healthier population that was on par with the standards of other imperial powers (Moran 2018, Hopson 2019). Mitsui argued that poor health was in part a cultural phenomenon, brought on by the rise of consumerism in the realm of diet and changes in the lived environment which required people to walk less.

Mitsui's answer to this was *oshimono no michi*, or "the way of food," a theory of nutrition that sought to bring the Japanese back to an older, traditional regimen of healthy eating. Though Mitsui offered no evidence that his culinary prescriptions were indeed based on ancient eating habits, the word *oshimono* itself is an ancient word meaning food. Despite *oshimono no michi*'s far-fetched pseudo-historical claims, the method was inspired by contemporary nutritional studies, such as the nutrition theories of hygiene specialist Miyairi Keinosuke 宮入慶之助 (1865–1946) and the macrobiotic diets of Ishizuka Sagen 石塚左玄 (1850–1909) and Sakurazawa

Yukikazu 桜沢如一 (1893–1966).[8] Mitsui argued that reduction in the consumption of meat, polished rice, and other luxury foods would not only improve individual health, but also contribute to solving the nation's food shortage crisis and improving personal finances (Mitsui 1929c: 32). Though Mitsui cited the latest studies in nutrition and medicine in making these arguments, for him the process of reforming dietary practices to benefit one's body, finances, and nation was not a modern invention. Rather, it was a return to an ancient, and importantly "natural" practice of eating, which included ritually placing one's hands in *gasshō* 合掌 and thanking one's ruler, nation, father, mother, all living things, and heaven and earth for the meal. Here, propriety and the strengthening of established social bonds served as important components of establishing a "healthy" approach to food.

Mitsui, for whom Shinran's thought served as an important intellectual inspiration, also argued that simply following the "natural" way of eating and moving was akin to following the Shin Buddhist idea of "the easy path of Other Power" (*tariki igyōdō* 他力易行道). Mitsui's framing of ancient, traditional, and Japanese (i.e. national) practices as natural and authentic was a fundamental aspect of his thought not limited to health and diet, but also language, poetry, and philosophy.[9] His modern interpretation of Shinran's thought involved giving oneself up to the natural order of the world, which for Mitsui included ethnic practices, beliefs, and language.[10] In calling his poetic practice a "religion," Mitsui believed he had brought the category to a new, modern status, informed by the anthropological, hermeneutic, and scientific discoveries of the twentieth century. At the same time, Mitsui's *tanasue no michi* served his ideological goal of dissuading the populace from socialist ideas, and his campaign for the health of the nation through the "easy path of Other Power" was paradoxically founded on the idea of self-responsibility in maintaining a healthy life.

Mitsui looked to contemporary scientific writing to help explain the physiology of palm healing as well. According to Mitsui, two aspects of the practice merited comparison to other fields: *gasshō*, or the act of pressing one's hands together in a

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8.   Mitsui references Miyairi's *A New Theory of Nutrition* 新栄養論, as well as Ishizuka and Sakurazawa's linking of food and health to ancient Japanese practices. On Ishizuka and Sakurazawa, see Shimazono 2003 and Namimatsu 2015.

9.   On the politics of nature and nationalism in Imperial Japan, see Thomas 2001.

10. For Mitsui's thoughts on giving oneself up to natural/national order of the world, see his discussion in Mitsui 1928. Many of his essays on Shinran were collected and published as *Shinran kenkyū* in 1943.

prayer gesture, and the placing of one's hand on the afflicted area of the patient or one's own body. Mitsui hypothesized that the gesture of *gasshō*, the preliminary step of palm healing, activated one's healing power by bringing two poles of the body together. Palm healing practitioners were taught to sit quietly in *gasshō* for approximately twenty minutes, at which point they would begin to feel a tingling sensation between their hands. This was an indication that the healing powers of the body had been activated. According to Mitsui, *gasshō* was not simply a gesture used to greet acquaintances or to show reverences to the divine, but in fact had a powerful physiological effect at its foundation. Mitsui surmised that *gasshō* had originated in India before reaching Japan, but the gesture was likely rooted in human intuition itself, and he concluded that future researchers would prove that it is a universal human trait (Mitsui 1929c: 36). As it linked two "poles" of the body to create a healing effect, Mitsui noted that palm healing was similar to a popular healing device called Oxyhealer オキシヘラー: a metal tube with wires on each end, which the user attached to two areas of the body.[11] The Oxyhealer claimed to improve the user's blood circulation through a thermomagnetic process created by the tube (Tanaka 1996: 103). The comparison was typical of Mitsui's rhetorical style in explaining the "science" of *tanasue no michi*. Without the burden of actually proving a correlation, almost anything could appear to suggest the viability of *tanasue no michi*.

To explain the phenomenon of healing through the hand, Mitsui looked to new developments in ray theory and physiology. For example, in a July 1931 editorial entitled "The Communization of Rural Villages; *tanasue no michi* and Contemporary Physics, etc.," Mitsui introduced recent developments in a field called mitogenetic radiation, citing the work of Alexander Gurwitsch (1874–1954), Dennis Gabor (1900–1979), and Tiberios Reiter (1903–?). Gurwitsch, the discoverer of biophotons, conducted experiments on onion roots, and proposed that they emitted ultraviolet radiation that assisted growth in proximate roots by sparking cell division (Johnston 2006: 50). A different study, cited by Mitsui in the same editorial, conducted by E. Ferdinand Sauerbruch (1875–1951) and W.O. Schumann (1888–1974) proposed that electrical emanations from the human

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11. Mitsui notes that the device was recommended to him by the writer Iwano Hōmei 岩野泡鳴 (1873–1920). The Oxyhealer did not produce the advertised effects for Mitsui, however. See Mitsui 1929c, p. 35. Nakao (2019) is a fascinating study of ray theory and radiation in Japan that also briefly discusses the Oxyhealer.

body had implications for promoting health.[12] Mitsui believed that these new findings were preliminary steps to proving that ancient practices like *tanasue no michi* produced scientifically verifiable results. According to this understanding, living organisms, including humans, possessed the ability to communicate with one another on a subconscious level through naturally occurring emissions of light that promoted organic regeneration. For Mitsui, the healing potential of the human body was not a capacity limited to the Japanese body, but to all people. In punctuating this point, he closed his essay in the *Japan and the Japanese* special issue with an anecdote related in the Gospel of Luke in which an ailing woman touched the robe of Jesus and was healed (Mitsui 1929c: 48). According to Mitsui, this was not a miracle at all—Jesus was a practitioner of a power that is latent in all human beings.

In this same 1931 editorial, Mitsui warned his readers that "vital rays" (using the German phrase *lebenstrahlen*, which he also glosses in Japanese as *seimei kōsen* 生命光線) should not be confused with brain waves (*gehirnstrahlen*, glossed as *nōkōsen* 脳光線), a method of "sending thoughts concocted by mystical occultism (*shimpigaku okkaruteizumu* 神秘学オッカルテイズム)" (Mitsui 1931: 16). *Tanasue no michi* was no occult practice; it was a modern, scientific rediscovery of an ancient practice. For Mitsui, the fact that *tanasue no michi* could be described through reason, the language of science, made it distinct from the irrational, mystical practice of the occult, although scholars of occultism today interpret it not as a revolt against scientific thinking, but a phenomenon intrinsic to modernity itself (Bogdan and Djurdjevic 2015: 2). In the case of *tanasue no michi*, Mitsui compared scientific experiments and discoveries he read about in magazines and books to results he perceived in the practice of palm healing. He applied no scientific method of analysis in suggesting such a correspondence, but nevertheless presented his analysis as scientific.

If Mitsui believed *tanasue no michi* produced effective results, it did not always cure his colleagues of their illnesses. The *Japan and the Japanese* special issue featured an essay by one Tashiro Jun'ichi 田代順一 (1886–1930), a teacher and a long-time contributor to nationalist magazines edited by Mitsui. Tashiro suffered from Pott's disease, a form of tuberculosis that severely limited his mobility and future prognosis. Tashiro's essay recounts his grim outlook at the time of his diagnosis, which forced him to leave his teaching job and enter a largely immobile

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12. These experiments were covered in the August 1928 issue of *Popular Science* in the feature "Onward Strides of Science." Sauerbruch and Schumann's research is introduced under the heading, "Your Body a Radio Station." See page 60 of that issue.

lifestyle. The healing provided by *tanasue no michi*, argues Tashiro, gave him a new lease on life, miraculously improving his mobility and delighting his physician with his drastically improved health. While Eguchi and Mitsui's essays listed numerous examples of patients young and old who benefited from the restorative powers of *tanasue no michi*, Tashiro's contribution was a dramatic testimonial demonstrating the virtues of the practice. Little more than a year after the publication of the issue, Tashiro's symptoms returned, and he died in July 1930.

Healing, Nationalism, and the Body of the Imperial Subject

Mitsui's public reaction to Tashiro's death reveals the heightened stakes of the ideological side of *tanasue no michi*. The September 1930 issue of *Genri Nippon* was devoted to the memory of Tashiro. In his customary editorial column, Mitsui focused not on the failure of palm healing to cure Tashiro, despite the optimism of the months prior, but rather reaffirmed the ideological mission of *tanasue no michi*, which offered Japan an alternative paradigm of socio-political change to the "revolutionary violence" of Marxism (Mitsui 1930: 50). Tashiro was a "fallen comrade" in this fight, whose "corpse they must step over in progressing in the battle."

Given Mitsui's other intellectual output throughout his career to that point, his explicitly ideological vision for *tanasue no michi* was not at all out of the ordinary. We can say the same about the other contributors to the 1929 special issue in *Japan and the Japanese*. All five contributors to the issue aside from Mitsui and Eguchi were frequent contributors to *Genri Nippon*, arguably the most significant publication in the history of academic suppression in Imperial Japan. One of them, Miyazaki Gorō 宮崎五郎 (d.u.), was a protégé of Mitsui who would publish a series of curated collections of Mitsui's works after his death. Miyazaki married Eguchi's daughter and continued his work on palm healing well into the postwar era. A month after the palm healing special issue, two other contributors to it published articles in *Genri Nippon* accusing Tokyo Imperial University professors Suehiro Izutarō 末弘厳太郎 (1888–1951) and Hozumi Shigetō 穂積重遠 (1883–1951) of treason. Mitsui's ideological brand of palm healing fit neatly in the nationalistic program of the Genri Nippon Society and its allies.

Eguchi, too, believed in the ideological potential of palm healing. In his introduction to its methods in the special issue, he argued that palm healing had the power to strengthen human relationships through the physical act of laying one's hand on the patient. He hoped that every household would develop a palm healing practitioner, not only because of the health benefits, but also because it would serve to strengthen family bonds. He characterized this aspect of palm healing as "an active measure for 'thought guidance' (*shisō zendō* 思想善導)," echoing a term then used by the Ministry of Education in its anti-communist campaign

in the universities (Eguchi 1929: 52).[13] Fittingly, Mitsui and Eguchi made their acquaintance at a local meeting to discuss the so-called thought problem (*shisō mondai*), a catch-all word that could refer to unionization movements, Marxist study groups in the universities, tenant farmer rallies, and organized responses to political-economic inequality (Mitsui 1929c: 18).

Mitsui's interest in *tanasue no michi* coincided with an especially difficult period in his life. His hometown in Nakakoma County in Yamanashi was engulfed in disputes between landowners like Mitsui and tenant farmers who worked the land in exchange for rent (Smethurst 1986, Ōkado 1994). After a series of ugly confrontations, in March 1929 the outspokenly anti-Marxist Mitsui declared that he would accept his tenants' contract demands if they rejected Marxism, and signed a contract with forty tenants while the local police chief acted as arbiter (Mitsui 1929a: 20). Less than a week later Mitsui moved to Kōfu, the prefectural capital, claiming that he could no longer afford to live in his home village due to the demands of the contract, and published bitter poems lamenting his "exile." He had been a frequent critic of Marxism and socialism throughout his career as a political pundit, but now matters had grown personal.

These developments were an important context to the moralistic anti-Marxist language that peppered Mitsui and his colleagues' treatment of *tanasue no michi* in *Japan and the Japanese* and *Genri Nippon*. In the same month that the special issue in *Japan and the Japanese* was published, Mitsui published a pamphlet that proposed to dissect the arguments of communized (*sekka* 赤化) professors in the imperial universities using the method of *Shikishima no michi*, a theory of poetry described in more detail below (Mitsui 1929e). The pamphlet attacked the theories of professors Yoshino Sakuzō 吉野作造 (1878–1933), Makino Ei'ichi 牧野英一 (1878–1970), and the aforementioned Suehiro Izutarō, whose proposals for alleviating rural poverty had already made him the target of Mitsui's ire over the previous decade. The first in a series of pamphlets published by the Genri Nippon Society, the volume also featured a short essay by Minoda Muneki that bizarrely labeled constitutional theorist Minobe Tatsukichi 美濃部達吉 (1873–1948) an anarchist. Though none of the four professors targeted in the pamphlet were communists, Mitsui and Minoda argued that they encouraged the spread of communism through their non-intervention. Six years later, Minoda would lead a campaign against Minobe in the infamous Imperial Organ Theory incident 天皇機関説事件, after which the

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13.   On the thought guidance campaigns, see Ogino 2007.

government banned Minobe's work dealing with the place of the emperor in the constitution (Miller 1965, Uemura 2006).

Eguchi's *tanasue no michi* also retained aspects of Usui's Reiki practice that resonated with Mitsui's intellectual projects. Usui encouraged his followers to recite the *waka*, or "august creations" (*gyosei* 御製), of the Meiji Emperor as a form of self-cultivation (Stiene and Stiene 2003: 74-77). When Mitsui met Eguchi in 1928, Mitsui had just published a study on the *waka* of the Meiji Emperor, a statement on the importance of poetry, and in particular the emperor's poetry, in building an orderly moral society (Mitsui 1928). Mitsui positioned the Meiji Emperor as a model for patriotic consciousness for imperial subjects to follow, and believed that the late emperor's poems were the medium through which one could tap into his nationalist passion. According to Mitsui's theory of Japanese poetics, *waka* is the genre of poetry most suited to expressing the poet's emotions directly.[14] Compared to the shorter, seventeen syllable haiku, where brevity forces the poet to be more impressionistic and abstract, the thirty-one-syllable *waka* is long enough to accommodate a direct transcription of emotional experience. Mitsui called this practice of poetic transcription *Shikishima no michi*, or the way of Shikishima, a term referring to Japan used in the ancient classics. In contrast to the more intellectual genre of haiku, *waka* required the poet to transcribe his or her emotions without reflecting upon them, as this would derail the process of expressing true emotion by tainting it with intellectualism. Under this understanding of *waka*, the "august creations" of the Meiji Emperor constituted the authentic emotions of Japan's first modern monarch. By reciting his *gyosei* in preparation for healing, the practitioner synchronized his or her psyche with Meiji, creating a healthy (i.e. patriotic) mind that could restore the health of others (Mitsui 1929c: 27).

Mitsui's first mention of *tanasue no michi* in *Genri Nippon* appeared in the May 1929 issue, the first issue to appear after his departure from his village. The issue opened with four *gyosei* followed by a short editorial entitled "Pre-meal *Gasshō*," in which Mitsui promotes the "joy that comes from one's heart" achieved through *gasshō*, frugal meals, and *tanasue no michi* (Mitsui 1929b: n.p.). In the following issue, Ōtsuka Hideo 大塚英雄 (d.u.), Minoda's student and an enthusiastic supporter of *tanasue no michi*, offered editorial notes in place of Mitsui, who had likely been

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14. See for example Mitsui 1906, an early work which lays out his theory of *waka* and human psychology. For further discussion, see chapter one in Person 2020.

occupied by his transition to Kōfu. There Ōtsuka summarized the Genri Nippon Society's understanding of the significance of *tanasue no michi*:

> The strict and faithful attitude that the natural sciences bring to their objects of study and perspective must be adopted by the human sciences (*seishin kagaku* 精神科学). The fruits of their research can be developed into a technique that can be made to flourish within the emotional lives of the nation (*kokuminteki jōi seikatsu* 国民的情意生活). This will allow it to pivot away from the self-destructive, intellectualist analysis of Euro-American culture, and turn towards a sacrificing (*hōkōteki* 奉公的), cooperative work for the purpose of protecting the ancestral land. There I think we might find a concrete beginning towards a way to rectify the principle of loyalty of *Shikishima no michi* in opposition to the mechanization of life and labor problems that accompany the development of massive enterprises under capitalism. Today, Shinran's easy path of Other Power through *nenbutsu* 念仏 and *gasshō* and (Yamaga) Sokō's 山鹿素行 practical learning have nostalgically and splendidly returned in the study, practice, and elaboration of *tanasue no michi* and *oshimono no michi* (Ōtsuka 1929: 34).

Ōtsuka cites Mitsui's theory of *Shikishima no michi* in articulating his hope that *tanasue no michi* will contribute to a project of socially engineering the working class of Japan into a population that is happy to work and sacrifice for the benefit of the nation. He frames "labor problems" as an issue of ideology, born of the intellectualism (i.e. materialist theory of Marxism) from foreign countries and the mechanization of life, which are in his view both inauthentic elements plaguing society. The tripartite philosophy of *tanasue*, *oshimono*, and *Shikishima* would bring an authentic, national, and therefore loyal way of healing, eating, and feeling to the daily lives of Japanese workers.

Mitsui was by no means a pioneer in claiming the bodies of workers in Japan as essential components of a national security apparatus. Meiji era state officials and intellectuals understood that healthy and loyal imperial subjects were necessary in building a strong, unified nation with the military at its foundation (Burns 2000, Fruhstuck 2003). This imperative of building a rich country and strong military underwrote the establishment of institutions and practices that promoted hygiene, nutrition, and physical fitness. These discourses of imperial bodies dovetailed with Mitsui's anti-Marxist views and his socio-economic status as a landowner.

At times, these social innovations were accompanied by occult variations, like *tanasue no michi* and *oshimono no michi*, that blended beliefs concerning purportedly ancient practices with the modern project of health and fitness. Tokyo Imperial University law professor Kakei Katsuhiko's 筧克彦 (1872–1961) nativist exercise, Yamato-bataraki 日本體操 ("Japanese calisthenics"), is a fascinating example. Though later surpassed in fame by *rajio taisō* ("radio exercises"), which succeeded in creating a shared, national experience of calisthenics through the medium of the

radio, Yamato-bataraki was similar in its ambition to create a short and systematic program of fitness accessible to imperial subjects young and old (Kakei 1929: 50). Originally developed in 1920 as "imperial land exercise" (*kōkoku undō* 皇國運動), Kakei sought to assist imperial subjects in embodying the Japanese spirit through physical movement and exercise, a method of exercise which he juxtaposed to others that merely focused on the physical body, and was thus merely "materialist" (Kakei 1929: 79).[15] Kakei offered spiritual commentary for each movement of the exercise, which participants were asked to slowly learn over time through repetition. In developing the exercises, Kakei claimed to draw from ancient gestures and "divine movements" (*kami asobi* 神あそび), such as bowing, breathing, swinging the arms, and chanting exclamations.

Like *tanasue no michi*, Yamato-bataraki called upon the moral example of the Meiji Emperor. Kakei's 1929 manual opens with selections from the *gyosei* of the Meiji Emperor that supposedly represented each of the movements of Yamato-bataraki. The first of these reads as follows:

> *Do not seek beyond the white clouds, the true way of the people of the world is the Shikishima Way.*

This *gyosei* was also a favorite among Genri Nippon contributors, who cited it frequently as evidence that the Meiji Emperor identified nationalism as the "true way" over abstract theories beyond the clouds (i.e. Marxist materialism).[16] As Nakafusa (2016) has shown, Yamato-bataraki was widely used in programs to train farmers during the crisis in the agricultural sector in the early 1930s and ultimately in the immigration programs to Manchuria. There, as in *tanasue no michi*, a healthy imperial subject implied not only a body fit for work and service to the nation, but

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15. It should be noted that *tanasue no michi* also possessed its own program of calisthenics called *tanasue no michi* "method of exercise" (*taisōhō* 體操法), included in the aforementioned *Tenohira ryōji nyūmon*. The chapter is credited to Asakawa Genchō 浅川源澄, who appears to have accompanied Mitsui and Eguchi on some *tansasue no michi* workshops. Though the printed instructions for the exercises include illustrations and photographs, it is not accompanied by an explanation of its role in the broader ideology and methods of *tanasue no michi*. See Eguchi and Mitsui 1930: 204-214.

16. See for example Mitsui 1928: 51, 156, 272, 280, and Minoda 1933: 73, 589. Mitsui also cites it in his essay in the *Japan and Japanese* special issue on palm healing. See Mitsui 1929c: 19.

a mind and spirit in sync with an imagined authentic tradition that originated in ancient times and crystalized in modern times in the *gyosei* of the Meiji Emperor.

A year after the publication of the *Japan and the Japanese* special issue, Mitsui's palm healing venture appeared to be a great success. The June 1930 issue of *Genri Nippon* celebrated by announcing the establishment of the Tanasue no michi Society. The joint declaration by Mitsui and Eguchi announced that the society would harness the science of *Shikishima no michi*, the life methods of *oshimono no michi*, and the worshiping method of *tanasue no michi* to establish the laws and principles for the labor (*rōsaku* 労作) of Japanese imperial subjects. The English literature professor Matsuda Fukumatsu, a founding member of the Genri Nippon Society, contributed an essay detailing British variations of palm healing, while another contributor, Katō Shigeru, declared the practice the cure to the ills befallen modern society. Meanwhile, the magazine continued its usual fare of sensational nationalist essays, with Minoda leading the issue with an essay attacking Minobe Tatsukichi, and nationalist polymath Fujisawa Chikao 藤澤親雄 (1893–1962) commenting on humanity's hope and anticipation for the future of the Japanese race. On the pages of *Genri Nippon* in 1930, palm healing and radical nationalism converged as an ideological weapon against Marxist and democratic politics.

Conclusion

Though in 1930 it seemed as if Mitsui was not interested in writing on any topic other than palm healing, the following year his attention returned to the task of criticizing communist and socialist ideas. By the end of 1932, Mitsui had ceased referring to *tanasue no michi* altogether. Though he never articulated the reason behind this change, we can raise several possibilities. Between those years, several prominent members of the Genri Nippon Society grew ill and died. Though Mitsui mentions practicing *tanasue no michi* with them, and the aforementioned Tashiro was a believer in the practice, palm healing did not cure them of their maladies. More articles touting the universal healing powers of *tanasue no michi* would have sat awkwardly alongside the many obituaries featured in *Genri Nippon* during those years.[17] Meanwhile, Eguchi Toshihiro left Yamanashi in April 1932, taking a position in Tokyo (Mitsui 1932: 45). Though Mitsui lamented Eguchi's departure

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17. Tsukada (2019) mentions that not all adherents to *Shikishima no michi* were convinced of the utility of *tanasue no michi*. In the *Japan and the Japanese* special issue, Mitsui revealed that he received a letter voicing skepticism. It is possible that Mitsui faced opposition regarding this issue within the Genri Nippon Society community. See Mitsui 1929d: 82.

in an editorial, the two fell out of touch and Mitsui apparently never visited Eguchi before the latter died in 1946 (Mitsui 1957).[18]

These developments coincided with the rise of *Genri Nippon* as an important player in the politics of anti-communism on the national stage, likely contributing to Mitsui's change in focus. In June 1932, Mitsui's Shikishima no Michi Society released a statement announcing its intensions to take a more active role in politics. This "Statement Regarding Current Events" (*Tai Jikyoku Sengen* 対時局宣言) went to press two weeks after the assassination of Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi at the hands of radical nationalist officers in the Imperial Navy, an event that marked the end of political party cabinets in Imperial Japan. The "Statement," likely written by Mitsui, traced the grievances of radical nationalist military personnel (political corruption, economic inequality, the London Naval Treaty, etc.) to the spread of "materialist" thinking. It advocated a return to the "way of the subject (shindō 臣 道)," which required that people respect the words of the emperor and follow the *Shikishima* way, the "divine way" (*kannagara no michi* カムナガラノミチ) in which imperial subjects refrained from asserting themselves (*kotoage senu* コトアゲセヌ).[19] The statement concluded with the declaration that "Marxism and democracy are the two objects to be decimated by Japanist *Shikishima no michi*" (Shikishima no Michi Kai 1932: 4). Though there is no mention of *tanasue no michi* here, its ideological message of obedience and sacrifice remains.

