

EXPLORING CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS  
IN MODERN JAPAN:  
COUNT ŌTANI KŌZU'S QUEST  
FOR THE PURE LAND IN AN AGE OF TURBULENCE

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## Dissertation Abstract

Erdal Küçükyağın, “Exploring Church-State Relations in Modern Japan: Count Otani Kozui’s Quest for the Pure Land in an Age of Turbulence”

Ōtani Kōzui (1876-1948), the twenty second patriarch of the Honpa Honganji denomination of Buddhist Jōdo Shinshū sect (True Pure Land or Shin Buddhism) and the chief-abbot of its head-temple Western Honganji, Kyoto. He lived through the Meiji, Taishō and the first half of the Shōwa periods and witnessed the rapid transformation from pre-modern to modern his society went through. Likewise, Western Honganji, the largest and most influential religious institution in the country had played a crucial role in the making of the Meiji Restoration and in the settling of secularism in Japan.

Ōtani Kōzui was the leader of this institution between 1903-1914, but then he resigned and started living a secular life in China. He is known for the three Ōtani Expeditions into Central Asia but most of his other deeds remain in obscurity. Kōzui was an Asianist who, in ten volumes of his *Kōa Keikaku* (The Construction of Asia Project) had proposed a Tokyo-Istanbul-Berlin railway. He was an agriculturalist who had plantations in Johor (Malaysia), Singapore, Sulawesi and Java islands (Indonesia), Kaohsiung (Taiwan) as well as investments in Ankara Gazi Farm and Bursa Turkish-Japanese Silk Weaving Factory. He was the adviser to the Kono and Koiso cabinets, and a public opinion leader whose followers had established “The Gate of Kōzui Society” (*Zuimonkai*).

The dissertation focuses on Count Ōtani Kōzui’s multi-faceted life and demonstrates the role of a religious institution, Western Honganji in the making of modern Japan.

## Tez Özeti

Erdal Küçükyalçın, “Modern Japonya’nın Oluşumunda Din-Devlet İlişkileri: Kont Ōtani Kōzui’nin Kaos İçinde Cennet Arayışı”

Ōtani Kōzui (1876-1948), Budist *Jōdo Shinshū* mezhebi (Hakiki Cennet /Shin Budizmi) Honpa Honganji kolunun 22. ruhani lideri ve Kyoto’daki ana-tapınağı Batı Honganji’nin başrahibiydi. Meiji, Taishō devirleri ile Shōwa’nın ilk yarısını yaşamış, toplumunun modern-öncesinden moderne hızlı dönüşümünün hem tanığı hem de bu dönüşümün öncülerinden biri olmuştur. Japon tarihinin en yaygın ve etkin dini kurumlarından olan Batı Honganji ise Meiji Restorasyonunun hazırlanışında ve laikliğin Japonya’ya yerleşmesinde önemli rol almıştır.

Ōtani Kōzui 1903-1914 yılları arasında bu kurumunun liderliğini üstlenmiş, sonrasında ise başrahiplik makamını kendi isteğiyle terkederek Çin’de sıradan bir insan gibi yaşamaya başlamıştır. Orta Asya’ya düzenlediği üç Ōtani Ekspedisyonu ile tanınıyor olsa da yaptığı diğer önemli işler bilinmeden kalmıştır. Kōzui on ciltlik “Asya’nın İnşası” (*Kōa Keikaku*) adlı eserinde Tokyo-Istanbul-Berlin demiryolu hattı kurulmasını öneren bir Asyacıydı. Johor (Malezya), Singapur, Sulawesi ve Java adalarıyla (Endonezya), Kaohsiung’da (Tayvan) geniş çiftlikleri olmasının yanında Ankara Gazi Çiftliği (günümüzde Atatürk Orman Çiftliği) ve Bursa Türk-Japon İpek Dokuma Fabrikası gibi yatırımları da bulunan bir tarımsal kalkınmacıydı. Konoe ve Koiso kabinelerinde başbakan danışmanlığı da yapan Kōzui’yi bir kamuoyu önderi olarak takip edenler “Kōzui Kapısı Derneği” (*Zuimonkai*) adında bir dernek çatısı altında örgütlenmişlerdi.

Bu tez Kont Ōtani Kōzui’nin çok yönlü hayatına odaklanmakta ve bir dini kurum olarak Batı Honganji’nin modern Japonya’nın oluşumunda aldığı rolü göstermeyi hedeflemektedir.

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*Dedicated to my dear teacher*

Selçuk Ezenbel

Veritas Invictus

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Ōtani Kōzui (1876- 1948), the twenty second patriarch of Western Honganji, was a product of his age living through the nineteenth and twentieth century of modern Japan's making. He lived through the Meiji (1868-1912), Taishō (1912-1926) and the first half of the Shōwa period (1926-1989) that witnessed the rapid transformation from pre-modern to modern, his society went through. Kōzui saw Japan's reconstruction from a traditional feudal polity to a modern empire that was based on the Western European model and the construction of a new form of nationalism derived from the divinity of the Emperor.

Ōtani Kōzui was from a distinguished religious family of the ancient regime that had survived more than two centuries under Tokugawa Shoguns (1600-1867), who ruled over close to two hundred regionally autonomous domains under the authority of powerful lords from the samurai warrior class political elite. At the same time, Kōzui

himself became a participant in the construction of the Western oriented new regime under the Meiji Emperor. He lived through Japan's expansion into a major Asian empire of East Asia between 1868-1945. He also witnessed defeat and destruction after the apocalyptic clash with the United States after invading the territories of the old European empires of France and Holland in Southeast Asia, taking advantage of their swift occupation under Nazi Germany with the outbreak of World War II. He belonged to a generation which experienced the pre-modern, the modern and the post-modern together in one lifetime. Such a big transition inevitably had its mark on his life

The dissertation aims to locate Western Honganji within the panorama of Japanese history from the fifteenth century to the end of the Second World War, by including the perspective of the institution itself. Honganji was clearly an actor, and not a passive viewer of the historical developments shaping Japan. The dissertation also maintains that familial relations and networks were an important component of social mechanisms shaping modern Japan. The marital

connections among the eminent families from higher strata were a decisive factor in forging alliances for mutual interests. Thus, the profound meaning of Kōzui's marriage with Kazuko of Kujō family from the distinguished court aristocracy that constituted the immediate intimate circle of the imperial family in Kyoto is only revealed when it is understood that Sadako, Kazuko's younger sister would become Empress Teimei Kōgo, the powerful wife of the Emperor Taishō and the mother of the Emperor Shōwa. In this regard, one of the main contributions of this study to the discourse of historiography of the making of modern Japan, is expected to be its introduction of a religious institution and its leaders as agents of modernization process. A better understanding of Honganji's role within Japanese society is also expected to contribute to our understanding of the social dynamics shaping today's Japan.

This dissertation will focus on Ōtani Kōzui's life and demonstrate the role of a religious institution, Western Honganji temples congregation in the making of modern Japan. The institution and its vast network of temples and adherents have not only taken part in the

series of events which shaped modern Japan at the turn of the twentieth century, but also was an inseparable component of the elite that led the change, having protagonistic and at times antagonistic stances depending on the fluidity of power balance in the society. As the largest Buddhist community in Japan, the Western Honganji's financial, political, spiritual and military support to the Imperial cause during Bakumatsu period referring to the late Tokugawa age covering the nineteenth century after the so-called "Opening of Japan" in 1853 which was crucial in the establishment of the new regime in 1868 with the Meiji Restoration.

