

# Phoenix

- Goddess of truth never dies -

The Journal of the International Human Observation Society

No.1 (April 2007)

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## Preface

FURUTA Takehiko

1. I am pleased that the time has come for the first issue of this new journal. An earlier journal, *New learning on Ancient Times*, has ended publication, and while walking the path through bamboo groves on fine days and reading at home on rainy afternoons, I've thought about its demise. But the goddess makes me take up this new challenge. Thus, "The new society of eastern history," this journal, is founded.

I have published dozens of books, and not a few people are familiar with my theories. And yet, the academic community has failed to respond to my ideas. Likewise, there are many who succeed me, but there is nowhere they can make their theories public. Thus, the purpose of publishing this journal is to announce to future generations the existence of this learning and to show human beings the truth needed for us to advance.

2. In connection to my thoughts on history, I want to state my criticisms of recent actions taken by the Chinese government. I want to state candidly my criticisms of China, a country I have long respected, to show Chinese people the framework of a true historical science.

I have heard that many Chinese are expressing anti-Japanese sentiments in recent years. Moreover, I have heard that the Chinese government is constructing museums, in order it seems, to express a view of history that is decisively anti-Japanese. Museums in China, which focus on Japanese aggression, continue to be built day by day<sup>1</sup>. I was exposed to one of these museums in Beijing a long time ago, where I saw displays and read detailed explanations of the slaughter of Chinese people by Japanese soldiers. In my opinion, what I read and saw was true. This is something Japanese people cannot contradict. Of course, however, there are many people in Japan who dispute what is taught in China. For example, they argue that the photographs displayed in museums have been doctored, or that the number of the victims of Japanese aggression has been exaggerated, and so on. These negations also contain truth and I find myself nodding in agreement.

But I believe, in perspective, the Chinese are correct after all. What the Chinese insist on are indeed the facts. Why? Let's consider the situation from another perspective. Imagine that the Chinese army, in full strength, overpowered the Japanese archipelago, what would we do? Certainly there would be much bloodshed. Even if the conquerors insisted that colonization was done for a just cause, it is inevitable that they would make enemies of the Japanese. It is the nature of human beings. If we consider Japan's history in China using this common sense<sup>2</sup>, the exaggerated displays in Chinese museums are correct after all.

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<sup>1</sup> Naoko Mizutani "the anatomy of anti-Japanese sentiment; the warped nationalism of China" Bungei syunjyu, 30 September 2005.

<sup>2</sup> I mean the reasoning that all human beings have, originally. This use of this word is the same as the usage in Thomas Paine's "Common Sense," considered the "Bible" of American independence. This use differs from common usage.

3. And yet, now, I must ask if the current Chinese policy of building increasing numbers of museums which display Japanese atrocities is correct. I must answer that it is not right. Why?

In order to answer this question, we need again to look at the long history between Japan and China. In 1274 and in 1281, Yuan sent troops to Japan. This history is called Genko in Japanese. Twice, Yuan sent troops to the northern Kyushu Island, to Tsushima and Iki. The Yuan army caught many islanders who resisted, and pulled them along the coast, piercing their hands and stringing them together with chains; then, the army massacred them. Women and children living on the island saw this sight and mourned. A traditional Japanese folk song, which tells of the spot where the massacre occurred and the grief of the survivors, continues to be sung to this day. This is fact.

But is it right to display pictures and models which show in detail the fear and carnage that accompanied this foreign invasion? It is not right. Even if an invasion is fact, displays which focus only on devastation at the hands of the invaders are unable to communicate the full dignity of human beings. Of course, needless to say, it potentially harms friendship among people of different nations as well.

The history of China includes many invasions of other lands. In 608, during the administration of Yodai of Sui, China sent a battalion to Ryukyu (now Okinawa Island)<sup>3</sup> and conquered the island. The Chinese army slaughtered many islanders and set fire to the palace. China carried off thousands of survivors to their homeland as prisoners. This was clearly an invasion.

Now, I want to ask, is it right to make large scale displays of the Chinese invasion of Ryukyu, display them in museums throughout the Japanese archipelago and teach all Japanese of the unjust invasion by a superpower, China? It is not right. If we say we value friendship between China and Japan, and at the same time focus on and create displays which highlight atrocities that occurred in the past, it is hypocritical. I want to ask the people who insist, "Why are we wrong? We are only displaying the fact" to reflect on what they have done. Those who focus only on themselves as victims can never gain worldwide trust and respect. I want to ask the Chinese people, people of a country with glorious traditions, for which I hold much respect, to reflect upon, and reconsider their actions. This type of national propaganda lacks dignity.

4. Some years prior to the Meiji Restoration, Shikoku Kantai, the fleet of four nations<sup>4</sup>, came to the port of Shimonoseki on the Japanese archipelago. Their aim was to bombard Choshu (presently Yamaguchi prefecture), whose leaders, in opposition to the shogunate, had insisted on the expulsion of all foreigners from Japan. Takasugi Shinsaku resisted this fleet, gathering together youth of varying social classes and rank, and creating a new type of militia called *Kiheitai*. After suffering heavy casualties, the Choshu militia was defeated by the four nation navy fleet. After

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<sup>3</sup> Although the view that Ryukyu is not Okinawa, but part of Taiwan, was stated by scholars from Europe, this is not correct. I will elaborate on this, as the result of an on-the-spot investigation, in another article.

<sup>4</sup> The four nations consist of England, France, the United States and Holland. They attacked Japan in 1864.

the defeat, Takasugi built the Sakurayama shrine as a site where the victims could be remembered.

It would be natural for Japanese people to regard these attacks on Japan by Western naval forces as unjust. And yet, they did not erect memorial sites or museums throughout the Japanese archipelago, where Japanese people could go to view displays or read about the atrocities committed against the Japanese. This is so, despite the fact that the core power of Meiji government, formed soon afterwards, included the successors of the Choshu Clan. Despite the important part they played in this struggle they chose not to focus on the atrocities committed against them. Neither was this done during World War II when Japan cursed the United States and England as enemies.

5. A few days ago the autumn sumo wrestling tournament ended. It was the Kyushu Basho. Sumo wrestler, Asashoryu won the tournament and Kotooshu advanced to *Ozeki*. It was exciting news. Although some questioned whether or not this is a positive thing, considering that sumo is the Japanese national sport, it is a wonderful sight from another point of view. Why?

Asashoryu is from Mongolia, and Kotooshu is from Bulgaria. However, instead of erecting monuments in order to decry the Mongol invasion of Kyushu, we applaud a living Mongolian *Yokozuna*, who fights in the sumo ring. Instead of displaying artifacts which point to aggressions committed by Western countries, we applaud the excellent figure of a living Bulgarian. This is the manner of the Japanese. Choosing not to differentiate between enemies and allies is part of Japanese tradition and manner. And, I believe that these manners make sense of the world, too. If Japanese refused to allow foreigners to appear in the sumo ring because of the invasion of Shimonoseki, we would only meet with scorn.

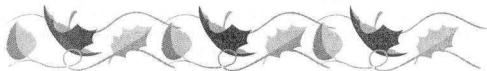
6. Neither the Chinese invasion of Ryukyu Island nor Chinese cooperation with the Mongol invasion of Kyushu is written in the textbooks of Chinese history. Yet, both are recorded, historical fact. Recognizing as fact only those aspects of history which show one's nation in a favorable light, while rejecting less savory aspects, is to utilize history for the sake of politics. Such nations never last long.

Once, in many parts of the Soviet Union, there were numerous museums which contained anti-Christian displays. I don't know whether the displays, in which Mary is portrayed as a woman of misconduct, represent truth or falsehood. I can only say these types of exhibits are no different from those created for the purpose of national propaganda, and as such they lack human dignity. Dear China, stop imitating the Soviet Union now. The sooner this day comes, the better. Then, the international community's respect of China will certainly be revived.

If the Chinese hold the Beijing Olympics without changing this attitude, it will be empty after all. Never imitate the stupidity of Hitler who met his doom, leaving only the national festival of the Berlin Olympics. I want to frankly advise the Chinese people, people I respect, people with great traditions, to stop emphasizing only the parts of history in which you have been treated badly, for the sake of the future.

7. Now I write this postscript. I went walking around the pathway this morning, the path among the bamboo grove that I call 'the way of history.' I headed to the slope, visualizing the wonderful scene I had just seen on television<sup>5</sup>. It was a scene from Beijing, in which a group of Chinese artists with disabilities made the shape of Kannon using a thousand hands. This impressive vision appeared and disappeared in the bamboo grove where the slope continued.

I have just finished writing this preface. What sun will rise in the sky in May, 2007, when this journal is published? Can I really survive until that day?



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<sup>5</sup> News station, TV Asahi, 1 December 2005.

## **Similarity of the distributions of the strong seismic intensity zones of the 1854 Ansei Nankai and the 1707 Hoi Earthquakes on the Osaka plain and the ancient Kawachi Lagoon**

**TSUJI Yoshinobu**

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### **1. Seismic intensity distributions of the 1854 Ansei Nankai and the 1707 Hoi Earthquakes in the Osaka plain**

The Ansei Nankai Earthquake of December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1854 and the Hoi Earthquake of October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1707 belong to the series of the Nankai gigantic earthquakes occurring in the sea region south of the Kii Straights and the Shikoku Island on the boundary surface between the Eurasian and the Philippine plates. They occur in the intervals of about one hundred years. In the recent thirty years many old documents describing these earthquakes were found out and their texts were published by Earthquake Research Institute (1987). On the basis of these texts I made databases of individual events induced by these earthquakes at each pinpoint on street maps, and the detailed distribution of seismic intensity in the area of Osaka Prefecture became clarified.

Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 show the distributions of the seismic intensities (in Japan Meteorological Agency <JMA, Kishicho> scale of the 1854 Ansei Nankai Earthquake and the 1707 Hoi Earthquake in the region of the Osaka Plain.

We should notice that there appears a seismic intensity peak in the region on the Kawachi plain about 10 kilometers west of the central Osaka. The seismic intensity strong (equal to or more than “weaker 6”) zone extends on the area covering the area between Fuse and Ishikiri stations of the Kintetsu Nara Line, and it takes the shape of a circle with diameter of about 7 kilometers both in north-south and east-west directions.