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18. In the June 1938 issue of *Genri Nippon*, Mitsui contributed five *waka* poems addressed to Eguchi that read like a short letter. There Mitsui notes that he has not been able to write to Eguchi for reasons that he is unsure of, but that he is continuing his practice of *tanasue no michi*. It was not uncommon for members of the *Genri Nippon* community to use the *waka* column to address one another. Mitsui once again mentions his inability to write to Eguchi two years later in a series of poems featured in the *waka* column of the July 1940 issue.

19. This latter point was an allusion to a poem by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 in the ancient classic *Man'yōshū*, a favorite topic of Mitsui. Hitomaro's poem reads, in part, "The rice-abounding Land of Reed Plains / Is a divine land [where things are as the gods will] / And man need not offer prayers [*kotoage*]." Herbert Plutschow, from whose work I have borrowed the preceding translation, suggests that the line was part of a ritual to prepare the traveler for a journey. The poem continues "Yet [today] I must offer prayers: / 'Travel safely and be fortunate! / So that no evil will hinder you, / So that you will be fortunate, / I will offer prayers over and over, / Like the waves spilling on the rocky shore, / A hundredfold, a thousandfold.'" (Plutschow 1990: 90). Mitsui's reading is a typical conservative one, in which the practice of *kotoage* is something reserved for *kami*, and that this is the natural order of Japanese life. It is not clear to me why Mitsui uses *katakana* in writing these words beyond simply being an attempt to add emphasis.

Meanwhile, Minoda Muneki raised his profile as an influential nationalist voice, playing a key role in the scapegoating of Kyoto Imperial University law professor Takigawa Yukitoki 瀧川幸辰 (1891–1962) in the infamous Kyōdai Incident of 1933, in which Takigawa was dismissed from his position after being falsely accused of promoting communism. The university's entire law faculty resigned in protest in the aftermath, as scholars, intellectuals, and politicians debated the autonomy of public university faculty in matters of research and personnel. Mitsui remained in the front line of nationalist opinion leaders who labeled critics of the state and nationalist ideology as traitors, and played a leadership role in organized, and in many cases successful, efforts to purge scholars he deemed to oppose the values of the *kokutai* (national essence).

None of the above is to suggest that Mitsui's interest in *tanasue no michi* was not motivated by a genuine interest and belief in its powers to heal, nor that he had lost interest in the practice. Mitsui continued to practice palm healing until his death in 1953. His circumstances had drastically changed by that point. In April 1947 he suffered a brain hemorrhage and lost mobility on his left side (Yaku 1967). The following year, the US Occupation included him among those purged for war collaboration. He lost a significant portion of his wealth in the Occupation-led land reforms. Miyazaki Gorō—Mitsui's protégé and Eguchi's successor—published his postwar correspondences with Mitsui, and there we find Mitsui practicing palm healing on himself and encouraging Miyazaki in his efforts to publish new material on *tenohira ryōji*. In a letter written in March 1950, Mitsui refers to *tenohira ryōji* as "a scholarly new religion (*gakujutsuteki shin-shūkyō* 学術的新宗教) that does not oppose medical science and practice, but rather supplements, corrects, and guides it" (Mitsui 1957: 68-69). According to these correspondences, later that year Mitsui contributed a preface to a palm healing manual authored by Miyazaki and published through his Society for the Study of Palm Healing (*Tenohira Ryōji Kenkyūkai* 手のひ ら療治研究会).[20] The *Genri Nippon* line of Reiki continued well into the postwar era through the work of Mitsui and Miyazaki.

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20. I have not had the opportunity to view this preface. The volume in which the above correspondence between Miyazaki and Mitsui are published, edited by Miyazaki, contains an advertisement for this book. Miyazaki authored several more works on palm healing, including manuals and anthologies of writings by his father-in-law Eguchi. Between 1955 and 1956 he serialized an essay on *tanasue no michi* in the monthly magazine *Saana* サーナ, published by Sakurazawa Yukikazu, aka George Ohsawa, the inventor of the Daoism-inspired macrobiotic diet referenced above. On Sakurazawa, see Namimatsu 2015.

This article demonstrated the ideological dimensions of that palm-healing tradition, particularly with regard to an important context to its emergence: the hysteric reaction among conservative intellectuals towards anything that remotely resembled, to them, communism, socialism, and Marxism. As noted above, many of the intellectuals and organizations that Mitsui and his colleagues at the Genri Nippon Society targeted were not communists at all. Rather, they were responding in a variety of ways to the political and economic conditions of early twentieth-century Japan, as well as philosophical trends then in vogue among intellectuals internationally (Shiode 2003, Takeuchi and Satō 2006, Person 2020). In crafting a physical worship practice counterpart to his theory of poetry as ethnic expression, Mitsui believed that he had invented a holistic approach to life that synthesized modern innovations in the human and natural sciences. Mitsui's encounter with *tanasue no michi* in 1928 provided him with a method of self-cultivation and care in a time of personal turmoil and, perhaps more importantly, a rhetoric that addressed some of the symptoms of political and economic inequality without necessarily threatening his own socio-economic status. For Mitsui, the physical health of the individual was secondary to the ideological health of the patriot, who found the natural way of being in life as a loyal imperial subject.

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S. Jonathon O'Donnell

A Spider's Web, Spanning the Ages: Entanglements of Space, Time, and Power in Japanese Spiritual Warfare[1]

The paper explores constructions of "Japan" in "third wave" evangelical discourses of spiritual warfare as a lens for analyzing discursive constructions of place, history, and power. Third wave evangelicalism, which emerged in the United States in the 1980s, affirms rather than denies the reality of the spiritual traditions it encounters on the mission field but frames them as demonic in nature, leading to hybrid religiosities where local beliefs and practices are imperfectly assimilated into an evangelical worldview. The place of Japan in third wave discourse has thus far been underexamined. Focusing on the work of Japanese pastor Takimoto Jun (滝元順, 1951–), this article explores how third wave texts conceptualize the Japanese nation in relation to global networks of occult power. Analyzing Takimoto's constructions of "Shinto" and "Freemasonry" as Japanese and American threats to the nation's Christianization, respectively, the article demonstrates how third wave evangelicals negotiate national and transnational histories as a means of recontextualizing and refiguring ideas of national identity and destiny.

Keywords: Shinto – Evangelical Christianity – Freemasonry – Spiritual Warfare – US–Japan Relations – Takimoto Jun

One cold night in January, 1987, Takimoto Jun 滝元順 (1951–), a pastor at his father's church in the city of Shinshiro 新城, Aichi Prefecture, felt the need to pray. On advice from Christians from Korea, he decided to try a late-night prayer, leaving his home and travelling to the Prefectural Citizen's Forest. Alone, he journeyed up the mountain paths, the forest still, the wind whistling eerily as the dark pressed in. But Takimoto was determined. At around two in the morning the pastor arrived at the summit and,

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thinking on the issues bedeviling his church, decided to pray. "In the name of Jesus," he proclaimed aloud, "demons, leave the church!" What happened next both shocked and terrified him. "The instant I made this declaration," he relates, "I felt chills running down my spine. Whether it was real or a vision, I do not know, but a *tengu* 天狗 dressed as a *shugenja* 修験者[2] appeared before my eyes."[3] Terrified, Takimoto retreats down the mountain and returns home. The next day he relays his encounter to his peers, but none believe him. Undaunted, he delves into the history of the region, learning that the local mountains had once been sacred to *shugenja*, who would leap from peak to peak using mystical techniques gained through Shugendō 修験道. "Since that day," he concludes didactically, "I learned the value of prayer and my spiritual thirst was deepened" (1996: 25).

In the narrative of his first book, *The Day the Lord Arose* (*Shu ga tachiagarareta hi* 主が立ち上がられた日), Takimoto's encounter with the *tengu* marks the start of a journey into the realm of spiritual warfare (*reiteki tatakai* 霊的戦い),[4] which would begin in earnest in 1992. "Spiritual warfare" here refers to a collection of practices through which a growing number of Christians across the globe are seeking to identify, locate, and combat the Devil and his demons (*akuryō* 悪霊), mainly through ritual actions like prayer, deliverance (exorcism) rituals, and "praise marches" (Jacobs 2009; Lewis 2013; Takimoto 1996, 2001; Wagner 2012). Spiritual warfare is not new in Christianity, and is common in Pentecostal or charismatic movements. The

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2.   A practitioner of Shugendō, a form of institutional and ritual practice that developed in the mountains of Japan, combining Japanese folk beliefs with elements drawn from Korean mountain traditions, esoteric Buddhism, Daoism, and Onmyōdō 陰陽道. Also known as *yamabushi*, *shugenja* were an ubiquitous part of Japanese society until 1872, when the Japanese government issued a decree abolishing Shugendō. For a recent comprehensive discussion of Shugendō and its philosophies, see Grapard 2016.

3.   Links between *tengu* and Christian demons are not pioneered by Takimoto. As Whelan explains, Jesuit missionaries translated "devil" and "Satan" as "*tengu*" in the early Christian literature printed in Japan and in the sacred text of Japan's "hidden Christians," *The Beginning of Heaven and Earth*, Lucifer and the rebel angels explicitly become *tengu* after their Fall (1996: 42, 81). This theme is also found in the writings of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, most notably his 1918 'Lucifer' (2006: 30).

4.   Many Japanese spiritual warfare terms are direct, even blunt, translations from English. Thus, at times they lack nuance found in the original—a lack that does not escape notice. Discussing "territorial spirits," for example, Takimoto laments the translation of "territory" as *chiiki* 地域 with its geographical specificity as opposed to *ryōiki* 領域 with its more expansive sense of dominion (1996: 110).

specific movement which Takimoto is part of emerged in the US in the 1980s, popularized by the writings of evangelists like Peter Wagner, Cindy Jacobs, and George Otis. Sometimes identified as the "third wave" or "new apostolic reformation," this movement is best known for its controversial practice of "spiritual mapping" (*reiteki chizu-sakusei* 霊的地図作成). This is a process by which spiritual warriors seek to "discern" the location of and reasons behind demonic control of a given space, from individual buildings to neighborhoods, cities, nations, even continents (Holvast 2009; McCloud 2013, 2015). Tools of discernment vary, often relying on both theological insights gained through revelation, prayer, or prophecy and anthropological insights gained by collating regional data—historical events, festivals, folklore, landmarks, art, architecture, and customs—much as Takimoto came to discern the influence of *shugendō* on Shinshiro.[5] Once the identity of the "territorial spirit" (*chiiki o shihai-suru rei* 地域を支配する霊) or "principality" (*shuken* 主権; Eph. 6:12) has been reconnoitered, spiritual warriors use prayer to intercede, shifting the balance of spiritual forces and thereby (re)claiming territory for God's Kingdom (Jacobs 2009; Takimoto 1996, 2006b; Wagner 1996).

Identifying mainly as non- or post-denominational Protestants, third wave evangelicals have come to form decentralized, transnational networks. Lacking organizational affiliation, such networks are linked by shared beliefs and practices, circulating methods, revelations, and battle reports via missionary work and media communication technologies (Christerson and Flory 2017; Holvast 2009; Jorgenson 2005). Framed by a territorializing demonology, these networks contribute to insider notions of spiritual warfare as "a global campaign operating in regional theatres of conflict" (Jorgensen 2005: 447). Regional variants have been analyzed in their African (Hackman 2015; Marshall 2016), American (Holvast 2009; McCloud 2015; O'Donnell 2017) and other Asian Pacific contexts (Jorgensen 2005; Ooi 2006). However, despite comprehensive work on Pentecostal, charismatic, and Holiness movements in Japan (Anderson 2014: 1534; Ikegami 1993, 2003, 2006; Mullins

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5.   Takimoto highlights his use of spiritual mapping prior to any formal encounter with third wave figures as evidence of divine inspiration. In this context, it is notable that his initiation into spiritual mapping came from researching Shugendō. As Grapard (2016) demonstrates, religious spatializing practices—what he terms "mandalization"—are core elements of Shugendō, facilitating the discursive construction of mountains and mountain ranges as three-dimensional spheres of ritualized meditation and as socially-figured texts through which spiritual meaning could be both consolidated and contested. Takimoto's Christian mapping of Shinshiro's mountains might thus be situated in a genealogy wherein various traditions have contended to determine the spiritual meaning of the Japanese landscape.

1998; Nagasawa 2000; Sonntag 2012), there has been little examination of third wave spiritual warfare in the Japanese context.[6] This article rectifies this by examining third wave spiritual warfare writings about Japan.

Initially outlining the broad contours of third wave spiritual warfare and how Japan has been figured in its discourses, I focus on the works of Takimoto Jun as a case study. Serving on the executive committee of All Japan Revival Mission (AJRM, *Zen'Nihon Ribaibaru Misshon*, 全日本リバイバルミッション), led by Ariga Kiichi 有賀喜一 (1933–),[7] Takimoto pioneered the introduction of third wave spiritual warfare to this group in the 1990s, influenced by figures like Wagner and Jacobs (1996: 73-4). His works are thus exemplary for examining the paradigm's adoption in and adaption to the Japanese context. Drawing on his image of the demonic forces shaping Japanese history and lifeworlds as "spanning the ages like a spider's web" (1996: 127), I explore how Takimoto complicates spiritual warfare narratives about Japan that fixate on the unique role of Shinto. Focusing on his integration of "Western esotericism" (*seiyō shinpishugi* 西欧神秘主義), specifically Freemasonry, I demonstrate how Takimoto uses spiritual warfare to navigate complex entanglements of space, time, and power, reframing the nation not as an isolated fortress but a juncture of threads as global as they are local, as secular as they are religious, and as American as they are Japanese.

A chained country: Mapping Japan in contemporary spiritual warfare

Japan has been a recurrent and underexamined presence within third wave spiritual warfare discourses from their early years. This often relates to the country's position at the edges of the third wave missionary concept of the "10/40 Window," which Wagner describes as "a piece of geography between 10 and 40 degrees north latitude, stretching from North Africa over to Japan and the Philippines" (1996: 28). As René Holvast

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6.   The majority of research on Japanese spiritual warfare has been related to its growth in Okinawa, which Ikegami links to it being "less affected by Buddhism or Shinto" and the widespread propagation of Christianity in the 1945–52 US occupation (1993: 69; 1991). English-language scholarship addresses spiritual warfare mostly in passing and in historical contexts (Ikegami 2003: 138; Mullins 1998: 102; Sonntag 2012: 47-8), without detailed analysis of contemporary third wave individuals or frameworks.

7.   AJRM grew out of the All Japan Revival Koshien Mission (全日本リバイバル甲子園ミッション), which organized an evangelical rally in Koshien Stadium in Nishinomiya in 1993. This was itself a project of the Japan Revival Crusade (日本リバイバル・クルセード) founded in 1970 by Takimoto's father, Takimoto Akira 滝元明 (1929–2015). As of April 2018, the organization has rebranded simply as "Revival Mission" (リバイバルミッション).

explains in his history of spiritual mapping in the United States and Argentina, due to possessing the lowest percentage of Christians per country this region was framed as "the last frontier of mission" and as the "realm of the last and 'very powerful' undefeated demons" in the decade preceding the turn of the millennium (2009: xiii). Prominent third wave figures, including Wagner and Jacobs, conducted speaking tours of Japan during this time, and many of their books were and continue to be translated into Japanese. Japan appears, to varying degrees of prominence, in several of these works, including Wagner's 1990 *Wrestling with Dark Angels*, 1996 *Spiritual Warfare Strategy*, and 1997 *Praying with Power*, Jacobs' 1991 *Possessing the Gates of the Enemy*, and even Otis' 1991 *Last of the Giants*—a work ostensibly about Islam. Several unaffiliated spiritual warriors have since added to these works, building more or less explicitly on their frameworks (Lewis 2013; Matsumoto 2009; Roth 2014; Webb 1999), but continuing to circulate around a set of problems. The most pressing and persistent of these is the country's apparent resistance to evangelization, with only around one percent of the population being Christian (Lewis 2013: 64; Roth 2014: 82-3; Takimoto 2006b: 125; Wagner 2012: 90; Webb 1999: 10). This apparent resistance, especially when compared to South Korea, made Japan not only a critical site for third wave missionary strategy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, but exemplary of how spiritual mapping understands place in theological and anthropological terms.

The third wave idea of territorial spirits serves as the foundation for a moral and metaphysical understanding of place—especially the "nation"—in which resistance to conversion is seen not only as a result of personal recalcitrance or cultural norms but of territorial demonic forces. Such forces embody and govern an (improper) "ontological bond between a people and a territory" (Fer 2015: 62) that spiritual warriors must correctly discern and ultimately displace. This nationalist ontology positions national characteristics as either divine gifts or products of demonic hegemonies. Several spiritual warriors frame Japan as a warrior nation, for example (Jacobs 2001; Low 2016: 155; Matsumoto 2009: 60). Takimoto claims that God gave Japan the gift of "battle" (*tatakai* 戦い), which Satan twisted to use Japan to invade other Asian nations as opposed to evangelizing them through missionary work (1996: 209-10). Contrasting this slightly, Keith Webb details how territorial spirits ingrained ideas of class consciousness and social hierarchy, group allegiance, national uniformity, and cultural uniqueness into the Japanese populace from *sakoku* 鎖国 (lit., "chained country," referring to Japan's policy of isolation from the 17th-19th centuries) onwards, imprisoning them in "strongholds" (*yōsai* 要塞) of powerlessness, conformity, and fear of incongruity and furnished them with potential gifts of perseverance, cooperation, and feelings of identification (1999: 30-47).

On initial reading, the framing of this nationalist ontology illustrates how the third wave's privileging of national characteristics gives it potential synergy with *nihonjinron* 日本人論, the nationalist discourse on Japanese uniqueness and

homogeneity (Burgess 2010; Lie 2001). This is augmented by narratives of Japan's resistance to Christianization, evidenced, for example, by Wagner's uncritical adoption of claims about Japan's historical homogeneity as the prime reason for such resistance, discussed below (2015: 67-8). As I will explore, however, this national character is critically ascribed not to an essential cultural or ethnic core but rather to demonic influence; it is seen as ideological and inculcated, not innate. The concept of the "stronghold" is key here. In third wave cosmology, the ontological bond between nation and spirits is regulated by the presence and intensity of sin, facilitating demonic entry and entrenchment. Sins can be individual or corporate in nature and include "idolatry, bloodshed, immorality, and covenant breaking"—as a result, the "ground grieves because of past sins committed upon it, and demons haunt the territory where such horrors occurred" (McCloud 2015: 56-8; Hackman 2015). For third wave evangelicals, the lingering unrepentance or active reinforcement of sins leads to the formation of demonic "strongholds," fortified spaces where demons take up residence that can be geographic (regions where demons congregate and organize), ideological (worldviews contrary to Christianity), or personal (ingrained feelings, attitudes, behaviors) (Jacobs 2009: 96-7; Takimoto 1996: 146-8).[8]

"Idolatry" is an important stronghold, encapsulating all three types by fixing competing worldviews in specific locations/objects that are repeatedly venerated by individuals. Webb, who presents one of the more detailed spiritual mappings of Japan in *Overcoming Spiritual Barriers in Japan*, identifies the Tōshōgū Shrine in Nikko, where Tokugawa Ieyasu is enshrined as Tōshō Daigongen, as the "focal point" of the spirits ruling Japan (1999: 50). Takimoto, meanwhile, frames his city of Shinshiro as critical due to the annual festival held to commemorate the 1575 Battle of Nagashino, in which Tokugawa took part and was therefore key to his rise to power and (thus) his grandson's establishment of *sakoku* in 1639 (1996: 88). Wagner, who among the third wave founders has written most extensively on Japan, identifies Kyoto as the site from which the region's "powers of darkness" have been "directed and coordinated," framing it as "the seat of satan [sic], much like ancient Pergamos" (2012: 89; Rev. 2:13). Elsewhere, drawing on the description of Athens as a city uniquely "*given over to idols*"

8.	While predating the third wave, older Japanese Pentecostal and charismatic organizations like the *Iesu no Mitama Kyōkai* イエス之御霊教会 and Japan Assemblies of God (*Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan* 日本アッセンブリーズ・オブ・ゴッド教団) have adopted third wave techniques. Since the 1990s such groups increasingly identified "strongholds" such as famous temples and shrines, sacred mountains, and the Imperial Palace, and the need for spiritual repentance for historic crimes committed in World War II, as blocks to religious revival (Ikegami 2003: 138-140).

in Acts 17:16, Wagner elevates Kyoto even further: "Athens was the idol capital of the ancient world, possibly comparable to Kyoto, Japan, today," he writes (1996: 198), implying the city may not simply be "idol capital" of Japan but of the modern world generally.

Wagner's framing exemplifies the unique place Japan has in third wave demonology. However, the more specified locations of Webb and Takimoto point both to attempts at more detailed mappings of Japan's spiritual warfare landscape and the position that Tokugawa, and the establishment of *sakoku*, have in them. This is often due to the persecution and expulsion of Christians at this time, the importance of which is highlighted by Lewis (2013: 229), Roth (2014: 82) and Matsumoto (2009: 234), and addressed in detail by Webb and Takimoto. For these authors, Christianity is framed as achieving relative success prior to the closing of the country. Christianity's expulsion and the cultural shifts of the Edo period are thus viewed not simply as an act orchestrated by demonic forces as a means of retaining and consolidating their territorial power but one that achieved considerable success. Webb frames 1639–1853 as "function[ing] like a demonic kiln, hardening the soft clay of the society's sins into rock-hard strongholds" (1999: 30), claiming that the Edo period's reputation as "the 'Great Peace'" is "ironic, because in spiritual terms this era represents one of the darkest periods of spiritual warfare not only in Japanese history, but also in world history" (18). Takimoto's narrative echoes this, constructing *sakoku* as a "dark era," but critically positions it as a means rather than an end. 1650–1850 is periodized by Takimoto as "the age of preparation for the dark empire" (*ankoku-teikoku junbi jidai* 暗黒帝国準備時代), marked not just by Christian persecution but by the formalization of Shinto and the systemization of ancestor worship. This "preparation" would reach fulfilment with the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education and Japan's shift into a "divine nation" during the "era of the dark empire's foundation" (*ankoku-teikokuka no jidai* 暗黒帝国化の時代) that only ends in 1945 (1996: 125).

As Takimoto's framing of the Edo period suggests, for spiritual warriors like he and Webb the formalization of Shinto is as central to their narratives as Christianity's expulsion. While Webb locates the hub of the territorial spirits ruling Japan in the Nikko Tōshōgū Shrine, for example, its influence as a stronghold is framed as dependent on the over one hundred Tōshōgū branch shrines established across the country for veneration by local *daimyō* (1999: 20). Takimoto constructs a similar narrative about his city of Shinshiro, claiming demons were given dominion over it due both to the "sin of murder" (*satsujin no tsumi* 殺人の罪) committed during the Battle of Nagashino and that of "idolatry" (*gūzōreihai no tsumi* 偶像礼拝の罪) facilitated by the network of shrines later built to placate the battle's dead. It is this network, as well as the annual festival, that keeps the land in chains (1996: 89-90). The spirit Takimoto ultimately discerns as ruling his city is Susano'o-no-Mikoto, from the Edo-period Tominaga Shrine (133-4), yet in his map this shrine is less important as a seat of power than as a node in a much larger network spanning the nation. Japan's

alleged bondage is here framed not only as the result of "undefeated demons" localized in prominent religious sites, but of how these sites are integrated into reinforcing networks, "spanning the ages like a spider's web," in which the Japanese continue to be bound (1996: 127). For Takimoto, each individual act of veneration at a local shrine lays another thread in a nation-wide web of demonic forces, joining branch shrines to higher-ranking ones like Tominaga Shrine, ultimately binding individuals into the imperial system (*tennōsei* 天皇制) or national authority (*kokka kenryoku* 国家権力), rendering them like insects incapable of escape (1996: 136-7, 142).

