

Four Priests of Yamaguchi who Saved Buddhism in Early Meiji Era Japan: a Study on Shimaji Mokurai, Ōzu Tetsunen, Akamatsu Renjō, and Kagawa Hōkō

Authors: ANKEI Yuji*, ANKEI Takako**, and CHUN Kyung-soo***

Comments: SUZUKI Takayasu*, IZAO Tomio*, IWANO Masako*, and Amy WILSON*

要約

これは「明治初期に仏教を救った山口の四傑僧：島地黙雷・大洲鉄然・赤松連城・香川葆晃の研究」と題する共同研究の英語による報告である。

1878（明治11）年、日本を訪れたイギリスの女性探検家・イザベラ＝バードは、京都西本願寺に「英語を話す僧侶」赤松連城と面会した。浄土真宗を「仏教のプロテスタント」と呼んだ彼女は、「この動きは仏教を日本の精神的な力として新しく改革すること、再編することを目的としていますが、その先頭にいるのがとびきりすぐれた知性、高い教養、不屈のエネルギー、知名度の高さを兼ね備え、自分の信仰の将来に対して遠大な志を持った僧である赤松氏なのです」と、連城を絶賛している。幕末の長州藩で倒幕の最前線に立った若き真宗僧たちがいた。連城は、その後も本山を改革し、明治政府要人との人脈を生かして廃仏毀釈の嵐を押しとどめ、仏教界を守った長州四傑僧の最年少だった。

この報告は、島地黙雷、大洲鉄然、赤松連城、香川葆晃の四人の事績を追うとともに、その先駆けとなり吉田松陰にも深い影響を与えた僧・月性について英文で紹介することを主な目的としている。幕末維新の歴史や、日本の仏教についての基礎知識のない初学者向けの教材として、月性の『仏法護国論』と尊皇攘夷運動、連城による浄土真宗の略解、鉄然と四境戦争、黙雷と廃仏毀釈の項目を立てた。従来ほとんど知られていない香川葆晃については、著者の一人、安溪遊地の曾祖父にあたることから、学界に紹介されていない資料をふくめてやや詳しくとりあげ、四境戦争の前夜、『奇兵隊日記』の中で「葆光」なる僧が長州の密偵として作成した報告との関連を紹介した。そして、国際的な経験を踏まえてこれらの僧がとりくんだ、本山の民主化と宗主の特権とのバランスを、宗議会と宗制・宗法・寺法によって整理するという取り組みが、のちの帝国議会と帝国憲法のモデルとなったことにも触れた。

続報として、山口県立大学の英語による講義「国際理解b」で学生たちとともに訪れた周防大島での見聞の結果も含めて、関連する寺院を山口・石川・富山・新潟・岩手に訪問したフィールドワークの成果を集めた英文による教材を準備中である。研究の実施にあたっては、2011年度の山口県立大学の研究創作活動への助成金を受けたことを踏まえ、研究メンバーによるコメントを付している。

Keywords : Emperor, feudal clans, Meiji Restoration, Shin Buddhism, Shogun, Yamaguchi

Introduction

This article aims to review the activities of Buddhists of Shin sect in Yamaguchi (former Chōshū) during the era of transition from feudal Edo to imperial Meiji. Although Yoshida Shōin has been praised for his teaching that led to Meiji restoration, the influence of Buddhists like Gesshō should not be underestimated (Kodama 1976, 2005, 2010). Under the influence of Gesshō, four young priests of Shin sect (West Honganji), Tetsunen, Hōkō, Mokurai, and Renjō joined as allies to the reform of Buddhism in Chōshū, and then in the sect itself. In order to accomplish their objectives, they devoted themselves to the Civil War between Chōshū and the shogunate of Tokugawa, and then to stop the raging anti-Buddhism movement. Mokurai and Renjō's experience

* Faculty of Intercultural Studies, Yamaguchi Prefectural University

** Faculty of Medicine, Yamaguchi University

*** Department of Anthropology, Seoul National University

in Europe on one hand, and their personal connection with government leaders on the other, helped them to urge the Meiji government to admit the independence of religion from politics. They managed to balance democracy and the power of the supreme priest in their sect, and this experience served as an example for a new political system of the Imperial Diet and the Imperial Constitution (Hirano & Honda, 2011). This first part contains forgotten or uncovered documents on Hōkō, the least known of the four priests. Since ANKEI Yuji is a great grandchild of Hōkō, we could make use of the documents passed down to him through the lineage of his mother.

We are preparing the second part for this review : a report on the fieldwork in Yamaguchi, Ishikawa, Toyama, Niigata, and Iwate Prefectures in which the three authors of this article visited temples related to these priests (Ankei & Ankei, 2012). This part will also contain the narratives and extracts from documents newly discovered during the fieldwork.

Members of the Study Group on Buddhism in the Faculty of Intercultural Studies (supported by a grant from Yamaguchi Prefectural University) kindly wrote comments from their respective interests. We are grateful for the priests and their families to have welcomed our visit, and for academic advice from Professor Kodama Shiki, Mr. Kinoshita Meiki, and Ms. Iwata Mami. Professor Marilyn Higgins kindly polished an earlier version of the text.

1. Akamatsu Renjō, an English-speaking priest of Shin Buddhism

1.1 The encounter of Akamatsu Renjō with Isabella Bird in Honganji Temple

Isabella Lucy Bird (1831-1904) , an eminent English explorer, visited Kyoto in 1878 during her visit along the unbeaten tracks in northern Japan (Figure 1). Her 53rd letter to her sister dated 1st of November vividly narrates an encounter with a Buddhist priest Akamatsu Renjō, and introduces us to the state of Buddhism in the beginning of Meiji era (Bird, 1880 : 236-246) :



Fig. 1 Isabella Lucy Bird

Of the many sects and sub-sects into which Buddhism is divided, none interests me so much as the Shinshiu, sometimes called the Monto Sect, founded by Shinran [who died] in 1262. Protesting against celibacy, penance, fasting, pilgrimages, nunneries, monasteries, cloistered and hermit isolation from society, charms, amulets, and the reading of the Scriptures in an unknown tongue, claiming freedom of thought and action, and emancipation from Shinto, traditional, and State influence, and holding that the family is the source and example of purity, Shinran married a noble lady of Kiyōto, and founded a married priesthood. If the Monto is not the largest sect, it stands first in intelligence, influence, and wealth, it is putting forth immense energies, and has organized theological schools on a foreign system, in which its acolytes are being trained in Buddhist and Western learning for the purpose of enabling them not only to resist or assail both Shinto and Christianity, but the corruptions of the Buddhist faith. At this hour new college buildings are arising in Kiyōto to be splendidly equipped for teaching purposes, and the plan is to send certain of the young priests to England to learn Sanskrit, and to fortify themselves with arguments against Christianity; and it is not in Kiyōto alone that this vigorous sect is training a priesthood to meet the needs of the day. Foremost in this movement, which has for its object a new reformation, and the re-establishment of Buddhism as a moral power in Japan, is Akamatz, a priest of great intellect, high culture, indomitable energy, wide popularity, and far-reaching ambitions for the future of his faith. He spent some years in England, studying Sanskrit and Christianity, and is known to the Japanese in Kiyōto as “the English-speaking priest.”