We should note that the point of “Tadetsu”, where Jinmu, the first Emire of Japan, landed, battled against Nagasunehiko and defeated before his succeeding to the throne. in the ancient years, is situated on the east edge of this area.

### **2. Kawachi Lagoon in Yayoi Stage**

In the recent twenty years, Kajiyama et al. (1987) pointed out that there was a large lagoon which was directly connected with Osaka Bay through a channel called “Naniwa-no-Watari (Naniwa ford)” in the present Kawachi plain. Fig. 3 shows the area of the Lagoon Kawaci-ko, which existed in the Yayoi Stage (AD 3 to 4 centuries). In this figure, the fat line shows the east movement route of Jinmu, the first Empire of Japan, who came from the Palace “Takashima” in Kibi Province, Okayama Prefecture in present, landed at Tadetsu, the innermost point of the lagoon, and battled against Nagasunehiko, the chief of the Kinki District in the Ancient years. It is described in the text of “Kojiki (The description of folk history of Japan)” that after this battle, he retreated from this lagoon passing through Minamigata Point, and went south to O-no-Minato, Wakayama city in present.

Today the lagoon disappeared and the point Tadetsu is a name of a square in Daito City about 20 kilometers apart from the nearest coastline.

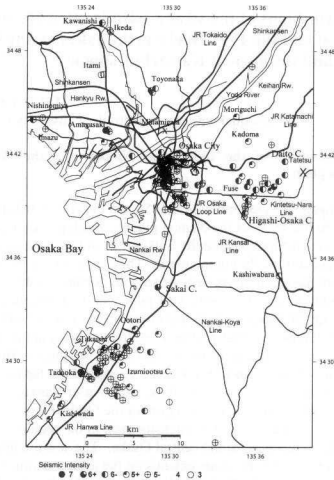


Fig. 1 Distribution of seismic intensities of the 1854 Ansei Nankai Earthquake  
 Mark "X" denotes the location of Tatetsu, where the first Empire Jinmu landed and battled against Nagasunehiko.

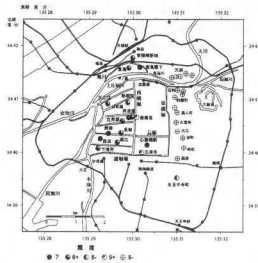


Fig 1-b Detailed map of Fig. 1 in the Osaka city zone



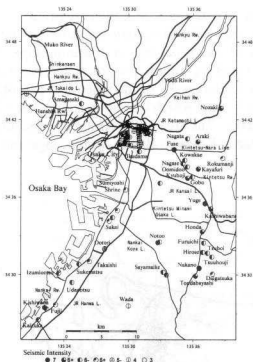


Fig. 2 Distribution of seismic intensities of the 1707 Hoei Earthquake

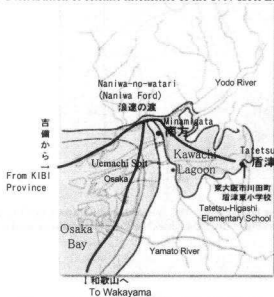


Fig. 3 The area of Lagoon Kawachi-ko, which existed in the Yoyoi Era (AD 3 to 4 centuries). The fat line shows the east movement route of Jinmu, the first Empire of Japan. (after Kajiyama et al. 1985)

### 3. Similarity of the area of large seismic intensity of the 1854 Ansei Nankai Earthquake and the ancient lagoon Kawachi-ko

Let us compare the large seismic intensity area of the Kawachi plain (Fig. 1) and the area of the ancient lagoon Kawachi-ko (Fig. 3). We can easily recognize that the both areas takes almost the same place and the sama shape to each other. Fig. 4 shows the overlaid map of Figs. 1 and 3. We can conclude that the area of the ancient Kawachi-ko lagoon is very similar with that of seismic intensity equal to or over weaker 6 of the 1854 Ansei Nankai Earthquake. We may generally say that the shaking of the ground will be stronger in the area, where there was a water area such as a lagoon, a lake, a swamp, or an inlet in past.

Next let us compare Fig. 2 with Fig 3. For the case of the 1707 Hōei Earthquake the area of the large seismic zone extends beyond the shoreline of the lagoon Kawachi-ko. Fig 5 shows the coastline of the Osaka district in Jomon stage about 6000 to 7000 years before present, in which we can see that the water area in Osaka plain was greater than in the Yayoi stage (Fig.3). At the innermost part of Osaka Bay, there was another bay called Kawachi Bay, which was not a lagoon but a bay with widely opened mouth to Osaka Bay. The area of the strong seismic intensity of the 1707 Hōei Earthquake is similar to Kawachi Bay in Jomon stage, rather than Kawachi Lagoon in Yayoi stage.

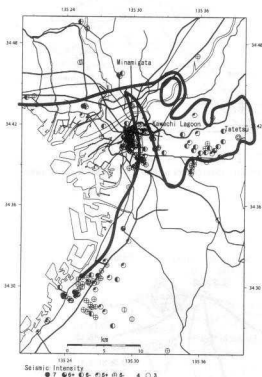


Fig. 4 Overlaid map of Figs. 1 and 3. The fat line shows the shoreline in the Yayoi Era, (1 to 4 centuries). We should notice that the area of strong shaking of the 1854 Ansei Nankai Earthquake is similar to that of the ancient lagoon “Kawachi-ko”.

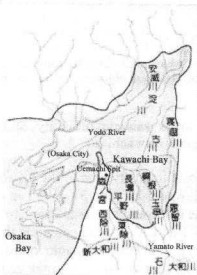


Fig. 5 Map of Osaka district in the Jomon Era, about BC 40–50 centuries(after Kajiyama et al., 1985)

#### **4. Conclusions**

We can conclude as the followings;

1. The distribution of the seismic intensity equal to or more than weaker 6 (such an intensity that several percent of houses are possible to be entirely destroyed) of the Ansei Nankai Earthquake of December 24 in the Osaka plain almost takes the similar place and the similar shape as that of the ancient Kawachi Lagoon which existed in Yayoi stage (1 to 4 centuries). That of the 1707 Hoei Earthquake of October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1707 extends beyond the shoreline of the lagoon. It is similar to Kawachi bay in Jomon stage rather than the Kawachi lagoon of the Yayoi stage.
2. The legend story of Jimmu, the first Empire of Japan that he moved east from Kyushu, Okayama to the Kinki district and landed at Tadetsu, which is inland point about 20 kilometers apart from the coast at present, is not a story of imaginary made up but is realistic one in considering with the distribution of the water area of the ancient Kawachi Lagoon.
3. There is the tendency that the ground shakes stronger in the time of occurring a gigantic earthquake at the place which is situated at a water area in past.

#### **5. Acknowledgements**

The author wished his thanks to Prof. Tatsuo Usami and Ms. Kazue Ueda who collected old documents recording historical earthquakes in Japan for more than twenty years and introduced them to us as a series of published material books.

#### **References**

- Earthquake Research Institute, 1987, "Shinshu-Nihon-Jishin Siryou" (The newly revised collection of old materials of earthquakes in Japan), vol. 5-2, pp2528.
- Hokotaro Kajiyama, and Minoru Ichihara, 1985, "Zoku Osaka heiya Hattatsu shi (The Developmental History of the Osaka Plain with References to the Radio-carbon Dates "



## **A study on the long lives described in the classics**

**KOGA Tatsuya**

### **Preface**

The classics of the world include more than a few examples of ancient people who lived to the ages of 80 or 90, and sometimes to over 100 years of age. These people lived in the era of Christ or before, and it is well-known that ancient Greek philosophers such as Socrates (who died at age 70) and Plato (who died at age 81) lived long lives. According to "Lives of Eminent Philosophers" by Greek author Diogenes Laertius in the third century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> these early philosophers lived longer than contemporary ones. For example, it is recorded that Gorgias died at the age of 109 and Zeno at the age of 98. Therefore, it would seem that people of the fourth or fifth century B.C. lived incredibly long lives.

Furthermore, one of the most famous pharaohs of ancient Egypt was Ramses II, who supposedly reigned for 67 years (from 1279 to 1212 B.C.) and died when he was 92.<sup>2</sup> In addition, according to the Old Testament,<sup>3</sup> Moses is believed to have lived until he was 120.

In the East, it is recorded in Buddhist literature<sup>4</sup> that The Buddha in India lived until he was 80 and that his disciple Subadda died at age 120. Confucius in China is said to have died when he was 74. Life spans and reigning periods of the emperors in the Chou dynasty were seemingly much longer than those of the emperors in Han and later dynasties.

Few scientific and historical investigations have been performed on the long life spans of ancient people who are mentioned in the classics. In this paper, I propose that the phenomena of 'long lives' are due to what may be called a "double-year calendar" system, such that the period known today as a year was divided into two years in ancient times. From this point of view, the ages of ancient people become half of what is described, which is reasonable for a human life span and does not contradict archaeological knowledge.

### **Discovery of the double-year calendar**

In Japan, Takehiko FURUTA proved that ancient Japanese (called Wajin / Woren 倭人 in the second century) used a double-year calendar that divided one year into two.<sup>5</sup> The following statements were derived from descriptions in "Gishi Wajin Den" and "Giryaku"<sup>6</sup> of "Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms":

"As for their life spans, maybe [they were] one hundred years, or eighty to ninety years" (Gishi Wajin Den / Weishi Woren-zhuan 魏志倭人傳).

"People do not know the calendar with the New Year or four seasons, but count their years by cultivation in the spring and harvests in the autumn"(Giryaku / Weilue 魏略).

Previously, scholars perceived the descriptions of typical Wajin life spans-- "one hundred years, or eighty to ninety years" -- to be exaggerations, and they did not take them seriously. However, Furuta showed that the description of the Wajin in "Giryaku" indicated a double-year calendar that divided one year into spring and autumn, and that the life span of the Wajin could be understood as 40 to 50 years.

The ages of the 90 people (i.e. 27% of the total of 332 people) whose ages at time of death are mentioned in "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" were investigated, and the average life span was determined to be 52.5 years. It was also disclosed that if individuals, mentioned because they lived particularly long lives, were excluded, then the typical age at death was closer to 30 or 40 years old. The life span of the Wajin was twice this amount; therefore, the age of the Wajin must have been based on the double-year calendar.