Although he does not reference them directly, Takimoto's timeframe and his imagery recall earlier Christian missionaries' use of the sociological concept of Japan as a "web society," notably Dorothy Pape's *Captives of the Mighty: Christ and the Japanese Enigma* (1959).[9] Pape explains Japan's resistance to Christianization by describing the "close and inescapable way in which every Japanese is connected horizontally and vertically with his fellow countrymen, with the Emperor at the centre of the web." She then identifies Satan as the spider and Tokugawa as the one "who established the patterns of the web," which people "in more modern times have continued to tighten or repair… rather than escape" (1959: 22). Pape—whom Webb cites directly (2010: 15, 49)—here prefigures later fixations of third wave evangelicals, reinforcing not only the centrality of Tokugawa, discussed above, but the critical discursive position often accorded to the emperor. In the texts of third wave founding figures like Wagner (1996, 2015), Otis (1991), and Jacobs (2001), the emperor is central, especially in narratives of the postwar era. For Wagner—whose narrative is mostly replicated by his peers—if Kyoto was the throne of Japan's spiritual rulers then the emperor was the "chief visible figure employed by these dark angels" (2015: 68). This centering of the emperor then feeds into the critical role played by "the West," particularly the United States. Wagner frames the 1945–52 US occupation as "the most serious setback for Japan's territorial spirits," highlighting Emperor Hirohito's denial of his divinity, the formal separation of Shinto from politics, and General MacArthur's call for Christian

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9.   The conception of Japan as a "web society" was popularized in journalist Frank Gibney's 1953 *Five Gentlemen of Japan: The Portrait of a Nation's Character*, and refers roughly to the ways Japan was thought of, in contrast to Western Christian individualism, as a society built "of reciprocal duties and obligations that permeates all levels of society" (Burke 1962: 104-5). This, in turn, drew on Ruth Benedict's influential 1947 *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, which popularized essentialized ideas of Japanese hierarchy, homogeneity, and reciprocal social relations that became cornerstones of postwar *nihonjinron* (Lie 2001). Pape cites Benedict directly, alongside Gibney, as "most valuable for gaining an understanding of Japan" (1959: 9).

missionaries. Many responded, he explains, and "Christianity grew well for what are now known as the 'seven wonderful years'" (2015: 68).

In third wave spiritual warfare, the regional strength or weakness of demonic forces is often tied to that region's material and financial success (McAlister 2012; McCloud 2015). Hirohito's renunciation of divinity and Japan's opening to US evangelism are thus figured by spiritual warriors as the condition of possibility for Japan's postwar economic boom. Conversely, the collapse of the bubble economy and even the 3/11 disaster have been framed as the results of recalcitrance to Christianization as well as a retrenchment of demonized deities—particularly the sun goddess and imperial ancestor Amaterasu-Ōmikami, whose return to power is linked to Emperor Akihito's 1990 performance of the *daijōsai* 大嘗祭 (Jacobs 2001; Lee 2011; Wagner 2015: 69). As "the defining rite of modern state-sponsored Shinto," Akihito's performance of the ritual garnered considerable critique and commentary around both its legality and meaning (Breen and Teeuwen 2010: 169, 170-75). For spiritual warriors, however, the ritual signified the explicit re-opening of the nation to the demonic forces they saw as subjugated in 1945 (Lewis 2013: 54-55; Otis 1991: 92-3; Takimoto 1996: 142; Wagner 1996: 232). Indeed, Wagner provocatively described it as "climax[ing] in a sexual encounter between the new emperor and the sun-goddess" by which "the two ritually become one flesh and through its supreme leader the nation invites demonic control" (2015: 68-9).[10]

Wagner's understanding of the *daijōsai* here exemplifies how spiritual warfare enacts processes of epistemic violence. By demonizing Indigenous deities and cultural customs, spiritual warfare affirms their power while denying the validity of the worldviews they represent. Drawing on the work of Gayatri Spivak, I have argued elsewhere that this process, which is often embedded in the mechanisms of American empire, can be understood in terms of (post)colonial "worlding," through which colonized cultures and traditions become figured as "uninscribed earth" from which colonizers sovereignly shape their "world" (O'Donnell 2017: 245). Spiritual warfare—most evidently in its US incarnations—replicates this colonial process, casting

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10.   Although filtered through the third wave lens, Wagner's framing bears similarities to the controversial analysis of Orikuchi Shinobu, which was publicly refuted by the imperial family. As Breen and Teeuwen outline in their history of the *daijōsai* (2010: 168-198), in a 1928 essay Orikuchi analyzed the objects present at the ritual (bed, shroud, emperor) to link the *daijōsai* to the mythic founding of the imperial line. Orikuchi suggested that the emperor was to "lay on the bed, wrapped in the shroud waiting for the sun-goddess to descend from heaven… and then enter his body," adducing that the emperor was once seen as a "'vessel' that might be entered by 'the imperial spirit' (*tennō rei*)" (173).

Indigenous traditions as raw data that can only be properly interpreted by the evangelist. This is demonstrated acutely by the claim of "idolatry," which here should not be understood as the worship of beings considered not real (as it commonly is) but ones considered *real but not true*. Deities like Susano'o-no-Mikoto or Amaterasu-Ōmikami are understood to metaphysically exist, however their native representations are stripped of all ontological and epistemological validity. As the decolonial critic Walter Mignolo writes on the colonization of the Americas, "extirpation of idolatry was… not a religious issue, but an epistemic one." The "eradication of other forms of knowledge was the real project at stake" (2011: 165-6). Imposing American maps over Japanese territory, Wagner—and other spiritual warriors, if less starkly—epitomize this "real project," rendering the spiritual and political terrain of Japan uninscribed earth that can be cultivated to reaffirm the contours of spiritual warfare's world.

False dawn:
American power, Japanese Christianity, and the shadow of Freemasonry

Despite general attentiveness to transnational influences, such as in the Latin American context (Jacobs 2009; Wagner 1996), third wave demonologies of Japan privilege domestic forces—even if only to overwrite them. The reasons are likely multiple, relying on broader narratives of the homogeneity of Japanese society and a need to address its allegedly singular resistance to Christianization—what Pape called the "Japanese enigma." Relating a conversation with Cho Yonggi of South Korea's Yoido Full Gospel Church on the differences between Korea and Japan, for example, Wagner claims that the relative ease of evangelization in the former is due to "the serious damage done to traditional Korean culture through 36 years of Japanese occupation and subsequently through communism from the north." In contrast, he presents Japan's culture as "virtually uninterrupted for 3,000 years" (2015: 67-8). Webb's framing of *sakoku* as the "demonic kiln" in which was forged the modern

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11. This is illustrated by the treatment of Buddhism. Wagner glosses Buddhism as a mere "facade" over a Shinto core (2015: 67). Webb discusses it briefly in relation to a belief that Buddhas and *kami* were merely manifestations of Amaterasu (1999: 19). Lewis offers a more detailed picture of how Shinto and Buddhism syncretize in the Japanese religious landscape but privileges Shinto, highlighting distinctions between Japanese and "orthodox" Buddhism (2014: 28, 268). While subordinating Buddhism to Shinto is more common, it is by no means the only framing employed. Matsumoto claims Shinto was originally monotheistic, possibly introduced by Jewish immigrants, and was later corrupted by human sinfulness and growing accommodations to Buddhism (2009: 162-4).

Japanese "web society" performs a similar function. The impact of transnational influences unsettle these narratives and are, perhaps accordingly, marginalized,[11] especially those that complicate the West's liberatory and modernizing influence as origin of the "seven wonderful years" or of Japan's industrial and technological success more broadly (Webb 1999: 45).

Takimoto's approach to both Japanese imperial power and American influence is more nuanced than that of Wagner and even other, more historicizing, spiritual warriors like Webb—although crucially does not contradict them. While Wagner presumes the *daijōsai*'s impact due to the emperor's place as "supreme leader of the nation," and Takimoto concurs in its capacity to transform the nation, he situates this as a result of the spiritual networks emerging during the Edo period. It is in untangling these networks that he differentiates himself most from his non-Japanese peers. Rather than framing this network as natural or even as a (lingering) effect of *sakoku*, Takimoto constructs a genealogy that is both more ancient—stretching back to the "Animism" of the Jōmon period and "Shamanism" of the Yayoi[12]—and more global, introducing transnational threads to the spider's web. One set are wider Asian forces, notably Buddhism, whose Indian provenance Takimoto emphasizes, tying it to Chinese Confucianism and Taoism (1996: 124) and to Hinduism and New Age spiritualities derived from Indian concepts (2006b: 66-9, 127-37, 2007: 172-179). The other, perhaps more striking, are the Western ideologies he sees as introduced in the Meiji period and reinforced or reintroduced after World War II. It is this second set I focus on here. This is not to downplay Takimoto's discussion of wider Asian influences, but because his framing of Western ideologies enacts a series of discursive shifts in spiritual warfare

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12. Takimoto links Japan's animistic roots to Satan's capacity to twist an innate desire to see God's presence in nature (2006b: 59-61). However, he connects its shamanistic strongholds specifically to the Ainu, positioning their conversion as critical to the salvation of not only Japan but all peoples of the Pacific Rim (2006b: 192). His framing of the Ainu replicates American spiritual warfare writings about Native Americans, positioning the "sins" permitting demonic rule as both the "idolatry" of capitalise as Indigenous traditions and the violence done to them by settlers but focusing primarily on their "idolatry" (Takimoto 2006b: 192-99; see also McCloud 2015: 57-8).

13. The general omission of secularism's influence on Japan is notable given widespread US perceptions of its secularity in the 1990s (see, for example, Reischauer and Jansen 1995: 203). This is possibly due to tendencies—echoing Benedict and *nihonjinron* authors (Lie 2001)—to stress distinctions between American and Japanese societies to account for the perceived failures of evangelism. The presence of coded-modern or Western elements is thus elided in favor of those coded as traditional or non-Western.

discourse about Japan. First, while American spiritual warriors often lament the influence of secularism on the West, they rarely extend this to non-Western countries.[13] Second, Takimoto's framing complicates their narratives of the benevolent influence of the US on Japan. Third, by doing so he constructs a contrasting image of these narratives, using the third wave paradigm to perform a spiritual diagnosis of America itself.

In *The Day the Lord Arose*, Takimoto initially seems to echo the celebratory framings of the postwar era found in Wagner and others' works, periodizing it as the "age of dawn" (*akatsuki no jidai* 暁の時代) that follows the breaking of the *ankoku-teikoku*. Yet this dawn is marked and marred by the propagation of new, and distinctly Western, demonic strongholds: Materialism (*busshitsushugi* 物質主義), Humanism (*jindōshugi* 人道主義), and Rationalism (*gōrishugi* 合理主義) (1996: 125). In subsequent works, such as the 2006 *Regain the Glory of God!* (*Kami no eikō o torimodose!* 神の栄光を取りもどせ!) and 2007 *Spiritual Warfare and the Church's Problem-Solving Power* (*Reiteki tatakai to kyōkai no mondaikaiketsu-ryoku* 霊的戦いと教会の問題解決力), Takimoto expands on this diagnosis, linking these ideologies to "Western esotericism" (*seiyō shinpishugi*), specifically Freemasonry, as the occult force that opposes and suppresses the "mysterious affairs" (*shinpiteki na kotogara* 神秘的な事柄) of the Holy Spirit (2006b: 176).[14] Takimoto sees this force as influencing not only Japanese society but the Japanese Church. It lies behind their "recoiling from" (*hanpatsu* 反発) charismatic modes of Christianity and the privileging of the material form of Churches (*kaidō kenchiku* 会堂建築, lit. "church architecture") over the people who are the true Church, and who represent the "wealth of the Holy Spirit" (*Seirei no tomi* 聖霊の富) (168).

Takimoto devotes much space to discussing the introduction of Freemasonry to Japan in the Meiji period, its later suppression, and postwar reintroduction through MacArthur's links to the Grand Lodge of the Philippines. However, "Freemasonry" for Takimoto does not refer so much to the material influence of members of Masonic Lodges as to the ideology he sees it as reflecting. In keeping with third wave

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14. While demonization of Freemasonry is far from unique in third wave literature (McCloud 2015: 21, 34-7), Takimoto's specific framing of its occult influence in relation to secularization, technological progress, and American dominance is more common to the subset overlapping with US conspiracy culture (Horn 2013, 2017). Like Takimoto, these authors also situate the Western esoteric tradition as the occult engine driving modernity, figuring a secular veneer on a diabolic core. For spiritual warfare's overlap with conspiracy culture and antagonism to emerging technology, see O'Donnell 2016.

framings of territoriality, Takimoto articulates this claim through two discussions of space—one personal, the other national—reaching the same conclusion. Discussing a time when his congregation were seemingly suffering spiritual attacks tied to their attempts to alter the church's architecture, Takimoto reflects on the influence of a Japanese American missionary he calls "M." M came to Japan during the US occupation and converted Takimoto's parents, placing him at the root of Shinshiro Church and Takimoto's own conception. Reflecting on M's post-occupation life, Takimoto comes to suspect M of Masonic ties and therefore as the root of the Masonic "shadow" behind Shinshiro's malaise. He cannot prove such ties, but decides that if M was actually a Mason it is secondary to his adherence to its "Idea" or "foundational principle" (*rinen* 理念): "To be a Freemason," Takimoto concludes, "what is essential is not to be a member but to live in its Idea (*rinen*)" (2006b: 168, 164-9). Situating this Idea as concealed at both his own (church's) origin as well as the "seven wonderful years," Takimoto complicates the history of Japanese evangelicalism. Freemasonry becomes a "virus" attached to Christianity, to be discerned and separated from the "pure work of the Lord" (*Shu no junsui na waza* (主の純粋な業) (2006b: 165).

This impacts on the second, national context, relating to Takimoto's wider framing of US power and Japanese modernity. For Takimoto, the Idea of Freemasonry is that which has lain behind Western secularization since the Renaissance: a force that privileges Reason over Revelation and outer form over inner essence while also driving technoscientific progress through war. It is also a spirit he associates with America. Writing at the height of the Bush administration's Global War on Terror, Takimoto identifies "war" (*sensō* 戦争) as the core of American history and identity (2006b: 175), pointing to the US's past and present embroilment in conflict and (related) place at the front of technological development to present the Idea of Freemasonry as the true power behind the nation (2006b: 174-5, 2007: 195). While acknowledging the strong influence of Christianity on US culture, Takimoto discerns that the US's spiritual ruler is not the triune god of Christianity but the "Supreme Being" (*Shikō no Sonzai* 至高の存在) (2006b: 175, 2007: 195) of Freemasonry. He sees this as represented by the deism (*rishinron* 理神論) of many of the Founding Fathers, materialized in the Statue of Liberty and architecture of Washington, DC, and symbolized by the Eye of Providence (*sekai o mitoosu me* 世界を見通す目) on the dollar (2006b: 174; 2007: 188). Takimoto's spiritual mapping of America here alters its relation to Japan, rendering it not simply an unproblematic source of evangelical Christianity but of demonic ideologies secreted along with it (2006b: 169-74, 2007: 187-94). Beyond this, however, Takimoto frames Freemasonry's spirit—not just spirits tied to Shinto—as influencing Japan from the Meiji era onwards as the nation has sought to imitate, exceed, and partner with the West. "After the Meiji Restoration," he writes, "Japan's central task (*chūshin kadai* 中心課題) was Westernization," and, postwar, "keeping pace with America as its closest ally." Thus, "even if there are no direct ties to Freemasonry, it [Japan] can still be considered deeply under its sway (*eikyōka* 影響下)." After all, he

concludes, reiterating his earlier statement: "To be a Freemason, what is essential is not to be a member but to live in its Idea" (2006b: 175-6).

Takimoto's framing of Freemasonry impacts third wave spiritual mapping discourses of Japan in key ways, rendering them both more global and more local. By aligning America with a Freemasonry that must be separated from the "pure work of the Lord," his work can be placed among wider trends towards indigenizing Christianity in Japan, here supernaturalizing distinctions Japanese Christians draw between Christianity "itself" and the Western cultural and ideological trappings that often accompanied it (Mullins 1998, 2007). Yet Takimoto's privileging of the forces of Westernization in later framings of Japan's *ankoku-teikoku* also spiritualizes another historical dynamic: the development of modern Shinto itself. As scholars of the history of Shinto and the category "religion" (*shūkyō* 宗教) in Japan have shown, it was the introduction of Western concepts of the religion/secular divide that ultimately facilitated the consolidation of a Shinto based around Amaterasu and the imperial line (Josephson 2012; Zhong 2016). As Yijian Zhong (2016) demonstrates, faced with the heterogeneity of Japanese spiritualities, the challenges brought by competing Shinto shrines, and the threat of Christianity as "foreign religion" (*gaikyō* 外教), the imperial Amaterasu-centric form of Shinto reinvented itself by adopting the framework of secularity, permitting its elevation above competing forms of Shinto by labelling those as "private" and "religious" and itself as "public" and "political," and (thereby) avoiding the potential threats of relativizing imperial power by placing it in competition with Christianity.

Although filtered through spiritual warfare's supernaturalizing worldview, Takimoto's leveraging of "Freemasonry" to redefine the interplay of Western and Japanese ideologies centers this dynamic. As such, he refocuses spiritual warfare discourses from a narrative of the independence of Shinto to one of the interdependence between (trans)national forces whose conjunctures shaped the identity of the modern Japanese nation. While Takimoto complexifies American mappings, however, this should not be viewed uncritically. He nuances, but does not ultimately challenge, their dynamics; his paradigm is imbricated in the same logics of epistemic violence. Discussing Pape's framing of the "web society," Webb advocates evangelizing the Japanese "in the context of the group" rather than by "seeking individuals and pulling them out of their relational network[s]" (1999: 49-50). Takimoto concurs with Webb, advocating co-opting the networks that the demons' constructed to subjugate Japan as a means of rapid Christianization (1996: 142). Maintaining relational networks here is a matter of temporary pragmatism, not morality. For Takimoto as much as for his non-Japanese peers, cracking the "Japanese enigma" is a means to an end. His goal in excavating the influence of Freemasonry is not only to understand the complex spiritual history of Japan but to do so in order to overthrow and ultimately efface that history. Discerning the "ontological bond" between Japan and its people serves the aim of displacing it. Mapping the spider's web—those relational networks that bind

individuals to the land, to history and culture, to each other—is done for the purpose of sundering those threads that can be sundered and subverting those that cannot.

Conclusion

In this article I have explored how third wave spiritual warfare discourses conceptualize and negotiate "Japan" as an object within their demonological frameworks. As discussed, much of this negotiation is oriented around attempts to untangle the "Japanese enigma"—the nation's perceived singular resistance to Christianity. In the buildup to the millennium, as the third wave expanded its evangelization efforts through the 10/40 Window, meeting with success in East Asia and former Soviet territories (Jacobs 2009, Wagner 1996, 2015), the apparent intractability of Japan presented a question that demanded an answer. For figures like Wagner, the answer was found in appeals to the undisturbed nature of the Japanese religious landscape; to those like Webb, in identifying unique historical instances in which Christianity had first been violently excluded and the nation transfigured into a stronghold against its influence. However, unlike his American counterparts, for Takimoto Jun the intractability of the nation was not solely a result of national isolation but of complex, transnational entanglements that have woven and rewoven "the spider's web" across the ages. Bringing his mapping of Japanese traditions into relation with external, notably Western, forces Takimoto complicates, consolidates, and contests spiritual mappings of the "Japanese enigma" found among his peers.

This remapping of Japan's spiritual landscape brings with it a remapping of American influence on that landscape, linked to an indigenization of Christianity and a revaluation of the role of American power in the early twenty-first century. This revaluation is one that often differs from spiritual warfare discourses used in and about the US itself, which are often joined to ideologies of Manifest Destiny and projects of settler colonial and imperialist expansion (Holvast 2009). Takimoto at once replicates and rejects such discourses, imitating them by coding Japanese traditions as essentially demonic while also framing American paradigms themselves as the result of a diabolic force parasitizing the "pure work of the Lord." In doing so, he discursively navigates the complex US inheritance of Japanese evangelicalism, evading simple impositions of American maps over Japanese territories in favor of charting complex, transnational assemblages of religious, political, and social forces, unstable entanglements and palimpsestic inscriptions of power and knowledge. Ultimately, he suggests that if Japan truly is singular in resisting evangelization this is not because its culture has been uniquely undisturbed for millennia or solidified by self-imposed

isolation, but due to a unique confluence of threads laid and re-laid over the nation's spiritual and political terrain—threads as global as they are local, as secular as they are religious, and as American as they are Japanese.

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Itō Satoshi

The Idea of a Pure Land on Mt Takakura at the Outer Shrine: Beliefs about Kōbō Daishi at the Ise Shrines [Part 1]

Translator's preliminary remarks:

The article translated here is part of Professor Itō Satoshi's research on medieval beliefs in the Great Deity of Ise included in the volume *Chūsei Tenshō Daijin Shinkō no Kenkyū* 中世天照大神信仰の研究 under the title *Gekū takakurasan jōdokō—Ise Jingū ni okeru Kōbō Daishi shinkō* 外宮高倉山浄土考―伊勢神宮における弘法大師信仰 (Itō 2011, 285-325). I wish to thank Professor Itō for allowing me to translate another of his works, but also Professor Nishigai Kenji and the editor, Professor Yoshinaga Shinichi, for helping me to understand the old Japanese texts, and last but not least, my friend Edmund Skrzypczak and this jounal's copy editor for once again getting my English into good shape.

About twenty years have passed since I had the privilege to become acquainted with Reverend Yoshikawa Tatsumi, a priest of the Ise Shrines, who at the time was working at the Shrines' museum, the Jingū Chōkokan. One day I told him that I was doing research on medieval and pre-Meiji Ise pilgrimage (*Ise mairi* 伊勢参り), focusing on pilgrims' travelogues and on the so-called *Ise sankei mandara* 伊勢参詣曼荼羅, the painted illustrations of the precincts of the two Ise Shrines and of the numerous places within these precincts that pilgrims were invited to visit as a not-to-be-missed part of their pilgrimage. By perusing these two kinds of sources I was hoping to become acquainted with not only the geography of the sacred areas but also, or even more so, the religious feelings these sacred places fostered in the hearts and minds of the pilgrims.

From early on in that research I noticed to my surprise that the pilgrims' experiences and religious feelings quite naturally blended two kinds of beliefs; those in *kami* and those in Buddhas. The reason for my surprise was my view of the Ise Shrines as they exist today, as purely Shinto institutions. In fact, once I had been told by a shrine priest that the Ise Shrines have no relationship at all with Buddhism. His statement, I believe, reflects the situation at the present-day Ise Shrines, but the medieval sources I had been researching told me quite a different story. Yet it was a story of whose background I knew almost nothing.

Two events that occurred on the same day in the summer of 2005 triggered a decisive change in my understanding of the phenomenon of Ise and its shrines. On the day before I had received a phone call from Priest Yoshikawa, who told me that, due to some work at the Jingū Chōkokan, it had been necessary to move the *Ise sankei mandara*

temporarily to an empty room, and I could view it there but would have to come very soon. Of course, I did not hesitate a moment and the next day I was on my way to Ise.

At the museum I was given all the time I needed to view the *mandara* and absorb what I saw. With my eyes I followed in the pilgrims' footsteps on their route from its entry to the sacred area at the Miyagawa riverbank to the precincts of the Outer Shrine, from there passing over Mt Takakura behind the Outer Shrine and over the ridge of the *Ai no Yama* 間の山 to the Inner Shrine, and then still further to Mt Asama, from where Mt Fuji becomes visible in the distance. While I followed this road with my eyes, I noticed that it proceeded on two layers, one obvious and easily recognized, the other rather hidden and recognizable only in pieces. The obvious one was the road the pilgrims would walk from one Shinto sanctuary to the other, while the hidden one was mainly an imagined road through the Buddhist otherworld, where the pilgrim first passed before a hall in which an old woman was sitting, holding a piece of white cloth in her hand. She seems to be *datsue ba* 奪衣婆, the woman who sits at the bank of the *sanzu no kawa* 三途の川, the river that is the border to the otherworld, and snatches the clothes of the deceased who want to cross the water. Where this road reaches its end on Mt Asama, it grants the pilgrim a serene view of Mt Fuji, the symbol and promise of the Pure Land. The *mandara* at the Jingū Chōkokan is probably a work of the 16th or 17th century, the Keichō Period, and was meant to serve as a guide to the Shrines for ordinary pilgrims. We might, therefore, consider it an indication that the old Ise pilgrimage was an emotionally moving experience in which two worlds, that of the *kami* and that of the Buddhas, were blended into one another and experienced together.