In 1853, the sudden arrival of Commodore Matthew G. Perry of the US Navy who commanded the four Black Ships which sailed into Uraga Bay broke the centuries old Tokugawa foreign policy of isolationism with a forceful ultimatum that cracked apart the traditional balance of power in this traditional kingdom. Fully aware of the rising threat of Western imperialism in Asia with the cornerstone of the Qing Dynasty's defeat to Britain in the Opium War of 1838-1842, the thirteenth Tokuhawa Shogun Iesada (1824- 1858)

was compelled in 1858, a few years after Perry's ultimatum, to sign "Unequal Treaties" of extraterritoriality with the Western powers in order to avoid a hopeless war. Subsequently, the rebel samurai of the powerful Satsuma and Chōshū domains of the south moved to the center of politics from their traditional location in the periphery of Japanese power politics under the Tokugawa rulers. The Satsuma of Kyushu at the tip of the Japanese archipelago and neighboring Chōshū domain that spread along the Japan Sea coast of the main island of Honshu, overlooked the North Asian mainland of Korea and China and had been historically the bastion of anti-Tokugawa attitudes since their defeat in the year 1600 to the Tokugawa. Old fashioned feudal animosity fueled by the international crisis of the treaties that were viewed as a humiliating loss of imperial dignity, instigated turmoil in the stable polity of the shoguns that led to defiance of the shogun's authority as the military ruler of the kingdom on behalf of the imperial family. The treaties were seen as an unforgivable insult to the divine Emperor in the imperial capital Kyoto whose authority derived from the religious traditions of the

nativist Shinto faith that they descended from the Sun Goddess. The reigning young Emperor Kōmei (1831- 1867), the 121. emperor according to the traditional order of succession who was conveniently known for his strong anti-foreign attitudes and the like-minded court aristocrats of Kyoto such as Prince Iwakura Tomomi (1835-1883), took a strong anti-Tokugawa stance presumably hoping to regain their loss of political power to the samurai warrior leaders since the Middle Ages. Their intimate connection to the Ōtani family who were the religious heads of the Honganji temple was catalytic in the events that transpired in the Bakumatsu turmoil which brought them together in the anti-Tokugawa camp.

With the unexpected early demise of Kōmei in 1867, his son Mutsuhito (1852- 1868) took the throne as Emperor Meiji as a young 16 year old, to become the official ruler of new Japan with full powers after the end of Tokugawa regime and presided over the making of Meiji Japan with a fast paced series of reforms that impressed the global opinion of the time of the rise of Japan as the new star of the

East.<sup>1</sup>

The Honganji leadership during early Meiji era after 1868 was also decisive in securing the Buddhist community of Japan a new standing in the new system and survive its struggle against the persecution between 1868-1876 in the hey day of the revolutionary forces of the early Meiji that attacked Buddhism for the sake of the nativist Shinto faith which momentarily gained central role in the new ideological construction of the Emperor as the focal power of the new regime. The former rebels, now acting as the first generation of reformist government leaders proceeded to establish a new polity in the name of the Emperor that ensured legitimation in the political parlance of the eminent historian of the Meiji Restoration, William G. Beasley, in a fast pace by dismantling the old regime and the construction of the

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<sup>1</sup> In the process leading to the demise of the shogunate, the Satsuma and Chōshū domain's initially had their own agendas on political changes but once an alliance was forged by intermediaries in 1866, it was no more possible for the shogunate to use one against the other and its space for political and military manoeuvres narrowed. When the Satchō Alliance forces seized the capital in January 1868, and managed to receive an imperial edict stripping the shogun, Tokugawa Keiki (1837-1913) of all his rights and privileges, they left no option to Keiki but to fight, although he seemed to be inclined towards a compromise. Soon the Toba-Fushimi Battle between the loyalists and the pro-shogunate forces commenced but when the Satchō Alliance came out victorious from this struggle by the critical assistance of the court, the neutral domains started to rush to the anti-Tokugawa league bringing the two and a half centuries of Tokugawa rule to a fast paced end. Now declared as "enemy of the court", the ex-shogun tried to carve himself a foothold in the north but in May 1869 the resistance of his forces was finally crushed and Keiki earned himself the title "The Last Shogun".

Meiji monarchy in the Western mode.

Most importantly, the position of Western Honganji led by Kōzui and his father Myōnyo (1850-1903) can be argued to have determined the nature of church-state relations in modern Japan. The temple, by reforming itself rapidly and evolving into a religious institution in the modern sense, had taken the lead in not only the religious doctrinal sphere but also in creating various facades of a modern social life in the country. There was a golf course at the backyard of the temple complex in the 1920ies.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of Western Honganji's position with respect to the Japanese state and the society lies in its history. Its struggle for survival since its founding in the late fifteenth century, against the established sects and at times the samurai authorities had marked its standing as *the* institution the rulers of Japan did not have the luxury to ignore. Despite its persecution policies, Western Honganji and its over ten million adherents had chosen to cooperate with the Meiji government only because they regarded the revolution as their own, a

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<sup>2</sup> <http://homepage2.nifty.com/sho3ss/ken/7thpage.html>, accessed on 30 Aug.2009.

process they had taken part. Mainly consisting of peasants, the Jōdo Shinshū believers (*monto*) constituted the large part of the new conscript army. Hence, it was not a surprise to see Kōzui as the patriarch blessing soldiers during the Sino- Japanese War (1894-95) and the Honganji monk-chaplains embedded in army units at the frontline during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).

Until now the historywriting related to the making of modern Japan has largely tended to explain the phenomenon of Japanese rapid modernization within the context of secular state organizations as well as the intellectual currents of the time. As Galen Amstutz had drawn attention in his 1996 article titled “*Missing Hongan-ji in Japanese Studies*,” the role of religious movements and institutions remains to be a rather neglected subject in the discussions.<sup>3</sup>

Marius B. Jansen in his insightful work, “*The Making of Modern Japan*” deals with the role of religion in just four of the 793 pages that he discussed the mechanisms underlying the process of modernization. And within those four pages, although he refers to the

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<sup>3</sup> Galen Dean Amstutz, “Missing Hongan-ji in Japanese Studies,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol.23, No.1/2 (Spring 1996), pp.155-178.

fact that Buddhism was “intimately related to the power structure” of late Tokugawa Japan and that the “Tokugawa family tombs remained with the popular faith Jōdo-Shin sect temple of Zōjō-ji [Eastern Honganji branch] in Edo” except a few scanty remarks, he remains silent about the involvement of institutional Buddhism in his subject-matter. Jansen continues this approach in “*The Cambridge History of Japan, the Nineteenth Century*” (1993) in which as the editor of the fifth volume he had gathered the authorities in the field like Harold Bolitho, H.D. Harootunian, W.G.Beasley, Stephen Vlastos, Hirakawa Sukehiro, Gilbert Rozman, E. Sydney Crawcour, Kenneth B.Pyle and Akira Iriye as contributors. The only place “Religion” is given some space is the section written by Harootunian, and even there Buddhism lacks any descriptive emphasis. No change in neither the editor Jansen’s nor the section writers’ (mostly the same as above) approach can be observed in the 1997 “*The Emergence of Meiji Restoration*”.<sup>4</sup>

The same goes for “*The Cambridge History of Japan, the Twentieth*

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<sup>4</sup> Marius B. Jansen, ed. *The Emergence of Meiji Japan*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

*Century*’, edited by Peter Duus, in which Buddhism or Buddhist institutions are as if they were non-existent in the twentieth century history of Japan.<sup>5</sup>

Also, in his authoritative study of modern Japan, “*The Modern History of Japan*” (1963), W.G. Beasley does not attribute any special role to Buddhism or Buddhist institutions let alone Honganji.

Although he maintains that Japan was mainly Buddhist, his views on the role of Buddhism in neither “*The Meiji Restoration*” (1972) nor “*The Japanese Experience: A Short History of Japan*” (2000) seems to have changed throughout the years.<sup>6</sup>

Harry Harootunian, the authority in the intellectual history of Tokugawa Japan, in his “*Toward Restoration*” (1970) where he gives an important account of the intellectual currents and the evolution of nativist studies in Tokugawa Japan, the terms Buddhist or Buddhism

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Duus, *The Cambridge History of Japan Vol.6: The Twentieth Century*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> W.G. Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan*. (London: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963); W.G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972.); W.G. Beasley, *The Japanese Experience: A Short History of Japan*. California: University of California Press, 2000.

pass a mere eight times. <sup>7</sup>

Similarly, a comparatively recent book “*A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*” (2003) by Andrew Gordon mentions the importance of Buddhism in Japanese society but does not acknowledge any connection of Buddhist institutions with the current political developments. Kenneth Henshall’s “*A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*” (2012) is not an exception to the rule. <sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, curiously the eminent scholar of an older generation G.B. Sansom is one of the few historians who draw attention to Buddhist legacy in Japan. In his “*Japan: A Short Cultural History*” (1931) he states “[Jōdo/Pure Land] worship is one of the most widespread and powerful influences in the Buddhism of China and Japan, and is of great interest in the history of religions in general.” Still, he deals with the faith as a part of history of religions and stresses its impact on Japanese art and although he narrates the

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<sup>7</sup> H.D. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

<sup>8</sup> Henshall, Kenneth. *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012)

Ishiyama Honganji war against Nobunaga between 1870-1880, he does not continue to establish further linkages with political and military developments in contemporary Japan.<sup>9</sup>

James Edward Ketelaar and his “*Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution*” (1993) deserves a special place in this regard, since his study deals almost exclusively with the church-state relations in early Meiji and the leading role played by Honganji is clearly seen through his narrative.<sup>10</sup>

In fact, there were other scholars who had realized the potential importance of the Honganji institution for the Japanese history. One is Ronald Stone Anderson and his PhD. dissertation “*Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism, 1862-1945*”<sup>11</sup> (1956); the other is Ira Michael Solomon’s PhD. dissertation “*Rennyō and the Rise of Honganji in Muromachi Japan*”<sup>12</sup> (1972) and the last one is Galen

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<sup>9</sup> George Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History*. (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1991).