Discovery of the double-year calendar may explain the average life span of 90 years for the emperors in "Kojiki / Gushiji 古事記" and "Nihon-Shoki / Riben-Shuji 日本書紀". Furuta pointed out that their ages must have been described using the double-year calendar, which then leads us to a reasonable understanding.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, he expanded his theory to include a hypothesis which states that the origin of the double-year calendar was the Pacific region, including the Palau Islands.<sup>8</sup>

Traces of the double-year calendars that are found in worldwide classics are introduced below.

#### **Traces of the double-year calendar in the year of the Buddha's death**

In the research on the history of Buddhism, two major theories exist regarding the year of the Buddha's death. One theory places the Buddha's life from 563 to 483 B.C., based on the oral tradition in south Ceylon. It assumes that King Asoka was enthroned in 266 B.C., and that 218 years passed between that year and the year when the Buddha died. Thus, the year of the Buddha's death was fixed at 483 B.C.<sup>9</sup>

The other theory, proposed by Gen Nakamura, indicates that the Buddha lived from 463 to 383 B.C. This theory, based on a northern legend, is derived from research on Greece, which claims that King Asoka was enthroned in 268 B.C. Based on views such as the one in "Shibabulun 十八部論"<sup>10</sup> that King Asoka ascended the throne 116 years after the Buddha died, the death year of the Buddha was determined to be 383 B.C.<sup>11</sup>

The only possible explanation for the discrepancy between these theories is that different calendars were used. Quite possibly, southern legends such as the ones in Ceylon were passed down using a double-year calendar, and northern legends were passed down with a single-year calendar. Thus, the existence of two distinct theories about the year of The Buddha's death indicates the existence of a double-year calendar.

In conclusion, the actual year of the Buddha's death should be understood to be 383 B.C., as suggested by Gen Nakamura.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the year of his birth should be recorded as 423 B.C., which was 40 years before the year of his death, instead of 463 B.C., which is 80 years before his death, as originally assumed.

#### **Traces of the double-year calendar in Egypt**

One historical document on the chronicles of successive dynasties of Egypt is "History of Egypt" by Manetho (367-283 B.C.). This document is the framework of

the Egyptian history known today. However, it has not remained in perfect form, and only the parts that were quoted in other documents still exist. This document recorded 30 dynasties from the first unified dynasty of Egypt in 3100 B.C. to the last Egyptian Pharaoh, Nectanebo II.

In "History of Egypt," it is recorded that King Semerkhet (3000 B.C.) ruled for 18 years. However, on the Palermo Stone (created between 2498 to 2345 B.C.), which is one of the oldest epigraphs in existence today, the period of Semerkhet's reign is recorded as nine years.<sup>13</sup> The difference is exactly half; therefore, it can be assumed that Manetho wrote "History of Egypt" using the double-year calendar. This implies that the absolute ages of ancient Egyptians that have been chronicled according to "History of Egypt" could be interpreted quite differently. In addition, the periods of reign (not the ages) of many kings in "History of Egypt" were nearly 50 years,<sup>14</sup> even though the life span of ancient Egyptians is considered to have been 40 or maybe less than 30 years.<sup>15</sup> This fact raises the possibility that the document was recorded with the double-year calendar.

### **Traces of the double year calendar in "Zhuangzi"**

Zhuangzi lived toward the end of the age of the warring states in ancient China (second half of the Fourth Century B.C.). In "Zhuangzi 莊子," in which the words of Zhuangzi were recorded, it states, "For men, a hundred years is long, eighty is medium and sixty is short" ("Zhuangzi," edited by Toseki, Vol. 29).<sup>16</sup> One hundred years is an incredibly long life span even today. But if Zhuangzi used the double-year calendar for the description, his account would mean 50 years was a long life span, 40 years was average life span, and 30 years was considered a short life span. This would correspond well with the ages at time of death of Chinese people, which were recorded in the later part of "Romance of Three Kingdoms." In addition, "Guanzi 管子," "Liezi 列子," "Analects of Confucius / Lunyu 論語," "Zengzi 曾子," and "Xunzi 荀子" were edited with the double-year calendar, and several traces of the calendar are also seen in "Shiki."<sup>17</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The seemingly absurdly long lives of ancient people in the classics become understandable once the idea of the double-year calendar is introduced. Furthermore, with the double-year calendar, the reigning periods of the kings and emperors actually become half of the original descriptions. Therefore, it is a logical possibility that actual chronicles of the ancient history of Egypt, Greece, and China may vary dramatically. Thus, the concept of the double-year calendar forces a reconsideration of the actual life spans of humans in ancient dynasties all over the world.

Incidentally, a calendar with 210 days in a year is used in Bali.<sup>18</sup> It will be our future task to research how this double-year calendar came to exist and when it was used.

In closing, I would like to thank Mr. Takehiko FURUTA for his advice and support in publishing this paper.

**Notes:**

1. "Lives of Eminent Philosophers" by Diogenes Laertius, Vol. 1 pp. 153 and 250, Vol. 2 p. 228, Vol. 3 p. 57; 2004 edition, Iwanami Bunko.
2. "Chronicles of the Pharaohs" by Peter Clayton, edited by Sakuji Yoshimura, p. 201, the fourth impression of the first edition, 2001, Sogensha.
3. "Holy Bible-New Translation," p. 336, 1994, Japan Bible Publication.
4. Notes by Mitsuyoshi Saegusa and others in "Diigha-nikaaya-pali / Changahanjing 長阿含經 1," p. 122, 1993, Okura Publication.
5. "There was no Yamataikoku" by Takehiko Furuta, p. 395, 1971, Asahi Shimbun.
6. "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" by Chinjyu, Vol. 3, p. 856, 2000, Chuka Shobo.
7. "Lost Dynasty of Kyushu" by Takehiko Furuta, p. 125, 1973, Asahi Shimbun.
8. "Future of Ancient History" by Takehiko Furuta, p. 118, 1998, Akashi Shoten. In Palau, six months form a year (RAK), and those six months with the same names are repeated.
9. "Life of Shakuson, Gotama Buddha" by Gen Nakamura, pp. 31-32, 1994, Hozokan.
10. 'Shibabulun 十八部論', in "Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo/ Dazangjing 大正新修大藏經," Vol. 49, p.17, 1927.
11. Same as note 9.
12. As mentioned later, this "383 B.C." may change with the revision of the absolute chronicles, using the double-year calendar.
13. One view is that the inscribed years on the Palermo Stone were based on the number of livestock that were checked every two years, so that the actual years must be obtained by doubling those years ("British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt" by Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, translated by Sugihiko Uchida, p. 403, 1997, Hara Shobo). However, the long periods of reign in "History of Egypt" cannot be explained this way.
14. According to "Chronicles of the Pharaohs" by Peter Clayton, edited by Sakuji Yoshimura, pp. 25-102, (the fourth impression of the first edition, 2001, Sogensha), periods of reign were 62 years for Hor-Aha, 57 years for Djer, 47 years for King of Hor Ninetjer, 66 years for Khafra, 63 years for Menkaura, 50 years for Mentuhotep II, 44 years (including 10 years of joint reign) for Senusret I, and so on.
15. In "Les Momies, Un voyage dans l'éternité" by Francoise Dunand et al., edited by Sakuji Yoshimura (p. 150, the fifth impression of the first edition, 2000, Sogensha), the average life span is stated as 40 years, or even shorter if stillbirths are considered. This is even shorter than the 30 years mentioned in "Three Thousand Years of Egypt Kingdom" by Kaoru Yoshinari (p. 185, 2000, Kodansha Sensho Mechie).
16. "Zhuangzi" Vol. 4, p. 111, 2002, Iwanami Bunko.
17. Please refer to "The World of the Double-Year Calendar" by Tatsuya Koga in Vol. 7 of "New Ancient Study," pp.128-153 (2004, Shinsensha) and "The World of the Double-Year Calendar Part 2" in Vol. 8 of "New Ancient Study," pp. 147-159 (2005, Shinsensha). In these books, the author argues that the double-year calendar was also used in the "Odyssey" by Homer, the "Republic" by Plato, the "Rhetoric" by Aristotle, the "Cato Major: A Dialogue on Old Age" by Cicero, the "Shortness of Life" by Seneca, and "The Laws of Manu."
18. "Culture Tour with the Calendar" by Hiromitsu Nakamaki in Asahi Shimbun, Kansai area evening news on 16 April 2003.



## Wandering without Cat - “Cat” and “Sanshiro” -

DENDO Kiyokazu

translated by FUJISAWA Toru

*I Am a Cat* ( hereafter referred to as *Cat* ) is a literary masterpiece which made the name NATSUME Soseki widely known to his Meiji contemporaries. It may not be too much to say that its biting satiric and comically humorous spirit is unparalleled in the history of modern Japanese literature.

There are numerous theses on *Cat*, for example, “Collection of Theses on Soseki’s Works, Vol. 1, *I Am a Cat*,” “Studies on Soseki, Vol.14”, “Soseki and Rakugo” (traditional comic story telling) by MIZUKAWA Tadao, and so on. Recently (in June, 2005), an NHK program entitled “All About Curiosity” took up *Cat* as its main subject. Thus, *Cat* has been thoroughly analyzed from various viewpoints to date; therefore, I am aware that you may feel bored if I introduce it in an orthodox way.

Rather, in this essay, I would like to discuss *Cat* from a somewhat different perspective based on two of Soseki’s novels, namely, *Cat* and *Sanshiro*. Although no relation seems to exist between the two novels, they share an unimaginable common horizon with each other, indeed. To simplify my contention, I wish to focus my explanation on two subjects only.

The first point, common to the two novels, is the matter of family and family lineage. As is widely known, In *Cat* the story begins with a nameless cat, of unknown origins, mewing in a damp, dark place. As a matter of fact, this scene was based on Soseki’s own experiences. In *Inside My Glass Doors*, his autobiography, which was written at a later date (1915), Soseki describes this memory of his childhood as follows:

“Soon after I was born, my parents foisted me off on a certain poor couple who lived off the sales and purchases of used household furniture and equipment. Of course, I don’t remember it at all, but somebody told me this after I came of age. I was exposed to the public eye every evening, in a small basket surrounded by junk, at a roadside stall in the streets of Yotsuya.