What strikes the eye most strongly when looking at the Jingū Chōkokan *mandara* are the great number of buildings and the pilgrims moving back and forth between them. However, in the mountains that make up the background of the sacred precincts, some natural features are included, along with the image of a stone cave in front of which a *kagura* dance is performed for a group of pilgrims. But from behind the stone slabs of the cave's entrance a woman, dressed as a shrine maiden *miko*, peeks out. One is reminded of the scene in Japanese myths, where Amaterasu Ōmikami peeks out of the heavenly cave where she had been hiding. Yet the cave depicted on the *mandara* is not a mythical but a real thing: the remains of an ancient burial mound, a *kofun* 古墳, on Mt Takakura, a mountain in the southern vicinity of the Outer Shrine. This cave and the performance of a *miko* there are often mentioned in pre-Meiji travelogues as a location where pilgrims experienced strong emotions and the conviction that there the *kami* was present when they visited the site and watched the performance before the man-made cave.

This mountain and its ancient tomb had to do with the second event that provoked a change in my thinking about the medieval world of Ise and the pilgrimage to its shrines. On the day of my visit to Ise in order to view the *mandara*, a further strike of good luck was waiting for me: the chance to meet Mr Murase Masayuki of the Jingū Forest Administration, who kindly offered to guide me to Mt Takakura and show me the mysterious cave. Together we climbed the mountain following the old path as

much as it was still recognizable. While listening to Mr Murase's explanations I was also thinking about all those pilgrims who once walked that narrow path harboring manifold expectations about what was waiting for them on the mountaintop. When we finally exited from the wooded slope, there it was! A sizeable mound with its dark open entrance facing us. The mound is now overgrown by trees and shrubs, but it still stirred a very special feeling in me—that this was the very spot where pilgrims for hundreds of years had felt they really met Ise's deities. But today the location is utterly deserted and closed to pilgrims. Nothing of what can still be seen offers the faintest suggestion of the lively activities that once took place there. (For a photograph of the cave's entrance, see Knecht 2006, 231.)

When I came across Professor Itō's article, the memory of all the experiences on that unforgettable day at Ise vividly returned. Even more, it provided a good background for, and a fascinating explanation of, the forms the blending of seemingly disparate religious traditions, Shinto and Buddhist, could take in the mind and in the real world of ordinary people. Even if today's shrine priests may not acknowledge such blending and insist that the Ise Shrines have nothing to do with Buddhism, older traditions tell a different, and intriguing, story. I hope that the article translated below will help to open for the reader a road to a world of Ise that today is largely hidden, if not even forgotten.

(Peter Knecht)

Introduction—*"The Mountains South of the Outer Shrine"*

South of the Outer Shrine of Ise Jingū, the Toyouke Daijingū 豊受大神宮, there is a mountain called Mt Takakura 高倉山. Mt Takakura is the common name for a group of peaks that extend south of the Outer Shrine and includes the peaks Hiwashi, Keisoku, Otonashi, and Fujioka. About twenty stone caves – some large, some small – are scattered on the top of Mt Hiwashi (116m), the highest of these peaks. It is a cluster consisting of an opened, round *kofun* 古墳 [burial mound] and a number of its lateral mounds; all of these structures are assumed to have been built in the mid-to-late sixth century. The central round *kofun* (Mt Takakura *kofun* 高倉山古墳) is 32 m long and 8 m high. The total length of its now-exposed path of access [to the burial chamber within the *kofun*] is 9 m. The burial chamber's total length is 9.6 m and its height in the center is 4.4 m. With such measurements this *kofun* is equal in size to the Ishibutai *kofun* 石舞台古墳 in Nara and, on a national level, can be counted as one of a limited number of megalithic horizontal chamber mounds (*yokoana kofun* 横穴古墳).[1]

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1.   Ise Shi Kyōiku Iinkai Shakai Kyōikuka, ed. 1981: 70-71.

In the surroundings of Mt Takakura, whose top is crowned with such an enormous mound, we find scattered, besides the Outer Shrine, a number of shrines and ritual areas related to the Watarai clan (Wataraishi 度会氏), such as the subsidiary shrine (betsu-gū 別宮) Takanomiya 高宮 of the Outer Shrine, the Watarai no Kuni Miyakko Mijinja, and the Watarai no Ōkuni Tamahime Jinja. This shows that Mt Takakura and its surroundings have since antiquity been a ritual center for the Ise no Miyakko (伊勢国造) and for the Watarai clan that took its origin from that line.[2]

However, some time before the medieval period the mounds were vandalized, making this cave appear to be just another stone cave with an exposed access path to the burial chamber. Its role as a burial mound was forgotten. The condition of this mound is described in a text dated to the Nanbokuchō period 南北朝期 (1332–1392). In 'Section 7, Matters of the Great Shrine's Secret Places' found in the first part of the text *Jingi Hishō, jō* (神祇秘抄 上 Secret Comments about the Deities), we find:

> Located before the Outer Shrine, there is a rock grotto. Nowadays people call it the rock grotto of Takakura (*Takakura no iwaya* 高倉岩屋). The rock grotto is one *jō* 丈 two *shaku* 尺 [about 3.6 m] high, one *jō* five *shaku* [about 4.5 m] wide, and two *jō* and five *shaku* [about 7.5 m] deep. On three sides of this grotto stones are erected to form a wall. The ceiling is made from eight slabs of flat stones. It is not known who the builders were …. At this rock grotto 84,000 deities gather. Here is where they [the deities] ponder, depending on sentient beings' deeds, whether they are good or evil, whether their fortune is good or bad ….[3]

Although the rock grotto is, according to this account, evidently a man-made structure, it gave rise to various oral traditions and mysterious tales. For example, because the place was likened to the Heavenly Rock Grotto, people stopped to pray here on their pilgrimages to the Outer Shrine from the medieval to premodern periods. In addition, during the medieval period, based on an interpretation of the Shrines inspired by esoteric Buddhism, a variety of mysterious tales related to this mountain emerged.[4]

In the present essay I intend to elucidate the general character of the medieval secret tales related to Mt Takakura. I begin with a legend reported by the monk Mujū 無住 (1226–1312) in his *Shasekishū* (沙石集 Sand and Pebbles). It is the second tale in the first volume under the title 'The Venerable Gedatsubō of Kasagi's Pilgrimage to the Great Shrine.'

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2.   Okada Seishi 1970: 328-330.
3.   Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 379.
4.   Ōba 1941, republished in Ōba 1977: 97-102. Wada 1992: 188-194.

A shrine official informed me that the late holy man of Kasagi [Jōkei, 1155–1213] once confined himself in the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine to pray for his enlightenment, and the deity revealed itself to him. "It is not within my power to arrange this. Go to the Great Shrine at Ise to make your request," said the god in his dream. And he was given explicit travel instructions.

In the dream he imagined setting forth and before long he was traversing the mountain to the south of the Outer Shrine. On the mountain peak he saw a pond full of lotuses, large and small, some in bloom and others budding, whose color and fragrance were truly wonderful.

"The lotuses in bloom are the priests of this shrine who have already been born into the Pure Land," someone remarked. "Those yet to attain this [stage] are the buds. By the skillful means of the gods who soften their light, many are born into the Pure Land. The large lotus there is a deacon known as Tsunemoto who is to attain that blessed birth." Gedatsubō then entered the shrine and even heard the sound of Buddhist scriptures being chanted.

Upon waking he strapped on his implement box and set out alone, following the instructions he had received. His course did not deviate in the slightest from what he had seen in the dream, except that there was a wide road winding around the foot of the mountain south of the Outer Shrine, and no trail leading to the summit. But this was the only point of difference, the layout of the mountain being exactly as he had envisioned it.

He spoke to a young layman, inquiring if there was a deacon [*negi* 禰宜, a low ranking Shinto priest (Knecht)] called Tsunemoto at that place .

"Truly, that is my own name," came the reply. "But although I will eventually become a deacon, I am not one now." Gedatsubō then took three measures of gold from his implement box; presenting them to the man, he took lodging at his house and questioned him in detail about the shrine. Tsunemoto told him that when he had not attained release from the round of birth-and-death, he vowed that when he was again born into the human world, he would come as a priest of the shrine and rely on the skillful means of the gods who soften their light for his salvation.

Since I heard this from a shrine priest who was close to Tsunemoto, I know that it actually happened.[5]

This narrative contains the following parts:
① In a dream the holy man of Kasagi, Gedatsubō Jōkei 解脱坊貞慶 (1155–1213), is advised by the [deity] Hachiman of Iwashimizu to make a visit to the shrines of Ise.
② In that dream he [Jōkei] traversed "the mountain to the south of the Outer Shrine" to make the shrine visit.

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5.   Morrell 1985: 75-76. For the Japanese text, see: Watanabe, annot. 1966: 62-63.

③ The top of the mountain was covered with large and small lotus flowers, some of them blooming, others budding.

④ Someone told him what this meant: that the lotuses that are open are those of shrine priests who are already reborn in the Pure Land, the flowers of those who are to be reborn from now on are still closed; by the skillful means of softening their light many priests of this shrine will attain the Pure Land; and the particularly large yet still closed lotus is that of the *negi* [禰宜 priest] Tsunemoto.

⑤ After he woke up from his dream he indeed undertook the shrine pilgrimage and found things to be mostly as he saw them in his dream. However, to "the mountain south of the Outer Shrine" there was no mountain path. So he passed by the foot of the mountain to proceed to the Inner Shrine.

⑥ At the Inner Shrine, he asked a cleric there about Tsunemoto, and the man answered that he himself was Tsunemoto (but that he was not yet a *negi*).

⑦ He offered three gold *ryō* (両) and stayed overnight in the priest Tsunemoto's house. The two conversed about shrine matters.

⑧ Jōkei, relating his reminiscences, said: "If, in my next life too, I should be reborn in the world of humans, I wish to be born as a priest at Ise Jingū and so to apply the skillful means of softening the light."[6]

That is the content of this tale.

Here we can assume that the "mountain to the south of the Outer Shrine" that Jōkei says he climbed in his dream is, indeed, Mt Takakura. Because a pilgrim to Ise should first visit the Outer Shrine and then from there proceed to the Inner Shrine, what Jōkei saw must have been the sights between the two shrines. Up until premodern times the route from the Outer Shrine to the Inner Shrine led from the first *torii* of the Outer Shrine to the village Okamoto, from where it passed over the mountain *Ai no yama* (間の山). Since Jōkei mentions that "there was a wide road winding around the foot of the mountain south of the Outer Shrine, and no trail leading to the summit," we can assume that this was the actual road he took. Yet, for the benefit of the pilgrims who visited the Heavenly Rock Grotto on Mt Takakura, a mountain road ('the rock grotto slope' *iwado saka* 岩戸坂) was newly cut in the seventeenth year of Kan'ei (1640) to lead from Mt Takakura directly into

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6. The same tale may be found in the twelfth volume of *Sangoku Denki* (三国伝記 Tales of Three Countries) as tale 27 with the title 'A Matter of Kasagi Gedatsu Shōnin' (Gentō 1969: 301-303).

Okamoto village.[7] It seems that this was the road ordinarily used in premodern times. Because it says in Jōkei's dream that he "traversed the mountain south of the Outer Shrine directly," it means that in his dream he did not descend to Okamoto but crossed Mt Takakura and from there approached the Inner Shrine by going over the mountain ridges. In any case, it is possible to recognize the top of Mt Takakura in the mountain-top scenery full of lotus flowers Jōkei saw in his dream.

Jōkei's pilgrimage to Ise is related in several texts and in various ways, but in relation to the pilgrimage in the tale mentioned here, its basis is not clear.[8] This tale begins

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7. In the chapter 'Okamoto Village (里 *Sato*)' of the fourth volume of *Ise Sangū Meisho Zue* (伊勢参宮名所図会 Illustrated Maps of Famous Places on the Pilgrimage Route to Ise) it says: "In the east of this town is the Oda Bridge, in the west Mt Takakura. Some years ago the administration office had the Rock Grotto Slope cleared, so that now there is a direct road [as a link] between the first *torii* of the Outer Shrine and the Inner Shrine. This was done in the ninth month of the seventeenth year of Kan'ei [1640]. Before that, one would first go northward from the first *torii*, cross the 'Dismount the Horse Bridge,' alight at the Rock Pond, and then get out halfway to Okamoto" (Dainihon meisho zusho kankōkai, ed. 1919: 347).

8. For texts that tell the story of Jōkei's shrine pilgrimage, see volume twelve *Chikusa Dono narabini Monkan Sōshō Shashi no koto tsuketari Gedatsu Shōnin no koto* 千種殿幷文観僧正奢侈事付解脱上人事 of *Taihei Ki* (太平記 The Record of the Great Peace) [Suzuki *et al.* 2007: 72-73], the Noh play *Dai Roku Ten* (第六天 The Sixth Heaven), *Kasagi-dera Engi* (笠置寺縁起 The Origin Tale of the Temple Kasagi-dera), and the foreword to the third part of the sixteenth volume of *Kasuga Gongen Kie* (春日権現記絵 Illustrated Account of Kasuga Gongen), but all of them are from a later period. The only text whose factuality is high is *Tōdai-ji Shuto Sankei Ise Daijingū Ki* (東大寺衆徒参詣伊勢大神宮記 Report on the Pilgrimage to the Great Shrines of Ise by Tōdai-ji Temple Priests), a text kept at the temple Shinpuku-ji. According to this text, in the fourth month of the sixth year of Kenkyū (1195) Jōkei is chosen as the officiating priest at a *Hōraku* 法楽 ceremony [a Buddhist rite to appease deities] held at the Jingū, sponsored by Chōgen. This *Hōraku* was intended for both the Inner and the Outer Shrine. The story of Chōgen's visit to the Shrines in the sixth year of Kenkyū can also be found in some other texts besides the one just mentioned, such as in an entry for the twelfth day of the third month in the sixth year of Kenkyū in *Azuma kagami* (吾妻鏡 Mirror of the East) and in the *Tsūkai sankei ki* (通海参詣記 Report on Tsūkai's Pilgrimage) (Jōkei does not turn up in any of these texts). The passage is also found in an addition to a pilgrimage report of the second year of Bunji (1186), and its content is the story of a divine revelation according to which Chōgen is to have become aware of a precious jewel (*hōju* 宝珠) from the shrine of the wind (*Kaza no Miya* 風宮). The other two texts are of the same content, and as records of Chōgen's shrine visit in the sixth year of Kenkyū all likely refer to it. Hagiwara Tatsuo (1978: 343) takes the shrine pilgrimage of the sixth year of Kenkyū itself to be a later tradition, while

with "A shrine official informed me" and closes with "Since I heard this from a shrine priest who was close to Tsunemoto, I know that it actually happened." An earlier Ise Jingū-related tale, 'Eminent matters of the Great Shrine' (*Daijingū Onkoto* 大神宮御事) similarly begins by saying that it is an account of what had been told by a Jingū priest in the Kōchō Period (1261–1264). As I have argued elsewhere (Itō 2011: 118-143), this earlier tale is a legend about an agreement between Amaterasu Ōmikami and the Demon King of the Sixth Heaven of Desire (*Dairokuten Maō* 第六天魔王). Mujū may have heard both tales from Jingū priests on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Ise. If that was the case, then we can at least conclude that the anecdotes about Mt Takakura and Jōkei were being told at the Jingū at the time when Mujū made his pilgrimage in the Kōchō years.[9]

Even so, why would such a tale have appeared? In the one considered here, the description of the scene on the mountain says that "On the mountain peak he saw a pond full of lotuses, large and small, some in bloom and others budding, whose color and fragrance were truly wonderful." This shows that the sight on the mountain meant Mt Takakura was imagined as being a kind of Pure Land. But what kind of Pure Land was Mt Takakura thought to be? Answering this question is the aim of my essay. By searching for and collecting major medieval discourses on Mt Takakura, and by investigating their connections, I will elucidate one aspect of the background of medieval beliefs concerning Ise Jingū and Mt Takakura.

1. Takakura Hishō
(高庫蔵等秘抄 *Secret Comments about Takakura*)

One of the central documents dealing with Mt Takakura in the medieval period is *Takakura Hishō* (Secret Comments about Takakura), known also by the variant name *Sekkutsu Hon'en* (石窟本縁 Origin of the Stone Cave). It is a collection of tales related to Mt Takakura, and the most fundamental text about the subject.

Kobayashi Katashi's minute study 'A Chronology of Shunjōbō Chōgen' (*Shunjōbō Chōgen Nenpu* 俊乗坊重源年譜) does not acknowledge a pilgrimage for that year (Kobayashi 1971). Yet, among other works that refer to Chōgen's shrine pilgrimage in the sixth year of Kenkyū, those by Kojima Shōsaku (1985), Kubota Osamu (1973), Hosokawa Jun'ichi (1991), and Kamizuma Matashirō (1983) all acknowledge the pilgrimage as historical fact. The present author also thinks that the shrine pilgrimage of the sixth year of Kenkyū is a historical fact, but it must be noted that Tsunemoto 経元, who turns up in this connection, was still a child of eight years at the time. Therefore, the event is assumed to have been that of a pilgrimage of much later years (for more about Tsunemoto see Itō 2011: 586-606).

9.   For more details refer to Itō 2011: 118-143, 586-606, and 607-656.

Takakura Hishō consists of four texts: (1) *Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki* 石窟本縁記, (2) *Okazaki Myōken Hon'en* (岡崎妙見本縁 Origin of the Okazaki Myōken), (3) *Takakura Iwaya Higi* (高倉岩屋秘儀 Secret Rites at the Takakura Rock Grotto), and (4) *Kōyasan Okuin Issō Karasu Hon'en* (高野山奥院一双烏本縁 The Origin of a Pair of Crows at the Inner Sanctuary of Mt Koya).[10] *Sekkutsu Hon'en* 石窟本縁 or *Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki* (石窟本縁記 Record of the Origin of the Stone Cave) is used as cover title for the whole group of texts, because it is the title of the collection's first text, (1). Among these texts, text (2) is not related to Mt Takakura, but explains the origin of the Myōken Hall at Okamoto. However, this Myōken Hall, like Mt Takakura, was a site sacred to the Watarai clan of the Outer Shrine.[11]

The characteristic feature of this text is that it quotes a great number of Shinto texts, primarily Ryōbu and Ise Shinto, and that a great part of the book's main text consists of these quotes. Here is a list of those texts whose titles are given: *Jingigu Himon* 神祇供秘文, *Yamato Hime Seiki* 倭姫世紀 (the original), and *Jingū Zakki* 神宮雑記 (these are included in (1) above); *Shinki* 神紀, *Dai Nihonshū Daishū Hifu* 大日本州大宗秘府, *Hiki* 秘記, *Myōken Hiki* 妙見秘記 (included in (2) above); *Kōso Kōbō Daishi Ki* 高祖弘法大師記, *Kogo* 古語, *Hiki* 秘記, *Tenchi Reiki Furoku* 天地麗気府録, *Okazaki Denki* 岡崎伝記, and *Chikumokume Ki* 竹木目記 (included in (3) above). This demonstrates that this book was established as a kind of edited compilation after the books on heavenly and earthly deities mentioned above had appeared.

Among the texts[12] that have come to my attention, several share a noteworthy preface that gives insight into the production date of *Takakura Hishō*. The texts are

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10. In the oldest extant copy of this text, *Shinpuku-ji bon* 真福寺本, there is a table of contents at the beginning that lists 'The matter of the origin of the rock cave/The matter of the changed [lowered] appearance of Dai Benzaiten / The matter of Okazaki Myōken together with the matter of the rock cave in front of the shrine/The matter of a golden circle with one letter [in it]/The matter of the secret rites at the Takakura rock cave/ The items of the groundbreaking ceremony and other matters/The matter of the sacred mirrors at the foot of the Taka no Miya slope/The matter of the pair of crows at Kōyasan.' This list represents a further refined classification based on the content of the main text.

11. For further discussion of this Myōken Hall 妙見堂 see Matsugi Sogen 1919, Satō 1943, and Yamamoto 1989. Today, however, this Myōken Hall no longer exists. See Itō 1997.

12. Extant copies of *Takakura Hishō* 高庫蔵等秘抄 are, among others, the Shinpuku-ji version, the Yoshida Bunko version (Tenri Library), the Kano Bunko version (Tohoku University Library), the Cabinet Library copy, the Imperial Agency, Archives, Mausolea Department copy, the Kokugakuin University copy, the Seikidō Library 成簣堂文庫 copy, the Jingū Library copy (several copies), the Tawa Library 多和文庫 copy, and the Ōkura

those housed at Naikaku Bunko [内閣文庫 Cabinet Library] (from the third year of Shōtoku 正徳 [1713], copied by Watarai Takahiko), at the Kano Collection [狩野文庫] at Tohoku University (from the second year of Empō 延宝 [1674], copied by Wakai Shigekazu (若井重員), at Kokugakuin University (second year of Kambun 寛文 [1662], copied by Watarai Tsunemoto), and at Ōkura Seishin Bunka Kenkyūsho [大倉精神文化研究所 Ōkura Institute for the Study of Spiritual Culture] from the seventh year of Genroku 元禄 [1694], copied by Arakida Ujimasa 荒木田氏任. The preface is as follows:

> In an earlier book it is written
> On the eighth day of the second month in the second year of Eihō 永保 [1082]
>   Seijun, *bettō* of the temple Jōmyō-ji, has finished writing this
>   copy
>   (One) proofreading is completed
> On the nineteenth day of the sixth month in the year *hinoe saru* 丙申 [1356]
>   copied this in writing
>   the *negi* of the fifth lower rank, the Watarai *kan'nushi*
>   Akihisa (章尚).   [Seal]
>
> In the haste in which the book was written, [Chinese] characters have
>   been omitted, mistakes have occurred to a degree that is beyond
>   mentioning so that later criticisms will be unavoidable
> Writing from the early hours of the snake to the early hours of the horse I have
>   produced the copy   Is Yukitada *kan'nushi* the author?
>
> At times
> On the twenty-second day in the seventh month of the first year *hinoe saru*
>   Embun [1356] I, Ieyuki *kan'nushi*, received an order from the
>   head Muramatsu, accordingly I wrote the copy.
> This I have forwarded. Then I wrote a copy for later records
>   This book contains suspicious places. Several places I could not
>   compare [with other copies].

    The forward by Seijun, *bettō* of the temple Jōmyō-ji (常明寺), from the second year of Eihō (1082), which appears at the beginning, is of course hardly trustworthy.

Institute for the Study of Spiritual Culture 大倉精神文化研究所 copy. However, the only copies accessible at present are the Shinpuku-ji copy, the Yoshida copy, the Kano copy, the Cabinet Library copy, and the Kokugakuin copy. Therefore, I ask the reader to keep in mind that opinions I am going to introduce in the text that follows are based on what I found in the five accessible copies mentioned.

The subsequent section shows that in the first year of Embun 延文 (1356) Watarai Akihisa 度会章尚 had submitted a copy of the text to the head, Watarai Ieyuki 度会 家行, upon receiving an order from him. If we take into account that *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki*, *Dai Nihonshū Daishū Hifu* and *Tenchi Reiki Furoku* are quoted in this text, it can be assumed that the text had been edited after the middle of the Kamakura period. If so, the suggestion that the question "Is Yukitada *kan'nushi* the author?" in the forward quoted above means that the original text was by Watarai Yukitada 度会行忠 (1236–1305) becomes even more important when we try to determine the period when the text was produced. It would mean that this text already existed during Yukitada's lifetime in the middle Kamakura Period.