<sup>10</sup> James Edward, Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>11</sup> Ronald Stone Anderson, “Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism, 1862-1945.” PhD diss., University of California, 1956.

<sup>12</sup> Solomon, Ira Michael. “Rennyō and the Rise of Honganji in Muromachi Japan”. PhD diss., Columbia University, 1972.

Dean Amstutz and his PhD. dissertation “*The Honganji Institution, 1500-1570: The Politics of Pure Land Buddhism in late Medieval Japan*”<sup>13</sup> (1992), none of which were able to draw enough attention to change the traditional narrative nor did they find a publisher to get disseminated.

Among these studies, Anderson’s is particularly noteworthy since it covers –partially– a similar period of time and shares Ōtani Kōzui as the subject-matter with this dissertation. Kōzui’s life and views being at the center, the two studies inevitably have some common features. The fundamental difference is the approach to the same materials. Anderson serving as the Chief of CEI, the Civil Education and Information Officer in Kyoto, under the American Military Occupation command between 1946-1949, had the duty to enforce the occupation regulations on education. His office was very close to Western Honganji and he got acquainted with some reformist monks who wanted change in the abbacy and democratization of the temple administration. These monks carried many documents to Anderson in

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<sup>13</sup> Galen Dean Amstutz, “The Honganji Institution, 1500-1570: The Politics of Pure land Buddhism in Late Medieval Japan.” PhD diss., Princeton University, 1992

order to gain his support and they assured him that the chief-abbacy (Ōtani Kōsho, Kōzui's nephew) had to accept responsibility of Honganji's involvement in war effort during the Second World War and resign. Obviously they had their own agenda and wanted to use Anderson as leverage to push Kōsho to the corner. Anderson himself too, influenced by the spirit of his time, seems to be keen to find a "fascist" and a "ultra-nationalist" in Ōtani Kōzui's person. While giving precious information on Kōzui, Anderson continuously tries to relate him to ultra-nationalist groups and persons, but all in vain. At the end of the dissertation, he admits that Kōzui had not been a member of any of those societies like Kokuryūkai (Black Dragon/Amur River Society) or Genyōsha (Dark Ocean Society) but still insists to mention that Kōzui was even more dangerous than a figure like Toyama Mitsuru, the founder of Genyōsha. Although, this sort of labeling may be attractive for an ex-officer trying find someone to blame for the atrocities lived during the war, hopefully we are in a different age in which we can try to understand who did what and why, without labeling them with derogatory terms popular in the

post-world war era. Hence, this dissertation aims simply to reveal the activities and views of Ōtani Kōzui, locate him within the context of his time and try to define him without blaming or judging.<sup>14</sup>

It is true that Kōzui had said and written Asianist or nationalist views but when his writings on Buddhism or expeditions or economic development are not included, then any analysis to demonstrate his personality will inevitably become digressive. On the other hand, Anderson's contribution to the historiography of modern Japan is of utmost value, since he was one of the earliest to draw attention to Pan-Asianism and its significance as a strong current among Japanese intellectuals.

The reviving scholarly interest in Japan's role in East Asian politics during the pre-WWII years, has recently triggered new academic research on the field. These studies show how deeply entrenched was the issue of Asianism (or Pan-Asianism as recent scholars of Asianism prefer to use in order to stress the expansionist side of the movement) in Japanese society. Although the subject

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<sup>14</sup> For his official duty in Kyoto and his relations with the Western Honganji priests from the opposition group see the introduction to his dissertation. Footnote 11.

could traditionally find a place within intellectual history accounts like Akira Iriye's "*The Chinese and the Japanese: Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions*" (1980) or Thomas Rimer's "*Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*" (1990), with the rising interest in the last decade, titles focusing solely on the theme of Asianism like Dick Stegewerns' (ed.) "*Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian Brotherhood, or World Citizenship?*" (2003); Li Narangoa and Robert Cribb's (ed.s), "*Imperial Japan and National Identities in Asia, 1895-1945*" (2003); Brij Tankha's "*A Vision of Empire: Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan*" (2003), and B. Tankha (ed.) "*Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*" (2007); Eri Hotta's "*Pan-Asianism and Japan's War, 1931-1945*" (2007), Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann's (ed.s) "*Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*" (2009), and the two consecutive volumes "*Pan-Asianism - A Documentary History, Volume 1: 1850-1920*" and "*Volume 2: 1920- Present*" (2011) edited by Sven Saaler and Christopher W.A. Szpilman (ed.s) who gathered major

scholars in the field, started appearing in quick succession.

Furthermore, a promising side-path was opened by the pioneering works of Selçuk Esenbel on the connection between Pan-Islamism and Pan-Asianism via her articles “*Japan and Islam Policy during the 1930s*” (2002), “*Japan’s Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900-1945*” (2004), and “*The Legacy of the War and the World of Islam in Japanese Pan-Asian Discourse: Wakabayashi Han’s Kaikyō Sekai to Nihon*” (2007).

Following the path opened by Esenbel, among others, Ali Merthan Dündar published “*Pan-İslamizm’den Büyük Asyacılaşma: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Japonya ve Orta Asya*” (From Pan-Islamism to Pan-Asianism: Ottoman Empire, Japan and Central Asia) (2006) while Cemil Aydın came with “*The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought*” (2007).

Although published in English and contains contributions from foreign scholars like Marius B. Jansen, Igor Latyshev, Pyotr Fedoseyev, Wan feng, Frank.B. Gibney, Larissa G. Fedoseyeva, and Lü

Wan-he, the volume “*Meiji Ishin: Restoration and Revolution*” (1985) edited by Nagai Michio and Miguel Urrutia, is basically a compilation of recent Japanese scholarship on the Meiji era. The book contains elaborate discussions on the modernization, international politics, culture, intellectual movements, economy and technology issues related with the period but the sphere of religious institutions is left untouched.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, although the literature on Meiji Restoration in Japanese language is recently flourishing due to a rising popular interest in the subject, and new approaches are challenged by the scholars here too, the religious factors influential in politics or the church-state relations in general still wait to be evaluated. For instance, in a very recent study, Banno Junji’s “*Nihon Kindaishi*” (Modern History of Japan) (2012), while the social dynamics shaping Japan during the 80 years between 1857- 1937 are studied in due depth, no connection is established between the religious and secular

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<sup>15</sup> Nagai Michio and Miguel Urrutia (ed.s). *Meiji Ishin: Restoration and Revolution*. (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1985).

spheres in the making of modern Japan.<sup>16</sup>

Inoue Katsuo in his “*Bakumatsu-Ishin*” (2007) claims to reach a reassessment of the period in question and maintains that Japan’s *Kaikoku* (Opening the Country) process was rather a result of its own dynamics than foreign intrusion, but institutional religion again seems to be too minor an issue that deserves mentioning.<sup>17</sup> Mitani Hiroshi’s “*Meiji Ishin wo Kangaeru*” (2006) discusses the era within the discourse of rising nationalism, evaluates different approaches to history of the making of modern Japan including the Marxist views, but nowhere in his book the interaction of religious institutions with nationalism seems to be an issue.<sup>18</sup> Even the doyen historian of modern Japan, Tōyama Shigeki along with others from his generation follows (and regenerates) the pattern of omission of religious institutions from the story of transformation in his most recent work

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<sup>16</sup> Banno Junji. *Nihon Kindaishi* (Modern History of Japan). (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 2012)

<sup>17</sup> Inoue Katsuo. *Bakumatsu-Ishin* (Bakumatsu-Meiji Restoration). (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2007)

<sup>18</sup> Mitani Hiroshi, *Meiji Ishin wo Kangaeru* (Thinking of Meiji Restoration). (Tokyo: Yushisha, 2006)

“*Nihon Kindaishi*” (Modern History of Japan) (2007).<sup>19</sup>

Thus, when compared with the international discourse the Japanese scholarship does not follow an alternative path regarding the church-state relations in modern Japan. The reason for this tendency may lie in the trauma experienced by the Japanese society in the Second World War, which in turn had given birth to new taboos in scholarship especially when nationalism is concerned. But it is important to note that, the omission of the role of the church from political history is not peculiar to Japan or this period of time, but constitutes a general attitude of historiography regardless of culture, geography or time.