On a certain evening, my sister incidentally found me there and, feeling pity, she brought me home in her arms. I heard later that I was not able to sleep, and kept crying throughout the night. My father got angry and scolded her severely.”

Soseki was born in February, 1867, when his mother was 42 years old; therefore, he was unwanted and his birth was considered disgraceful according to the common sense of the times. He was foisted off according to superstitious tradition. Upon finding him one evening, his elder sister brought him back home.

I may not be the only person to recognize the similarities between NATSUME Kinnosuke (Soseki is his pen name) as a crying infant and the mewing cat. Soseki has projected his own image onto the cat. In this sense, it is appropriate, as Hando Kazutishi has done to state: “The cat is Soseki.” More importantly, in the story, the cat drowns in barrel without leaving any offspring. In short, the cat’s posterity is limited to one generation.

It is interesting to note that the theme of one-generation (bachelorhood) applies not only to the cat, but also to other characters in the same novel such as “Kangetsu” and “Meitei”. Furthermore, what is interesting is the emergence, in the last scene, of the idea of the “impossibility of the marriage institution,” the likelihood that the institution of marriage will cease.

“As individualism develops, everybody starts to claim his/her ego. Accordingly, when people are loyal to their principles, insistence, and tastes, they will come to feel it is painful to live together. As a result, brothers and sisters as well as parents and children will have to start to live separately. Moreover, any married couples will have to be divorced.” (11)

This somewhat scornful, radical idea is also reflected in the novel, *Sanshiro*. As you may notice, Hirota sensei is a bachelor. So is Haraguchi, the painter.

Other characters in the novel, such as Sanshiro, Nonomiya Sohachi and his sister, Yoshiko, are also single. In *Sanshiro*, only Satomi’s brother and sister are married.

“Marriage is a matter of question. Both gathering and parting will be difficult to commit freely. When women get promoted to a higher social position, the population of unmarried people will grow. Women’s power should be socially ruled out until the number of singles stops increasing.”(10)

There is some truth in Haraguchi’s comments, whether they are serious or comical. In the Meiji era when *Cat* was written, Japan was a patriarchal society. Generally, women were excluded, even from inheritance. The family register included three generations in the same family unit, and the family register law assumed a large family unit. In such an age, Soseki created characters who satirically discuss “the impossibility of the marriage institution”, or the problem of the disappearance of family and family lines. If marriage becomes an impossibility, there will be no offspring, as a matter of course.

In *Cat*, a famous Rakugo (comic story-telling) is quoted:

“You know respectable, noble Tenshouin-sama, the legitimate widow of Iesada the thirteenth Shogun. I know that she’s Tenshouin’s private-secretary’s younger sister’s husband’s mother’s nephew’s daughter.”(2)

It is necessary to note that, behind the laughter, Soseki was disclosing his hidden idea, that the insistence on the importance of family lines is ridiculous.

Soseki seems to recognize the times seriously with the idea that this unprecedented pioneering Meiji era may end in one and only generation. Look back at the past Shogun families in Japan. The Hojo line ended. Ashikaga ended. Toyotomi ended. Tokugawa ended at the 15<sup>th</sup> generation. The Quin dynastic family line in China is about to end. This is an age in which family line or genealogy has lost its value.

Even if the idea of perpetuity of the family line (the importance of genealogy) is forced on people, an original state will never be constructed, nor will creative individuals be produced. Any rational person may possess the common sense or understanding that family lines will never guarantee creativity at the state or individual level.

The second point common to *Cat* and *Sanshiro* is that the characters share the habit of wandering around. This fact seems to be a small commonality, but, indeed, it contains a very important significance.

As you learn from *Cat*, the cat of the Kushami family, as if enjoying a catlike walk, sneaks into the wealthy Kaneda (Goldfield) residence on tiptoe. Soseki, who abhors detectives, is daring to make excuses for the cat's act of sneaking.

"To say that I" sneak in" gives a misleading impression: It sounds unpleasant as if the act looks like that of thieves or extra-matrimonial lovers. Though it is true that I was not invited to Kaneda's( Goldfields ), I did not intend to snatch a slice of bonito, or to arrange a date with Miss Spaniel whose eyes and nose are convulsively agglomerated in the center of her face. Well, was I snooping? Never! I think that there are no jobs more degrading than those of the detective and the loan shark." (4)

Why, then, does the cat sneak in? This is because it is irrational and illegitimate in the first place for the vulgar human beings to claim the right of possession by craftily surrounding a vast piece of land with a fence. The kitten then starts to discuss the legitimacy of property ownership.

The new Meiji government confiscated the residences of the Tokugawa family and *daimyo* for the purpose of using them for military facilities and universities. At the same time, however, high ranking officials in the Meiji government chose the best land and built their own houses. Soseki, who recognized what was happening during this period of change, may have deemed the idea of property ownership to be a dream in vain. Soseki, himself, did not own land throughout his life, though he could have obtained it. Thus, the cat brags:

"In case that, while one is reasonable, the opposition is much stronger, and one has to choose either to submit by any means, or to tactfully take advantage of the opposition to attain one's reasonable objectives, I would, of course, choose the latter."

*Cat* portrays the Kaneda (Goldfield) family who live in the neighborhood, as a symbol of "wealth" and "power". The conversations among the cat, Kushami, and Meitei often suggest a keen criticism on plutocracy. This is *Cat's* main theme, especially after the third chapter.

The cat's strolls are indispensable in unveiling the falsehoods of the corrupt men of power and wealth. It is this nameless cat who is brave enough to sneak into the nest of "evils" alone. So to speak, this kitten plays the role of James Bond. There is much to justify the cat's actions; they can be seen as attributable to the corrupt society at the time. According to "The Real History of Scandals in Japan" by MUROFUSHI Tetsuro, the Meiji period was a paradise for corruption. Terrible scandals took place one after another, which would be inconceivable today.

Let me offer a glimpse of some of them:

<u>Name of Scandal</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Major Persons Involved</u>
1 Yamashiroya Case	1872	Yamagata Aritomo, Yamashiroya Wasuke

2 Yamataniya Case	1873	Yamagata Aritomo, Mitani Sankuro
3 Osarizawa Copper Mine Problem	1873	Inoue Kaoru, Shibuzawa Eiichi
4 Fujitagumi Bribery	1879	Inoue Kaoru, Fuita Denjiro
5 Government Goods Disposal	1881	Kuroda Kiyotaka, Godai Tomoatsu
6 Umi Bozu Case	1882 ~1885	Ohkuma Shigenobu, Iwasaki Yataro
7 Tokyo City Water Supply Bribery	1895	Kazama City Council members
8 Tokyo City Garbage Bribery	1900	Nakajima Matagoro
9 Tokyo City Streetcar Payoff	1901	Hoshi Toru et. al.
10 Textbook Bribery	1902	Five Prefectural Governors
11 Nitto Scandal	1909	Seiyukai Party, Daido Club, Shinpo Party members

The last item, the Nitto Scandal was taken up as a topic in Soseki's *Sorekara*, [*And Then*.] This demonstrates that Soseki was extraordinarily concerned about scandals. I continue to deplore these scandals, because most powerful politicians, who were apparently responsible, were not prosecuted, unlike those involved in postwar scandals, such as the Lockheed payoff and Recruit case. Moreover, the money the Meiji officials received for their part in the scandals was incomparably greater than the money received by those involved in the Lockheed and Recruit cases. For example, the stolen money of the "Yamashiroya Scandal", the first of a series of modern scandals, amounted to as much as fifty billion yen, if adjusted to current figures. Yamagata Aritomo, who may have pocketed most of the money, was not even arrested. This scandal ended as soon as Yamashiroya Wasuke, Yamagata's friend, committed suicide in a military facility.

Also, Soseki's diary clearly shows his deep concern for the plutocrat scandals. In his diary, dated June 17, 1909 he wrote as follows: "It is said that Ito and other high ranked government officials took too much money out of the budget for the Imperial Ministry, sometimes ten thousand; sometimes five thousand. Their needs are endless. They are fooling the nation."

It was during the Meiji era that the Imperial property came to consist of land and property confiscated from Tokugawa *daimyo*. The Imperial family's financial basis was thus solidified, and high ranking government officials habitually used Imperial money without hesitation in the Meiji period.

Hara Takashi, a non Clan prime minister who was assassinated in 1921, wrote in his diary that Yamagata Aritomo borrowed 980,000 yen from the imperial budget never to return. This money is said to have been used to bribe the Opposition Party members (Kenseikai), whose head was Hoshi Toru, in order to pass the revised land taxation law. The cost for bribery was said to amount to between 100,000 or 200,000 yen but the exact amount is unknown. What is clear is that the rest of money remained unaccounted for. In the 1920s, the amount of 980,000 yen would be seven to eight billion yen in current figures. This fact reveals that the high ranking government official's greed was beyond our imagination.

To understand Soseki's cat, we have to interpret his speech in *Cat*:

“Those careering outside the walls, and those honored and praised by all and sundry as paragons of human virtue (*Cat 9*) continue, without being jailed or put in mental hospitals.”

Nowadays, Japanese people, whether because we are busy or optimistic, have almost forgotten these Meiji period scandals. However, unless the public becomes angry, we are very foolish. It is no wonder that Soseki widely expressed his anger in his diary. Nay, I'm sure that Soseki's anger would be duly shared by the current Japanese public, too.

On the other hand, Sanshiro, another of Soseki's protagonists, seemed to be an ordinary, innocent non-political young man, who wandering around the “Hongo Culture Zone” (Maeda Ai); however, to our surprise, he was also adventuring in the same way as the cat.

This happened when Sanshiro, while taking a stroll, came across Hirota sensei and Yojiro, a friend, both of whom were looking for a house in which to move. Thus, he tagged along with them to the Sendagi and Yanaka areas.(4) Following Yojiro, Sanshiro and Hirota sensei happened to sneak into the Satake Shimoyashiki, the suburban residence of the Satake family, formerly *daimyo* from Akita, situated in Dokanyamashita. Then, a guard found and scolded them harshly. They were trespassing like the cat. The scene is depicted simply.