However, it seems that the colophon of the year Eihō had been added at an early stage. This can also be confirmed by the Shinpuku-ji 真福寺 text,[13] the oldest extant manuscript copy of these texts. However, although the line "in an earlier book it is written" is added after the main text in this book, the next part of it is scraped off. Because the phrase "second year of Eihō" is barely discernable in the section of the preface, it is likely that it is a colophon by Seijun. Based on this, we can surmise that the composition of the *Takakura Hishō* has from its outset been considered to be a work predating the eleventh century.

At this point, the fact that *Takakura Hishō* is taken to be a transcript written by a monk from Jōmyō-ji is [very] suggestive when we think about the character of this work. Jōmyō-ji was the clan temple (氏寺 *uji dera*) of the Watarai shi Nimon 度会氏

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13. In the colophon of the Shinpuku-ji text's transcription we find: "Written by Sami Gyōki 沙弥暁帰." His secular name was Watarai Sanemi. This can be known because the name appears in the colophon of a text owned by Sakamoto Yūji (former collection of the Ryūmon Library 龍門文庫), the *Kamikaze no Ise Hōki Chinzu Tenku Kotogaki* 神風伊勢 宝基珍図天口事書, where the colophon notes: "In the second year *hinoto tori* of Embun (延文二年丁酉) on the last day of the first month (*shōgatsu*) the copying of this text was completed. If asked by someone for this book, it is again forbidden to show it easily by the *negi* judge, chief Muramatsu [Watarai] Ieyuki/the long hair [man][a nickname for a Buddhist priest] Gyōki of the secular name *Gon'negi* Watarai Sanemi" (Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 164). He also made transcriptions of *Gochinza Hongi* (first year Embun <1356>), *Ise Nisho Daijingū Shinmei Hisho* (third year Embun), *Ruijū Jingi Hon'en, Naikū Betsugū Hen* (seventh year Shōhei <1352>), *Ruijū Jingi Hon'en, Shinkyō Hen* (fourth year Jōwa <1348>), and *Ruijū Jingi Hon'en, Shinto Gengi Hen* (eighth year Shōhei <1353>). Formerly, in *Ryōbu Shinto Shū* in the series *Shinpuku-ji Zenpon Sōkan* (Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999), I wrote an explanation of the Shinpuku-ji text of *Takakura Hishō*. I took Gyōki's preface to be the colophon of the transcript, but it must be the preface of the earlier book. Herewith I correct my earlier understanding (see Itō 1999: 531-532).

二門 and was located on *Ai no Yama*.[14] The Myōken Hall (*Myōken-dō* 妙見堂) that is described in *Okazaki Myōken Hon'en* (岡崎妙見本縁 Origin of the Okazaki Myōken), the second chapter in the text mentioned above, was situated on a side of this temple. It could be, therefore, that the hall was under the temple's administration. If that is the case, then the Eihō colophon may prove that the text had been edited by a monk from Jōmyō-ji. It is also possible that Yukitada himself, whose name appears in the colophon, was connected with the text's production. Whatever the case may be, this document is considered to be a text situated somewhere between texts of Ryōbu Shinto and Ise Shinto.

I will now examine the content of the first text, *Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki*. To begin, I will quote this text but will number each section (the original text I am using as a base for the following is the Shinpuku-ji text):

① The *Jingigu Himon* (The Secret Text Offered to the Heavenly and Earthly Deities) says: [A deity] opens the Heavenly Palace. Standing on the Floating Bridge [it] shows the sea below, and descends to Nihon. This is Amaterasu Kami of Ise. Further, the second mountain is Takakura 高庫蔵, this 'Great Storehouse' [高蔵] is the largest among five storehouses (*kura* 蔵). It contains, therefore, ten thousand treasures, [basic] sources of power to foster all people, monks and laypeople alike.

② A record says the name of Takakura is Heavenly Small Shrine; another name for it is Heavenly Rock Seat [Stone placing for a deity].

③ A variant says the Emperor of Heaven regulates affairs (機) on his throne (*genko* 玄扈). His virtue (徳) is likened to that of Tanryō 丹陵. The *Shunjū Gōsei Zu* says: 'throne' is the name of the rock grotto. Again it says, when the Emperor sat on this throne and observed the river Rakusui, a phoenix held a map [in its beak] and deposited it before the Emperor. The Yellow Emperor paid reverence twice and accepted the map.

④ *Yamato Hime Seiki* says: One variant says: In the time of Emperor Kamu Yamato Iwarebiko [Jinmu Tennō] an evil deity became enraged so that many people died, a fire broke out, and the world had no peace. [The Emperor] dispatched, therefore, Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto to Ōnamuchi no Mikoto. He [Hiwake] reported to the Emperor [what he had done]. After he raised troops from the palace of the west to subjugate the country in the east, he respected Ōkuni (Kunitama) no Mikoto (Ōnamuchi no Mikoto) reverently and reported [back] again. The Emperor was highly pleased and gave order saying that he should take the country of Ise and that it would be in order to turn it into the homeland of Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. But this place could not withstand fire and so he built an abode of stone on the peak of Mt Takasa in the country of Ise.

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14.   For more on the temple Jōmyō-ji 常明寺 see Matsugi Motohiko 1938.

⑤ *Jingū Zakki* relates: It is the rock cave of deities such as Kasukabe Takakura no Kami and Isetsu Hiko. After Toyouke Kōtaijin was enshrined in the plain of Watarai Yamada, the deity Kasukabe no Kami, being afraid of Takakura, on divine decree, changed its seat to the district (*gun* 郡) Takayasu in the Kawachi Province. This shrine is the so-called Amaterasu Ōmikami Jinja 天照太神神社. That is the deity's name.

⑥ North of the spirit shrine, where the deity Ame no Murakumo no Mikoto (天牟羅雲命) resides at the sea of Miyazaki, there is a stone palace (*genko* 玄屋); it is the rock cave of Ogoto, the father of the priestess Princess Miyako. On the eighth day in the tenth month in the winter of the year *hinoe inu* of Emperor Kinmei [566], after he had been bestowed with and welcomed the Peacock King's miraculous stone from the Yamato treasure mountain [Mt Katsuragi] of the deities, he venerated it north of this rock cave.

⑦ A further account speaks of the Takakura rock grotto, namely [the dwelling of] Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto and the divine spirit Ōnamuchi no Kami. This is the place where an image of Dai Benzaiten Ugashin'ō (大弁財天宇賀神王) was installed in spring in the third month of the second year *kinoto ushi* of Manju [1025]. At the time when the first-rank *negi* Tsunechika was still a *gon negi* [an assistant priest], he engaged in a thousand-day ascetic practice as a sign of reverence. As a result he received great divine favor.[15]

The first two sections, ① and ②, take the rock cave to be the Heavenly Rock Grotto and the Plain of High Heaven. Section ③ also is a related passage; together they connect up with a portion of the argument I will develop later on. Here I will begin by investigating the content of section ④.

Section ④ is an oral tradition about the rock cave related to the progenitor of the Watarai clan, the deity Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. According to that tradition the rock cave of Mt Takakura (also known as Mt Tagasa 多賀佐山) is taken to have been constructed by Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. Because this passage is introduced in the main text with the remark 'Yamato Hime Seiki says,' we know that it is a quote from the *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki* (referred to below as Seiki), one that is added at the end of that volume but originally belonged to a part that had served as an endorsement. It was immediately preceded by the remark 'the endorsement checked (and recorded) says,' and was then followed by the text cited below:

A gazetteer (*fudoki* 風土記) says: The place is called Watarai District because here is the palace Unebinokashiwara, the abode of Kammu Yamato Iwarebiko no Sumera no Mikoto [Emperor Jinmu]. At the time he issued an order to Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto to look for a country, smoke arose [a fire broke out] at the Garisa peak 賀利佐嶺 of Watarai. Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto himself noticed it and said, "There might

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15.   See Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 371-372.

be a lord there." He dispatched a messenger and told him to have a look. The messenger came back and reported, "There is the deity Ōkunitama." When he arrived at Garisa, Ōkunitama no Mikoto sent a messenger to welcome Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. Therefore he had a bridge built, but it could not be finished in time [for Ame no Hiwake's arrival]. So he ordered to have the bridge made by the means of an *azusa* bow and made him [Hiwake] cross it. Here, Ōkunitama no Mikoto had Mizusasara Hime no Mikoto come with gifts and the two welcomed one another in the hamlet Okamoto of Tsuchihashi Village. When Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto came to inspect the country and met her he said: "Here I crossed and met [*watari ai* 渡会] a lady." This is why the place was given its name.[16]

The above is an oral tradition about the name 'Watarai,' which is said to be a quote from a *fudoki*, or gazetteer (specifically *Ise no Kuni Fudoki* 伊勢国風土記 Gazetteer of the Country of Ise). In the main text of *Seiki*, the aforementioned section ② follows as a 'variant version.' The two overlap in content, but in regard to the main point of my discussion here, namely an explanation of the origin of the rock cave, they differ. However, the phrase 'there arose smoke' is also found in the *fudoki*. If we consider that this signifies the origin of the construction of the rock cave, then there is a strong possibility that this idea is based on the *fudoki*. Furthermore, in view of the statement in section ⑦ that mentions a 'Takakura rock cave, namely [the dwelling of] Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto [and] the divine spirit Ōnamuchi no Kami,' it seems that there also had been the idea of a rock cave of Ōnamuchi no Mikoto (Ōkunitama no Mikoto), who had surrendered this land.

The next section, ⑤, is said to be a quote from *Jingū Zakki* (Miscellanea of the Jingū). It presents the rock cave as the home of Kasukabe no Kami and Isetsu Hiko. It is not known what kind of document *Jingū Zakki* is. But an identical passage can be found in *Ise Nisho Kōtaijingū Michinza Hon'en* (伊勢二所皇太神宮御鎮座本縁 Origin of the Two Kōtaijingū Enshrinements at Ise, abbreviated below as Origin of the Enshrinements). It is the following passage in the section entitled 'Deities of the Takakura rock cave':

Takakura rock cave is the cave of Isetsu Hiko [and] Kasukabe Takakura Kami. In the period of Jinmu Tennō, an evil deity was angered, people perished, a fire broke out and the realm could not find peace. Because of this, Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto was dispatched as a messenger to Ōnamuchi no Mikoto. He reported that when he raised troops and had them proceed from the western palace to subjugate this eastern country, he fervently venerated Ōkunitama no Mikoto. This was his report. The Emperor felt

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16.   Tanaka et al., eds. 1993: 102.

> great joy and issued an order saying the country of Ise may be taken and it may be made the land for the village of Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto. This world may not resist fire, but build a stone house on the summit of Mt Tagasa in the country of Ise and dwell there as in your home. At this time Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto followed the imperial order [and] invaded several hundred villages in the east. In these villages there was a deity of the name Isetsu Hiko. Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto asked, "Are you going to turn over your country to the heavenly grandson?" He answered: "I've lived in this country for a long time. By no means will I heed the Emperor's order." Ame no Hiwake raised his troops, wanting to kill this deity. Then the deity became frightened and gave in, saying reverently: "In that case I will stir up eight winds tonight, blow up the water of the sea, ride on the waves, and soon enter the eastern land. In this way I will retire." Ame no Hiwake stopped his troops to see what might happen. In the middle of the night a mighty storm came up on four sides, as if someone stirred up great waves with a fan. The light was bright like the sun. Both land and sea shone. Finally [Isetsu Hiko] rode a wave to the east. Later, after the deity Toyouke Kōtaijin was enshrined on the plain of Yamada in Watarai, Kasukabe Takakura no Kami became afraid of being on Takakura. So, following the deity's order, he transferred his abode to the district Takayasu in the country of Kawachi. This is the Amaterasu Ōkami Takakura Jinja.[17]

The double-underlined sections in the text above are relevant here. Those with a single line are roughly identical to the variant of the *Seiki* mentioned before, while the undulating line marks the quote from the second part of the first volume of Senkaku's *Man'yōshū Chūshaku* (万葉集註釈 Annotations to *Man'yōshū*, established in the sixth year Bun'ei 文永 <1269>), which is an almost identical quote of *Isekuni Fudoki*.[18] The postscript added at the end of the *Michin'za Hon'en* (御鎮座本縁 The Origin of the Enshrinement) provides the date as the 'fifth day in the eighth month of the third *hinoto hitsuji* year Ninna (887),' but this is, of course, a pretense. It is, rather, said that this text had been established on the basis of a number of texts of the Ise Shinto kind that preceded it. Accordingly, it is inferred that this passage has also been produced by mixing texts from the previously mentioned three books (however, in the case of *Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki* it could be that it is based on *Jingū Zakki*). Indirect evidence for this may be the contradiction in the written text, namely that first the rock cave is said to be that of [the deity] Isetsu Hiko, while later on the same deity is said to 'ride a wave to the east' because of being threatened by Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto.[19]

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17.   See Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 297.
18.   Included in Nihon Tosho Sentā, ed. 1978: 39.
19.   About one of the two deities, the deity Kasukabe, Tanahashi 1979 offers a detailed historical argument.

The next section, ⑥, tells of the spirit shrine (the rock cave) of Ame no Murakumo no Mikoto 天牟羅雲命, the grandfather of Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto, but does not mention its origin. This is not a rock cave on a mountain. It is a shrine mentioned in Watarai Ieyuki's *Ruiju Jingi Hon'gen* (類聚神祇本源 Collection About the Origin of the Deities), a text edited at a subshrine of the Outer Shrine. There it says that 'Miyazaki *uji jinja* is established at Miyazaki in Watarai county, and is the clan shrine [*uji jinja* 氏神社] of the Watarai *kan'nushi*. The remote ancestor of the Watarai *kan'nushi* clan is, as mentioned above, Ame no Murakumo no Mikoto (also named Ame no Futakami no Mikoto 天二上命, and still another name is Nochi no Ohashi no Mikoto 後小橋命).'[20] It is, therefore, thought that this points to a shrine at the foot of Mt Takakura.

An alternative account has it that this is the rock cave of 'Ogoto, the father of the princely priestess (宮子斎王父小事 Miyako Saiō Chichi Ogoto),' where the 'spirit stone of the Pheasant King' from 'Mt Takara (宝山 [the treasure mountain]) of the deities of Yamato' is enshrined. The princely priestess [at the Ise Shrines] is the priestess of the eighth generation, the one that appears in *Saigū Ki* (斎宮記 Record of Shrine Priestesses) as 'Miyako, imperial princess, daughter of the great *kan'nushi* Ogoto, reigning for 29 years.'[21] Her father Ogoto is mentioned in section four of *Nisho Daijingū Reibun* (二所太神宮例文 Sample Texts from the Two Great Shrines) under the title 'Toyouke Daijingū, Circumstances of the Watarai Remote Ancestor's Service' where it says, "*Kan'nushi* Ogoto, the fourth son of Uru no Furu no Mikoto, serving at the time of Emperor Kinmei."[22] This note places him around the time of Emperor Kinmei. Regarding the shrine where Ogoto is enshrined, Watarai Yukitada mentions in his *Jinmei Hisho* (神名秘書 Secret Writings on the Names of Deities) the 'Tanoe Ōmizu Shrine', as the one where the spirit of the great *kan'nushi* Ogoto is enshrined. In the section (*aza* 字) Miyazaki of Tsuihashi village, at east Tanoe and west Ōmizu, there is a shrine before it.'[23] Taking into account that this is the same location as the one of the Miyazaki Clan Shrine mentioned above, we can assume that this passage refers to the same shrine.

Yet, in regard to [the meaning of] such things as the spirit stones mentioned in *Yamato Jingi Hōzan* (大倭神祇宝山 Treasure Mountain [Mt Katsuragi] of the Deities of Yamato), it is not likely that this was based on old traditions. But, it was pointed out for a long time that, during the formative process of Shinto explanations in the area of the medieval Ise Jingū, groups related to Mt Katsuragi were in some way involved in

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20. Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 647.
21. See Hanawa, ed. 1983: 1.
22. See Gomazuru, et al. eds. 1984: 285.
23. See Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 211.

this, because of the existence of such texts as *Jingi Hōzan Ki* (神祇宝山記 Record on the Deities of Mt Takara), which was often cited in texts attributed to Gyōki like *Yamato Katsuragi Hōzan Ki* (大和葛城宝山記 Record of Mt Takara of Katsuragi in Yamato) and *Reiki Ki* (麗気記 Record of Subtle *Qi*).[24] It should be evident that references to the 'Peacock King' go back to references to En no Ozunu's practice of the magic of the Peacock King on Mt Katsuragi, as we find in the first book, section 28, of the *Nihon Ryōiki* (日本霊異記 Record of Miraculous Events in Japan, English translation in Watson 2013: 47-49). This very passage, too, has to be taken as a view formulated under the influence of that oral tradition.

Finally, there is section ⑦, which mentions that an image of Uga Benzaiten is enshrined in the rock cave and that, in the second year of Manju (1025) Tsunechika, who later became a first *negi*, had performed a thousand-day ascetic exercise there. This passage omits a [direct] quote, but it is an explanation about Uga Benzaiten and her following of fifteen children. In the text [*Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki*] as it is quoted above we find the head note [introduced below], which originally had been an endorsement:

> An oral tradition from an old man says: For the two holy ones Ōnamuchi-Sukunahiko and the changed [lowered] form of Uga no Mitama-Daibenzaiten, the year of their installment and of their dedication is unknown. Of the two holy ones concerned, one is enshrined in the back of the rock cave, hidden in the stone chamber …. Shigemasa kan'nushi, a late grandchild of Tsunechika kan'nushi, has taken the other one into his house to venerate it there …. According to another story, this was done by Tsunemasa …. At present, these are the three kinds of sacred items enshrined in the back of the rock cave….[25]

In this note, Ōnamuchi no Mikoto and Benzaiten, who were mentioned in section ⑦, are understood as being linked with one another. From the early medieval period, Uga Benzaiten beliefs had permeated the Ise Shrines, centered around the *sake* halls (*sakadono* 酒殿) at both the Inner and the Outer Shrine, as Yamamoto Hiroko has already argued.[26] Referring readers to her essay for the details of that information, I only wish to point out, for my part here, that the rock cave on Mt Takakura, too, had some relation to Benzaiten beliefs.

From what we have seen above, we can conclude that there were various traditions in connection with the rock caves on Mt Takakura that existed simultaneously with

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24. For a detailed study of oral traditions about medieval Mt Katsuragi see Kawasaki 2006 and 2007.
25. See Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 372.
26. See Yamamoto 1989–1990: Nos. 11-16.

each other. Still, this need not mean that they were contradicting one another. As I have already mentioned, the main rock cave existed together with several small rock caves. Therefore, it might be necessary to conclude that for each of these rock caves a separate tradition was transmitted. If we take all of them as being linked to ancestors of the Watarai clan and as exhibiting, with the exemption of sections ⑥ and ⑦, a slight Buddhist or syncretistic character, we can suppose that they belonged to an old tradition transmitted within the Watarai clan's shared traditions. Of course, because such a tradition would have developed after the origin of the cave as a rock tomb had been forgotten and the tomb's burial accessories removed, an early estimate of the time it had been discovered could not have been before the middle Heian period, but a more recent time, when such a tradition had been formulated due to a gradual process of myth-building.

2. *Mt Takakura as* Ame no Iwado *and* Takama no Hara

Notwithstanding the various traditions described above, the most important matter for the compiler of *Takakura Hishō* were sections ① and ②. The passage below from *Nakatomi Harae Kunge* (中臣祓訓解 *Readings and Explanations of the Nakatomi Purification Formula*, referred to below as *Readings*), a text produced some time between the end of the Heian period and the earliest years of the Kamakura period, is closely related to section ①:

> *Takama no Hara*, the first *zen*-heaven [Shozen Ten 初禅天] of the visible world, is the heaven of the ordinary people [Bonshū Ten 梵衆天]. The heaven of the three lights [sun, moon, and [the star] Venus] in the south under the rose apple trees,[27] this is Takakura 高庫蔵. Among five storehouses there is one large storehouse, which houses ten thousand treasures, sources [of power].

It is impossible to immediately determine whether the term 'Takakura' 高庫蔵 [written with these characters] as it appears here in *Readings* means the physical mountain Takakura 高倉山 or not, because the High Heavenly Plain (*Takama no Hara* 高天原) in the first *zen*-heaven of the visible world, and 'Takakura' 高庫蔵 under the rose apple trees [of Jambu], are conceived as setting heaven and earth apart from one another and as being positioned one against the other. That is to say, that 'Takakura' 高庫蔵 signifies the High Heavenly Plain on Earth as opposed to the High Heavenly Plain of Heaven.

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27. See Okada Shōji 1985: 6 and for a further reference see also the eleventh installment of Yamamoto's series (see note 26).

Since section ① adopts this understanding, we can accept that it interprets 'Takakura' 高庫蔵 as 'Mt Takakura' 高倉山. When we take the text to narrate how Amaterasu Ōmikami opened the Heavenly Palace (*tengū* 天宮, *Takama no Hara*, the High Plain of Heaven) and descended to earth, then we can conclude that it is telling the story of how the Great Deity descended to the land of the Ise Shrines that watch over the earthly *Takama no Hara*, which is identical with 'Takakura' 高庫蔵 (namely the mountain Takakura 高倉山).[28] In the ancient chronicles *Nihongi* and *Kojiki* Amaterasu Ōmikami herself is not supposed to have descended to earth, but in medieval times the motif of Amaterasu Ōmikami descending to earth has been a well-known motif. This is already explained in *Readings*:

> In ancient times, at the beginning of the foundation of heaven and earth, at the time when the divine treasure Sun, Dainichi Nyorai, who is the *dharma* body of the *dharma* world [the universe] and the Ruler of the Hearts [心王], appeared in order to turn this over to the sentient beings, the lonely ones and those of bad *karma*, with his unlimited knowledge of every kind of skillful means. He enters the lotus flower place of deep concentration (*samadhi*), and utters a plea of great purity. He bestows mercy and compassion and shows the temporary form of his embodiment (*avatar*) as *kami*, by having his trace descend into the land of *Jambu-dvipa* [into this world].[29]

The name Amaterasu Ōmikami is not found in this text; however, considering it was written at a time when the identities of Dainichi and the Great Deity were connected through a relationship of origin and trace (*honjaku* 本迹), it is easily understood that the expression 'the temporary form of his embodiment (*avatar*)' is meant to signify the Great Deity (Ōmikami).

Furthermore, 'the heavenly younger shrine' (*ama no wakamiya* 天小宮) mentioned in section ② may mean the 'younger shrine' (*waka miya* 小宮) as being the earthly *Takama no Hara* in contrast to the 'heavenly shrine' (*ama no miya* 天宮), which stands to mean the heavenly *Takama no Hara* mentioned in the text of section ① as well as in *Reikiki* (*Tenchi Reikiki* 天地麗気記, the *Reikiki* of heaven and earth, [an alternate title of the same text]), *Ryōgū Keibun Shinshaku* 両宮形文深釈, and other texts. The 'heavenly rock seat' (*ama no iwakura* 天磐座) can be thought of as the rock cave on Mt Takakura, seen as the Heavenly Rock Grotto (*Ama no Iwado* 天岩戸).

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28. In Yamamoto's article this is interpreted in the sense that the two deities finally lower their halberd into the sea where they grope and find Amaterasu Ōmikami (Ise) (Yamamoto 1989/11: 49).