Spelt as “Akamatz” according to his own preference in England (List of Members of the Journal of the Royal

Asiatic Society), Akamatsu Renjō 赤松連城 was the youngest of the four Buddhist priests from Yamaguchi Prefecture whom we would like to introduce to you. Shinshū 真宗 or Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗 is sometimes translated as the True Pure Land Sect, and was started by Shinran 親鸞. In the 15-16th centuries, the adherents of Shinshū rose in arms against (or as one of) the Warring States until they finally made peace with Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 in 1580. Bird was quite enchanted with the personality of Akamatsu :

I was disappointed with his appearance. He is barely five feet high, and decidedly ill-favoured, with hair about an inch long, very bristly, a bristly black mustache, and bristly scanty beard. His brow, however, is fine, and his eyes are bright and keen. (….) Akamatz is very gentlemanly and courteous, speaks English remarkably well, with great vigour of expression, and talked, as it seemed to me, with surprising frankness. He took me over the temples, and showed me all that was to be seen. My visit lasted for three hours, and I would gladly have made it longer, I was so deeply interested with his mind and conversation. (….) They are at the head of 10,000 Monto temples, whose financial and ecclesiastical concerns they manage, and whose patronage they dispense. There are 100 priests here, besides acolytes, but much of their business is secular. They look very unlike ordinary “bonzes,” because of their hair and beards, and there is little of the stupid or sanctimonious expression which is usual on the faces of Buddhist priests. Their creed does not require anything like asceticism or separation from the duties and delights of other men, and in so much is healthier and more human.

During their walk in the Honganji temple (often called as the *West* Honganji in contrast with the East Honganji temple), they had a lot of conversation on Buddhism, Shintoism, Christianity, and western philosophy.

As to the differences among the Buddhist sects, he said, “Their doctrines differ as widely from each other as do those of Christians; but as you all believe in one God and Christ, so all Buddhists agree in reverence for Amida, and in belief in immortality and in the transmigration of souls.” He said, “You are limited by your ‘Creator;’ we do not believe in any creator, but that spirit (eternal) produced atoms, which, by what in English you would call ‘fortuitous combination,’ produce all we see. Buddha is not, as your God, supreme, but above all. When you die you do not become gods, but we become Buddhas.” I said that I saw bronze and stone Buddhas everywhere, with faces on which stagnation is depicted, and from which all human emotion is banished; Buddha is not sleeping or waking or thinking, he exists only. “Even so,” he answered; “the end of righteousness is rest. Nirvana cannot be easily explained. You ask. Is it absorption? I answer Yes and No. It may be termed absorption, yet not altogether so ; individuality may cease, but individual consciousness may remain latent – the eternal ages are long. You have not in your language the words by which I could speak more clearly of Nirvana. Misery is the very essence of all life. To attain Nirvana is to be delivered from the merciless necessity of being born again, to reach a state ‘in which there are neither ideas, nor a consciousness of the absence of ideas.’ This is life in death, or death in life; English has no words for it.” I asked him what the objects of the Buddhist faith are, and he answered unhesitatingly, “To make men pure, and to keep alive belief in the immortality of the soul, which is the basis of all righteousness. Buddha is incarnate in all good deeds. If I am indolent and stay in my room, I am myself; if I rise and preach righteousness, I am Buddha.”

1.2. A biography of Akamatsu Renjō

In 1841, Akamatsu Renjō 赤松連城 was born in Kanazawa City in today’s Ishikawa Prefecture. At the age of six, his parent sent him to stay in a temple named Saishyōji 西勝寺 temple of Shin sect. He studied in Meirindō 明倫堂, a school of the feudal clan of Kaga. He was allowed to enter the Buddhist priesthood at Ganshōji 願称寺 temple in Oyabe City, Toyama Prefecture. During the turbulent age of the end of Edo era, he arrived in Hagi

of Chōshū, today's Yamaguchi Prefecture. There he found his colleagues, and collaborated, among others, with Shimaji Mokurai and Ōzu Tetsunen, two native Buddhist priests that were very active in the reform of their sect. In 1863, at the age of 23, he agreed to become the chief priest of Tokujōji 徳応寺 temple in Tokuyama (today's Shunan City), a town of Yamaguchi Prefecture. In 1872, the fifth year of Meiji era, Renjō was sent to England to study. Mokurai visited him during his stay and was astonished with his rapid progress in language fluency, and predicted that he would make a great translator of English literature. He returned to Japan in 1874, and became the first bonze of Japan who mastered English and had a deep understanding of Christianity and western philosophy. After coming back to Japan, he successively rearranged the sect's structure and became the president of the sect's university called Bukkyo University (today's Ryukoku University). He wrote books in English. Notably, he wrote "Bukkyoshi" (A History of Buddhism) and Eibun Shinshū Hongi (Principles of the Shin Buddhism in English). He worked for half a century for Honganji, the head temple of the sect, and died in 1919 at the age of 79 (extracted from Tokuōji, 1992 : 7-11).



Fig.2 Tetsunen, Mokurai and Renjō (From left to right)
Courtesy of Kakuhōji temple

Figure 2 shows Renjō with his two comrades Tetsunen and Mokurai during their young age.

1.3. An introduction to Shin Buddhism written by Renjō

This is a quotation from Renjō's article entitled, "A Brief account of Shinshiu" published in a collection of his works. You may visit many of the Shin Buddhist websites (e.g. http://www.terakoya.com/link/index_e.htm) on the Internet; it may be meaningful to be acquainted with one of the first translations made by the Japanese priest. To our regret, its recent reproduction (Akamatsu Renjō Kenkyūkai, 1982-84) contains many misprints (corrected in the following text) , probably as a result of certain degradation in the language ability of the sect's university from the time of its former president.

Buddhism teaches that all things, both abstract and concrete, are produced and destroyed by certain causes and combination of circumstances : and that the state of our present life has its cause in what we have done in our previous existence up the present, and our present actions will become the causes of our state of existence in the future life.

As our doings are good or bad and of different degrees of excellence or evil, so these produce different effects having many degrees of suffering or happiness, all men and other sentient beings have an interminable existence, dying in one form and being reborn in another; so that if men wish to escape from a miserable state of transmigration, they must cut off the causes, which are the passions, such for example as covetousness, anger, &c.

The principal object of Buddhism is to enable men to obtain salvation from misery according to the doctrine of *extinction of passion*. This doctrine is the cause of salvation, and salvation is the effect of this doctrine.

This salvation we call Nirvāna which means eternal happiness and is the state of Buddha. It is however very difficult to cut off all the passions, but Buddhism professes to teach many ways of obtaining this object.

Nāgārdjuna, the Indian saint said that in Buddhism there are many ways, easy and difficult as in worldly ways, some painful like a mountainous journey, others pleasant like sailing on the sea. These ways may be classed in two divisions, one being called *self power* or help through self, and the other called *the power of others* or help through another.

Our sect, called *Shinshiu*, literally, meaning : *True doctrine*, which was founded by Shinran Shonin,

teaches the doctrine of *help from another*.

Now what is the *power of another*? It is the great power of Amita Buddha. Amita means *boundless*, and we believe that the life and light of Buddha are both perfect, also that other Buddhas obtained their state of Buddhahood, by the help of Amita Buddha. Therefore Amita Buddha is called the chief of the Buddhas.

Amita Buddha always exercises his boundless mercy upon all the creatures and shows a great desire to help and influence all people who rely on him to complete all merits and be reborn into Paradise (Nirvāna).