Likewise, a continuously increasing amount of literature points to an rising interest in the subject of Asianism as an intellectual movement during Meiji- Taishō and Shōwa periods which had its impact on the Japanese society as well as the government policies. In that sense, this dissertation may make a contribution to this newly growing field by bringing in the views of an ex-religionist, public

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<sup>19</sup> Tōyama Shigeki, *Nihon Kindaishi* (Modern History of Japan). (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2007)

opinion leader who tried to create his own version of Asianism in an era of turmoil and violence. The alternative vision proposed in 1939 by Ōtani Kōzui in his ten volumes of “*Kōa Keikaku*” (Construction of Asia Project), his emphasis on agriculture carries traces of his faith. But from his birth to his death, he always had to face the harsh realities of the political Zeitgeist.

It is only recently that the first volume focusing exclusively on Kōzui’s activities in Asia, “*Ōtani Kōzui to Ajia*” (2010) edited by Shibata Mikio, appeared in Japanese language. The volume in which the author had also found the opportunity to contribute with a section on his activities in Turkey, contains valuable first-hand information given by the few surviving Ōtani students. The collection of articles constitutes an important first step in the field.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, the first person who drew attention to Kōzui’s involvement in Turkey was Matsutani Hironao in his “*Isutanbūru wo Aishita Hitobito*” (1998).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Shibata Mikio (ed.). *Ōtani Kōzui to Ajia: Shirarezaru Ajiashugisha no Kiseki* (Ōtani Kōzui and Asia: The Track of an Asianist that Deserves Recognition). Tokyo: Bensey, 2010.

<sup>21</sup> Matsutani Hironao, *Isutanbūru wo Aishita Hitobito* (Persons who Loved Istanbul,

This dissertation consists of two main parts: The history of Honganji from its establishment to the birth of Ōtani Kōzui, the twenty second Patriarch, and the story of the activities of Ōtani Kōzui himself. The chapters in the first part are organized in a chronological order where Honganji's phases of evolution are handled in the second chapter "Ikkō-shū: A Sect for Peasants", from its establishment by Rennyo to its split by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1602; the third chapter "Honganji During Bakumatsu" showing the nature of the connection between Chōshū loyalist revolutionaries and Honganji during the 1864-1868 period; the fourth chapter "Honganji During Early Meiji" focusing on the struggle of Honganji against the persecution by state-Shinto between 1868-1876, the year Kōzui was born. In the second part, the fifth chapter "Ōtani Kōzui" concentrates on the familial networks and marital connections surrounding Kōzui as well as his childhood and youth until his ascendancy to the chief-abbacy in 1903. The sixth chapter "The Patriarch" covers the period of his abbacy between 1903-1914 and includes his rise as a national icon of

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(Tokyo: Chūkōshinsho, 1998).

patriotism during the Russo-Japanese War. The seventh chapter “The Freefall and Reascension” gives an account of his activities after his resignation from abbacy in 1914 until his death in 1948, a phase of his life which he spent mainly in China. Then comes the three thematic chapters that underline the three major facades of his personality: “The Asianist”, “The Explorer” and “The Agriculturalist.” “The Asianist” chapter features the two main works of Kōzui reflecting his vision of Asia: *Villa Nirakusō* and *Kōa Keikaku*. “The Explorer” chapter introduces the three Ōtani Expeditions into Central Asia in search for the Buddhist relics and the route Buddhism had reached Japan. Finally, “The Agriculturalist in Turkey” gives the account of his activities in Southeast Asia between 1917- 1924, and focuses on his enterprises in Turkey between 1927-1931.

In reaching its above mentioned goals, the dissertation has used the primary materials like the official chronologies of Myōnyo (*Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyo*) and Kōzui (*Kyōnyo Shonin Nenpu*) both of which contain detailed records of the chief-abbots’ activities at an almost daily basis. The *Nenpyo* and the *Nenpu* are important in-house

sources of information which allow the researcher to have an insider's view.

Thirteen volumes of “*Ōtani Kōzui Zenshū*” (Complete Writings of Ōtani Kōzui) published between 1934-35 gives the opportunity to track Kōzui's writings until the year of publication. Another important source is the monthly magazine he published in Shanghai between January 1922 and December 1943. This widely distributed magazine contains Kōzui's articles on diverse topics like Buddhist sutras to botanical techniques or contemporary political issues. The magazine also features many interesting articles written by his disciples about their opinions, travels and research. The *Daijō* volumes constituted a precious source of information for understanding the content of Kōzui's enterprises in Turkey.

In fact, a monthly magazine with the same name, *Daijō- Buddhist Magazine* was published in the 1950ies in Kyoto and the October 1954 issue was prepared as a special Kōzui Edition. This issue contains invaluable information given by his students who wrote their experiences, opinions and memories related to Kōzui. The Edition is

organized in sections titled “*Ōtani Kōzui-shi no Omou*” (Thinking of Master Ōtani Kōzui), “*Chūgoku*” (China), “*Manshū*” (Manchuria), “*Nanyō*” (Southeast Asia), “*Taiwan*” , “*Indō*” (India), “*Kagaku*” (Science), “*Fukkyō*” (Missionary activities), “*Ōtani Tankentai*” (Ōtani Expeditions), and “*Ningen Kōzui*” (Kōzui, the Human being). The details of the short episodes shed light to different facades of Kōzui personality.

The news in Osaka Asahi and Mainichi Newspapers as well as his writings in Kokumin Shimbun, the nationalist newspaper directed by Tokutomi Sohō (1863- 1957), the nationalist journalist and historian known for his Asianist views, were also critical in conceiving his attempts to shape public opinion in accordance with his vision. Most of his reports he sent from Southeast Asia, India and China after 1914 were both published in Kokumin and also compiled into separate books and published from Minyūsha, a publisher also directed by Tokutomi Sōho. In fact, Sohō’s own book “*Ōtani Kōzui-shi no Shōgai*” (The Life of Master Ōtani Kōzui) published in 1956 was yet another important source of Kōzui’s deeds.

Writings of Uehara Yoshitaro (1870- ?), a childhood friend of Kōzui who accompanied him in most of his travels, were also of utmost importance for this study. In addition to *Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyo* mentioned above, Uehara published “*Kōgen-in Kazuko Fujin*” (Lady Kazuko, the Kōgen-in) in 1935 giving a unique account of Kōzui’s wife Kazuko’s life. The two volumes of “*Shinsaiiki-ki*” (The New Records of the Western Regions) is a meticulous study giving the full picture of the three Ōtani Expeditions into Central Asia.

In Turkey, the İş Bank Archives in Istanbul provided critical information on Kōzui’s and Uemura Tatsumi’s activities in Ankara as well as Bursa. The private archive of Şükûfe Gökçen, the grand-daughter of Kōzui’s partner Memduh Bey in Bursa, contains valuable letters, photographs and artifacts belonging to the Ōtani students who worked in the Bursa Turkish-Japanese Silk Weaving Factory.

Finally, the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (Available at: <http://www.jacar.go.jp>) proved out to be a priceless source of official documents related to Ōtani Kōzui.

All these and other primary and secondary material will hopefully come together in this dissertation to enhance our understanding of the role of Western Honganji and its twenty second Patriarch Ōtani Kōzui in the making of modern Japan.

The role of religion in the modernization process as well as its involvement into politics both as protagonist and as antagonist throughout the course of history stands to be the terra incognita of modern historiography. Organized, institutional religion has been, is and will be an inseparable component of social, political, cultural, economic and even military history. Its organizational capabilities could not be ignored by policy makers, rulers and revolutionaries alike, who at times attacked them to control and at other times used them to exert control over others, but in neither case was institutional religion a mere passive victim of the events, it was an active participant having its own agenda and policies.

Religion has been an issue in the founding of Eastern Roman Empire, in the Mongolian Empire, the French Revolution, Sultan Mahmud II's quest for Westernization, and Meiji Japan, as it is, as

Şerif Mardin has pointed out, an issue in modern day Turkey.<sup>22</sup>

This study is expected to be a step towards a better understanding of the social dynamics and the mechanisms underlying the role of religious institutions in the making of history.