29. See Okada Shōji 1985: 3.

In this connection, as noted already in early Ise Shinto writings such as *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki* and *Hōki Honki* 宝基本記, the words "having received a strict imperial order, the palace (*kamu yashiro* 宝基) of the 'Hino wakamiya' 日小宮 was moved and the two shrines at Ise were built"[30] would mean that the two shrines in Ise imitated the 'Hino wakamiya' (日少宮, the palace on the High Heavenly Plain). In the two Ryōbu Shinto texts, *Sengū-in Hibun* (仙宮院秘文 Secret Texts of the Temple Sengū-in) and *Ryōgū Keibun Shinshaku* (両宮形文深釈 Deep Explanation of Texts about the Form of the Two Shrines), the expression 'the precious shrine of the *Hino wakamiya*' is replaced with 'the shrine of Daibonten' and inserted in this form without any further alteration. Furthermore, Ise Shinto texts such as *Shin'nō Jitsuroku* 神皇実録 and *Tenkō Jisho* 天口事書 (the copy housed at the Ryūmon Bunko) that appeared after *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki* use expressions like 'Takama no Hara Bongū' (高天原梵宮 Palace of Bonten [Brahma] on the High Heavenly Plain), showing that in both Ryōbu as well as Ise Shinto explanations that combined Ise Jingū and *Takama no Hara* (viz. *Hi no wakamiya* and *Bonten*) were becoming more common.[31]

In other words, this passage describes a narrative in which Amaterasu Ōmikami, identical with Dainichi Nyorai, descends from the highest level in the heavenly world to the earthly world, with the result that the heavenly world appears in the lower [earthly] world. This is a common theme for passages such as the above-quoted section from *Readings*, "in order to turn it over for the sentient beings, the lonely ones and those of bad *karma* [….] (the deity) shows the [temporary] form of its embodiment (*avatar*) by lowering its trace into the land of *Jambu-dvipa* [into this world]" or for the expression, "dim the light and become like dust," a phrase widely used at the time to indicate an attribute of a *kami*. However, this sort of image is much more powerful and makes a much sharper statement about a *kami* as a redeemer. And it presents Mt Takakura itself as being nothing less than the likeness [*nisugata* 似姿] of the heavenly world on earth.

To pursue this line of thought still further, I now wish to consider section ③. This is a passage about the alternative name 'palace' (*genko* 玄扈) for the rock cave. This section, prefaced by 'a variant says,' is an excerpt taken directly from the appendix

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30. The present quote from *Yamato Hime no Mikoto Seiki* is a section in an oracle on "the work of building a (the) shrine" from the twenty-first year of Emperor Yūryaku (Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 77), but in *Hōki Honki* it is part of a pronouncement made by Yamato Hime no Mikoto in the twenty-sixth year of Emperor Suinin (Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 47).

31. See *Kōbō Daishi Zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 149 for *Ryōgū Keibun Shinshaku*; Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 400-401 for *Sengū-in Hibun*, and Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 145 for *Shin'nō Jitsuroku* and p.159 for *Tenkō Jisho*.

described as 'an edict of the tenth day in the twelfth month of the first year of Shōwa [834]' found in *Ryō no Gige* (令義解 Annotations to the *Ritsu* Rules), especially the underlined passages:

> *Genko* 玄扈 (the 'throne') is [an institution] to govern affairs 機. [Inserted note] *Shunjū Gōsei Zu* 春秋合誠図 says: At his enthronement the Yellow Emperor was seated on this throne (*genko*). On [the river] *Raku* a phoenix held a map in its beak and bestowed a treasure. A note says: Genko is the name of a rock cave. And further it says: The Emperor sat on that throne (*genko*). Wanting to see he went to [the river] *Raku*. A phoenix held a map in its beak and deposited it in front of the Emperor. The Yellow Emperor repeatedly paid reverence and accepted the map. It was a map of the river. Sōko went for the Emperor in the south to hunt and climbed the mountain Shuyō. The Emperor headed for the throne at the river *Raku*. There, a spirit turtle carried a text, blue letters on a red carapace, and turned it over. Here it surfaced. Virtue 徳 is likened to Tanryō. [Inserted note] *Katoroku unpō* 河図録運法 says: Gyō was born in the land Tanryō.[32]

This quote from *Shunjū Gōsei Zu* (Ch. Chūn qiū hé chéng tú, an *isho* 緯書, or esoteric Confucian text) is the origin tale *Katoraku sho* 河図洛書. 'Throne' (*genko* 玄扈, Ch. *xuán hù*) is the name of a mountain in the west of the Shaanxi Province's Luonan County, where the Yellow Emperor resided (the edict uses the name in this way). And yet it is also the name of a river that flows from there (into the *luo he* 洛水, J. *rakusui*). The term 'throne' (*genko*), which appears later in the text in relation to Sōko 蒼頡 (Ch. *câng xié*), makes use of that meaning, probably because the editor of *Sekkutsu Hon'en Ki* (石窟本縁記 Record of the Origin of the Rock Cave) had a primary interest in the phrase '*genko* is the name of the rock cave.' (But when we look at the above quote we notice that the text in question does not come from the main text of the *Gōsei Zu*, but is an excerpt from a note to it and, therefore, lacks accuracy. Besides, because of an identical passage quoted from *Gōsei Zu* in *Shogakki* (Ch. *Chu Xue Ji* 初学記, volume 30, *Hō dai ichi* 鳳第一, we can know that the note quoted here is by Sō Kin 宋均).

In addition, the term *genko*, 'throne,' has attracted attention because it was a term for the place where the Yellow Emperor resided, and so it is highly likely that it referred to the place of the [Japanese] Emperor's residence. As is seen in the following line from the preface to *Kojiki* "Ruling in the Purple Pavilion [*shishin* 紫宸], her virtue extends to the limit of the horses' hoofprints; dwelling in the Concealed Palace [*genko* 玄扈], her influence illumines the furthest extent of the prows of the boats" [translation by Philippi 1980: 42], the term is used as an antonym to the term *shishin* 紫宸 (originally

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32.   Included in Kuroita, ed. 2000: 346.

the name of a star where the Heavenly Emperor resided), which also means the imperial palace, as it is well-known in Japan, too. It was therefore fitting to use *'genko'* as a name for Mt Takakura, the place to which Amaterasu Ōmikami descended (even the more so, since it also had the meaning of 'rock cave').

From then on the word *'genko'* is frequently used as a name for Mt Takakura (and for the rock cave). For example, according to Yōdaōji Motonaga's collection *Ei Daijingū Nisho Jingi Hyakushu Waka* (詠太神宮二所神祇百首和歌 Hundred Waka-poems Composed for the Deities at the Two Grand Shrines), established in the second year of Ōnin (1468), 'Mt Genko' (*genko san* 玄扈山, *genko* being pronounced here as *wohe* ヲへ using the term's Japanese reading of the Chinese *xuán hù*) was one of the names used for the peak of Mt Takakura.[33] This shows that the name had become firmly established as a variant name for Mt Takakura.

Concerning the origin of the name 'Takakura' (高庫蔵), both section ① and its original text *Kunge* 訓解 say that it refers to 'the great storehouse among five storehouses' (*gozōchū daizō* 五蔵中大蔵) that was said to 'house ten thousand treasures, sources [of power]' (*hō man'pō no shu* 納万宝之種). The passage cited below from the chapter *Takakura Iwaya Higi* (高倉岩屋秘儀 Secret Rites at the Rock Cave Takakura') in *Takakura Hishō* 高庫蔵等秘抄 corresponds with this:

> *Kōso Kōbō Daishi Gyoki* (高祖弘法大師御記 A Record of the Eminent Founder Kōbō Daishi) says: That I know Ryōbu Dainichi is a fact. From now on this will show that we are usually together. The rock cave at *Obeno Mine* 尾妙峯 is named Takakura rock cave, that is, where numerous deities converse and enjoy themselves greatly. This place is *Ichi Embudai*, where great and small deities congregate. They are enshrined in the Yamada Plain close to the rock cave. It is the secret place where carefully pacified means and three kinds of sacred items are secretly hidden. There are also eleven spirit mirrors at that place. The end of time is a corrupt age, misfortune will intrude through [lay] women who do not take tonsure [*upāsikā*]. I am afraid of such intrusion. Oh, how frightening, how frightening! There are gold and silver images of deities, images of humans and of serpents, of the three kinds mentioned above. There are also one-pronged *vajra*, three-pronged *vajra*, five-pronged *vajra*, bells, and plates, the five kinds just mentioned. Here is also the Great King Brahma 大梵天王, who makes and directs ten kinds of divine treasures to the place for the country. All combined there are eighteen [objects]. It is a secret storehouse, a secret storage room of divine treasures. Here is how it is told:

33. 'Twenty various poems, group 'Ivy'': In a note on the left side to this text it says 'Leaving behind the rock cave of Isetsu Hiko, pushing into the deep mountain by stepping over the moss, nobody passes here.'… (Jingū Shichō, ed. 2008: 811.)

An old tale says: Yamato Hime no Mikoto resides up in heaven, she
    concludes a secret pledge with me.…
A secret record says: Yamato Hime no Mikoto manifests herself in
    this world for about a thousand *kalpa*.

In *Tenchi Reiki Furoku* and also in *Shaki* (社記 Shrine Record) it says: At the great shrine located in the plain of Yamada in Watarai there are tools for rituals to pacify the state. Refined gold from the Heavenly Gold Mountain is used to create and prepare halberds of the Heavenly Sun, mirrors, long swords, figures of deities and humans, Yasaka *magatama* jewels, floating bells, tools assembled for a ritual, and various [other] sacred treasures. On top of Mt Takasa 高佐山 [a different name for Mt Takakura] of Watarai, at the Lotus mountain, a ritual is performed to pacify the state. Next, the ceremony to choose the *shin no mihashira* 心御柱 [the Heart Pillar of the Ise Shrines] is held like the foregoing ritual. This is the beginning of the shrine's [renewed] construction. Mt Hiwashi Takasa is the place where the pacification of the Japanese State is achieved. There are twelve rock chambers that are called 'thrones' (*genko*). Here is the abode of Ōnamuchi no Mikoto and Ame no Hiwake no Mikoto, and also the rock cave of Isetsu Hiko no Kami, and the spirit cave of Kasukabe no Kami. The common name for all of these is Mt Takakura. Usually, heavenly maidens riding on white clouds descend and amuse themselves at the foot of pine and oak trees, and intone exquisite sounds of heavenly music that at such times reverberate on the neighboring mountain. Its name is "Sound of the Wind". On this one peak, Sound of the Wind, there is a storehouse that holds such things as drums of white silver, images with faces of gold and silver, and precious bells. This is the divine appearance of the heavenly maiden Yamato Hime….[34]

Here I want to refer to two texts, *Kōso Kōbō Daishi Gyoki* and *Tenchi Reiki Furoku*, which both mention that in the rock caves and on the peaks of Mt Takakura precious things [treasures] were stored away and various kinds of secret rituals related to them were performed. One of the two texts, the first one, is found in the Ryōbu Shinto text entitled *Ryōgū Kōrin Hon'en* (両宮降臨本縁 Origin of the Descent of the Two Shrines). Although it is a short text, it contains a dialogue consisting of questions and answers between "I" (Kūkai) and Yamato Hime no Mikoto about the beginnings of the establishment of the Ise Shrines and of the sacred mirrors.[35] The second text, too, is a Ryōbu Shinto text, and it can be found in almost identical wording in a text of the same

34.   Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 1999: 375-376.
35.   The complete text of the section *Ryōgū Kōrin Hon'en* (両宮降臨本縁 Origin of the Descent of the Two Shrines) is included in *Shintō Kanpakuryū Zatsubu* 神道関白流雑部. A copy of this text from the third year Ōei (1523) is kept in the collection of the Jingū Library in Ise. I discuss this text at some length in Ito 2011: 326-338.

kind, the *Reiki Ki* 麗気記, [but it is a different text]. These texts demonstrate that in the Kamakura Period Mt Takakura was a location where secret rites were performed. The idea of a storehouse (*takakura* 高庫蔵) containing ten thousand [that is, a great amount of] treasures was, therefore, not just an idea based on fantasy, it was something that by means of such secret performances could be substantiated without end.

In the quote from *Gyoki* (a text included in *Ryōgū Kōrin Hon'en*) used above, the point that attracts special interest is the passage introduced as words of Kūkai about the treasures stored away: "The end of time is a corrupt age, misfortune will intrude through women who do not take the tonsure (*kyō ubai* 凶優婆夷)." This passage uses as its direct source the twenty-fifth section of *Goyuigō* (御遺告 Testament [of Kukai]), whose title is '*Moshi masse kyōba hinitō atte, mikke en wo hasen to giseba, masani shuhō subeki engi*' (若有末世凶婆非禰等擬破蜜華園応修法縁起 [approximate translation]: 'Reason why incantations must be held, when at the end of time threatening women and beings unworthy of veneration will destroy the flower garden of esoteric Buddhism'). We may, therefore, think that this reflects the circumstances of the Ise pilgrimage as they related to Mt Takakura at that time.

The shrine pilgrimage of the great monk Chōgen 重源 who raised funds for the temple Tōdai-ji 東大寺 provided the starting point for the great surge in enthusiasm for the Ise shrine pilgrimage in the Kamakura Period. As a result of that surge, thefts of sacred treasures and the like frequently occurred at the shrine's lesser sanctuaries, such as *betsugū* 別宮, *sessha* 摂社, and *massha* 末社. For example, at a subsidiary (*massha* 末社) of the Inner Shrine, the Koasama shrine (*Koasama-sha* 小朝熊社, also called *Kagami no miya* 鏡宮 'Mirror Shrine'), the sacred mirrors were stolen four times: in the first year of Chōgan (1163), in the first year of Shōji (1199), in the second year of Tempuku (1234), and in the sixth year of Bun'ei (1269).[36] Furthermore, in the second year of Gen'ō (1320), the sacred mirror and other items were stolen from the *Taka no miya* 高宮, the subsidiary shrine (*betsugū*) of the Outer Shrine at the foot of Mt Takakura (more about this shrine below).[37] The culprit in the incident of the Shōji year was an individual named Jōchō 貞長 (Jō Amida Butsu 定阿弥陀仏), a disciple of Chōgen. Thirty years later, in the second year of Kanki (1230), he confessed to burying the sacred mirror at Mt Inari. The culprit in the Tempuku incident was a 'Kumano pilgrim ascetic'

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36. See Hagiwara Tatsuo 1978: 354-362.
37. See Yamamoto Hiroko 1994: 55-87. For the basic documents about this incident, *Taka no miya nusubito ran'nyū kaii koto* 高宮盗人闌入怪異事 and *Gen'ō ninen Taga no Miya Onkoto* 元応二年高宮御事, see Abe and Yamazaki, eds. 2005. Comment by present author (Itō 2005: 800-818).

named Namu Myōbō 南無妙房. The purpose of these individuals' actions was not profit-making, though. Jōchō's motivation, for example, was 'advice received in a dream' (*Koasama Shinkyō Sata Bumi* 小朝熊神鏡沙汰文, Report About the Incident of the Sacred Mirror of Koasama found in *Chūgū no sukesuke yori no migyōsho* 中宮亮資頼御教書). He confessed that "Deep in my heart I had the urgent wish to take the thing. If the Wonderful King could manifest himself at this time, then he should have" (*Kōtei Kishō* 皇帝紀抄 Imperial Annals, entry of the eight month in the second year of Kanki). Before Mt Inari, he had buried the treasure temporarily at Kohata 木幡 and at the Daigoku Hall 大極殿.

The line, "Misfortune will intrude through women who do not take the tonsure [female lay believers]," may perhaps point to figures like Jōchō and Namu Myōbō. To itinerant solicitor monks (*kanjin hijiri* 勧進聖) and Kumano pilgrim ascetics (*Kumano dōja* 熊野道者) on pilgrimage to the Shrines, the various treasures of the Shrines were indeed crystallizations of spirit power. If they could get hold of a treasure, they hoped it would increase their own spiritual capacities. No doubt the divine treasures of Mt Takakura, the 'treasure trove' (*takakura* 高庫蔵), have repeatedly been stolen by such individuals. A passage from *Gyoki* 御記 (in *Ryōgū Kōrin Hon'en* 両宮降臨本縁) supports this fact.

Mt Takakura and the rock cave, as images of the Plain of Heaven (*Takama no Hara* 高天原) and of the Heavenly Rock Grotto (*Ama no Iwado* 天岩戸), were conceived to be places where deities assembled, as *Gyoki* states: "This place is *Ichi Embu* 一閻浮, the locality where great and little deities gather." In *Nakatomi Harae Chūshō* (中臣祓注抄 Notes to the Nakatomi Purification), a text compiled in the early Kamakura Period under the influence of *Kunge* 訓解, there is a note inserted about the Heavenly Plain (*Takama no Hara*): "It is the place where Brahma (Bonten 梵天) and eighty-four thousand deities convene. They are the divine ancestors."[38] However, in the text quoted above from the first part of *Jingi Hishō*, section seven *Daijingū Hisho no Koto* (太神宮秘所事 About a Secret Place at the Great Shrines), it says: "At this rock cave the eighty-four thousand deities congregate and convene here. It is the place where, based on the deeds of the sentient beings, the deities decide whether they are good or evil, whether they deserve a good or a bad fortune." This appears to be a text based on *Chūshō* 注抄.

And still further, a passage in *Tenchi Reiki Furoku* tells how "Heavenly maidens usually mount white clouds, descend to the base of pines and oaks to amuse themselves and perform heavenly music of wondrous sounds," and combines this with the image of a paradisiacal land. Saka Shibutsu 坂士仏 writes as follows about this matter in the text

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38. Okada Shōji 1985: 31.

Ise Daijingū Sankei Ki (太神宮参詣記 Report on a Pilgrimage to the Grand Shrines of Ise), compiled in the first year of Kōei 康永 (1342):

> Moreover, behind this Shrine is a wondrous great crag where all the deities assemble and here supernatural visitants are always present, it is said. It is believed too that there are forty-eight caves, and there are some places on the stones that are quite warm, so that it is evident that someone has just been sitting on them. And sometimes people meet a strange unearthly old man here. Chinese scholars speak of the thirty-six heavenly caves. These are the ancient ones where the Taoist magicians perform their rites, but in this mountain there are forty-eight of them, and are hallowed resorts and fairy confines where the deities and spirits hold their revels.
>
> And those who go to view the flowers and autumn tints at times see houses of no ordinary kind that belong to a hamlet hidden from mortal eyes, while sounds of music and merrymaking fall on their ears and their eyes are dazzled by stately equipages and rich apparel. At dusk they return home and tell their friends what delightful things they have experienced and the next day a number of them go together to that place, but there is nothing at all to be seen. Without doubt this is a fairy village. They are not like Liu/ Yuan in China who came back after such an experience to find that seven generations had passed, for they can tell their tale to their friends, but rather like the fisherman at Wu-ling, who found a certain path one day, but when he went back, could not find the village. And so these miraculous events go on one after another.[39]

Here, the explanation of Mt Takakura as *Takama no Hara* and *Ama no Iwado* goes beyond the level of a mysterious tale. By creating a number of additional traditions, it goes on to prepare realistic facts for beliefs about a spiritual location. And undoubtedly, by these traditions it also provides further support for the popularity of visits to the Heavenly Rock Grotto in premodern times.

<div align="right">(To be continued)</div>

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39.   Jingū Shichō, ed. 1937: 87. Sadler 1940, 45-46, original footnotes omitted.

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Book Reviews

Avery Morrow
The Sacred Science of Ancient Japan: Lost Chronicles of the Age of the Gods
Rochester, VT; Toronto, ON: Bear & Company, 2014. 214 pp.
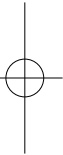
Avery Morrow, translated by Miyazaki Sadayuki 宮崎貞行
Hotsuma, Katakamuna, Sendai kuji hongi: koshi koden de toku 'taiko Nihon no sei naru kagaku' ホツマ・カタカムナ・先代旧事本紀―古史古伝で解く「太古日本の聖なる科学」―
Tokyo: Hikarurando, 2019. 320 pp.

History vs. Romance in Japanese Antiquity

In *The Sacred Science of Ancient Japan: Lost Chronicles of the Age of the Gods*, Avery Morrow introduces four "parahistories," documents that claim to date from Japanese antiquity but are of dubious provenance. Morrow dances between historian of religion and occult purveyor as he analyzes each text, culminating in a fusillade against modernity and a call to remember a lost tradition. While this approach might appeal to the skeptical, overindulgence in the romance of the vanishing ultimately stymies the academic value of this first introduction of these texts to the non-Japanese reader.

The book contains five chapters: one briefly surveying Japanese antiquity, then one for each of the four texts Morrow examines in the study. The first chapter introduces several potential sources of information about the ancient Japanese archipelago, including archeology, Chinese historical chronicles, and the eighth-century texts *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, with the brunt of the summary devoted to mythology. There is also a brief discussion of divine-age scripts, inscription methods claimed to date from the age of the gods. The second chapter introduces the *Sendai kuji hongi* 先代旧事本紀, a text first attested in 906 but with many succeeding variations. Morrow's analysis focuses on the *Kujiki-72*, a variation which first appeared in the seventeenth century. The third chapter discusses the *Hotsuma* 秀真 transmission, one member of the "Oshite Corpus." This corpus uses a divine-age script, but none of its manuscripts predate the late eighteenth century. The fourth chapter moves to the modern era to discuss the *Takenouchi monjo* 竹内文書, released to the public in 1928 but purportedly predating the 712 *Kojiki*. Finally, Morrow introduces the *Katakamuna bunken* カタカムナ文献, discovered and transcribed by Narasaki Satsuki 楢崎皐月 shortly after Word War II.

With the exception of the *Sendai kuji hongi*, the texts Morrow discusses are largely unknown outside Japan, and the early modern version of *Sendai kuji hongi* he analyzes is far less familiar than its Heian-era predecessor. Combined with partial translations

and diagrams of the ingenuous inscription methods these texts employ, Morrow's work stands as a valuable reference and introduction to these texts, especially for the non-Japanese reader. Morrow's skepticism towards the academic establishment also permits his analysis to engage with these works on their own terms, rather than becoming trapped in arguments about authenticity that have circumscribed their treatment in the Japanese academy. The use of theorists René Guénon and Julius Evola lends his analysis a distinctly intellectual quality that makes the work stand out among Japanese-language occult literature on these texts.

Conversely, the consistent skirting of questions of textual provenance is concomitant with a general resistance to historicization, which Morrow criticizes in his conclusion as a "trendy critical paradigm" (159). In his view, it is the concept of parahistory that saves these texts from oblivion, from an academy obsessed with objective reality that writes off the unprovable and unverifiable as irrelevant. But the prospect that the historian of religion would value these texts precisely because they are products of their time, that is, because they demonstrate how thinkers in early modern and modern Japan conceived of high antiquity, falls by the wayside. Indeed, Morrow is often on the cusp of historicizing: "From the 1600s on some Japanese people have been engaged in a quest to understand their origins," he writes (26). But each time we glimpse historical specificity, Morrow moves on before it can come into focus. He would rather embrace the fog than dispel it. Or more precisely, his methodology demands that only from within the fog can the real meanings buried in parahistories be excavated.

Part of this approach may be derived from the historical position of these texts in the Japanese academy. Studies of these materials in Japanese find themselves pushing back, by necessity, against an academic establishment that has sidelined them because of their questionable provenances, an antagonism Morrow inherits. But there is little doubt that contemporary historians of religion, both in Japan and abroad, would value a study of the texts Morrow treats as historical artifacts. The historical reception of these works could also be instructive in grasping the discourse of textual authenticity in early modern and modern Japan.

A more robust theoretical framework would help the study significantly. Morrow builds his analysis around the ideas of the intriguing and controversial thinker Julius Evola. Morrow shares Evola's frustrations with modernity, and echoes Evola's solution: a return to tradition. But Morrow never explicitly identifies the causes of our alleged present malaise. Because the causes identified by Evola are antithetical to a free, open, and equal society, it is incumbent on Morrow to clarify his position. A chapter salvaging Evola's insights about the occult from his radical traditionalist and fascist ideology in order to develop a more nuanced idea of parahistory is desperately needed. An Evola renaissance among newly-ascendant far-right groups in Europe and North America makes this theoretical intervention all the more important, and its absence all the more conspicuous.

The Japanese translation is of excellent quality and makes numerous changes to make the text accessible to a Japanese reader. It adds considerable front matter, beginning with an appeal to nationalist sentiment with a note claiming that "While Japan is a modern state, it is the only country in which the wisdom of antiquity remains" (1). This, like the revised title, which now reads "Sacred Science of Ancient Japan *Explained by Ancient Transmissions* [emphasis added]," evinces a deeper embrace of parahistorical romance that almost certainly enhances the book's appeal to the casual Japanese reader interested in the occult. Morrow also adds a preface to the Japanese version, where he doubles-down on the claims of the English-language version conclusion. "It seems that somehow, we live in an age of disorder" (15), Morrow intones. Here, Morrow's vision for the project is voiced most clearly: "Japanese history has a unique message it should share with the world. It is hidden within a deep wisdom that crosses linguistic barriers" (16). While the contents of the book are largely unchanged in translation, this repackaging will appeal to a considerable Japanese readership interested, seemingly like Morrow himself, in a romance of antiquity. Where the English-language version strafed between academic study and occult science, the Japanese translation has veered towards the latter. It is a demonstration of the 21st-century global occult, but not a study of it.