Our sect pays no attention to the other Buddhas and putting faith only in the great desire of Amita Buddha, expect to escape from the miserable world and to enter into Paradise in the next life. From the time of putting faith in the saving desire of Buddha we do not need any power of self help, but need only keep his mercy in heart and invoke his name in order to remember him. These doings we call : *thanksgiving to salvation*.

In our sect we make no difference between priest and layman, as concerns their way of obtaining salvation, the only difference being in their profession or business; and consequently the priest is allowed to marry and to eat flesh and fish which is prohibited to the members of other Buddhist sects.

Again, our sect forbids all prayers or supplications for happiness in the present life, to any of the Buddhas, even to Amita Buddha, because the events of the present life cannot be altered by the power of others; and teaches the followers of the sect to do their moral duty : loving each other, keeping order and the laws of the Government.

2. Gesshō and his alert on colonialism and Christianity

Isabella Bird wrote on the priests of Shin Buddhism as warriors in times of war (Bird, 1880 : 236-246).

Their sons, if not by birth, at all events by adoption from the family of another priest, succeed them, and formerly, in time of war, they have laid aside their robes, put on armour, and formed themselves into battalions.

We can have an image of a Buddhist priest in battalions in Figure 3. This is a drawing of a priest of Shin Buddhism, dancing with a sword in his hand. His name is Gesshō 月性, and was also known as Kaibōsō 海防僧, literally meaning “coast guard priest”). In 1834, he was born at Myōenji 妙円寺 temple located in the village of Tōzaki 遠崎 (present Yanai City).

Gesshō visited Nagasaki, whose tiny artificial island Dejima 出島 was the only window opened to the rest of the world for Japan. There, he saw a steam ship from Nederland, and realized that Japan was at a peril of military occupation and of colonization. In fact, the four ships of Commodore Matthew Perry arrived near Edo in 1854 to demand opening other ports. Gesshō was one of the earliest political leaders that realized the necessity of training soldiers equipped with modern guns. He suggested training not only samurai warriors, but also ordinary people from all the strata of the feudal social systems.

He alerted the supreme priest, and hence all the priests of Shin sect, that Portuguese had sent Christian missionaries to India, and that merchants and then military came to occupy and colonize it. He declared that Buddhism, especially Shin Buddhism encouraging ordinary people, should be used to construct seawalls against foreign invasion. In 1856, the supreme priest of Shin sect in Honganji invited him. He stayed there, and wrote a booklet *Buppō Gokokuron 仏法護国論*, literally *Defending the State with Buddhism*. It was later printed and distributed through Honganji's ten thousand branch temples (Iwata, 2011). At the end of this booklet, he wrote, "When foreigners invade the shore of Japan, priests should first stand up to fight against them, thus



Fig. 3 Gesshō's portrait with a sword in his hand

encouraging millions of people to fight and defend the Emperor.” As of this period, the slogan *Jōi* 攘夷 or the expulsion of foreigners was usually combined with another slogan *Sonnō* 尊皇 or advocating reverence for the Emperor.

In 1848, Gesshō opened a private school (restored today as in Figure 4) in his temple, and many youths joined his class until he died in 1858. Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰 (1830-1859), the most distinguished teacher of a private school *Shōkasonjuku* 松下村塾 in Hagi, realized that Gesshō’s lecture had an overwhelming impact on ordinary people, and sent his students to listen to Gesshō.



Fig. 4 Seikyō Sōdō restored in Myōenji temple

Youths that gathered in these two private schools became military and political leaders in the movement to overthrow the ancient regime of Tokugawa’s shogunate.

Young priests of Shin Buddhism, Renjō, Tetsunen, and Mokurai for example, were deeply influenced by Gesshō’s political opinions. They fought together with the samurai students of Yoshida Shōin such as Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作, Katsura Kogorō 桂小五郎 (later Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允), Itō Hirofumi 伊藤博文, and Yamagata Aritomo 山縣有朋. The latter three survived to become councilors and prime ministers of Imperial Japan.

3. Kagawa Hōkō and his double imprisonment by the shogunate and its enemy Chōshū

3.1. A biography of the unknown priest Hōkō

A priest of Shin sect, Kagawa Hōkō 香川葆晃, was among the activists of *Sonnō* and *Jōi* that gathered in Kyoto at the end of Edo era. He was born in Takenao village (Joetsu City), Niigata in 1835, and was six years older than Renjō. Figure 5 is Hōkō when young, and Figure 6, near the end of his life. They encountered each other in Hagi, and became very close comrades in the reform of Honganji temple. We may translate descriptions on Hōkō from an Encyclopedia of Shin Buddhism (Ryukoku University, 1922).



Fig. 5 Hōkō when young (after Murakami, 2011)



Fig. 6 Hōkō when he got old (after Ryukoku University, 1922)

Hōkō. A learned priest of the highest rank *Kangaku* 勧学 in Honganji school. First named Daishō, had a pen name Shikei, and Kagawa was his family name. Born in Shinshōji 真照寺 temple, Takanao, Nakakubiki-gun, Echigo Region. At the age of eleven, he learned Chinese literature from Mr. Tominaga, travelled to Aizu (Fukushima) for further education when he became 14 years old. At the age of 19, he entered the University of Honganji Temple in Kyoto, and studied Shin Buddhism very hard. In 1857 (after three years), he graduated to be a priest, and was admitted to have the first rank *Tokugō* 得業 of learned priesthood in 1863.

The time was filled with domestic and international difficulties, which the Tokugawa shogunate was incapable of coping with. Brave in character, Hōkō did not agree to stand aside : he got acquainted with imperial royalists that gathered in Kyoto, and devoted himself overtly and covertly in advocating reverence for the Emperor. Because of his political activities, the shogunate decided to arrest him. He was surrounded by the security polices one day, but he drew his sword and broke a vase on the table in two, and said, “He who wants to arrest me will end just like this.” The fear of his sword prevented the policemen to arrest him by force, and he calmly walked away. Later, however, he fell in the snare of the police and was put in the jail that existed in Rokkaku, Kyoto.

One night, Hōkō managed to escape the jail through a water gate, and sought refuge in Hagi of Nagato Region. By chance, he met with priests trying to reform Buddhism there, and joined the movement. In February 1868, the last year of Edo era, advised by samurai of the feudal clan of Chōshū, he became the priest of Zenshūji 善宗寺 temple of Tonda, Suō Region.

This year, Tetsunen, Mokurai, Renjō etc. went to Kyoto for the purpose of reform of their head temple Honganji, he followed them and worked very hard to collaborate with them. Their trial gradually found a way on, and in July the next year, Honganji awarded him with five silver plates and a loop-shaped monk's stole. That winter, he went to Tokyo and advised leaders of the Meiji government on the politics of religion in Japan. He attended the governance of Honganji, and worked very earnestly. In May 1877, he became a second-grade secretary, and was in charge of the preparation council for rules of the congress of Monto.

3.2. Uncovering the hidden records of Hōkō

3.2.1. Backgrounds for conflicts between Chōshū and the shogunate

Although Jōi became an official policy of the Emperor and Shogun, feudal clans including Tokugawa's shogunate itself did not have the will to practice the imperial edict of attacking foreign vessels from the 11th of May 1863. Chōshū's feudal clan was the only exception; in May of 1863, it began bombarding ships of the United States, France, and then Nederland that were passing peacefully through Shimonoseki Channel.

Completely defeated by the subsequent acts of revenge from the US and French navy's battleships, Chōshū was deeply shocked and quickly switched its policy from Jōi to its opposite : it began trading with foreign countries and to reform its army in a modern European style.

Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作 (the most eminent student of Yoshida Shōin) created an army named Kiheitai 奇兵隊 that meant "irregular militia". On the 15th of December of the 1st year of Genji 元治 (12 January 1865 of the Gregorian calendar), he started his battle in Kōzanji 功山寺 temple of Shimonoseki, Chōshū. with only 84 soldiers in all. His purpose was to change the policy of the Chōshū clan from obedience to fighting Tokugawa, and the 18 soldiers he sent to Mitajiri port (Hofu City), succeeded in capturing the battleships. By the end of January the following year, Takasugi managed to unite the policy of Chōshū to get prepared to war against Tokugawa. In May 1865, Chōshū reconciled with Satsuma clan and purchased from England in the name of Satsuma, 4300 of the newest model rifles and 3000 guns. Those were said to be the leftovers of the Civil War in the United States that ended in April 1865.

Kiheitai was followed by many other troops of the same philosophy, and they were called Shotai 緒隊, meaning miscellaneous troops. The diaries of these troops have been collected and published both as transcribed books (Tamura, 1998) and their original manuscripts on the webpage (Kiheitai Diary webpage).

3.2.2. Secret intelligence agency : Hōkō in the diaries of Kiheitai

We checked some 2000 printed pages of these diaries, and found the name of Hōkō as one of the two authors of a report presented to the feudal lord of the Chōshū clan. It was dated "September of the year of the Ox" (1864), and signed by Sōen and Hōkō (Figure 7) . Although the Chinese character for "kō" is 光 instead of his usual choice 晃, they have the same pronunciation and a similar meaning. The content of the report was that of a secret intelligence service : they departed from Hagi to Osaka and Kyoto on the 27 July, 1865 by order of the Chōshū government. They secretly collected information on 1) political conditions of in the royal court and in the shogunate, 2) activities of spies sent to Chōshū from Shogun and the feudal clans that might be hostile against Chōshū, 3) the way Shogun's troops were preparing weapons and training soldiers, 4) the names of the persecuted victims whose heads were cut off and exposed to the public, and so on.

They hid themselves in Honganji temple, and collected information on Buddhists. For

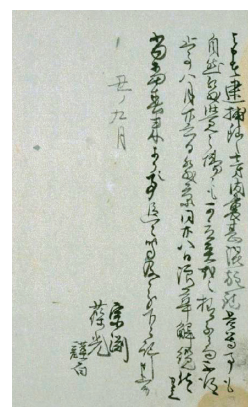


Fig. 7 A Kiheitai Diary with Hōkō's signature

example, East Honganji proposed shogunate to send their troops to Chōshū, but the shogunate did not give consent to their joining. Since this temple was built on the ground contributed by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1602, the chief priest and his subjects worried a lot if the shogunate suspected their fidelity. This memorandum ends in the following report:

“We arrived in Osaka on the 8th August, and secretly collected information in Kyoto, but on the 19th August, a subject of Honganji was arrested by Shinsengumi 新選組 (special police force of the shogunate), and the precinct became very crowded. So, we were afraid to be persecuted and arrested, we could not but return to Chōshū, and unmoored from Osaka on the 28th August, and returned safely.”

Now we may understand the reason why the record of Hōkō's activities was missing between 1864 and 1868; he began working as a spy of Chōshū sent to Osaka and Kyoto in the period just prior to the second war between Chōshū and Tokugawa. His release from jail might have been in exchange for his secret services, and they pretended that he continued to be in jail as a good camouflage for intelligence services. He himself did not tell others his secret history.

4. Ōzu Tetsunen, a militant successor of Gesshō's policies

4.1. Priest and swordsman : a biography of Tetsunen

Ōzu Tetsunen 大洲鉄然 was born at the Kakuhōji 覚法寺 temple in a village called Kuka 久賀 on the island of Suō-Ōshima 周防大島 in the 1834 (Morikawa, 1970). Being older than Hōkō by one year, and than Renjō by 7 years, Tetsunen entered the Buddhist priesthood at the age of 12 in Myōenji 妙円寺 temple located in the village of Tōzaki, where priest Gesshō taught fervent patriotism. Here he met with his life purpose drawn under two motives : the search for truth and ultimate reverence for the Emperor. He studied in Aki (Hiroshima) , and Buzen (Oita), and had a rich interchange with royalists from all over Japan such as the famous swordsman Katsura Kogorō (Later Kido Takayoshi, 1833-1877, councilor of Meiji government). Early in 1863, he went to Honganji in Kyoto to apply for an examination for the learned priesthood, but angrily boycotted it when he was asked to pay a very expensive examination fees. Although he opened a training hall for fencing instead of Buddhism in Sakai, Osaka soon after that, rapid changes in political conditions in Chōshū compelled him to return home.

Foreign battleships attacked Shimonoseki port in May, and seven nobles that insisted on Sonnō and Jōi fled to Chōshū after the coup d'etat of 18th August 1863 in the royal court (Noguchi, 2006). Tetsunen's return was just after the time when Takasugi Shinsaku organized Kiheitai. He first entered the voluntary army of Kaminoseki, and created Shinbu troops 真武隊 of which the majority were monks. This troop changed its name to the Southern Kiheitai, then the Second Kiheitai; Tetsunen was a staff officer for this last troop.

Shogun troops surrounded the frontiers of Chōshū and began their first attack on Suō-Ōshima Island where Tetsunen lived on the 8th June 1866 (Figure 8). Reportedly, the Shogun sent in some 150,000 soldiers, whereas Chōshū had only four thousand soldiers to defend them. Tetsunen hurried to the headquarters in Yamaguchi, some 100 kilometers away, and asked the commander-in-chief Ōmura Masujirō 大村益次郎 (1824-1869) to send reinforcements to Suō-Ōshima, but the answer was negative. Suō-Ōshima was rapidly occupied, plundered, and had many houses burnt by Shogun troops coming from Matsuyama clan (Ehime). But Takasugi Shinsaku sailed his battleship from Kokura at night and bombarded the Shogun's battleships, snipers shot rifles from the hills, and local people including women bravely battled them, and the island was recovered from occupation (Morikawa 1970, Noguchi 2006). Shogun troops tried to invade Chōshū, but they were defeated outside of Chōshū : in Kokura (Fukuoka), in Aki (Hiroshima), and in Iwami (Shimane). During the war, the 14th Shogun Tokugawa Iemochi died of disease, and a ceasefire



Fig. 8 Drawing of the battle in Suō-Ōshima Island

took place on the 2nd September 1866.

4.2. The role of Buddhists in the wartime

Before this war, just after Tetsunen's return to Chōshū, its feudal lord Mōri Takachika ordered him to go around and preach to local people. He preached along the line of his teacher Gesshō : the necessity of Sonnō and Jōi, failures of the shogunate, and the urgency of getting prepared to battles. Wherever he went, a big audience rushed in, and often broke the entrance gate, and his fiery speech was reputed as a “gate-breaking preach.” In Chōshū, many other Shin sect monks preached to defend Buddhism and Japan from invasion, and they greatly contributed to unifying the public opinions for the Emperor and not for the Shogun. Chōshū clan printed a booklet entitled Chōbō Shinmin Gōgisho 長防臣民合議書 . It explained why samurai and ordinary people of Chōshū should cooperate to fight the shogunate. Reportedly, they made 360 thousand copies and distributed throughout Chōshū (having 200,000 households only that time) and outside of it. It should be noted that Chōshū had as many as 1307 private schools called Terakoya 寺子屋 meaning “temple classrooms,” they were the second in number, among all the feudal clans at the end of Edo era (Ichisaka, 1996 : 85), and illiterate people were very few (Ichisaka, 1996).