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<sup>22</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey*. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006)

## CHAPTER TWO

### *IKKŌ-SHŪ*: A SECT FOR PEASANTS

Ōtani Kōzui 大谷光瑞(1876-1948) was the twenty second chief-abbot of Western (*Nishi*) Honganji, the Head-temple of the *Honpa* or *Honganji-ha* denomination of *Jōdo Shinshū* sect (The True Pure Land, also known as the Shin Buddhism). Together with its Eastern branch (*Higashi* Honganji or the *Ōtani-ha*) the sect was (and still is) the largest and most influential Buddhist community in Japan. The two impressive cathedrals located symmetrically at the heart of Kyoto are still flocked with the believers and visitors today.

During Kōzui's abbacy, the sect had around 13,5 million believers and operated an extensive network of 20,000 temples and 15,000 priests all throughout the country (The *Nishi*: 8,500; The *Higashi*: 6,000 and the other denominations: 500) .<sup>1</sup> Today, while the numbers

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<sup>1</sup> Tokutomi Sohō, *Otani Kozui-shi no Shogai* (The Life of Otani Kozui), (Tokyo: Otani Kozui Geika Kinenkan, 1956), p.24. [...The Buddhist population of Japan at the time of Kozui's abbacy was around 49 million while the number of Shinshu temples was 19.636. The number of regular employees was 14,909 and number of believers 13, 400,000. Therefore Shinshu believers cover a quarter of total Buddhists in

stay largely the same, the Western Honganji continues to command this vast network via 72 branch-temples (*betsuin*: Temples in direct control of the Head-temple) and more than 10,000 affiliate-temples (*matsuji*: Temples operated by hereditary abbots but affiliated to Honganji) in Japan, and a network of overseas temples in U.S.A. (61 temples organized under the umbrella organization of “Buddhist Churches of America established in 1899), Canada (20 temples, active since 1905), and Brazil (35 temples, active since 1955). Today, the number of Western Honganji ministers worldwide is around 30, 000.<sup>2</sup>

Thus when in 1903, Ōtani Kōzui became the twenty second chief-abbot of Western Honganji by sitting on top of this complex organization, he had also become one of *the* most influential figures of Japan. He had social, political and religious power.<sup>3</sup> Through the turbulent years of his abbacy until 1914, he was to follow the pattern set by his father Myōnyo 明如(1850 –1903), the twenty first Patriarch, and align his institution with the Meiji state.

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Japan.”]

<sup>2</sup> <http://international.hongwanji.or.jp/html/c2p5.html>, accessed on 21 May 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Sohō,p.24.

In fact during the course of 1860ies, Western Honganji was one of the main supporters of the Imperial cause, and a major sponsor for the dynasty throughout the Bakumatsu (End of the Tokugawa shogunate) period. Myōnyo had forged an alliance (or rather revived an old alliance from pre-Tokugawa period) with Chōshū domain of Western Japan, one of the two main founding domains of Meiji Restoration with Satsuma. Although with the start of Meiji rule, the Buddhist community had to face an unexpected persecution (1868-1877) by the State-Shinto, Western Honganji led by Myōnyo not only managed to survive but also to reascend to its position as the most powerful religious institution in Japan. Via continuous reforms, Honganji had become a pioneer in the modernization of the Japanese society.

Any analysis of the Japanese society as well as the church-state relations in modern Japan will inevitably be incomplete without a full understanding of Honganji and its support to the system. The nature and the significance of this support as well as its political and military potential, lie in the history of Honganji.

## Honganji: The Head Temple of *Jōdō Shinshū* Sect

The spiritual foundation of the tradition represented by the Honganji temple was laid down by Hōnen法然(1133-1212) when he established the *Jōdo* (Pure Land) sect.<sup>4</sup> One of his disciples, Shinran親鸞(1173-1262) carried his legacy to wider audiences and spread the teachings of Hōnen by making it easily understandable for the public.<sup>5</sup> After his death, Shinran's followers organized among themselves and formed a new denomination called "*Ikkō-shū*" (The Sect of the Single-minded).<sup>6</sup> Two years later, his daughter Kakushinni built a mausoleum for her father at Ōtani (on the outskirts of Higashiyama mountain in eastern Kyoto), and her grandson Kakunyo (d.1351) in turn, transformed this mausoleum into a small scale temple and called it the "Honganji" (Temple of the Primal Vow).<sup>7</sup> He also wrote a biography of Shinran,

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<sup>4</sup> For more information on Hōnen and Jōdo sect see: Allan A. Andrews, "World Rejection and Pure Land Buddhism in Japan", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 4/4 (Dec., 1977), pp.251-266

<sup>5</sup> On the life and missionary activities of Shinran, see: Alfred Boom, "The Life of Shinran Shonin: The Journey to Self-Acceptance", *Numen*, Vol.15, Fasc.1 (Feb., 1968), pp.1-62

<sup>6</sup> Paul O. Ingram. The Teachings of Rennyo Shōnin: The Life of Faith, *Numen*, Vol. 3, Fasc. 1 (Apr., 1976), pp. 1-22

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

portraying him as a mythical founder who deserves reverence.<sup>8</sup> The temple would remain as a rather insignificant branch-temple of the Tendai sect until Rennyō 蓮如 (1415-1499) assumed abbacy. (Appendix. Fig.1) When he became the 8<sup>th</sup> abbot (*monshū*) of Honganji in 1457, he gave a radical decision and declared the independence of his temple from Enryakuji, the head temple of Tendai sect at Mt.Hiei, by clearing away all the symbols and signs related to it. But soon he would discover that it could be more difficult to change the status quo, than he could have anticipated. One day in 1465, the *sōhei* (warrior-monks) of Enryakuji attacked and destroyed the Ōtani Honganji.<sup>9</sup> The Ōnin War (1467-77) which started two years later, added up to the pressure on Rennyō, forcing him to leave Kyoto in 1471 at the age of fifty seven and start a new life in exile.<sup>10</sup> Realizing that without the support of a large community, it was not possible to stand against the established sects, he started his missionary activities in eastern and northern

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<sup>8</sup> James C. Dobbins, "The Biography of Shinran: Apotheosis of a Japanese Buddhist Visionary", *History of Religions*, Vol.30, No.2 (Nov., 1990), pp.179-196

<sup>9</sup> Solomon Michael, "The Dilemma of Religious Power-Honganji and Hosakawa Masamoto", *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol.33, No 1, (Spring 1978), ss.51-65

<sup>10</sup> Minor L. Rogers, "Rennyō and Jōdo Shinshu Piety: The Yoshizaki Years", *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol.36, No.1 (Spring, 1981), pp. 21-35.

regions. In fact, he had found a firm basis for his teachings among the *Ikkō-shū* adherents, peasants who formerly were preached by Shinran in Hokuriku region (The Sea of Japan side of Honshū, the main island of Japanese archipelago). (Appendix. Fig.2) The nobles and aristocrats were traditionally adhered to the established sects of Tendai and Shingon, while the samurai were inclined towards the Rinzai Zen transmitted by Eisai 栄西(1141-1215) and spread by Musō Soseki 夢窓 疎石(1275-1351), and the teachings of Nichiren 日蓮(1222-1282) were popular among the merchant class dwelling in cities. Thus the simplified version of Buddhism preached by Rennyo spread among the peasants like wildfire.<sup>11</sup>

Rennyo as “the second founder” or “the organizer” of Jōdo Shinshū (True Pure Land) school, based on the writings and teachings of Shinran, had organized the principles of faith. Accordingly; unlike the other sects he denounced the importance of rites and rituals of esoteric nature and chanting of inaccessible sutras in Sanskrit. He was saying that the phrase (*nenbutsu* 念仏) “*Namu Amida Butsu*” (I take refuge

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<sup>11</sup> George B. Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History*, (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1991), pp.377-378

in Amida Buddha!) was all that a believer really needed. By citing *nenbutsu*, anyone could secure a place in the Jōdo (Pure Land) of Amida Buddha, since Buddha had promised Buddhahood for sentient beings and vowed that he himself shall not attain Buddhahood until all take their places near him (The Primal Vow/Hongan 本願). Likewise, now that the world is in the age of declining dharma (*mappō*), one should accept the fact that it is not possible for the ordinary people to reach Buddhahood by their own efforts (Self-Power / *jiriki* 自力), thus trusting Buddha as manifested in his vow, one should “take refuge” in and entrust his salvage to him (Other-Power / *tariki* 他力).<sup>12</sup> Thus, symbolically, a Jōdo Shinshū follower had nothing more to do than to hold fast to the rope of Buddha in order to be elevated to (reborn into) the Pure Land. Rennyo propagated the concept *Shinjin* 信心 (the faithful heart)<sup>13</sup> instead, which meant that

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<sup>12</sup> James L. Ford, “Jōkei and the Rhetoric of ‘Other-Power’ and ‘Easy-Practice’ in Medieval Japanese Buddhism”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol.29, No.1/2 (Spring 2002), pp.67-106.