Matthieu Felt
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The Romance of the Academy: A Response to Matthieu Felt

I thank Mattheu Felt for the review and the editors of *Japanese Religions* for the opportunity to discuss my 2014 book *The Sacred Science of Ancient Japan* in an academic forum. One additional complaint I will make about my book is that it has already become outdated. At the time of publication "parahistories" were discussed in the Japanese academy only to debunk them, but there are now two publications that have begun to contemplate their content and properly contextualize them: Ozawa Minoru's edited volume *Kindai Nihon no gishi gensetsu* (2017) and Yoshida Yui's *Jindai moji no shisō* (2018). Both books effectively continue the discussion beyond my own work and I recommend that future writers employ these works.

That being said, I must also accept Felt's criticisms. At the time of publication, I considered Julius Evola as a writer on esotericism first and foremost and discarded those parts of his work which seemed irrelevant to me. I now see that his political views are neither irrelevant to myself, nor to society at large. *The Sacred Science of Ancient Japan* is already a fairly labyrinthine book, but it could have benefited from a responsible treatment of Evola's political views. This raises the larger question posed in the review: why make use of Evola at all, and why bother writing a book that Felt describes as a "romance" and "not a study"?

When I finished my undergraduate degree in 2010, I felt a sense of failure in the academic study of religion and did not desire to continue working in the field. I did not have in mind Donald Wiebe's famous "failure of nerve" (Wiebe 1984) but rather a frustration that academics, in the immortal words of Xunzi, "observe one corner of the Way and are unable to recognize it as such" (Hutton 2014:227). Writing my book and making the connections that I did thus served as my form of "quit lit," so I have to agree with Felt that I did not intend to compose a study. That being said, as I delved deeper into Guénon and Evola following my book's publication, I realized that there were scholars of esotericism who studied their milieu from a historical perspective, so perhaps it can be said that part of my mission in the book was to address questions even academics encounter.

Two esotericism researchers whom I respect deeply are Wouter Hanegraaff and Jeffrey Kripal. A decade ago, the two of them discussed the subject of exploring one's personal views through academic writing. Hanegraaff adheres to a ruleset which he calls "methodological agnosticism," neither confirming nor denying the truth value of esoteric statements in his published writing. Kripal has some different objectives for writing, which Hanegraaff (2008:262n5, 275) calls "religionism" and refers to as a more American approach. These differences aside, Hanegraaff does not build boundaries to keep Kripal out. The two of them get along well, and in early 2019 I saw them share a stage at a "secular" center for academic religious studies donated to Harvard University by a Theosophist group.

I do not think the term religionism encompasses all non-agnostic types of academic writing, but I agree with Hanegraaff that Kripal represents an American approach. As an American, I take pride in our ability to acknowledge our own insider traits. I prefer America's 1893 World Parliament of Religions to Eric Sharpe's European segregation of "clean" religious scholars from "entangled" research subjects (Masuzawa 2005:271). American academic projects have been flawed for other reasons, but they contribute to intellectual life in a unique and worthy way. Where the 20th century religionist projects of Campbell and Eliade embarrass us today for their simplifications and their structural whiteness, they still have the power to awaken cross-cultural sympathy in those who do not accept an atheistical starting point. (The Jordan Peterson fad of a few years ago speaks to the lasting power of such projects.) *Sacred Science* attempted to critically honor this. Guénon himself loved all the worlds of tradition but disdained Japan, while Evola lionized Japan mainly for its modern imperialism, and my intent was to demonstrate the appeals and flaws of both viewpoints, rather than to hypocritically pretend to be uninvolved and objective.

Does my book fall short of the intellectual mark? Perhaps. This is a question of boundary work which varies from researcher to researcher. I don't think a Donald Wiebe-style reform of religious studies will ever be possible, because many valuable sources straddle the line between objectivity and personal commitment, and while works of outsider history or sociology can inspire readers, works that go beyond those

boundaries may sometimes inspire us more. In an essay for *First Things*, Elizabeth Corey (2014) characterized the "crisis of the humanities" in eloquent terms: "Because [humanities research] so intimately concerns human beings, and the variability of our loves, such awakenings of love's intellectual desires will evade the grasp of rationalist reformers, remaining elusive and idiosyncratic."

A Guénonian scholar of the 20th century appealed to methodological anarchism as a way to dispense with the threat of academic heresy hunting (Smith 2000). Living in an age where impulsive doubt of medical and environmental science is having serious consequences, I think this suggestion has some flaws, just as "religionism" incorrectly essentializes a social construction. Therefore, I am not in agreement with Kripal's seeming desire for the Great Wall of Enlightenment thought to be torn down. I once saw somewhere a reference to André Droogers's "methodological ludism" and this is a better explanation of *Sacred Science* than religionism. In my first publication with a mainstream academic press (Morrow 2017), I adopted methodological ludism to evoke sympathy for and understanding of the experiences of a Japanese prophet. If I rewrote *Sacred Science* today, I would make the point of this game much clearer from the outset. However, I stand by the usefulness of this method.

I hope I have made a case that it is not necessarily bad for young scholars to write their own romances. It is a difficult thing to put aside the romance of the unsayable, an altogether superior pursuit which rarely becomes a career path, and accept the romance of the academy as a substitute. Indeed, as I settle into PhD work at the age of 32, I think nostalgically of the youthful energy that produced *The Sacred Science of Ancient Japan*, and I hope others are not dissuaded from imitating it.

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        思想：ホツマ文献を読み解く. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

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Takashi Miura
Agents of World Renewal: The Rise of Yonaoshi Gods in Japan
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2019. 246 pp.

For a long time, Marxist historians or scholars working on the "history of the people"
(*minshū-shi* 民衆史) have shown interest in the so-called *yonaoshi gami* 世直し神 ("gods
acting for the renewal of the world") of the period from late Edo to early Meiji. For
Marxist historians like Sasaki Junnosuke 佐々木潤之介 (1929–2004), who tended to
search in the past for the traces of a proto-revolution in each popular revolt (*ikki* 一
揆), impoverished city dwellers and peasants relied on these new gods as a means to
fight the authorities and to provoke significant upheaval in the society; for *minshū-shi*
scholars like Yasumaru Yoshio 安丸良夫 (1934–2016), who also had inherited a rather
economicist vision of history, many commoners were convinced that, at the end of the
Tokugawa period, the shogunate and the domains were no longer able to alleviate their
suffering; liberation would come through the help of supernatural beings, that is, the
yonaoshi gods.

    In order to discuss the established theories on this phenomenon, Miura Takashi
三浦隆司 adopts an emic perspective by observing concretely how the *yonaoshi* gods
were invoked in different contexts: he considers that former studies have relied too
much on etic viewpoints and made use of the concept in a catch-all way. Indeed, such
works often blurred the distinction between popular movements and overused the
concept of "world renewal" without paying enough attention to the actual discourses
of the commoners. By focusing on case studies ranging between the 1780s and the
1920s, he also breaks through the usual periodization chosen by his predecessors
who generally ended their studies in the 1870s. Rather than lengthy discussions of
theoretical issues, the author makes extensive use of a vast array of primary sources
ignored in the past, like popular songs, private diaries, or satirical woodblock prints.

    The author's main contribution to the field is to show that the revolutionary facet
that scholars have tended to assign to *yonaoshi* movements should be considerably

questioned. He aptly demonstrates that the gods invoked by the protesters had mostly limited objectives and that their scope did not extend beyond the boundaries of a few villages or a region. These *yonaoshi gami* were essentially moral figures whose task was to help rectifying a temporary economic problem (high taxes, price increase for commodities, or usury rates by moneylenders), and therefore bring "communal revitalization." In other words, the anti-regime stance of the *yonaoshi* movements should not be overemphasized; their aim was economic, not political. Miura argues that the apparition of movements relying on new gods to achieve an upheaval of the society or sharing millenarian beliefs is not discernible before the 1880s.

The most important achievement of this study is to show the extreme diversity of these gods. A brief overview of the seven chapters will testify to this aspect. The first five chapters deal with movements intended mostly to obtain economic relief; the last two chapters present cases of gods who shared some (but not only) antiauthoritarian or millenarian features.

In the first chapter, the author focuses on the case of Sano Masakoto 佐野政言 (1757–1784), the head of a *Hatamoto* 旗本 family (a direct retainer of the Tokugawa) working as a guard in Edo castle who murdered the Junior Elder (*wakatoshiyori* 若年 寄) Tanuma Okimoto 田沼意知 (1749–1784) in the third month of 1784. Dwellers of Edo swiftly deified Sano since they considered the Tanuma family to be corrupt and also because, after the incident, the price of rice suddenly dropped. The second chapter presents six uprisings that occurred between 1797 and 1868. During these events, the peasants relied on new gods in order to obtain the removal of specific economic measures by the authorities deemed to be harmful for the management of their farms. By paying close attention to the words used by the commoners, Miura proves that these *yonashi gami* could be incarnated by living or killed community leaders or even communities themselves. The third chapter is dedicated to two Tokugawa bureaucrats, Egawa Hidetatsu 江川英龍 (1801–1855) and Suzuki Chikara 鈴木主 税 (1814–1856), who were deified by their constituents for providing economic relief. These examples make clear that world renewal movements should not be considered necessarily subversive or opposed to the rule of the warriors. The fourth chapter is devoted to the belief in late Edo Japan that earthquakes were provoked by a giant catfish (*namazu* 鯰) living below Japan; the author focuses on the woodblock prints produced in the aftermath of the major earthquake that struck Edo in 1855. These documents show that, despite the enormous damage caused by the quake (and therefore the giant catfish), many commoners venerated this god. Thanks to him, the wealthy had to employ a large working force in order to rebuild their properties and revive their economic activities. In other words, the god forced them to share their wealth. In the fifth chapter, Miura challenges established theories on the *Ee ja nai ka* ええじゃないか (1867–1868) phenomenon, a series of celebrations that happened after sacred talismans were thought to have fallen from the sky. He convincingly demonstrates that these festivities were not as anarchic or driven by anti-Tokugawa

resentments as was often written in previous works, but rather possessed internal structures and conventions that were in continuity with earlier folk celebrations.

Chapter 6 focuses on the Chichibu Incident of 1884 (*Chichibu jiken* 秩父事件), a large-scale uprising in Saitama prefecture partly monitored by the People's Right Movement (*Jiyū minken undō* 自由民権運動); during the events, the rioters considered (or pretended to consider, for the professional revolutionaries) the leader of this political movement, Itagaki Taisuke 板垣退助 (1837–1919), as a god acting for the renewal of the world. For the author, this is the first time a *yonaoshi* god served as a means to overthrow the ruling government. The last chapter is dedicated to the millenarian beliefs of the new religion Ōmoto 大本 in the 1890s and the early 1900s. The revelations received by its leader, Deguchi Nao 出口なお (1837–1918), announced the impending renewal of the world, in its entirety, by the force of a divinity, Ushitora no Konjin 艮の金神.

All the chapters deserve praise. However, the reviewer would like to bring attention to the methodological approach used by the author in chapters 5 and 6. Concerning *Ee ja nai ka*, past studies, mostly driven by a Marxist agenda, stressed excessively on a somewhat schematic view that opposed the oppressed downtrodden to the ruling authorities. These scholars might have slightly overemphasized (or fantasized) the revolutionary potential of the frantic dancing and festivities held after the fall of sacred talismans. Miura, by considering the subject in its direct context (the harvests in 1867 were abundant) and in its "folkloric" context (the resemblance between *Ee ja nai ka* and former popular phenomena like *Ise odori* 伊勢踊り or *O-kage mairi* お蔭参り), argues these festivities were often supervised under the scrutiny of the local authorities, and that anti-Tokugawa stances were virtually unobservable.

As for the Chichibu Incident of 1884, the author tackles the issue by adopting an "on the ground" perspective; he demonstrates that the methods used by the rioters were not radically different from those in the past. He pays particular attention to the interrogation records in order to show that the rioters fought for different motives, even if they all relied on the same "god." Indeed, if a minority might have considered the movement as an opportunity to challenge the authorities, the majority struggled for economic relief. However, for all the participants, discourses and actions needed to be embedded in the *yonaoshi* framework to be persuasive.

On the whole, this study offers refreshing insights on a debate that (wrongly) seemed to be over. It reminds us of the necessity to consider, in their diversity, direct accounts of the actors involved, instead of developing hermetic theoretical frameworks beforehand and trying to find evidence that fits in.

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Richard M. Jaffe
Seeking Śākyamuni: South Asia in the Formation of Modern Japanese Buddhism
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019. 309 pp.

Seeking Śākyamuni is a wide-ranging culmination of Richard Jaffe's work of over a decade, and includes sections previously published as articles. It "focus[es] on the crucial but frequently overlooked role that South and, to a far lesser extent, Southeast Asia played in shaping how Japanese Buddhists thought about their tradition in the twentieth century" in order to explore the interactions, especially the "numerous flows of people, objects, texts, and scholarship," that "took place between the Japanese and South and Southeast Asian Buddhists that largely have gone unnoticed by scholars, particularly outside of Japan" (15-16). Much of the book examines the complex process by which the Japanese Buddhists explored and deployed the Buddhist traditions in India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Tibet from the late nineteenth century until the height of the Fifteen Years' War in the 1940s in the context of British imperialism. Jaffe argues that the Japanese Buddhists' growing engagement with South and Southeast Asian Buddhism led to their revival and reinterpretation of Japanese practice and scholarship. In the process, they not only enhanced the South Asian and Western understanding of East Asian Buddhism from a Japanese Mahāyāna perspective but also used their knowledge to develop alliances with other Asian nations and with anti-European independent movements in line with Japanese nationalism and imperialism.

Organized thematically and chronologically, the book consists of five body chapters and an introduction and conclusion. The first two chapters trace a new historical development, the emergence of Japanese Buddhists' interest in South Asian Buddhism from the late Edo period to the 1920s. The last three chapters investigate the growing intensity of the Japanese's engagement with South Asia from the 1920s to the 1930s as illustrated by group tourism, the public display of South and Southeast Asian Buddhist material culture, and the translation of texts in collaboration with Ceylonese Buddhists.

Chapter 1 amplifies the author's research in "Seeking Śākyamuni" (2004), examining the pioneering Indian and Sri Lankan expeditions of Kitabatake Dōryū 北畠道龍, Shaku Kōzen 釈興然, and Shaku Sōen 釈宗演. Their stories reveal that little was known about the geographical details of Śākyamuni's life in the mid-Meiji period, even among high-ranking Buddhist clerics. The chapter provides a careful study of Kitabatake and Kōzen despite a rather cursory glance at Sōen's visit, arguing that the expeditions greatly impacted the Japanese understanding of South Asian and Japanese Buddhism. Kōzen, Sōen, and other Japanese even advocated for Śākyamuni to become

the central image for worship in order to overcome sectarianism and intra-sectarian politics in Japanese Buddhism.

Chapter 2 centers on the South Asian adventure of Kawaguchi Ekai 河口慧海, an Ōbaku 黄檗 monk-turned-layman, to argue that the Japanese exploits of South and Southeast Asia "pushed some Japanese Buddhists to reconceptualize their tradition in light of these new documents and understandings of Buddhist history" (113). Motivated by the Western academic insight that the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the Mahāyāna texts were more reliable than those translated by the Chinese, Kawaguchi began to explore South Asia. As the first recorded Japanese to reach Lhasa (in 1900), he stayed in Tibet and Nepal at the turn of the century when the two regions were relatively inaccessible to the Japanese. Altogether he spent nearly eighteen years in India, Tibet, and Nepal, with over a decade in India to study Tibetan and Indic languages and religious traditions while collecting Tibetan, Nepali, and Sanskrit Buddhist texts and ritual objects. Kawaguchi insisted that Mahāyāna was authentic and Mahāyāna sutras were the words of the Buddha, although, as Buddhism shifted from early Buddhism to "Hinayana," it incorporated "heterodox doctrines" (108). Upon returning to Japan in 1915, he taught Tibetan language, culture, and religion while cataloging, exhibiting, and preserving his collections from abroad. Despite his relative invisibility after his death, Kawaguchi contributed to the rise of Tibetan studies in Japan and was the first to launch Taishō-era Japan into "Tibet fever" (77).

Chapter 3, "Following the Cotton Road," explores the beginning of group travels and customary travel routes across India by examining Nippon Yūsen Kaisha's 日本郵船会社 (hereafter, NYK) second group trip (1926–1927). NYK, a major Japanese shipping firm founded in 1885, sponsored the first costly trip in 1923. This development was a result of Japan's growing reliance on Indian raw cotton since around 1877 (by 1902, 62% of all Japanese cotton imports were from India (119)), more accessible travel to South Asia, and the rapidly growing number of Japanese travelers by the end of the Taishō era. The "Cotton Road," through which Japan imported raw materials from India, both contributed to Japan's shift from an agricultural economy to an industrial one in the 1920s and accelerated Buddhism's global development. The members of the first two NYK trips were casual Buddhist tourists, unlike the early individuals who pursued long-term studies. The highlight of the chapter is the nine members of the second trip's interaction with overseas Japanese such as consular officials, military attachés, business representatives, and students across Asia. The short-term corporate travels launched a modern pilgrimage industry in Japanese Buddhism and standardized a route along the sites associated with Śākyamuni.

Chapter 4 traces the Japanese public's growing knowledge of South Asian Buddhism in the wake of WWI through the examples of Buddhist art and relics that Japanese travelers had been bringing home from South Asia since the mid-Meiji period, and through the subsequent changes to the Japanese Buddhist architecture of

the early twentieth century. It focuses on important examples of Buddhist structures that were designed by Itō Chūta 伊東忠太, one of the most influential architects of his day. Some of the buildings served as centers to cultivate pan-Asian Buddhist networks between Japan and other Asian countries. For example, in 1904, the gifting of Śākyamuni's relics from the Siamese court led to the creation of Kakuōzan Nissenji 覚王山日暹寺 (Nittaiji 日泰寺, Japan-Thai Temple, since 1939). The chapter touches on history, religion, and visual art and demonstrates that the material objects had made Japan's connection with other Asian Buddhist traditions visible and tangible to a larger audience than textual sources did. The interdisciplinary study is buttressed by Jaffe's careful analysis of Itō's writings. Itō designed some of his "modern" structures with Gandhāran Buddhist architecture style, expecting that the fusion of Greek and Indian influences would tie the Japanese architecture to "'classic' Greek and therefore, 'Western'… Indo-European, culture" (185), the supposed Indo-European roots of Japanese Buddhism. Despite Itō's intention to introduce a pan-Asian, trans-sectarian style to present Japanese Buddhism as a world and missionary religion, Jaffe deftly demonstrates that Itō's designs actually adopted European, American, and South Asian architectural features, some of which were unrelated to Buddhism. Nevertheless, the new style Buddhist architecture strengthened the Japanese feelings of pan-Asian Buddhist solidarity. Moreover, Itō's design of the supposed Gandhāran-style memorial stupa (*gokokutō* 護国塔) to "compete with state Shinto for the privilege of honoring the war dead" in the Russo-Japanese War illustrates that some of the architecture was intended to strengthen nationalism or state-centered ideology (182). The Japanese attempt to encompass European and broad Asian architectural and Buddhist traditions was thus consistent with their emphasis on traditional Japanese elements or milestone events in Japanese history. Accordingly, the pan-Asian architecture shows that nationalism was "rooted in the idea of a universal civilization," including Buddhism, for the purpose of Japan's imperial expansion (208).

Chapter 5 turns to the growing Japanese exchange with South Asian Buddhists, linking the Japanese desires to spread their version of Mahāyāna abroad and to develop a shared Buddhist culture in Asia. Drawing on Kimura Nichiki's 木村日紀 Indian exploits, it argues that "India and South Asia" became "a training ground for Japanese Buddhists and Buddhist scholars" in the beginning of the twentieth century (223). In 1918, Kimura began to lecture at Calcutta University, where several other Japanese also taught from a Japanese Mahāyāna perspective. Jaffe suggests that through teaching and writing, they influenced a new generation of Indian Buddhist scholars and introduced Japanese Buddhist scholarship to an Anglophone audience. Back in Japan in the early 1930s, these Japanese taught Indic languages and Indian Buddhism and philosophy at imperial and newly emerged sectarian universities in the 1920s. They not only advanced Japanese Buddhism's academic and doctrinal development but also facilitated the Japanese exchange with visitors from across Asia, especially India. In late 1934 or 1935 two Ceylonese novices, Kheminda Thera (dates unknown) and

Soma Thera (1898–1960), left Shanghai to Tokyo, where Kimura invited them to attend his lectures on Mahāyāna Buddhism and introduced them to Ehara Ryōzui 江原亮瑞. The two Ceylonese assisted Ehara in translating into English Nichiren's 日蓮 tracts and letters and the *Gedatsu dōron* 解脱道論 (*Vimuttimagga*), a text known only within the Sinitic linguistic world. By 1937, copies of the draft had been circulated across South Asia, and the publication of the translation has since 1961 become an authoritative resource on Vipassana-style meditation. The story illustrates that in the 1930s, as China was torn by its domestic conflicts and Japan's militarist expansion, Japan replaced it as the Buddhist metropole, supporting Buddhists from across Asia to study, translate, and spread Buddhist scholarship and texts. This argument might have been more powerful if the chapter had also considered that the 1930s were the high point of Japan's pre-WWII empire, when its territory stretched from the Pacific to the Asian continent. It was in this militarist and imperial context that Japanese Buddhism was spreading to non-Japanese audience, and the perception of Japanese Buddhism was changing in the Buddhist and the Anglophone worlds.

Chapter 6, "Deploying South Asian Buddhism," concludes that Japanese Buddhist modernity is the outcome of the Japanese's creative assimilation and reinterpretation of Western and South Asian Buddhist influences. Growing exchanges with South Asians inspired the Japanese to revive their Buddhism while spreading their Mahāyāna perspective to the West and South Asia. Although travel to India became challenging by 1941, personal connections and material objects sustained Japan's ties to South Asian Buddhism through the war, facilitating Japan's postwar reconnection with South Asia.

Seeking Śākyamuni is well-researched and carefully argued and provides essential insight to the revival and reinvigoration of Buddhism in Japan after the initial suppression of the Meiji period. Jaffe uses a wide range of Japanese-language archives and primary sources, but also draws insights from the pioneering work of several Japanese scholars on the Japanese Buddhists' engagement with Tibet and South and Southeast Asia, and from the work of English-language scholars on South Asia, which brings varied dimensions into this compelling narrative. If he had exclusively used his case studies of specific individuals to map the general trends and movements over a century and across a wide range of South and Southeast Asian countries, this book would have seemed overly ambitious and its claims too vague. Fortunately, he overcomes this potential weakness by giving equal attention to popular literature and less-known historical figures and drawing on important examples of Buddhist material culture to complement textual sources, which gives his book a methodological richness and intellectual breadth. The interdisciplinary approach enables him to identify the general religious, literary, and material expressions of the Japanese's exploration of South Asia and engagement with its Buddhism, and to illustrate the complex changes that marked modern Japan's distinct historical trajectories.