4.3. Tetsunen in the jail of Kagoshima

Although he did not enter learned priesthood, he played very important roles in Honganji. He took part in the religious reform with his colleagues Hōkō, Renjō, and Mokurai in the early Meiji era. Notably, he introduced the way of appointing people and contributed to the revival of Buddhism after its peril of total abandon. Among his many contributions were the Buddhist missions to Satsuma, Taiwan and Korea.

In November of 1876, Tetsunen was sent to Kagoshima (formerly Satsuma) to begin preaching Shin Buddhism, because it had been strictly banned there. Unfortunately the political situation there was extremely tight. It was just before the beginning of the Southwestern War 西南戦争 , the last Civil War of Japan between former samurai of feudal Satsuma clan and the government. When Tetsunen arrived in Kagoshima, it was rather natural for the people of Kagoshima to take him as a spy who had been the close comrade of the leaders of the central government rather than a Buddhist priest. Thus, he was arrested in January 1877 with other seven members of the mission, and spent two months in jail. In March, the government sent a rescue battleship to save them from jail.

After their return from Kagoshima, Tetsunen was invited by the Emperor to narrate his experience in Kagoshima and explained what Shin Buddhism was. He returned to Kyoto and worked as the head executive in Honganji, then adviser, and finally acted as one of the key persons who contributed in many respects to the development of Honganji. In the later years, he returned to his temple at Suō-Ōshima, and in 1902, he finished a bold and diligent life at the age of 69.

5. Shimaji Mokurai's protest against the anti-Buddhist movement

5.1. Early years of Mokurai : a learned strategist

In 1838, Shimaji Mokurai 島地黙雷 was born in Senshōji 専照寺 temple of Masudani hamlet, Wada village in today's Shunan City. When he was young, he studied Confucianism and Buddhism. He entered the priesthood in Myōrenji 妙蓮寺 temple in Hori, Tokuji village of today's Yamaguchi City. He continued to study in Higo (Kumamoto) without any economic or emotional support from his adoptive father, who wished that this boy to be an ordinary local priest. He did not even have clothes for winter season because he left his local temple in the summer. After three years of study in Higo, he was expelled from Myōrenji temple because of his absence, but later was invited to succeed to the priesthood of Myōseiji 妙誓寺 temple of Shimaji district in Tokuji, whose former priest was persecuted and sent to a remote island north of Hagi. Mokurai created his family name Shimaji from the toponymy of the temple (Murakami 2011). Until that time people outside of the samurai

did not usually have their family names. Monks were no exception until Mokurai's time, and today only the Emperor's family continues to be without their family name. In practice, a Buddhist like a Monto of Shin sect belongs to one big Shaka family, and has the religious family name Shaku, like Shaku Gesshō 釈月性.

In 1886, collaborating with Tetsunen, Renjō and others, he organized the Office for the Reform of Buddhism 改正局 in Hagi. Attached to this office, they also opened a new school for the education of apprentice monks in Hagi. When the new era of Meiji began in 1868, he went to Kyoto with Tetsunen and Renjō, and proposed a religious reform of the head temple. They proposed, among others, that each temple should directly belong to Honganji instead of integrated in a complicated ranked hierarchy, and secular samurai that monopolized the power in Honganji should be expelled. Kōnyo 広如 the supreme priest was a liberal person, and listened to their proposals and valued them very highly. Mokurai was always in the leading position of the reform movement. Those samurai of Shimotsuna family tried to assassinate Mokurai, but did not succeed probably thanks to the military training that these monks from Chōshū had had during the war against the shogunate. These trials of democracy in Honganji arrived at a certain achievement in 1871, when as many as 400 samurai were discharged from Honganji.

5.2. Mokurai's visit to Europe, Jerusalem and Bombay

In the fifth year of Meiji (1872), Mokurai was sent to Europe with Renjō to accompany the new government mission lead by the noble Iwakura Tomomi to get acquainted with European styles of governance. During his stay, he frequently met with other members of the mission like Kido Takayoshi, and exchanged ideas on how the new imperial Japan's political systems should be constructed.

On his way back home, he passed through Jerusalem and Bombay (Mumbai), and became the first Japanese to visit the sacred sites where Christianity and Buddhism were born.

During and after his stay in Europe, he busily wrote public proposals to the government : based on his experience in Europe, he insisted on the separation of politics and religion, and freedom of faith and its propagation (Murakami, 2011).

5.3. The anti-Buddhism movement in early Meiji era

Through the three centuries of the Edo era, Buddhist temples served as a political mechanism to control the Japanese population under the rule of Tokugawa and the local feudal clans. Everybody was to be registered in a Buddhist temple, and be proven not to be a Christian. Because of this governmental protection, Buddhism in Japan had lost its religious energy except for some sects like Shin Buddhism of (West) Honganji that retained the sect's history of radical protest against secular rulers. So, when the ancient regime of Tokugawa ended in 1867, there happened a very strong movement to abolish Buddhism and its temples all over Japan. For example, in 1869, the Satsuma (Kagoshima) clan ordered the closure of all of the 1616 Buddhist temples in the region, and forced the monks to choose other secular professions. There, Shin sect had been strictly banned like Christianity because of its radical stance that fundamentally denied any distinction of social strata. But on 27 October 1870, the Toyama feudal clan ordered the "one sect one temple principle" and allowed monks and their families to gather in a unique temple of each sect. They were ordered to move until the next day, and the police kept them from contacting their headquarter temples. Many temples were broken, and the clan's government collected bronze statues and bells from the abandoned temples, and brought them to factories specially constructed to melt them into weapons (Murakami, 2011). In Toyama, there existed 1320 temples of Shin sect, and with their married families, it was as if they were in a concentration camp or in a refuge from a big Tsunami. Mokurai sent an urgent proposal from Europe to the central government to stop the Toyama clan's excessive oppression against Buddhist temples, and the next year, these monks were allowed to return to the plots where their temples had existed. In Tokuyama sub-clan where Hōkō's temple was, it was ordered that all the temples should be relocated in a place, and his temple, being the biggest of the region, should move

first. These Shin Buddhism priests from Yamaguchi influenced the decision-making in the Meiji government's religious policies through the solidarity with the political leaders : they fought together in the war of Chōshū against the shogunate.

5.4. Towards the freedom of religion and its education

Buddhist and Shintoist priests were registered in the same ranked education system, and made to preach together the following three Shintoist principles admitted by the government : 1) piety and patriotism should be realized, 2) the ways of heaven, earth and man should be made clear, and 3) the Emperor should be respected and the intention of the Imperial court should be observed. This education system and its schools strangely shared by Buddhism and Shintoism came to a final end in 1886, the 8th year of Meiji era.