Why does Soseki create the character, Sanshiro, a youthful wanderer, as depicted in the aforementioned scene? There has been little agreement on this question to date, reflecting a variety of different opinions. Why, again I ask, did Soseki have Sanshiro sneak into the Satake Shimoyashiki and wander around Tokyo?

I would like to deduce the answer to that question from *Cat*. My answer is very simple: As with *Cat*, it is to criticize the abuses of the wealthy and powerful and to laugh at them. That's all. You may react negatively. So, let me explain my assumption.

The first point of note is that the areas in which Sanshiro wandered were concentrated in the northwestern part of Tokyo, if we use the campus of Tokyo Imperial University as the central point. This area didn't include Asakusa, Tsukiji, Mukojima, and Shibamata. The furthest eastern point was Ueno, while the point furthest to the west was Arai Yakushi in Nakano. The area in which Sanshiro wandered was limited to the area connecting Nakano, Ochiai, Takada, Okubo, Mejiro, Sugamo, Somei, Tabata, Dokanyama, Yanaka, and Ueno.( Sanshiro, himself, lived at Hongo Oiwake ).

Meanwhile, changing viewpoints, I would like to ask a question as to the residence of the most powerful person living in the area in which Sanshiro wandered. In short, in the case of *Sanshiro*, who is the equivalent of the Kaneda (Goldfield) family in *Cat*? Who is this man?

If this was the postwar period, between, for example, the 1960's and the 1970's, people might have immediately pointed to "Mejiro Palace," the residence of the well-known "Black General," Tanaka Kakuei. You may remember, not so long ago, when reporters were constantly rushing to Mejiro Palace. So then, where was the center of wealth and power in the Imperial period of Meiji?

The answer is quite easy if you consider the history of the Meiji era; it was "Chinzanso", the estate of Yamagata Aritomo, the famous Meiji statesman. During his lifetime, Yamagata held a variety of civil and military titles: Prime Minister, Leader of the Privy Council, Chief of the General Staff, Field Marshall of the Army, Grand Cordon of the Supreme Order, and Prince. Chinzanso, situated adjacent to Sekiguchi Bashoan, was none other than "Kaneda House". From Meiji to the Taisho era, Chinzanso was the center of Clan politics. Moreover, culture and politics were combined; tanka poet and physician, Mori Ogai established the Tokiwa Poem Association in order to benefit from Yamagata's authority. The Tokiwa Poem Association began in September, 1906 for the first time, and meetings were held 185 times, indeed, until Yamagata's death in 1922. Most gatherings were held at Yamagata Aritomo's estates, Chinzanso, New Chinzanso-Sarasaratei, and Kokian in Odawara.

Thanks to the successful 'Tokiwakai maneuvering', Ogai obtained, in November, 1907, the long-awaited position of Army Surgeon-General, the highest ranking position in the medical corps. The timing of his promotion in November, 1907 occurred immediately before Soseki started to write *Sanshiro*. It is inconceivable that Soseki plotted *Sanshiro* without being aware of this scandal. Yamagata, himself, is "Kaneda" (Goldfield).

As evidence to support my opinion, note that "Chinzanso" is situated 3.4 kilometers west of Shinjiike pond or Ikutokuen at the center of the Tokyo Imperial University campus, where Sanshiro was standing. Shinjiike pond is the memorable place where Mineko, the heroine, and Sanshiro meet by chance.

Soseki tells us who the rich, vulgar man is through the name of the protagonist, Sanshiro. To explain we must look at each syllable of Sanshiro's name: *san* means three, *shi* means four, while *ro* meaning man, is often used in the names of males. The residence of the vulgar man (Yaro) in the novel, is 3.4 kilometer west of where Sanshiro stands.

On the other hand, Soseki places Mineko facing west. Chinzanso can be understood as Sato, the home village where the Choshu Clan continued their secret meetings to dominate the politics of the country. Meanwhile, Mineko's family name is Satomi, where Sato refers to the home village and *mi* means to look. A woman whose name is Satomi gazes at the red sky in the west as if she is bowing to Chinzanso!

The reason for having his protagonist trespass on Shimoyashiki was nothing but a hint for readers to direct their attention closely to Chinzanso, the greatest gathering place for the Choshu Clan. It is no coincidence that a “lost child” and a “beggar” appear in the novel at Dangozaka, near Mori Ogai’s residence, Kanchoro.

With the entrance of a “beggar” and a “lost child”, Soseki indirectly criticizes Ogai who held the Tokiwakai, and, at the same time, indirectly points to Yamagata Aritomo behind Ogai.

Although Chinzanso is not shown in the “Soseki Literature Map” attached to Iwanami’s Comprehensive Soseki Works, Heisei edition, (needless to say, no other Soseki Literature Maps ever adopted it), Chinzanso should be greatly emphasized in any Soseki Literature Map to be published in the future.

Sanshiro starts from this point. This unimaginable spirit of humor is the very essence of *Sanshiro*, a great work. Sanshiro’s Tokyo wanderings do not accompany the cat, but the feline spirit is incarnated in Sanshiro, who vividly embraces it.





## To worship the spirits of fallen enemies and allies - What Ota Kakumin's ideas ask of the people of the future -

MATSUMOTO Ikuko

### Introduction

OTA Kakumin (1866-1944) was a Buddhist priest who ministered at Urajiro Honganji (Jodoshinshu Honganjiha), a temple in Vladivostok in the Far East of Russia, for about 30 years, from 1903 to 1931. Kakumin survived, despite being caught in the divide between the governments, religions and cultures of Japan and Russia, and his ideas contain many important suggestions for the present relationship between Russia and Japan.

I have published papers in Japanese academic journals on issues related to the history of thought, discovered through my study of Ota Kakumin,<sup>6</sup> but it is a great honour for me to be able to communicate my research to the world in this new English journal. In this paper I will explain the most important element of Ota Kakumin's ideas, "to worship the spirits of fallen allies and enemies equally." This will give us profound insights into the conflicts between religions and nations, which confront us today, and help us consider how these conflicts may affect people in the future.

### (1) The life of Ota Kakumin

Ota Kakumin was born at the temple Hosenji (Jodoshinshu Honganjiha) in Yokkaichi city, Mie prefecture. He went to Vladivostok in 1903, and was engaged as a representative of the temple Urajiro Honganji<sup>7</sup> until 1931. After returning to Japan in 1931, he went to Mongolia and worked unceasingly to revive Lamaism in Jining Temple in the Jining District of Inner Mongolia. He died there in 1944 at the age of 79. During his life he published the "Tales of Russia"<sup>8</sup> and "The diary of the prayer to the Buddha in Leningrad"<sup>9</sup>.

There exists some studies on Ota Kakumin, for example, in Russia by Zoya Morgun, a professor of the Far Eastern State University in Vladivostok, and in Japan by Kyuzo Kato and Mizuo Tsukinoki<sup>10</sup>, but due to a lack of historical documents on him, hardly any reliable research exists.

In addition to these works, there is also research that suggests Ota Kakumin was a "spy", such as John J. Stephan's work "the Russian Far East"<sup>11</sup>. Stephan wrote

<sup>6</sup> Matsumoto Ikuko, 'Nichiro sensou to bukkyou shisou' Nichiro sensou (2) tatakai no shosou to isan, ed Gunji shi gakkai, Tokyo: Kinseisha, 2005, pp. 184-200.

<sup>7</sup> The Buddhist temple in Vladivostok from 1886 to 1939. Jodoshinshu Honganjiha.

<sup>8</sup> Ota Kakumin "rosia monogatari" Heigo Syuppannsya, Tokyo, 1925.

<sup>9</sup> Ota Kakumin "Leningrad nenbutsu nikki" Daijousya, Kyoto, 1935.

<sup>10</sup> З.Ф.Моргунн. "Японская Диаспора во Владивостоке" *Известия Восточного института ДВГУ*, 1996. Kato Kyuzo "Siberia ki" Ushio Syuppannsya, Tokyo, 1980. Tsukinoki Mizuo 'Ajia ni okeru nihon syukyoku kyoudan no katsudou to sono iminzoku kyouiiku ni kansuru oboegaki-mansyu ni okeru bukkyou kyoudan no katsudou' Douhou daigaku bukkyou bunka kenkyujo kiyou 22, 2002.

<sup>11</sup> John J. Stephan *The Russian Far East*, Stanford University Press, 1994. John J. Stephan is a professor of history of Hawaii University.

as follows: "Abbot Ota Kakumin demurely blended philanthropy and espionage."<sup>12</sup> Stephan used Ota Kakumin's "Tales of Russia", Kato Kyuzo's "The record of Siberia" and Ishimitsu Makiyo's "For who?"<sup>13</sup> as proof. Although I read these books carefully many times, I have not found any evidence to support his theory. That is to say, there is absolutely no historical proof that Ota Kakumin was a "spy". Moreover, I would like to point out that the word "spy" seems simple, but in fact it reflects the complicated relationships between nations, and their standards and values. Therefore in an academic sense it is inappropriate to use the word 'spy' without careful consideration of its meaning. I want to indicate that if it is to be used in an academic context it is necessary for us to give a clear academic definition of the word 'spy'.

(2) The rescue of 800 Japanese subjects left behind in Siberia during the Russo-Japanese war

Ota Kakumin's most important work was the rescue of 800 Japanese subjects left behind in Siberia during the Russo-Japanese war. In February 1904, a year after Kakumin arrived in Vladivostok, the Russo-Japanese war broke out. After the outbreak of war, the Japanese government commanded Japanese subjects living in many parts of Siberia to repatriate to Japan. Although the Japanese residents who lived in the towns on the coast, for example, in Vladivostok and in Khabarovsk, could return to Japan, the residents who lived inland, for example, in Blagoveshchensk, were unable to return.

In the international community there was an understanding that citizens residing in hostile nations during times of war were protected under international common law and they were not to be robbed of life or fortune. On top of this, the Japanese government entrusted the United States to protect the interests of Japanese, and Japanese residents could request protection in case of an emergency. However, in 1900, Chinese residents who lived in Blagoveshchensk were slaughtered by the Russian army and the Japanese government became apprehensive for the safety of Japanese residents left behind in Siberia. Ota was particularly concerned for the safety of Japanese residents, and felt it was his mission to gather the remaining residents and bring them back to Japan; so he decided to remain in Siberia by himself.