<sup>13</sup> For a concise introduction of Shinjin, a central concept in Jōdo Shinshū doctrine see: Daniel G. Friedrich, “Shinjin, Faith and Entrusting Heart”, *Osaka Jogakuin Kiyō*, No. 5 (2008), pp. 107-117.

one should sincerely believe in the *tariki* power of Buddha.<sup>14</sup> He emphasized the importance of naturalness 自然 for this endeavor.

Therefore, Jōdo Shinshū as preached by Rennyo to the poor, illiterate villagers in the countryside, was offering salvation from their miseries without requiring them to perform any specific rituals but a single-minded trust in Buddha. Amidst the unbearable miseries experienced during the continuous fighting, famine and epidemics of Ōnin War which claimed countless lives; never ending claims and *shōen* 莊園(manor/estate) demands of the ruling classes on their yields, Rennyo's egalitarian teachings had started to spread in waves among the peasants of Kaga, Echizen, Noto, Etchū, Echigo and Sado provinces in the north. (Appendix. Fig. 3) Ikkō was gradually evolving into a sort of brotherhood, or a network of cofraternal circles and peasant confederations were established throughout the country.<sup>15</sup>

Moreover, Rennyo was not like other priests who looked down upon the peasants, but he lived among them and consistent with his

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<sup>14</sup> James Carter Dobbins, *The Emergence of Orthodoxy: A Historical Study of Heresy in the Early Jōdo Shinshū* (Ph.d Diss., Yale University, 1984), pp.442-447.

<sup>15</sup> Neil Mc Mullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp.36-37

egalitarian teaching he addressed them as “*Gomontō*” (Fellow Believers).<sup>16</sup> Soon his residence in Yoshizaki had become a pilgrimage site for the Ikkō-shū peasants flowing continuously from their villages in order to attain salvation. Rennyo finally had succeeded to establish a community he desired, but now he faced a new dilemma: With such a rapid popularization of his faith, how could he evade reactions of the established sects and their adherents within higher authorities?<sup>17</sup>

The impact of his teachings was on the verge of exceeding his purely religious intentions, and his highly organized peasant followers were getting ready to rise up against their traditional patrons.

### The *Ikkō-Ikki* Peasant Uprisings and Honganji

The term Ikkō-Ikki broadly refers to a series of peasant revolts that took place between 1460ies and 1580ies. The first part of the phrase; Ikkō 一向 meaning “Single-minded” or “Single-direction” is a direct

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<sup>16</sup> In one of his letters in *Ofumi* (compilation of his letters) he writes: “...we are one another’s companions and fellow practitioners. Because of this, the master [Shinran] spoke respectfully of ‘companions and fellow practitioners.’ [Minor L. Rogers and Ann T. Rogers, *Rennyo: The Second Founder of Shin Buddhism – With a Translation of His Letters*, (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), p. 143].

<sup>17</sup> Rennyo and Jōdo Shinshu Piety

reference to the Honganji branch of Jōdo Shinshū doctrine of *tariki*, The Other-Power as explained above. The connection between the two was so obvious for the observers that the Honganji branch was also known as the Ikkō-shū 一向宗 (The Ikkō sect). On the other hand, the second part of the phrase; Ikki 一揆 has a similar meaning, that is “to unite on a single path” or “unison of hearts and minds”, had gradually evolved into a word used for popular rebellions.<sup>18</sup> The word *Ikki* in late medieval and early modern Japan transformed into a term connoting horizontally organized groups of people. Although the term was used by and for other sects at times, it is generally associated with the Ikkō-shū adherents and Honganji.

As the members of Ikkō-shū was increasing rapidly and large numbers of believers gathering around Rennyo in Yoshizaki, the town was gradually evolving into a highly populated and vibrant *jinai-machi* 寺内町(Temple-town). The developments in Yoshizaki soon drew the attention of local authorities, as well as the branch-temples of other sects. Conflict of interests had started aggravating grudge against

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<sup>18</sup> Carol Richmond Tsang, *The Development of Ikkō-Ikki, 1500-1570* (Ph.d. Diss. Harvard University, 1995), pp.3-6

Ikkō-shū community. Rennyō was aware of the growing threat and he had expressed his concerns about the situation in one of his letters dated 4 Sep. 1473.<sup>19</sup> He was worried about safety, and his difficulties to control the confrontational attitudes of his followers, although he had warned them that they had to obey the rules and regulations of the state. The tension soon led to a violent clash between the Ikkō-shū and the forces of the governor (*shugo*) of Kaga province. (Appendix. Fig.4)

Whether Rennyō was against it or not, this was the first large-scale Ikkō-Ikki military action, and by capturing the Rendaiji castle, the *nōhei* (peasant-soldiers) won a decisive victory on 23 Nov. 1474.<sup>20</sup>

Within a year his center in Yoshizaki was destroyed in ongoing fights, Rennyō once again started travelling, proselytizing and attracting more people in areas like Wakasa, Tango and Tanba. In 1477, he chose to stay at Deguchi (a place in modern-day Osaka) but within a year he had to flee to Yamashina (nearby Kyoto). Finally he had found a place to

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<sup>19</sup> Kawade Shobo Shinsha (ed.), *Rennyō – Ikkō Nanmu Amidabutsu no Sekai* ( Rennyō – The World of Ikkō Nanmu Amidabutsu), (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 1997), pp.27-28.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.29

settle down.<sup>21</sup> In 1496, three years before his death, he founded a small temple at a place he called “Ōzaka” (The Great Slope) which later was to become the modern city of Osaka. Likewise, the Ishiyama temple he built there for seclusion was to become the core of a large *jinai machi* (Temple town) mainly administered by Honganji.

Even after he had left Kaga province, his influence on the warrior-peasants could not even be weakened. So much so that, having once realized the importance of being organized, the Ikkō-shū adherents of Honganji were to continue their fight against the Muromachi shogunate for the next hundred years. With their ever growing self-confidence, further conflicts were inevitable. Hence in the sixth intercalary month of 1488, their activity reached one of its early peaks and by overwhelming the forces of Togashi Masachika (d.1488), the *shugo* (governor) of Kaga, and forcing him to commit suicide, they declared a sort of semi-independence.<sup>22</sup> Now the province of Kaga had

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<sup>21</sup> *The Teachings of Rennyō*

<sup>22</sup> Davis, David L. “Ikki in Late Medieval Japan.” In *Medieval Japan – Essays in Institutional History*, edited by J.W. Hall & J. P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), pp.221-247

become “the country of the peasants” (*Hyakushō no mochitaru kuni*).<sup>23</sup>

As Herbert Norman describes, the peasant as *nōhei* was emerging as a balancing locus of military power in the Japanese society:

...the husbandman (call him peasant or farmer) of prefeudal or early feudal times was often an armed and sturdy yeoman, perhaps even a better fighter than a plowman, who banded together with his fellows to resist the encroachments of some land-hungry baron, or who donned a priestly garment and fought as a temple priest to defend or enlarge the enclaves of Buddhist secular power, or finally, perhaps, seeking to escape the perils of an anarchic and fluid society, commended himself to some powerful “protector”.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, at the wake of the sixteenth century, the pressure aggravating on the largest section of the society, the peasant-farmer-villagers was tremendous. Their yields were subject to usurpation at a number of levels. Proprietorship rights of the yields were shared among the *shōen* overlords (*shōen ryōshu* 荘園領主) living in the cities without any direct contact or whatsoever with the countryside. A second layer was the local resident lord appointed by the shogunate, and a third was the main temples and their branches of the established Buddhist sects like Tendai, or Shingon.<sup>25</sup> Especially during times of famine or

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<sup>23</sup> *Rennyō*, p.20

<sup>24</sup> E. Herbert Norman, “Soldier and Peasant in Japan: The Origins of Conscription”, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol.16, No.1 (Mar., 1943), pp.47-64

<sup>25</sup> Toshio Kuroda & Suzanne Gay, “Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate

war, the burden on the peasant could easily become too heavy to carry. Thus, although the end-result of the peasant movement was a disturbing politicization of the peasants for the part of the ruling class, the reasons for its start were more economic than politic. They simply wanted reductions in the tax levies, but they were not able to have their voices heard by the authorities unless they united and rebelled. Rennyō, who himself was put to flight by the establishment was at the right place, at the right time. At the very beginning of the Warring States period, the two movements had merged into each other, uniting on a “single-direction”, the Ikkō.