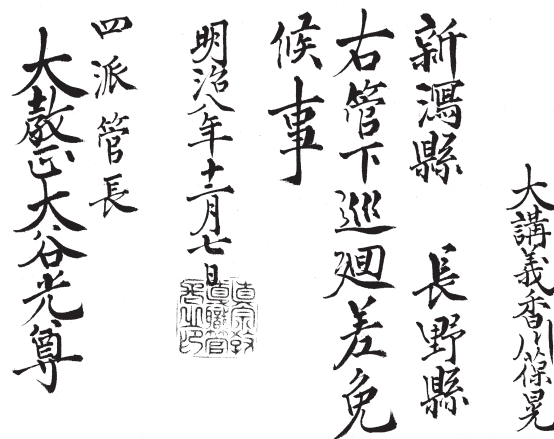


Fig. 9 A letter of appointment for Hōkō

Figure 9 shows the letter of appointment for Hōkō in 1875. The title of the supreme priest of the four Shin sects who signed the letter was Daikyōsei 大教正, and Hōkō's title was Daikōgi 大講義 "major lecturer", corresponding to the first and the seventh in the hierarchy of 14 ranks.

Thus, Mokurai, Tetsunen, Renjō, Hōkō and other priests managed to stop the raging anti-Buddhism movement in Japan, and saved Buddhism that was at a sincere risk of abandonment and replacement by Shintoism, which was regarded as Japan's authentic religion. We should remember that these priests fervently acted to attain the freedom of religious beliefs in Imperial Japan.

To be fair, we should note that severe oppression of Christianity by the government continued until 24th February of the 6th year of Meiji (1873). More than three thousand newly discovered underground Christians were expelled from Urakami, Nagasaki to 23 distant places. Those sent to Hagi and Tsuwano (Shimane) by order of Kido Takayoshi were treated so mercilessly that many of them were tortured to death (Iijima, 1994 : 198). We may suppose that until that time Gesshō's alert on Christianity was still echoing in the memory of some leaders of the government.

Hōkō's temple Zenshōji was rebuilt in 1889, but the logs that were stored outdoors were already partly rotten, and the temple became much smaller than it had been (HongANJI Yamaguchi Branch webpage). This episode helps us to understand that these priests' various preoccupations existed in Kyoto, Tokyo and in Europe, and that they had very few occasions to look after their temples in Yamaguchi.

The four priests, Mokurai as their leader, became executive officers of HongANJI and contributed to continued reform and democratization of Buddhism. In 1901, Mokurai was achieved the rank of Kangaku 勧学, the highest rank as a learned priest, and felt keenly the importance of education for girls. He founded Joshi Bungeigakusha, the forerunner of Chiyoda Women's College. He also participated in the creation of the Red Cross Hospital in Japan, and organized the Buddhist Youth Association in Waseda University. In 1892, Mokurai retired to the north in Gankyōji 願教寺 temple in Morioka City (Iwate Prefecture) and died there in 1911 at the age of 73.

5.5. An experiment in democracy : a model for the new Imperial Japan

It has been argued that there exists a certain structural resemblance between the reform in HongANJI Temple in early Meiji era and the successive construction of political systems in imperial Japan; the creation of a parliament of priests and the rules to elect the members corresponded to the National Diet and the Imperial Constitution (Hirano & Honda, 2011). This happened not by chance. A historical experiment to

balance democracy by the Monto and the authority of the supreme priest provided many hints for the Meiji government to cope with the democratic movement for the people's right and freedom 自由民権運動, and to balance it with the supreme power of the Emperor. This interchange might have been made possible through the close human connections between the political leaders in the government and the religious leaders in Honganji, who shared their common experience as warriors, strategists, and intelligence agencies in the war of Chōshū in which they prevailed an overwhelming number of enemies.

6. The future of religion in Japan

Isabella Bird asked a question to Akamatsu Renjō about the future of religions in Japan, and he talked also on Confucianism, Christianity, English philosophy like Darwin's evolutionism (Bird, 1880 : 250-251) :

"I asked him his opinion of the present religious state of Japan, and after very much interesting conversation, he summed up thus : 'Shintōism is truly the rudest form of nature worship, slightly embellished by Confucian and Buddhist contact. As a religion it is dead, as a political engine it is failing, it never had life. Buddhism was once strong, it is now weak, it May or may not revive. Its vital truths purity, metempsychosis, and immortality, cannot die.' I told him that, in spite of certain superstitious observances, I could not but regard the Japanese as a most irreligious people.'It is so now,' he said. 'The Confucian philosophy spread rapidly long ago among the higher classes, and educated and thinking men denied immortality, and became what you would call materialists. Gradually their unbelief sank downwards through the *heimin* 平民 and there is little real belief in Japan, though much superstition still exists. I asked him if his sect addressed itself specially to the upper classes. 'Pure Buddhism knows no classes,' he said; 'Buddha was what you call a democrat. All souls are equal, all men by righteousness can become Buddhas. Your Christ was a democrat, and desired to make of men a brotherhood, but you have one doctrine for rich and one for poor, and one church for rich, into which poor cannot enter, and one for poor, where you teach men to obey the rich; this is not our way.'

"I asked him what he thought of the prospects of Christianity in Japan, and among much else he said, ' There have been missionaries called Protestants in Japan for fifteen years, there are now over 100, and they count 1600 baptized persons. The college here is sending out young samurai to preach, very ardent, and well equipped for teaching; Christianity may make great progress in some of the country parts of Japan, for many are weary, weary, weary, and it is easy, and they will be disposed to receive it; but not in the large towns.' This corresponds closely with Mr. Neesima [新島襄] 's opinion on the same subject. "

"I asked him what he considered the most prevalent 'unrighteousnesses' among his countrymen, and he gave the reply which I have mentioned as having been given me three times before, 'truthlessness and licentiousness.' After speaking a great deal of the demerits of Christianity, he said that he considered that a far more powerful influence than it is now working in Japan in 'the English philosophy,' as taught by Mill, Herbert Spencer, and others, while the scientific writings of Huxley, and Darwin's Origin of Species, are stimulating inquiries 'which Christianity cannot answer.' These books are translated, and the higher education, rapidly extending, is enabling the young men to acquaint themselves with a wide range of similar works in English."

"Besides this, he said, there are English, Scotch, and German teachers who assail Christianity openly in their lectures, and teach an undisguised materialism. 'The Confucian philosophy is being rapidly replaced here by your English philosophy,' he said. 'This philosophy is threatening your beliefs at home, your priests are adapting their teaching, perhaps their creeds, to it. God and immortality are quickly disappearing in England, so men grow more wicked, and despise your doctrines of purity, which are not consistent. Jesus Christ is first abandoned, yet men say they believe in God, yet not as Creator but Father, then they no longer believe in God. It may be well just now, but it will not be well soon, for without immortality there will be no righteousness. In Japan this philosophy threatens both Buddhism and Christianity; it is your own

philosophy which Christianity will have to fight here among the educated, and not Shintō or Buddhism. Buddhism may yet revive; it teaches men purity, it shows that the end of righteousness is rest; purity is the plain road to rest; the moral teachings of Buddha are higher than those of Christ. Christ's precepts are powerless. Do men keep them in England?' Mr. Akamatz said a great deal that was very interesting regarding the tendencies of religious thought in England. He has deeply studied one or two branches of our literature, and is evidently a deep, though a metaphysical, thinker, as well as a student of Christianity. Can this priest, who is regarded as the ablest and most enlightened man in the Buddhist hierarchy, truly believe in his own metaphysics and in the doctrine of prolonged metempsychosis?"

In the second part of this article to be published later, we hope to find some answers for Akamatsu's prediction on the revival of Buddhism during our visit to the regions on the northern shore of Japan.