In response to his decision, Kawakami Toshitsune, a Japanese commercial agent in Vladivostok, recommended that Ota return to Japan saying, "Your mission is not only in Siberia. The most important thing that you must do now is to serve in the war and comfort soldiers on the battlefield"<sup>14</sup>. Ota replied, "In Japan there are hundreds of thousands of monks. But no matter how high their rank or virtue, they can no longer take even a single step into Russia"<sup>15</sup>. Although Ota, in essence, stated that it was more important for him to rescue people than to meet the demands of the nation, Kawakami was moved by his religious belief and eventually permitted Ota to remain in Siberia.

Ota left Vladivostok on December 2, 1904, and having traveled through Khabarovsk, Blagoveshchensk and Perm, embarked on the German ship "Willhard" at Bremerhaphen in Germany and arrived back in Japan via Nagasaki on December 6. The number of the Japanese residents who returned to Japan with Kakumin, classified by the place of residence, is as follows: Nikolaevsk 277, Blagoveshchensk 225, Zeya

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, pp.78.

<sup>13</sup> Ishimitsu Makiyo "Dare no tameni", Chukou bunko, Tokyo, 1979.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, "Rosia Monogatari", pp. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

54, Khabarovsk and many parts of Manchuria 196, and the crew of the ship caught in Sakhalin 63, a sum total of 815<sup>16</sup>.

The lists of the residents of Blagoveshchensk and Nikolaevsk are kept in the Japanese diplomatic museum.<sup>17</sup> I took the statistics of these lists and found that the residents who returned to Japan with Ota included many prostitutes. When he made a speech in Ganshoji Temple in Saga prefecture soon after his return, Ota mentioned the existence of Japanese prostitutes frankly in front of the audience saying, "in our company there are prostitutes whom society detests and among the men there are not a few people who are illiterate and uneducated and may give our society a lot of trouble"<sup>18</sup>. Mr. Oyagi Masaharu and Mrs. Oyagi Keiko<sup>19</sup> who kept the general shop "Oyasu shouten" in the city Tongliao in Inner Mongolia from 1933 to 1945 stated, "Kakumin saved prostitutes." Moreover, in his investigation right after his return Ota emphasized that the chastity of the women had been endangered saying, "in our company there were many people who were robbed of money and goods. Most seriously, there were not a few women who were violated"<sup>20</sup>. It is very likely that the first thing Ota thought of after the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war was the Japanese women living in many parts of Siberia. Behind Ota Kakumin's strong insistence on remaining – even against the advice of Kawakami – was his deep concern for the safety of these women. That is to say, it was his religious belief that he should save people who were at the bottom of the social ladder.

### (3) The exchange between Ota Kakumin and the general Nogi Maresuke on the battlefield of the Russo-Japanese war

After returning to Japan with the Japanese refugees, Ota rested at the Hosenji temple in Yokkaichi and then went to the battlefield in order to comfort soldiers in January 1905. In March he arrived at Oishibashi and met the lieutenant general,<sup>21</sup> Nogi Maresuke (1849-1912), on the battlefield of the pitched battle of Oishibashi.

As Ota was reciting a sutra and saying prayers to the Buddha over the body of Russian soldiers, Nogi asked him, "What do you think of this sight?"<sup>22</sup> Ota replied using the Buddhist saying "Issatsu Tashou"<sup>23</sup>: "Although many lives of the youth of Japan and Russia have been lost, this is only a fraction of the victims. I hope that many people will be saved in the future thanks to the victims of this war".

Hearing this, Nogi stated that in his case it was "Issyou Tasatsu"<sup>24</sup> By reversing the letters "Satsu" and "Shou", Nogi confessed his own personal emotional struggle. He was telling Ota: "Although I robbed many Japanese and Russian youths of their lives, only I, an old man, survived". Ota was moved by Nogi's attitude, as

<sup>16</sup> "Shin Aichi Shinbun" 9, December, 1905. This newspaper quoted the sum total as 825 but after careful calculation I found that the total was only 815. So I have chosen to regard this as a mistake and use the figure 815 in this article.

<sup>17</sup> "Nichiro seneki no sai zairo koukan oyobi teikoku shinmin hikiage ikkenn, ousyu keiyu no bu 1" the Japanese diplomatic museum, 5-2-1-14.

<sup>18</sup> "Saga Shinbun" 20, December, 1904.

<sup>19</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Oyagi married through the good offices of Kakumin. They are living in Shiga prefecture now. I met with them in Kyoto in August of 2003 and interviewed them.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, "Nichiro seneki no sai zairo koukan oyobi teikoku shinmin hikiage ikken, ousyu keiyu no bu 1" pp. 830697.

<sup>21</sup> Nogi was later promoted to the rank of General.

<sup>22</sup> Ota Kakumin "Nogi syougun no ichi isshi", Daijyou, Kyoto, June, 1938.

<sup>23</sup> "Issatsu Tashou" (一般多生): 'the sacrifice of a few lives for the good of the many'

<sup>24</sup> "Issyou Tasatsu" (一生多殺): 'many deaths for just one life'

Nogi was not proud of the victory, but grieved for the lost youth, of both his allies and enemies.

In 1911, after about 6 years, Ota met Nogi again, in Vladivostok. Ota said, "I am the Buddhist priest of Honganji and went to the battlefield of the Russo-Japanese War in order to comfort soldiers. I met you beside the bodies of the enemy at the time of the pitched battle of Oishibashi"<sup>25</sup>. Nogi remembered at once and talked about his memories of that day. When Nogi made his farewell, he handed Ota a sheet of paper. It was a poem, "For the Reverend Kakumin": "Issatsu Tashou Bosatsugyou, Issyou Tasatsu chizan sei"<sup>26</sup>.

Between Nogi and Kakumin there was a deep exchange of views on their attitudes toward fallen enemies. Nogi was a follower of Bushido (the moral of Samurai) and Ota of Bosatsudo (the moral of Bodhisattva) of Mahayana Buddhism. Both men found a similarity between the spirit of Bushido and the teachings of Bosatsudo; it is the belief that although in battle men are divided as enemies and allies, they all have the same human spirit.

It was not until 1938, 30 years after, that Ota wrote an article about his encounter with Nogi. That is to say, there was about a 30 year "time lag" between the time when this exchange occurred, and the time when Ota wrote his article. Why did Ota write an article about an encounter with Nogi that happened no less than 30 years before?

There is an expression to consider when answering this question; it is "Mushou Kaisatsu"<sup>27</sup> Ota wrote this on remembering the situation of the battlefield of the Russo-Japanese war. It is not only a comment on the war but also his message. Ota wrote those words as a criticism of the run-down spirit of the Japanese nation and the military authorities of Japan in the 1930s. He wrote the article to say that General Nogi, who had grieved the fact that he alone had survived, was dead and that his spirit was lost; instead, it was the spirit of massacre that gripped Japan.

Nogi's spirit of honoring both his fallen enemies and allies is shown clearly in the monument to Major General Kondrachenko (1857-1904), the monument to the Russian soldiers killed in the battle of Lushun, built in Lushun in 1907, and the monument to the Russian and Japanese soldiers built by Daijou Daien, the chief priest of the temple Jokiin (at Mount Koya) in 1910.

As Ota wrote in later years, "I applied to help the soldiers on the battlefield and joined in the pitched battle of Shenyang. In the wilds of Manchuria I encountered Russian soldiers. I could not help feeling pity towards the fallen Russians and I recited a sutra to them. This was a continuation of the mission in Russia for me."<sup>28</sup> Ota went to the battlefield not only to console Japanese soldiers, his allies, but also to grieve for the dead Russian soldiers, the enemies.

#### (4) The monument "Urajio Chukon hi"

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, "Nogi syougun no ichi isshi".

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. "Issatsu Tashou Bosatsugyou, Issyou Tasatsu chizan sei" (一殺多生菩薩行、一生多殺恥残生): 'To rob one life for the good of many is the action of Bodhisattva, but I am ashamed that I killed many to survive alone.'

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. "Mushou Kaisatsu" (無生皆殺): 'no life and massacre'

<sup>28</sup> Ota Kakumin "Meiji bukkyou to rosiya kaikyou" Gendai bukkyou, Tokyo, July, 1933.

Ota Kakumin built the “Urajio Chukon hi” monument in order to honor soldiers who died in Siberia. The monument was built in the memorial park for Japanese at Urajio Honganji in October 1922 before the Japanese withdrawal from Siberia. However, the Japanese government’s motivation for building this monument was not necessarily the same as Ota’s.

When he built “Urajio Chukon hi” Ota wanted to follow the tradition of building a monument to enemies and allies killed in the battlefield, as had been done after the Battle of Goryeo.<sup>29</sup> Shimazu<sup>30</sup> Yoshihiro and Tadatsune, father and son, built a monument to enemies and allies killed in the battlefields of Goryeo at Koyasan Kongobuji Temple, in order to hold memorial services for enemies and allies killed in the battle of Goryeo. Oya said the following: “The monument at which I prayed for most happily and thankfully among all monuments, is the monument of the battle of Goryeo, built by the father and son Shimazu after their triumphal return... This message was engraved in the center of the monument: ‘Peace for the souls of all the soldiers killed in the battle of Goryeo’. Forgetting any grudge against people who had fought against them, the father and son Shimazu built this monument to pray for the peaceful sleep of their fallen enemies. This is the exactly spirit in which we should build memorials”<sup>31</sup>.

Ota wanted to build “Urajio Chukon hi” according to the spirit of grieving for enemy and ally alike, in the spirit of the monument at Goryeo. That is to say, Ota aimed to build a monument, embodying the spirit of Nogi, but the Department of the Army and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rejected his suggestion. Ota spoke as follows about the exchange with the Department of the Army and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

“It took time to negotiate with the Department of the Army and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I insisted that we should build the monument in order to honor the Russian and Japanese, like the monument to enemies and allies killed in the battlefield of Goryeo. I said that if we did so, this monument would be one step towards friendship between Russia and Japan. But they said there was no money in the military budget for building memorials for the enemy. So we could not imitate Shimazu’s good spirit. I thought that both diplomacy and military affairs were rigid.”<sup>32</sup>

This demonstrates that there was a big difference between Ota’s ideals and the ideas of those in power after the Meiji era.