#### Ishiyama Honganji in the Warring States Period

Rennyō had twenty seven children from five successive wives throughout his life. Of these, his first son Junnyō was born in 1442 and his twenty third child Jitsugo died in 1584 at the age of ninety three, meaning that his first generation descendants were present for

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System”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol.23, No.3/4, The Legacy of Kuroda Toshio (Fall, 1996), pp.287-319. For a better view of the economic power of temples like Enryakuji, Tōdaiji, Kōfukuji and Buddhist institutions as a whole see: Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains – The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp.15-18.

a span of 142 years.<sup>26</sup> Owing largely to the devoted missionary efforts of these children, Honganji network kept flourishing after Rennyo's death in 1499. The two permanent centers at Yamashina (Kyoto) and Ishiyama (Osaka) he could secure during his lifetime, soon had become the two head temples with a network of rapidly expanding group of local affiliate temples (*Matsuji*). The rapid growth of Ikkō-shū and especially its increasing activities within Kyoto caused reaction from other sects. The first one to take action against Ikkō was the Nichiren sect, which had already established a firm base among the lay population of the capital since Rennyo was ousted by the warrior monks of Tendai sect's Enryakuji temple in 1465. Nichirenist attack came in 1532 and following violent clashes between the two sides in and around Kyoto, Yamashina Honganji was burnt down and the sect was once again forced to leave the area. Although this incident marks a major setback in Honganji's history, it was also the beginning of its mature age, in which Ishiyama Honganji in Osaka would rise as the single leader, the head-temple of the organization as a whole. On the

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<sup>26</sup> Galen Dean Amstutz, *The Honganji Institution, 1500-1570: The Politics of Pure land Buddhism in Late Medieval Japan* (Ph.d. Diss., Princeton University, 1992), p.69.

other hand, the Nichirenist victory and its increasing confidence seems to have disturbed the Enryakuji monks at Mt. Hiei. In 1536, they filed a complaint to the Muromachi shogunate demanding prohibition of Nichiren sect to use “*Hokke-shū*” (法華宗) to define themselves since they claimed it was the age-old privilege of Tendai. Reluctance of the shogunate to interfere in the sectarian conflicts, Enryakuji decided to take the initiative into their hands and gathering an enormous force of around sixty thousand troops, raided Nichirenist temples in Kyoto. They burnt and razed 21 temples of their enemy, causing large sections of the city to be destroyed during the clashes. Enryakuji had once again confirmed its uncontested power at the capital area, but nothing was to hinder Honganji’s steady growth.

In mid-sixteenth century, Ishiyama Honganji was the center of a highly populated, vigorous commercial town, a *jinai machi* (or *jinai chō*: Temple Town) fashioned after the model set by Yoshizaki during Rennyo’s time.<sup>27</sup> Galen Amstutz describes the temple-town of

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<sup>27</sup> For a detailed discussion on the Temple-towns and their administration see: Akira Hori, “*Jinai toshihō no kōzō*” (Administrative structure of the Temple-towns),

Ishiyama Honganji and its powerful presence in the sixteenth century

as follows:

....In 1538, the *jinaichō* obtained fiscal exemptions from Harumoto [Hosokawa; 1519-1563, the *daimyō* of Kinai region]; at first these privileges extended only to the temple grounds proper, but they were soon extended to the entire complex. Through the end of the Nobunaga war, Ishiyama possessed complete tax and service exemption, was exempt from entry by the governor's agents, and was self-governing and self-policing. In cases of conflict between jinai inhabitants and outsiders, Honganji made investigations and arrests using its own enforcement officers on behalf of the governor, Honganji also ensured that jinai inhabitants met their outside legal obligations...Full of strategic admiration for the military and transportation advantages of the site, the author of the *Nobunaga Kōki* [The Official Chronicle of (Oda) Nobunaga] even described Ishiyama as the most important place in Japan.<sup>28</sup>

The Ishiyama Honganji complex including the main temple and related facilities spread over an area of about eighty thousand square meters (eight *chō* 町) and it was surrounded by the residential as well as commercial and manufacturing parts. The whole city was heavily fortified with palisades, defense towers and water ditches. Urban parts were organized under six administrative units each having their

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in *Jinai machi no kenkyū*, (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1998), pp. 451-84.

<sup>28</sup> The Honganji Institution, pp. 122-123

own gates, guard houses and self-governing councils of elders.<sup>29</sup>

Ishiyama Honganji, as the largest temple town was at the very center of a chain of local branch-temples and temple towns. Honganji had branch-temples in Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, Hyōgō, Shiga, Fukui, Ishikawa, Toyama, Gifu, Aichi, Mie, Nara, Wakayama, Kyoto and Osaka within its core activity zone; and also in Akita, Iwate, Yamagata, Miyagi, Niigata, Fukushima, Tochigi, Ibaraki, Saitama (Tokyo area), Chiba, Nagano, Yamanashi, Kanagawa, Shizuoka, Kumamoto, Oita, Fukuoka, Tokushima and Kagawa within its peripheral zone.<sup>30</sup> There were also over forty temple-towns functioning as regional commercial hubs which had flourished around a Ikkō-shū temple by developing strong ties with the Ishiyama Honganji, as well as with each other.<sup>31</sup> The network reached even the smallest villagers via meeting halls constructed within village territories. (Appendix. Fig.5)

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 123-124

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 160-163

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion on temple-towns in relation with the castle-towns (*jōkamachi*), on the particular example of Kanazawa see: James L. Mc Clain, Castle Town and Daimyo Authority: Kanazawa in the Years 1583-1630, *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol.6, No.2 (Summer, 1980), pp. 267-299.

At the very center of this complex network stood Kenryo 顕如 (1543-1592), the eleventh chief-abbot (*monshu*門主) of Honganji. Empowered by his religious authority, administrative rights, economic and military might of his community, Kenryo was further supported via critical alliances he had forged with powerful clans like Mōri of Yamaguchi, Hosokawa of Kii and famous Takeda Shingen (1521-1573) of Kai provinces. Thus when Oda Nobunaga's (1514-1582) rise as the "Unifier of the country" with the slogan "*Tenka Fubu*" 天下布武 (Martial Rule Under Heaven), Honganji led by Kenryo was approaching a new conflict with the state. Hence when the armies of Nobunaga appeared in front of Ishiyama Honganji on 10 Sep.1570, Kenryo was ready to offer the fiercest resistance he had faced during his endeavor to unite Japan. <sup>32</sup>

### Honganji and the Three Unifiers of Japan

Out of the chaotic political environment of the Warring States period, Oda Nobunaga the self-made daimyō of the strategic Owari province (in modern day Nagoya) in central Japan, had risen to prominence in

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<sup>32</sup> For a detailed discussion on the conflict between Nobunaga and Honganji see: *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, pp.100-145

the late 1560'ies. Making full use of firearms recently introduced by the Portugese, working out strong alliances and famous for his brutality, he was eliminating his rivals one by one. Finally in December, 1568 he was able to enter into the capital and elevate his own candidate Yoshiaki as the next (and the last) Ashikaga shogun. He had thus established himself as the de facto ruler of the country, but he was aware that in order to unite the realm under his absolute command he had to overcome a final obstacle: The Buddhist institutions, namely the Enryakuji at Mt.Hiei and Honganji at Osaka. After first laying siege to Honganji, he soon discovered that defeating the Ikkō-shū may not be as easy as he had anticipated. Kenryo's power was reaching even Owari, Nobunaga's own domain and initiating popular uprisings. Thus he decided to concentrate on Enryakuji. The Tendai head temple had a strategic location to the north-east of Kyoto with a direct access to the commercial routes around Lake Biwako. Eliminating Enryakuji meant he could control those trade routes, unite his forces in Gifu and Kyoto, confiscate the rich resources of the temple, and further tighten his grip on Osaka by

demonstrating the possible outcome of further resistance to his will.

Hence he launched a decisive attack on Mt. Hiei on 30 Sep. 1571.<sup>33</sup> It was one of the most violent clashes of the Warring States period.

Nobunaga's forces overwhelmed the famous monk-warriors of Enryakuji and literally each and every inhabitant of the temple grounds, civilians and monks alike, were slaughtered and anything that stood up as a building whether sacred or not was leveled. The powerful Tendai sect which had once destroyed Honganji, and ousted the Nichirenists from Kyoto, was itself now facing annihilation.