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Comment 1 : The *Larger Sukhāvativyūha* [19] and its translations

SUZUKI Takayasu

Professor Ankei Yuji showed me a text of the most important sutra for the Shin Buddhism translated by his grandfather Ankei Garyō (1928 : 158-159), who was a priest in Toyama Prefecture. It is translated from Chinese so that ordinary people, even without any education at schools, could easily understand the content.

第十八願文

| | | |
|------|--------------|------------------------------|
| 説我得仏 | おれがほとけとなるならば | Orega hotoke to narunaraba |
| 十方衆生 | 迷いの衆生ことごとく | Mayoi no shujō kotogotoku |
| 至心信樂 | そのまままかせうけとると | Sonomama makase uketoruto |
| 欲生我国 | いのちをこめてよびかけて | Inochi o komete yobikakete |
| 乃至十念 | 念仏称ふる身となさん | Nenbutsu tonauru mi to nasan |
| 若不生者 | もしもこの事出来ぬなら | Moshimo konokoto dekinu nara |
| 不取正覚 | 弥陀とはいはぬ親ぢゃない | Midatowa iwanu oya janai |
| 唯除五逆 | 鬼にもまさる悪人は | Oni nimo masaru akunin wa |
| 誹謗正法 | 一番がけにすくはなん | Ichibangake ni sukuwanan |

The original text in Sanskrit is as follows and in the original ordination it is 19th, whereas it is translated as the 18th vow in the 48 vows of the Bodhisattva Dharmākara (Fujita, 2011) :

sacen me bhagavan bodhiprāptasyāprameyāsaṃkhyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu ye sattvā mama nāmadheyam śrutvā tatra buddhakṣetre cittam preṣayeyur upapattaye kuśalamūlāni ca pariṇāmayeyus te ca tatra buddhakṣetre nopapadyerann antaśo daśabhiś cittopādaparivartaiḥ sthāpayitvānantaryakāriṇaḥ saddharmapratikṣepāvaraṇānvṛtāṃś ca sattvān mā tāvad aham anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyeyam [19]

Its translation in Japanese is:

世尊よ、私が覺りに到達したにも関わらず、無数・無量の仏国土にいる衆生たちが私の名号を聞いて、その〔極樂という私の〕仏国土に生まれ変わりたいと思いを向け、諸々の善根を振り向けたとして、十度までも心を發したのにその〔極樂という私の〕仏国土に生まれ変わってこないようなことがあれば、私はこの上ない完全な覺りを得ることはいたしません。ただし、無間〔地獄に墮ちるほどの悪〕業をなした者たちや、正法を誹謗するという〔煩惱の〕覆いにおおわれている者たちは、その限りではありません。

This roughly means, “If, when I attain Buddhahood, the sentient beings of the ten quarters, with sincere mind entrusting themselves, aspiring to be born in my land, and saying my Name perhaps even ten times, should not be born there, may I not attain the supreme enlightenment. Excluded are those who commit the five grave offenses and those who slander the right Dharma.”

(<http://amida-ji-retreat-temple-romania.blogspot.com/2007/10/exclusion-in-eighteenth-vow.html>)

In the last lines of this vow, underlined in English translation, both Sanskrit and Chinese text says that the Buddha will not save those who commit serious evil acts. But the translation by Priest Garyō is “I will save them, the evil persons, before anybody else,” and seems to be a complete contrary to the original. It is interesting that he translated the same characters in a different sutra (Ankei, 1922 : 160) :

唯除五逆 鬼のまま受け取るの Oni no sonomama uketoru no
誹謗正法 親の実意をうたがうな Oyano jitsui o utagauna

I will accept and save you as the ogre as you are.
Never suspect this real intention of me, your parent.

These translations are reflections of teaching of Shinran, more precisely his master Hōnen's view on the evil. For Shinran and Honen, evil persons are ourselves : ordinary persons, who wish to do good, but can not help doing evil. Priest Garyō's translations reflect the absolute belief that the evil person, I, totally deprived of self power, am the right object of Amida's salvation.

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Comment 2 : Between a monk and a spy : Shimizu Shōgetsu/Hanada Chūnosuke sent to Russia at the end of the 19th century

IZAO Tomio

We should never underestimate the relationship of religion with war and conspiracy, in the political history of any country of the world. In modern Japanese foreign affairs, religious figures have often played a role far from being religious. Here I will narrate an example of a certain 'Buddhist priest,' who worked as a spy for the military, or a 'spy' that worked as a Buddhist priest in Russia at the end of the 19th century.

This monk went by the name of SHIMIZU Shōgetsu (清水松月, also spelled as 嘯月 in some reports). In 1897, he was dispatched to Vladivostok in far eastern Russia by the (West) Honganji Temple of the Jōdo Shinshū sect as its missionary to preach to Japanese residents there. Although his chanting was not very good and his sermons left much to be desired, he was polite and eager in demeanor. Due to his lack of talent in preaching, people wondered if he was a fake, but he took no notice and continued at his efforts of preaching to both the Japanese and Chinese immigrants.

This 'monk' was born under the real name of HANADA Chūnosuke/Nakanosuke (1860-1945) in Kagoshima, and was actually an officer in the Japanese Imperial army. Of course, his real purpose in Russia was not to proselytize Buddhism, but to collect information at the dawn of the Russo-Japanese War that began in 1904.

His associates wrote a brief account of Hanada's life after his death (Anonymous, 1958). It was written in a manner of respect and admiration, and hence it is difficult to tell how much of this account reflected what really had happened in history. Hanada's ancestor in Kagoshima was once banished for false accusation, and the situation of his family was not well off when he was born. At the age of 17, he joined the Seinan War (1877) as a volunteer soldier guided by their hero SAIGŌ Takamori, who fought the last Civil War between former samurai and the Imperial government. When Kagoshima finally lost the war, Hanada changed course and enrolled in the Military Academy to join the Imperial Army. After graduation, he received orders to be shipped out to Russia, but the economic downturn of his family prevented him from going. He was forced to resign his position in the army and returned home in order to help with family affairs. It was at this time that he seems to have experienced a spiritual upheaval and attended a temple in Kamakura for a period of time.

After seeing to the restoration of his family's finances, Hanada returned to the army, and in 1886, a year after the end of the Sino-Japanese War, he was called to work in the staff headquarters, but all traces of him disappeared soon after. He had received his orders to infiltrate Russia, and had gone into training to prepare for his mission. It was in this training that he became 'SHIMIZU Shōgetsu'. He received basic training as a monk with the cooperation of the Honganji Temple in Kyoto, and later worked as a monk for six months at a temple on Suō-Ōshima Island in Yamaguchi Prefecture (the name of the temple was not included in his biography, but the missing link between Honganji and Suō-Ōshima might have been ŌZU Tetsunen and temples related to him). In 1897, Hanada entered Vladivostok under the name of SHIMIZU Shōgetsu, and spent three years there under the seemingly complete cover of being a Buddhist priest. When he travelled in the Siberia region for "religious" missions, he would request his Japanese assistants to collect information.

One well-known episode about Hanada from this period is about his provoking the Vice Chief of Staff TAMURA Iyozō, which was written about in his official biographical record. On the occasion of Tamura's official visit to Vladivostok, Hanada was the only army official that received him wearing his monk's attire. In response to condemnation by Tamura, Hanada responded with a statement something like, "I am happy with being a monk. The Japanese army with its present equipment and training will surely lose to Russia", which is said to have infuriated Tamura. Judging from this biography, Hanada was a man of principle, who had no fear of making such bold statements to his superior officers.