This book advances our understanding of modern Japanese Buddhism in important

ways. Unlike previous scholarship that emphasizes the Western impact on Japan's modernity and Buddhism, Jaffe chooses several well-documented people from the Shin, Zen, Nichiren, and Shingon sects to study their experiences in India, Sri Lanka, and to a lesser degree Tibet and Thailand, from their own perspectives. As he admits himself, he mainly "focus[es] on the Japanese side of these interactions" without studying the perspective of the Indian, Ceylonese, and Siamese sides of the exchanges (241). The book relies on the studies of South Asia by contemporary scholars in the West to broadly contextualize these Japanese's visits. By situating their visits in the context of the religious revivals in India and Sri Lanka, it foregrounds the creative agency of the Asian Buddhists. It demonstrates that the Japanese understanding of South Asia "became an important nexus for the formation of modern Japanese Buddhist practice and scholarship" (255). It delineates the Japanese's evolving reconceptualization of Mahāyāna, Buddhism in Asia, and pan-Asianism by investigating their activities back in Japan. The book illustrates the Japanese intellectual contribution to the Indian and Western understanding of Buddhism and "the circular, global nature of Buddhist-studies scholarship in the twentieth century" (235). The contribution also facilitated the revival of Japanese Buddhism and its spread to the West. However, we might also want to consider that individuals like D. T. Suzuki also misrepresented aspects of Japanese Buddhism in their work, whose long-term effects only began to be noticed in recent decades at American Zen centers and by scholars in the West. For example, studies have revealed that Suzuki's portrayal of Zen to Western audiences tends to be idealistic and mystical, downplaying his nationalistic agenda and Zen Buddhists' participation in Japan's militarist and imperial expansion until 1945.

Notwithstanding its limitations, this pathbreaking book clarifies how the Japanese "looked West through South Asia, rather than Europe and the United States," in order to develop a new form of Buddhism for modern Japan (113). It provides a balanced view that the Japanese modernized their Buddhism by creatively and selectively adopting both Western and South Asian scholarship and practices. The book enhances our understanding of Buddhist Japanese-South Asian relations and the interconnectedness of the academic and sectarian development of modern Japanese Buddhism with the West and South Asia. It not only opens up hitherto unknown worlds but also inspires further explorations. It will also serve as a solid reference book for graduate students and scholars in the fields of Japanese Buddhism and history, Buddhism in world history, religion and modernity, and Japanese-South Asian relations.

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James Mark Shields
Against Harmony: Progressive and Radical Buddhism in Modern Japan
New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. x + 404 pp.

This study by James Mark Shields, professor of comparative humanities and Asian thought at Bucknell University, considers the bridge between Buddhism and political activism and thus contributes to a growing body of literature on the complex relations of Buddhism and politics. While putting himself in dialogue with recent studies on modern Japanese Buddhism, Shields approaches the issue in yet a different way, by demonstrating how Buddhism could, in the context of modern Japan, have functioned as an alternative to Marxism, considering that they both share the argument of "liberation" from suffering. Focusing on the years between the mid-Meiji and early Shōwa periods, the author considers the political activism of modern Japanese Buddhists who attempted to overcome the tension between reality and the ideal world. Shields describes these ideas and experiments as "modernist and progressive forms of Buddhism" (245), and creates the category of "radical Buddhists" to describe groups or individuals who were "politically engaged" and "in conscious opposition to the hegemonic ideology (or ideologies) of any given period" (22).

An important contribution of *Against Harmony* is that it explores the philosophical implications of "failed" experiments in modern Japanese Buddhism—especially by focusing on the link between these and Marxism—to approach the dimension of political criticism (and its problems). Although one might argue about the efficacy of Shields' attempt to draw on experience from the modern Japanese period to solve the aporias of Marxism in the twenty-first century, *Against Harmony* does provide a perspective for understanding modern Japanese Buddhism from a specific political stance. By arguing for the rejection of the nationalism vs. anti-nationalism dichotomy, and contending that the boundaries between "conservatism," "liberalism," and "progressivism" were in fact not as well-established as one would think, it deepens some of the questions put forward by recent studies in Japanese (Ōtani 2012). Hence, by taking up a number of figures from different parts of the political spectrum, this book reveals how pluralistic and multifaceted Buddhist or Buddhist-inspired ideas were in the modern period. It also contributes to the field by exploring Buddhist or Buddhist-inspired ideas and experiments during the Taishō period, which, compared to the Meiji and Shōwa periods, has been relatively unexamined.

In the Introduction, the author carefully explains the meanings and implications of three terms used throughout the book — "modernism," "progressivism," and "radical" — claiming that these terms (as well as the overlaps among them) are of significance in understanding the political stances of the figures discussed in the book.

The Prelude offers an overview of the five decades from the late Meiji period to the beginning of the Pacific War. As described by the author, this period provides good examples of Buddhists' engagement in political changes during turbulent times (23).

In Chapter One, "The Many Faces of Buddhist Enlightenment," the author examines various figures considered to have played a role in "the Buddhist Enlightenment movement" (ca. 1886–1911), such as Inoue Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919) and Shaku Sōen 釈宗演 (1860–1919). By envisioning Buddhism as a modern "religion" that embraced both science and philosophy, and by reimagining the relationship between Buddhism and the Japanese state, these figures presented "a fascinating and important bridge to the 'progressive' Buddhism of the succeeding generation" (34). Shields shows us how Theosophy was one of the many paths these individuals explored in envisaging a *modern* Buddhism, although, he argues, Theosophy's influence eventually declined and came to be replaced by Unitarianism.

Chapter Two, "Unification and Spiritual Activism: Murakami and Manshi," is devoted to two other prominent Buddhist figures of late Meiji Japan, Murakami Senshō 村上専精 (1851–1929) and Kiyozawa Manshi 清沢満之 (1863–1903), as they exemplify the problems and possibilities of the progressive and radical Buddhist movements that emerged around that time. In Shields' words, "while neither followed a direct course to social activism, they nevertheless helped shape the discourse of virtually all forms of lay Buddhist modernism to follow" (64). Here, Shields presents Murakami as setting the stage for New Buddhism through his emphasis of critical rationality and moral progress. As a number of Murakami's students became members of the New Buddhist Fellowship (Shin Bukkyōto Dōshikai 新仏教徒同志会), he contributed to its development despite a lack of an explicit commitment to political activism (73-74). In contrast to Murakami's approach, Kiyozawa's perspective was more "existential" and had even further impact on Buddhist ideas thereafter. The author argues that since Kiyozawa's *seishinshugi* 精神主義 (which he translates as "something like 'spiritual activism,'" p. 81) was aimed at liberation from egoism and this-worldly suffering, it was politically passive in general (84).

In Shields' perspective, the works of Murakami and Kiyozawa serve as "archetypes" for following Buddhist revival experiments, one of which is the theme of Chapter Three, "Warp and Woof: The New Buddhist Discovery of Society": the "New Buddhism movement" (*Shin Bukkyō undō* 新仏教運動). Regarding the relationship between Buddhism and social activities, Shields argues that, despite discovering the dimension of "society" (*shakai* 社会) — itself a neologism and new category of thought in this period — New Buddhists never fully embraced socialism. He explains that the primary figures of the movement, along with those of the Buddhist Enlightenment movement, had essentially a liberal mindset rather than a radical one. While they advocated for a "New Buddhism" which reconciled modern science and philosophy with religious teachings, they were unable to develop substantial criticism toward the capitalist system. However, in the sense that they

"provide[d] a counterexample of an arch-modernist, decidedly liberal and progressive movement dedicated to pushing religion into the public sphere," this very feature of the New Buddhists contributed, according to Shields, to the advancing of "secularization" in Japan (135).

Chapter Four, "Zen and the Art of Treason: Renegade Priests of Late Meiji," treats the development of "Buddhist socialism" in the late Meiji period by exploring the life and work of social activists such as Pan-Asianism thinker Tarui Tōkichi 樽井藤吉 (1850–1922), Shin Buddhist Takagi Kenmyō 高木顕明 (1864–1914) and the Sōtō Zen priest Uchiyama Gudō 内山愚童 (1874–1911). Exploring sources of inspiration for their socialist perspectives, Shields investigates the concrete historical context of their connecting between socialism and Buddhism. As he points out, "socialism" in the late Meiji period was generally considered as "foreign, individualistic, and materialistic" (162), which explains to some extent these figures' quest for "both a 'spiritual' and an 'indigenous' pedigree for" it (143).

In Chapter Five, "Anarcho-Buddhist Utopia: Taishō Tolstoyans," the author explores a new kind of progressive Buddhism especially focusing on the conceptions and experiments in communal and agrarian living inspired by Tolstoy: the *Muga-ai* 無我愛 (Selfless Love) movement started by Itō Shōshin 伊藤証信 (1876–1963), and the thought and activities of Kawakami Hajime 河上肇 (1879–1946), Eto Tekirei 江渡狄嶺 (1880–1944), and Miyazawa Kenji 宮沢賢治 (1896–1933). Shields argues that these utopian examples shared the same general feature by focusing on "self-discovery" and "self-awakening," as "religion" here came to be considered more in an "aesthetic" than a sociopolitical sense. Moreover, consistent resistance to materialism also played a significant role during this process, which "led to the search for an escape in art, literature, and utopian communities from the storms of politics and social conflict" (196).

Chapter Six, "Extremes Meet: Radical Buddhists of Early Shōwa" (203-243) treats the "radical Buddhists" of the early Shōwa period, focusing on the founder of the Youth League for Revitalizing Buddhism (*Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei* 新興仏教青年同盟), Seno'o Girō 妹尾義郎 (1889–1961). Shields asserts that similar to the New Buddhists of the late Meiji period, Seno'o based his ideas on "a 'naturalistic' (or 'pantheistic') world view while appropriating traditional Buddhist concepts as a means to bridge the divide between matter and mind/spirit" (225). Despite advocating materialism and atheism, Seno'o considered Marxism insufficient, which led him to attempt to incorporate Buddhist ideas into socialism. The author further develops his argument by contrasting Seno'o with Sano Manabu 佐野学 (1892–1953), the Communist Party leader who was also coerced into *tenkō* 転向: an official renouncement of the left. Shields concludes that by asserting "a simultaneous 'spiritual' regeneration" along with a political revolution (240), Sano's attempt to merge Buddhism and Marxism, which led to affirmation of the "national essence" (*kokutai* 国体) ideology, reveals the limits of Buddhist Marxism / Marxist Buddhism.

The book is a very accessible introduction to modern Japanese Buddhism in English. However, I still encountered a few issues, mostly related to Shields' approach. First, his choice of research subjects: the author deals with a (sometimes considerable) number of different individuals in each chapter, assuming their influence on later generations. Thus, although through its chapters the book provides readers with the impression that modern Japanese Buddhists challenged the hegemonic ideology in chronological succession, focusing on specific cases might provide us with a different perspective. For instance, the author emphasizes the influence of Kiyozawa and his *seishinshugi* on later progressive and radical thinkers, considering him as the idealizer of an "existential" sense of Buddhism, which can be found, for instance, in the thought of Takagi Kenmyō and more generally in the Kyoto School. However, the type of evidence presented by Shields to assert this link between Kiyozawa and the likes of Takagi seems to be less historical — that is, pointing out direct references by the latter to the former — and more in terms of an abstract similarity between their arguments. In fact, scholarship has argued that Buddhist thinkers more directly influenced by Kiyozawa (or those who claimed to have him as spiritual mentor) developed precisely into hardcore supporters of the *Tennōsei*-state (that is, the state founded upon the *tennōsei* 天皇制 imperial system; see Kondō 2014). In turn, Sakaino Kōyō 境野黄洋 (1871–1933), one of the central figures of the New Buddhism Movement who lived into the early Shōwa, also abandoned his more "progressive" position in favor of focusing on the topic of "personality" (*jinkaku* 人格), itself intrinsically connected to the task of establishing national morality. While the book does point out that so-called New Buddhists took more conservative stances as they aged, I believe more research is needed on questions regarding the development of mid to late Meiji "New Buddhist" ideas into the Taishō period, and the more direct influence they had on Buddhist (and Buddhist-inspired) arguments and movements thereafter.

Last, the reviewer could not help but wonder how the "progressive" genealogy provided by Shields should be considered in relation to recent studies on the role of Chikazumi Jōkan 近角常観 (1870–1941), perhaps one of the most popular Buddhist speakers of late Meiji Japan (Ōmi 2014). By advocating the "experience" (*taiken* 体験) of faith, Chikazumi also developed an "existential" type of Buddhism, and yet, there is little about him in this book. Since Chikazumi was the key figure in the formation of an "existential" Buddhism, the examination of his thought seems to me necessary in order to explain the type of development Shields intends to depict, and could have made the book's argument stronger. Besides, although both Kiyozawa *and* Murakami are regarded as "archetypes" for the various kinds of "New Buddhism" that unfolded after them, the author pays little attention to the discussion of the influence of Murakami's thought. This is perhaps because, in the author's perspective, in contrast to the latter's historicism, it was the "existential" type of Buddhism that eventually became the mainstream. Yet, it would still be important to explore the connections

between Murakami's ideas and the New Buddhist movement, a topic which has only recently begun to receive attention (Klautau 2015).

Despite these and some other minor issues—the number of typos in Japanese terms is sometimes distracting—*Against Harmony* is a highly recommended book. By tracing the intellectual genealogy of "progressive" and "radical" Buddhists over nearly fifty years, it provides a multi-layered grasp of "Buddhist criticism," and thus contributes to the ongoing re-examination of modern Japanese Buddhism.

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Jeff Wilson and Tomoe Moriya (Volume editors)
Selected Works of D.T. Suzuki, Volume III: Comparative Religion
Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016. 320 pp.

The *Selected Works of D.T. Suzuki, Volume III*, edited by Jeff Wilson and Tomoe Moriya 守屋友江, contains various texts culled from Suzuki Daisetsu's 鈴木大拙 writings dealing with the topic of "Comparative Religion." The editors have done an impressive job of choosing a fairly coherent array from Suzuki's voluminous and wide-ranging writings. Each section is prefaced by the editors' comments who, whilst admirers of Suzuki, do not fall into the facile fan-worship that informed so much of earlier Suzuki commentary. Rather than presenting Suzuki as the omniscient man of Zen, they allow for the fact that his positions and beliefs grew, changed, and evolved from his early years, most notably in his transition from being a tad hawkish to strongly pacifist in matters of international relations. Suzuki, of course, has fallen

foul in the eyes of many in recent years due to his blasé and cloying celebrations of samurai Zen at a time when East Asia was being cruelly put to sword by Japanese militarist expansionism. However, the inclusion in this volume of Suzuki's open letter (pp. 226-229) to Kennedy and Khrushchev reveal, if anything, that in matters of politics Suzuki was an innocent: happy to indulge in perfectly true but utterly useless bromides about how permanent peace can be won if we all just chill out and dig our inner one-ness. He was guilty always, if anything, of passive indifference rather than active collaboration.

The Volume is particularly valuable for its first-time translations of selections from Suzuki's earliest book *Shin shūkyō-ron* 新宗教論 ("A New Interpretation of Religion"). The work was originally written in tricky-to-read Meiji-era Japanese, making these translations most welcome. *Shin shūkyō-ron* provides Suzuki's precociously eloquent and coherent statement of his most basic views on religion: that religion does not need to fear the loss of superstitions and dogma in the age of science and reason, since religion, when based on inner *empirically* valid experiences, expresses truths that science and rationality can never attain. This is the insight that would inform Suzuki's easy-going religious eclecticism and drive him to engage with various non-Buddhist traditions, such as Swedenborgian occultism and Meister Eckhart mysticism, over the next few decades. However, parallel to this, *Shin shūkyō-ron* also contains Suzuki's misgivings about Christianity which he saw as being infused with dogmatism and erroneous assumptions about the nature of God and the universe. This was the other side of Suzuki, his grumpy sectarian entrenchment which often went beyond religious criticism to casual offhanded pub-talk level occidentalist sniping at the West as a whole. For example, consider this badly thought-out comment from "Selections from *Mysticism: Christian and Buddhist*": "The cross [Greek] and the swastika are closely related, probably derived from the same source. The swastika, however, is dynamic, whereas the cross symbolizes static symmetry" (193). Even when, after a quick intake of breath, one realizes that he means by "swastika" the traditional Buddhist *manji* 卍字, the point is still silly and pretentious.

However, there was a consistency to the wide but rigid boundaries of Suzuki's openness to other religions. Any religion that justified itself on the basis of natural inner experience won Suzuki's approval. Any religion that sought justification through external authority, such as traditional Christianity, was condemned. These criteria worked well to ensure that Suzuki was on the right side of history when he criticizes, in stark terms and when it was neither safe nor fashionable to do so, State Shinto, on the grounds that it was detached from inner experience. We should admire here Suzuki's brave and insightful comments, such as: "Psychologically, there is much in common between militarism and official Shintoism in their both placing too much emphasis upon system, hierarchy, and mechanical formalism. Where militarism prospers, Shinto may thrive well" (71).

Suzuki's various takes on other traditions and mystical writers, such as Swedenborg and Eckhart, are also offered in this volume. For Suzuki, Swedenborg's inability to see any real division between the heavenly and mundane realms made him a natural ally of Buddhism (54). All obvious distinctions between the two were dismissed as superficial. With admirable ecumenicalism, Suzuki comments: "Of course, one does not have to believe in all of Swedenborg's claims, but one also cannot say that there are not diamonds in the rough. Jewels, in whichever world, are jewels. It would be foolish to reject them simply because they come in a strange package" (54).

Whilst these other traditions may not be Buddhist, they each tap the same sources of religious consciousness over which no tradition can claim priority. For Suzuki, Buddhism here was one more localized version of the same universal spirituality that all religions have the potential to reveal. However, with Suzuki's 1917 essay "Zen, the Spiritual Heritage of the East," later incorporated into *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (1934), we see the first of the wild and wondrous descriptions of Zen that would make Suzuki's (and Zen's) name. "Zen is the mountains," declares Suzuki (63). Zen is, in this account, not one more religion drinking from the common fountain of spiritual awakening, but is that fountain itself. It is no longer one more player on the religious field, but is the field itself. It is not one more peddler hustling in the great bazaar of creeds but is the landlord of the whole marketplace itself. But while Zen is the mountains, Zen is also, as Suzuki the scholar would tell us elsewhere, a particular religious tradition with its own institutions, texts, history, and, dare we say it, beliefs. Zen is the universal truth: Zen is a particular religion. There is a contradiction here. But Suzuki, rather than letting it crush his thinking, seemed to become more energized by it, as though being sanguine in the face of contradiction was the very challenge of Zen. Whether Suzuki's campaigns for Zen supremacy in the dialogue of religions succeeded or not, they did produce swashbuckling texts that always shake the reader. This volume does a masterful job of reassembling them for further deployment and enjoyment.

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Erica Baffelli and Ian Reader
Dynamism and the Ageing of a Japanese 'New' Religion: Transformations and the Founder
London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019. x, 203 pp.

Japanese new religions have been foregrounded in the study of new religious movements (NRMs) since the publication of H. Neill McFarland's *The Rush Hour of the Gods* (1967). Several of these religions have a small but devoted following in the West; for example, Sōka Gakkai 創価学会 (Value Creation Society), Kōfuku-no-

Kagaku 幸福の科学 (Happy Science) and Sūkyō Mahikari 崇教真光 (Universal True Light). The media coverage of the Aum Shinrikyō オウム真理教 sarin gas attacks on the Tokyo subway in 1995, and the execution of its founder Asahara Shōkō 麻原彰晃 and twelve co-conspirators in 2018, in turn projected a negative image of paranoia, terror, and violent actions against innocent bystanders.

Erica Baffelli and Ian Reader, both scholars with expertise in Japanese new religions, have dealt substantially in the past with Aum Shinrikyō and other prominent new religions' relationships with the media. This time, with *Dynamism and the Ageing of a Japanese 'New' Religion: Transformations and the Founder*, they have produced a concise and thought-provoking account of a less well-known new religious group, Agonshū 阿含宗, which was founded by Kiriyama Seiyū 桐山靖雄 (1921–2016) in 1954. Yet Agonshū is not their sole focus, but rather a case study illustrative of currents identifiable in a number of movements in their early stages of development, such as "the role and nature of charisma as a driving force in the construction of new movements, (…) how movements deal with the physical loss of charismatic founders and (…) how a deceased founder is used in the continuing development of a movement" (1-2)

Reader's engagement with Agonshū dates to the mid-1980s and Baffelli's to the late 1990s, and the two have collaborated on research that mapped the ways in which particular Japanese NRMs developed and changed in response to other, rival groups and the differing types of media engagement that various groups attracted or sought. The death of Kiriyama on 29 August 2016, his funeral that 16 October, and the developments that followed the departure of the charismatic leader sparked the present study.

Chapter 1, "Situating Agonshū: The Concept of 'New Religions' in Modern Japan," interrogates the idea of 'new' and 'new new' religions in Japan, noting the lack of precision in the employment of these terms and the artificial division between some groups that are regarded as new and others that are deemed continuations of older traditions, and discusses factors such as the roles of traditional religions, state actions, and the relationship that Japanese NRMs have with science. Chapter 2, "The Story of a Religious Founder: Kiriyama Seiyū, Turmoil, Charisma and Experience," ranges across charismatic leadership, questions of authority, the place of entrepreneurship and the development of hagiography in the life of Agonshū's leader. Kiriyama's life is shaped by traditional motifs like ill health, suicidal depression, the transition from seeker to leader, assumption of a salvific role, miraculous powers, and identification with Buddhism. Kiriyama's performance of charisma involved the embrace of 'science', commercial success, and the development of "an international profile" (66).
Chapter 3, "Teaching as Practice: Ritual, Benefits and the Cost of Devotion," looks at Agonshū's founder-centric doctrines and ritual behaviours, which emphasise morality, purpose in life, hope for the future, and particular applicability to Japanese religious world views, such as this-worldly realization and the liberation of unhappy spirits

of the dead. Reader and Baffelli discuss the hierarchy of ranks in the religion, and practices such as sutra recitation, meditation, and almsgiving. The ritual calendar is described, with an emphasis on the Hoshi Matsuri 星祭 (Star Festival), a festival common to other esoteric Buddhist groups, although Agonshū's version is particular, in that it emphasizes Japanese identity and "Japan as the spiritual centre" (96).

Chapter 4, "From the World to Japan: The Nationalism of an Aging Movement," covers the rapid growth of Agonshū in the 1980s and early 1990s, and difficulties that emerged for Japan later in the 1990s: the earthquake that befell Kobe, a collapsing economy, and the impact of the Aum subway attacks slowed the growth of various groups, especially Agonshū and Kōfuku-no-Kagaku because of their employment of millennial prophecies and end-of-times themes. Claims of membership numbers in 2016 are deemed exaggerated, the membership is aging, and Agonshū's late adoption of the internet has also had a negative impact on its image and appeal. Some interesting changes of emphasis since the 1990s are the adoption of Shinto themes, notably the development of a relationship with the controversial Yasukuni Shrine and the cult of the dead who perished in World War II. This nationalistic tone has become stronger as the religion aged. Yet, despite its universalist Buddhist rhetoric, progressive attitudes to gender equality, and growing nationalism, the authors argue that Agonshū is not particularly politically active.

Chapter 5, "Transcending Death: The Birth and Spiritual Messages of the Second Buddha," tackles the issue of succession in Agonshū. The authors, based on their fieldwork observations, dispute the claim that Kiriyama was fully active as leader till his death, arguing that in "later years he appeared to be more of a presiding spirit than an active performer" (127). There was no designated successor, and the group's main focus of worship after the death of the founder has been the Buddha, Shakyamuni. The administrative head of Agonshū after Kiriyama's funeral at the temple in Yamashina is Fukada Seia 深田靖阿, a priest in his eighties. Kiriyama is believed to communicate with senior Agonshū members, and miracles are associated with him. Members are encouraged to worship him and to understand that he is "a living presence in this world" (136). The founder's relics were enshrined, and he was elevated above the Buddha as a "world saviour" (143).

Chapter 6, "Concluding Comments: Founder Worship and the Problem of the 'New'," comments on the rapidly changing life story of the young Kiriyama, which gave way to a more stable status quo as he aged, and the personalized version of founder worship engaged in by Agonshū. The ways in which this religion fits a pattern or template familiar from the study of other Japanese NRMs is canvassed, and the extent to which the new and the fringe might be regarded as mainstream in the twenty-first century discussed.

The future of Agonshū is unknown, but the passing of the founder must be acknowledged as a major event in its history. This short monograph is clearly written, well-organised, deeply researched and does the authors great credit. It will be of

interest to all who study Japanese religions, but also to scholars and students of new religions in general. Its clarity and ease of comprehension means it will be of use to a range of readerships, from undergraduate students to professional academics. It is strongly recommended.

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