Shinran, the patriarch of the Jodoshinshu sect of Buddhism to which Ota Kakumin belonged, stated: “The emperors and their followers disobeyed the teachings of Buddhism”. This means that the former emperor Gotoba, the emperor Tsuchimikado and the nobles who suppressed the “Senju Nenbutsu” movement, were enemies of the Buddha in the “Daimuryoju kyō” sutra. But Shinran’s interpretation was that it was the Buddha’s last wish to save those who suppressed the “Senju Nenbutsu” movement. That is to say, Shinran’s thought was that it was the Amitabha Buddha’s final goal to save the enemy. Ota Kakumin’s beliefs followed the spirit of Shinran.

## Conclusion

<sup>29</sup> The battle of Goryeo (1592-1598) was the invasion of Korea by Toyotomi Hideyoshi who aimed to conquer Ming China.

<sup>30</sup> Shimazu is the clan of Southern Kyushu.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, “Rosia monogatari”, pp. 162-163.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, pp.165.

In this article I revealed that the spirit of honoring fallen enemies and allies equally, is the essence of the thoughts of Ota Kakumin. As we can see in the ritual Shinto prayer, in Japan, there is a tradition that no man is without sin but these sins should be forgiven. Shinto aims to wash away all of the sins committed by allies and enemies equally.<sup>33</sup> There is a clear image of State Shinto after the Meiji era but the old beliefs of Shinto were aimed at forgiving sin, not distinguishing allies from enemies.

This thought is expressed more concretely in the words of Saicho, written in 1281. Saicho paid his last respects not only to the spirit of the emperor, Kanmu, the soul of the Imperial House, but also the spirit of "Touji Moujin", the enemy of the imperial House<sup>34</sup>. This reflects the spirit of grieving for fallen enemies and allies equally.

Of course, it is possible for us to regard this thought as an expression of Buddhism because it was born in the Mount Hiei, Tendai sect. But we must not overlook that this thought also has deep roots in the Japanese traditional spirit of ritual Shinto prayer.

Moreover, this thought was adhered to, both in the middle ages and in the modern age. This is revealed by the fact that the monuments "Yosete Zuka" (Yosete means enemy) and "Mikata Zuka" (Mikata means ally) were built in order to grieve for fallen soldiers killed in the battle of Chihaya Akasaka. They say that in "Yosete Zuka" the dead of the Northern Imperial Court, the enemy, were buried, and in "Mikata Zuka" the dead of the Southern Imperial Court, the ally, were buried<sup>35</sup>.

However, as State Shinto and the rituals of Yasukuni Shrine suggest, this thought has not been followed consistently since the last days of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Meiji era. The spirit of State Shinto and the Yasukuni Shrine is not necessarily the same as that of the traditions of Shinto, Bosatsudo and Bushido. But Japanese traditional thought lives on in the ideals of Ota Kakumin and General Nogi. Nogi and Ota understood each other deeply, in spite of their different positions, of soldier and priest, because they possessed the genuine spirit of both Bushido and Bosatsudo beliefs, the spirit of worshipping fallen enemies and allies. The true spirit of Bushido and Bosatsudo was not destroyed by Japan's defeat in World War II. As a true human spirit, it throws a critical light on the repeated struggles between religion and nation in our modern society.

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<sup>33</sup> Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei "Kojiki/ Norito" I, Iwanami Syoten, Tokyo, 1958.

<sup>34</sup> Hieizan senju in fuzoku eizan gakuin "Denkyou taishi zensyu" 4, Nihon bussyo kankou kai, 1966, pp.287-288.

<sup>35</sup> Chihaya akasaka mura kyouiku iin kai "Chihaya akasaka no sekizou bunkazai 1", Chihaya akasaka mura bunka zai chousa houkokusyo 4, Osaka, 1994.

## Why I went to Japan to research General Nogi

Helen KENYON

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I graduated high school with little idea of what to study at university. When the time came to apply, I browsed the university prospectuses hoping something would catch my interest, and came across a course entitled 'Japanese Studies'. We were not taught anything about Japan in classes at school, so when I thought of Japan, all that came to mind were images of Geisha and Samurai which I must have come across by chance. Interested to know more about this 'mysterious' country, I decided to undertake Japanese studies. After two years of lectures on Japanese language and Japanese society, history, literature and film, in which we studied a variety of historical, scholarly and literary work, from the *Hojoki* to Kitano Takeshi's *Hana-bi*, I thought I knew much about Japan. However, when I read Natsume Soseki's *Kokoro*, I realised that there was much more for me to learn.

Sensei, the main character of the novel *Kokoro*, upon hearing of the death of Emperor Meiji, suddenly feels that he and other Meiji intellectuals have become anachronisms. Therefore, when General Nogi commits *junshi* – the act of following one's lord to the death – on the night of the Imperial funeral, Sensei is greatly moved. When I read this I was not actually aware that the story of General Nogi was a true one, but I was deeply interested by what I believed Soseki was trying to say. I had, of course, learnt about the modernisation and westernisation which had occurred during Meiji Japan, but it was not until then that I seriously considered the effect this might have had on Japanese individuals. When I understood that intellectuals such as Soseki were concerned that Japanese society and culture were degenerating as a result of westernisation, I realised that, at least for some, the psychological effects of westernisation must have been significant, and I became interested in studying the topic further.

Having ascertained that General Nogi did in fact commit *seppuku* – or *hara-kiri* as it is known in English – on the day of Emperor Meiji's funeral, I believed Nogi would be the ideal example of the troubled Meiji intellectual whom I had been imagining. In other words, based on my reading of *Kokoro*, I believed that Nogi had committed suicide because he was deeply saddened by the changes that Japan had undergone during the Meiji period. However, when I discussed this with my University lecturer, I began to think that Nogi's suicide could not be explained so simply. It was not because my lecturer was an expert on Nogi, but because he warned me that when analysing the works of Natsume Soseki, western scholars tend to put too much emphasis on the portrayal of Meiji intellectuals struggling to come to terms with westernisation. On the advice of another lecturer, I read an article, 'The Emperor's Samurai' (in *Six Lives, Six Deaths*, Lifton, Kato and Reich. Yale University Press, 1979) which is the most detailed study of Nogi written in English. Having read this, my opinion of Nogi changed completely. Upon learning just a little about Nogi's life, it is easy to see why this is so. Of course it would be difficult to give a full account of Nogi's life in the space of this article, but I would like to explain a few biographical details.

Born in 1849, Nogi was physically very weak during his childhood. He longed to become, not a samurai, but a scholar, which came as a great disappointment to his samurai father, Maretsugu. However, Maretsugu did not give up. He raised Nogi all the more strictly: everyday he gave him lessons on the way of the samurai and forced him to exercise to improve his strength. When he was 14, Nogi ran away to become a disciple of his relative Tamaki Bunnoshin. Under Tamaki's instruction he eagerly studied the works of Yamaga Soko and Tamaki's nephew, Yoshida Shoin, but he never forgot what his father taught him. Following the Meiji restoration, Nogi joined the newly formed Imperial Army in 1871. Five years later, he met with the first set of tragic events in his life. In October 1876, his younger brother Makoto, who was fighting against the Imperial army, was killed during the Hagi revolt. As a result, Tamaki Bunnoshin, who by that time had become Makoto's adopted father, committed *seppuku*. Just months later, Nogi's regiment lost their regimental standard to the enemy when they were routed by the rebelling samurai troops led by Saigo Takamori. Nogi, who regarded the flag as a sacred object because it was bestowed on the regiment by the emperor, attempted to commit *seppuku* to take responsibility. However, not only was he acquitted by his superiors, he was also promoted. He eventually gave up his attempts at suicide, but vowed that one day he would make amends by taking his own life.

At the age of forty, Nogi was sent to Germany to study military techniques. Impressed by the discipline of the Prussian army, Nogi committed himself to becoming a serious soldier in all respects. During the Sino Japanese and Russo Japanese wars he gained great honours and was promoted to the rank of general. However, the guilt of having allowed over 60,000 soldiers, including his own two sons, to be killed, was almost too much for a man with a sense of responsibility like Nogi's. On his return from the Russo Japanese war, Nogi requested to Emperor Meiji that he be allowed to commit *seppuku*. But Emperor Meiji refused, saying that he had other plans for Nogi. In the hope that Nogi would somehow pass on the *bushido* spirit that he so admired to his grandsons, Emperor Meiji appointed Nogi to the position of principal at the Gakushuin Peers' School. Reading these details of Nogi's life, I became aware that there were a number of incidents which may have contributed to his decision to commit suicide, and therefore I also realised that my initial analysis had been far too simple.

Shortly after I read *Kokoro* and became interested in the topic of Nogi, a Swedish scholar of Japanese studies, Dr Catharina Blomberg gave a lecture on her research on *bushido* for the Cambridge University Japan Centre Seminar Series. She touched on Nogi in the context of the topic of *junshi*. Her explanation for his suicide was that, having been raised as a samurai, Nogi was concerned about the disappearance of *bushido*. According to Blomberg, Nogi committed *seppuku*, which had long been banned, in order that the spirit of *bushido* would not be forgotten. After her lecture, I spoke briefly to Dr Blomberg, asking whether she had considered other motives behind Nogi's suicide. She admitted that she had not done extensive research into Nogi, and suggested that it might be interesting for me to do so. Thus, I decided upon Nogi as the topic of research for my undergraduate thesis.

After I completed my second year exams, I returned to my research on Nogi. I started with the sources written in English. One source which made a particularly strong impression on me was the book, *Nogi*, by Stanley Washburn, who was a war



correspondent to the *Chicago Times* during the Russo Japanese War. Washburn was clearly moved by Nogi's complex personality, both its stern and gentle elements, as well as the strong sense of responsibility and guilt Nogi felt toward his fallen men. Washburn's account therefore gives some helpful insights into Nogi's personality. Apart from this source, English language-texts which focus on Nogi, are scarce. However, discussions of Nogi's suicide often appear in texts that focus on the time period in which Emperor Meiji died and the Taisho era began. Perhaps it is for this reason that, having read English-language sources, the topic that most interested me was the reaction to Nogi's suicide.