There is another account of this episode, written by ISHIMITSU Makiyo (1867-1942), who worked behind the scenes as an army intelligence officer during this period. According to his records (Ishimitsu, 1978), when he and Tamura visited a branch of Honganji in Vladivostock, Hanada would only speak to him in his role as Shimizu, the monk, and when Tamura tried to refer to army affairs, Hanada would not respond. Tamura became infuriated with this, and demanded, "Which do you choose, to do your duty as an officer in the army, or to become a monk? Make your choice!" Hanada (as Shimizu) bowed down low with both hands on the tatami and responded, "I am perfectly satisfied with being a monk." This story seems to portray Hanada as a tried and tested intelligence officer, one who continued to deceive even his superior officers. Furthermore, according to Ishimitsu's account, Kagoshima-born Hanada spoke with a Nagasaki accent, indicating his obvious proficiency with not only foreign languages, but with Japanese dialects as well, in the spirit of a resourceful spy.

After a three-year stay, Hanada wrote and submitted his reports on Russia, and once again left the army for a period of time. After this, the name of the monk SHIMIZU Shōgetsu never appears again in history's annals, although Hanada's life seems to have continued to be turbulent. According to Ishimitsu's writings, another very strange monk by the name of ABE Dōmei appeared in Russia during the same period as Hanada. It is not clear whether he was involved in any information-gathering activities or not. With the later dispatch of troops to Siberia, religious believers were sent to Russia to be involved in pacification activities. One famous person was the Jōdo Shinshū monk ŌTA Kakumin (1866-1944). There seems to exist a report that Ōta also worked as an intelligence officer (Matsumoto, 2006), but the truth remains to be studied.

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Comment 3 : Priest Arima Jitsujo and the Shanti Volunteer Associations

IWANO Masako

In 1980, Arima Jitsujo 有馬実成, a Buddhist priest born in a small temple of Sotoshu sect in Shunan City, Yamaguchi, started an international NGO. It was first named the Japan Sotoshu Relief Committee (JSRC), after which the name was changed to the Shanti Volunteer Association (SVA) in 1999. It has undertaken cooperation for the refugees in five countries : Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Afghanistan, and Myanmar. Arima also worked hard to act as a bridge between people and their activities by establishing the Japan NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC) in 1987. Accordingly, the NGOs in Yamaguchi Prefecture formed a similar network in 1998 with JANIC as their model. We have had a chance to send students of our Faculty of Intercultural Studies to overseas activities as part of this “NGO Network Yamaguchi”; until today, they have experienced four study tours in Thailand and Vietnam. For more than twenty years, Arima continued to work for SVA and JANIC in Tokyo, and hurried back for services in his temple on every weekend. He has contributed to volunteer work in many Asian countries, where people suffered from natural disasters or economic and political crises.

Arima was born in 1936, and his father died when he was eight. Although he was nine when WWII ended, he remembered a scene of many coffins of victims of bombardment in Tokuyama : some coffins were separated from those of the Japanese and were not treated with the same care or respect from the priests and local inhabitants. He continued to question why such discriminatory acts against Koreans should have continued even after their death.

After 30 years, in 1975, he started his movement to return the ashes of the Koreans in his temple to be buried and worshiped at home. His next turning point was around the end of 1970's, when the world witnessed the boat people from Vietnam and similar refugees from Laos and Cambodia. He began visiting refugee camps from Cambodia in Thailand, and walked and walked along narrow paths like animal trails to find out how he and his staff could be of help to them. It was as late as in the 1990's when the Japanese government and the United Nations publicly recognized him and his colleagues' activities (Kraft, 2006).

Arima used to say that activities of Buddhist priests like Chogen (1121-1206) or Eison (1201-1290) greatly inspired him through their pioneer works as volunteers. He learned, among others, of Chogen and his Herculean project of recasting the Great Buddha and rebuilding the Todaiji temple in Nara with logs from the forest of Yamaguchi. Learning of the two priests' philosophy and skills as organizers and coordinators pushed him to initiate many projects, in which he tried to solve problems in a contemporary global context. Facing obstacles or difficulties, Arima always questioned what Chogen and Eison would have done in such situations (Arima, 2003). He continued to travel, learn, talk and act for his Asian communities until he died in 2000.

Although Buddhism in Japan had a bad reputation for being remembered only at funerals, Arima Jitsujo was an exceptional Buddhist that created a new movement to empower persons and their communities until their importance was recognized at national and international levels. The disasters of Tohoku Earthquake of 11 March 2011 have activated Buddhists' networks for cooperation.

Arima believed in the power of culture. When there was a lack of food in the refugee camp, the SVA donated not only food, but also picture books or traditional music to soothe their spiritual hunger that might be even more acute than physical pains.

In contrast to other religious charity groups, Arima and SVA never tried to use their international network to propagate the Buddhism of their sect. In Buddhism, lotus means purity growing out of slime and mud, as righteousness grows out of the filth of the human heart. Arima always tried to make himself the soil for people, who will have their own cultural blossoms someday (Osuga, 2006).

As a Faculty member of Intercultural Studies, I feel much honored and privileged to hand down Arima's great ideas and continuous activities to future generations.

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Comment 4 : Japanese Buddhism in the United States

Amy WILSON

The influences of Buddhism are prevalent in modern American society. Due to the popularity of various forms of yoga and meditation which form an integral part in the religion, and with a number of popular movies such as *Seven Years in Tibet*, *Matrix*, and even *Star Wars* and *Lion King* (which have Buddhist concepts in them to varying degrees), one in seven (14.3%) Americans report having a fair amount of contact with Buddhism, while one in eight (12.5%) say that Buddhism has “had an important influence on their religion or spirituality.” (Wuthnow and Cadge, 2004), and Buddhism is now the fourth largest religion, following Christianity, Judaism, and Islam (Lampman, 2006).

While the first direct influence of Buddhism came from Chinese immigrants who came to the United States in the early 19th century, it was with the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and Walt Whitman that Buddhism became familiar to those in the intellectual and literary world (Bloom, 2000), and was recognized as a major religion at the World Parliament of Religions held in concurrence with the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. Its influence continued to expand, and in the 1920s, D.T. Suzuki became one of the most famous spokesmen for Japanese Zen Buddhism. During the 1960s, with the revolution of the young people in the U.S. and the development of a counter-culture which encouraged hippie-culture, the use of mind-freeing drugs and the adoption of beliefs and practices which were against the traditional norm, Buddhism experienced explosive growth.

However, Buddhism can be divided into many different schools, often divided by their country of origin, such as China, India, Tibet, Vietnam, and Japan. Japanese Buddhism, which has two main sects in the U.S. - Zen and Shin, spread widely as more and more Japanese immigrated to Hawaii and to mainland United States to farm in the late 19th to mid-20th centuries, and Jodo Shinshu, or Shin Buddhism in English, became the largest group of Buddhist practitioners in the United States. Even within a single sect of Buddhism, such as Shin, for example, there are large differences in the type of practitioners - ranging from Japanese-Americans who are Buddhist in accordance with the family tradition, converts who study deeply the religious meaning and spiritual laws of the order, and casual practitioners who are not particularly interested in the religion itself as they are in the martial arts, yoga or meditational aspects of Buddhism. These large variances in belief, and a lack of powerful leadership has led to rifts in the various groups, and many are calling for a 'redefinition' of Buddhism that is more adaptable to today's American society and culture.

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