Of course there were people who criticised Nogi's *junshi*. For example, some harshly censured him on the basis that *junshi* had been outlawed for several hundred years and did not have a place in a modern, 'civilised' society. There were others who ridiculed the suicide, like the author Shiga Naoya, who called Nogi an 'idiot' and compared his suicide to the act of a 'foolish maid.' But on the other hand, there were a great number of people who were extremely moved by his suicide. In fact, it seems that the majority of writings on Nogi were extremely laudatory. 20,000 people attended Nogi's funeral, and he was even apotheosized as a military deity, or '*gunshin*'. This is evident in the seven shrines to Nogi which were erected throughout Japan.

There were also several intellectuals, who were inspired by Nogi's suicide. Mori Ogai, and Natsume Soseki, as mentioned above, wrote about Nogi. Social commentators such as Tokutomi Soho and Miyake Setsurei wrote articles praising Nogi for his contribution to Japanese culture. I was particularly interested in the praise of Nogi. I thought that surely the reaction in the Christian countries of Europe would have been quite different. However, I was wrong. In England – where Nogi was fairly well known and respected after his visit for the coronation earlier in the year – and other European countries, Nogi's death was mourned deeply and there were also many who expressed great respect for his act of suicide. I had assumed that Nogi would have been pitied rather than respected, and so wondered why his act of *seppuku* moved so many people, both in Japan and the West. Perhaps this was because at the end of the Meiji period, many were worried over the impact of westernisation on Japan, and in this context, perhaps, Japanese people tried to find meaning in his death. Since the victory in the Russo Japanese War, Japan was gradually caught up in the imperialistic struggles among the world powers, and no doubt many saw this as the beginning of a dark period for Japan.

It is understandable that those who were concerned with the negative impacts of modernisation and westernisation, saw Nogi's suicide as a comforting sign that the honourable *bushido* tradition was still alive. I also had to bear in mind, however, that the government and army may have had some influence on how the Nogi myth was developed. As for why Westerners were so moved by his suicide, in part it may be due to the fact that Nogi was already known and admired in the West. Nogi had impressed reporters attending the surrender of the Russian major, Stessel, at Port Arthur with his modest behaviour. Nogi is said to have refused to allow photographs to be taken of Stessel when he signed his surrender, stating that Japanese were always respectful toward their defeated enemies. I was content that there were numerous, interesting questions to explore regarding the reactions to Nogi suicide, so I decided on 'The reaction to General Nogi's suicide' as the provisional topic for my research.

I had the opportunity to go to Japan in my third year, which I spent doing an internship as an Assistant Language Teacher at the Ritsumeikan Uji Junior High School. When I was not teaching classes, I was free to study Japanese and work on my research, and over the course of time, my topic changed. Unsure where to find good source materials, I wrote a letter to the Nogi Shrine in Tokyo and received a very helpful reply from the administrator of the *Chuo Nogi Kai*, Fujita Shinobu. I was also introduced to Furuta Takehiko, and as a result of our discussions I decided to rethink the topic. In fact, I returned to the subject that had initially interested me: the reasons behind Nogi's suicide. I was also inspired by Matsumoto Ikuko, a graduate student of Kyoto University, whose article 'The Russo Japanese War and Buddhist concepts' ('Nichiro Senso to Bukkyo no shiso', in *Nichiro Senso (ni): tatakai no shoso to isan*, ed. Gunjishi gakkai. Tokyo: Bunshodo, 1995, pp. 184-200.) revealed a completely new portrayal of Nogi and encouraged me to attempt a similarly original approach. My undergraduate thesis, entitled 'The Last Testament: Revisiting the enigma of General Nogi Maresuke's suicide', focuses on the issues which arise from Nogi's testament. Although I would like to continue to research the reactions following Nogi's suicide at a later date, in my thesis I aimed simply to shed new light on the enigma, Nogi's motivation to commit suicide.

Whilst in Japan, I realised that there was, perhaps, another reason I chose to study General Nogi. I was allowed to attend one of the ceremonial rites at the Nogi shrine in Tokyo. Sitting there, watching and listening to the Shinto rite being performed and taken in by the uniquely sombre atmosphere, I considered how it was quite different to anything I had seen or experienced in England. Maybe, my motivation for researching Nogi is the same as my reason for taking up Japanese studies: that there is an intriguing, and somewhat indefinable, difference between the culture of my country and that of Japan. In short, I think that it would be impossible to find a character such as Nogi in England's history. Therefore, safe in the knowledge that I made an intellectually satisfying choice of studies, I take great pleasure in my research.

## The true spirit of the Yasukuni Shrine

FURUTA Takehiko

It has been the tradition in Japan since ancient times to feel compassion for, and to worship the spirits of fallen 'enemies' and 'aggressors'. However, Yasukuni Shrine fails to follow this tradition. Saigo Takamori, Kondo Isami, and Hijikata Toshizo<sup>36</sup> are not enshrined there. (Thus, former Prime Minister Koizumi's declaration is incorrect.) Moreover, at Sakurayama Jinja (Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi prefecture) – the shrine on which Yasukuni Shrine was modelled – the eight men of the 'enemy' forces, the foreign soldiers of the *Shikoku Kantai*<sup>37</sup>, are not enshrined. The Yasukuni Shrine has taken on this erroneous custom. Thus, the vast number of 'enemies,' who died in the Pacific War (WWII), are not worshipped at Yasukuni Shrine.

Unlike the builders of Yasukuni Shrine, Shimazu (the daimyo of the Satsuma clan in Kagoshima Prefecture) built a splendid monument<sup>38</sup> to 'worship enemies and allies equally'. Likewise, Kusunoki Masahige (1294 – 1336) and his followers built a magnificent monument, Chihayajo in Osaka Prefecture, for their former enemies, and for their 'allies', those on the side of Kusunoki, they constructed a smaller monument. Again, Yasukuni Shrine fails to honor these traditions.

We must also take note of the Japanese concept of 'Shinto-Buddhist amalgamation'. The Shinto and Buddhist religions were practised together. For example, the successive emperors in Kyoto throughout the Edo period were each worshipped in their own temples. However, since the Meiji Restoration (1868), due to the introduction of a provision to separate the practice of Shinto and Buddhism, this custom became obsolete. The Yasukuni Shrine was founded based on this 'new practice'.

Saicho, the founder of the Tendai sect of Buddhism at Mount Hiei in the 9<sup>th</sup> Century, touched on the subject of worshipping 'enemy souls' in his 'extended version of the *konko myokyo*'<sup>39</sup>. This is done for the sake of 'enemies' who met a 'regrettable end'. The beliefs and sentiment of ancient Japan are clearly reflected in Buddhist teachings, a fact that is very striking.

Now let us turn to the currently debated problem of the 'class A war criminals'. Prime Minister Tojo and others, who were classed and punished as 'class A war criminals' by the victorious allies, are surely representative of those who met a 'regrettable end'. Therefore, not to worship them, would be contrary to Japan's ancient religious tradition. In other words, of all those who died during the war, they should be worshipped the most. Of course, this has nothing to do with 'admiring' them. I am certain that it is completely unconnected. As he is the symbol of the Japanese nation, the Japanese emperor should worship at Yasukuni Shrine. For many of the soldiers of

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<sup>36</sup> Samurai who opposed the Imperial forces during the Meiji Restoration period.

<sup>37</sup> An alliance of the four nations of England, France, the United States and Holland, which sought revenge for attacks on foreign ships in the Shimonoseki strait by the samurai of the Choshu clan in 1864.

<sup>38</sup> More specifically, a *gorin no to*, which is a gravestone, or monument, made up of five pieces one on top of the other, which represent the five components of all matter.

<sup>39</sup> The Buddhist 'Golden Light' (Suvānaphāsa) sutra.

the Japanese army died while proclaiming 'Long live the Emperor!' No one shouted 'Long live the Prime Minister!'

There is one point which must not be overlooked: the Emperor's worship at the shrine with regard to religions other than Shinto. The emperor should attend ceremonies to commemorate the war dead carried out by other religions, such as the various sects of Buddhism – for example Jodoshinshu, Jodoshu<sup>40</sup> and Zen, the Christian religions of Catholicism and Protestantism, as well as the *Soka Gakkai* and the *Tenri*<sup>41</sup> amongst others. To retreat behind the 'nationalistic', Shinto-centric principles that were introduced with the Meiji Restoration is unforgivable.

Finally, let us consider the most important issue. The Japanese nation should erect a magnificent place of worship for the spirits of 'enemies' and 'aggressors', whom, as mentioned above, should be worshipped according to Japanese tradition. Before the hundredth anniversary of the Pacific War, a place of worship, which will last for countless generations, should be erected in Ogasahara-shima (Tokyo) or Nokono-shima (Fukuoka city), and foreign soldiers and citizens who were killed by Japanese on the Pacific continent should be worshipped there. The spirits of the Mongolian, Chinese and Korean youths who died during the *Genko* (the Mongol Invasion of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century) should also be worshipped. The citizens of Susu-shima in Nagasaki Prefecture, and monks of the Nichiren sect in Fukuoka city have put this in to practice. Now, a place of worship must be constructed by the hand of the nation and the Emperor must go to worship there. According to ancient tradition, this is the will of the Japanese people.

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<sup>40</sup> Jodoshu, or Pure Land Buddhism, is a sect of Buddhism. Jodoshinshu was a sect which originated from it.

<sup>41</sup> Japanese religious groups.

**Phoenix - Goddess of truth never dies - No.1 (April 2007)**  
The Journal of the International Human Observation Society

Editors: FURUTA Takehiko, TANIMOTO Shigeru

*Edited and Published by*

The International Human Observation Society ©

c/o Laboratory of Tsunamis and Historical Earthquakes,  
Division of Disaster Mitigation Science,  
Earthquake Research Institute, University of Tokyo  
1-1-1 Yayoi, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo 113-0032 Japan

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フェニックス 第1号 (2007年4月30日発行)

編集・発行：国際人間観察学会©

〒113-0032 東京都文京区弥生 1-1-1  
東京大学地震研究所 地震火山災害部門  
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会長：百瀬伸夫 副会長：荻上絃一 特別顧問：都司嘉宜

編集：古田武彦、谷本茂