Unlike Enryakuji, Honganji endured. Nobunaga was not able to break the resistance of Ikkō-shū adherents at Ishiyama Honganji for more than ten years. The city under siege was finding ways to establish alternative maritime or land supply lines from the northern parts of the country. The whole Honganji network was cooperating with the head temple in its war effort. Coalition of Kenryo with Mōri Motonari 毛利元就 (1497-1571) –the strongest ruler (of Chōshū domain) in western provinces and a marital relative of Kenryo- was

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<sup>33</sup> *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan*, pp.145-151

crucial in operating the transportation and communication lines in western Japan.<sup>34</sup> It seemed as if the temple-town could continue its defence for ever. As George Sansom aptly puts: "...[Nobunaga's] most powerful enemy, the greatest obstacle in the way of unity, was not the old regime but the new militant church, the Honganji and the Ikkō leaguers..."<sup>35</sup>

After ten years of unsuccessful siege, Nobunaga finally gave up his hopes for a military victory and resorted to diplomatic tactics. He requested Emperor Ōgimachi (1517-1593) to stand in between and convince Kenryo for an honorable truce for both sides.<sup>36</sup> In the third month of 1571, Kenryo agreed to leave the city to Nobunaga and go to Izuminokuni in the south. Although his son Kyōnyo 教如 (1558-1614) refused to abandon Osaka for another five months, he also was

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<sup>34</sup> George Sansom, *A History of Japan: 1334-1615*, (London: The Cresset Press, 1961), p. 288. (For instance; in August 1575, the Mōri ships loaded with supplies for Honganji clashed and defeated Nobunaga's warships laying siege at Osaka Bay.)

<sup>35</sup> *A History of Japan*, p. 284.

<sup>36</sup> "...he mobilized court 'spokesmen for the military,' the former kanpaku Konoe Sakihisa, and Crown Prince Sanehito to bring about peace 'by imperial command' with this most persistent of all his enemies, one that had fought him tooth and nail in a ten years' war across widespread areas of Japan and had execrated him as an 'enemy of the Buddhist Law ([法敵]hōteki)..." Fujiki Hisashi with George Elison, *The Political Posture of Oda Nobunaga*, in *Japan Before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth 1500 to 1650*, edited by J.W. Hall, N.Keiji, K.Yamamura, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp.149-193.

convinced by the messengers of the emperor and Nobunaga's forces took the city over in eighth month. Soon after, the defenders left, Ishiyama Honganji along with most of the settlements were burnt down by a large fire.<sup>37</sup> With the fall of Honganji, Nobunaga was finally left unrivalled.

On the other hand, he could not enjoy his victory for long. On 21 Jun., 1582, he was attacked by one of his closest generals and forced to do *seppuku* (suicide by disembowelment) at the Honnōji temple in central Kyoto. Amidst the power struggle among his generals for supremacy, his loss does not seem to be lamented by many.<sup>38</sup>

His successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), possibly because of his humble origins, proved out to be concerned about the fate of Honganji. In 1583, he built the Osaka castle at the ruins of Ishiyama

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<sup>37</sup> For a detailed description of the Ishiyama Battle see: Chisato Kanda, *Nobunaga to Ishiyama Gassen* (Nobunaga and the Ishiyama Battle), (Tokyo, Yoshikawa, 2008), pp.194-200.

<sup>38</sup> During his turbulent career Nobunaga was not short of enemies. In addition to his warrior opponents among the local lords, he had gained the adversity of the Shogun Yoshiaki, whom he had appointed and puppeteered for a while, in addition to Tendai adherents of Mt. Hiei, the Hokke sect of Nichirenists, the Shingon monks of Mt. Kōya as well as the Ikkōshū of Honganji. But towards the end of his career his attitude towards the emperor and his inclination to overrule the imperial will at certain issues had started to cause suspicion over his intentions about the imperial system itself.. For a detailed discussion on Nobunaga's relations with the emperor and nobility see: The Political Posture of Oda Nobunaga.

Honganji and in 1585 he donated a large area to the sect in Tenma, Osaka where a new temple was soon erected.<sup>39</sup> Again in 1591, Hideyoshi donated land for Honganji to build another temple at Kyoto.<sup>40</sup> When the construction work for a grandiose main temple was over within a year, Honganji had at last reestablished itself at the capital since the exile of Renno. This time, its rivals the Enryakuji and the Nichiren sect were all eliminated and Honganji emerged as the largest, and the most powerful Buddhist institution of a unified Japan. But with the death of its new benefactor in 1598<sup>41</sup>, it would soon face an unprecedented challenge: Split.

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<sup>39</sup> Honganji Shiryō Kenkyūjo (ed.), *Honganji-shi* (The History Honganji), Vo.1, (Jōdo Shinshū Honganji-ha: Osaka, 1961), p.547.

<sup>40</sup> Hideyoshi's further donations to the temple complex, such as the *Karamon* 唐門 (a monumental wooden gate at the south side of present-day Western Honganji) and a villa within the temple gardens, still survive to this day, as the reminders of his affinity to the sect. He also had donated proprietorship of land in Yamashina as new sources of income for the temple. (*Honganji-shi*, p.550)

<sup>41</sup> Hideyoshi's attitude towards the Ikkō-shū and Honganji, compared with his predecessor Nobunaga was no doubt favorable. On the other hand, his policies such as the Sword Hunt (prohibiting usage and carrying of weapons for the monks and peasants) and his division of the *hei* (warrior) and the *nō* (peasant classes) as well as his extensive cadastral surveys were restrictive measures on the capabilities of Buddhist sects. For a discussion of Hideyoshi's policies see: John Whitney Hall, Hideyoshi's Domestic Policies, in *Japan Before Tokugawa: Political Consolidation and Economic Growth 1500 to 1650*, edited by J.W. Hall, N.Keiji, K.Yamamura, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp.194-223.

## The Split

Hideyoshi's death had caused a power-vacuum. Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616), another general of Nobunaga saw the opportunity and refused to submit to Hideyori, the young son and designated successor of Hideyoshi. Japan was once again separated as Eastern and Western forces. The two sides confronted each other in an open battle at Sekigahara plain on 21 Oct., 1600. This pitched battle marks the end of the Warring States (*Sengoku*) period in Japanese history. Tokugawa had a decisive victory over the Western forces led nominally by Hideyori but practically by the Mōri clan of Chōshū domain (the same clan which had supported Kenryo in Ishiyama Honganji's stand against Nobunaga). Hence when Ieyasu emerged as the new master of the realm, Mōri along with the Shimazu of Satsuma –the strongest clan in southern Kyushu (one of the four main islands of Japanese archipelago, to the south of Honshū) had become the two main losers of the new era. Most of their fiefs were confiscated and redistributed among the rear vassals of Ieyasu, though they still remained as large

domains with sizeable agricultural territories .<sup>42</sup> The new system set by Ieyasu would last for the next two hundred and fifty years during which domestic mobility would be hampered and Japan would be closed to foreign intrusions especially in the form of Christian missionaries.

Similar to Chōshū and Satsuma, Honganji, as the religious institution favoured by Hideyoshi (which had assisted him in his enterprises of pacification of Kyushu island as well as his attempt to invade Korea<sup>43</sup>), and a potential threat well-known for its military might, found itself at a difficult position. Ieyasu had to wait only for two years until he felt he was ready to implement his plans for Honganji. Using an internal dispute of succession as pretext, in 1602 Ieyasu ordered and sponsored the construction of a new Honganji to the east of the existing one. Thus, he divided the sect into two denominations with two separate (and symmetrical) head-temples:

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<sup>42</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer, John K. Fairbank (ed.s), *East Asia The Great Tradition*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), p.594.

<sup>43</sup> The Honganji Institution, pp. 273-274.

The Western (*Nishi*) and the Eastern (*Higashi*) Honganjis.<sup>44</sup> His descendants for the next two and a half centuries of Pax-Tokugawa would continue the example set by Ieyasu and keep supporting the Eastern branch while mostly ignoring the Western. This discriminatory attitude was inevitably to influence the stances of the two head-temples at the unfolding series of events towards the end of the Tokugawa rule. The positions and alliances of the parties involved are crucial in understanding the mid to late nineteenth century developments which led to the dissolution of Bakufu (*Bakumatsu*) of the house of Tokugawa and the forming of the 1868 Meiji Restoration (*Meiji Ishin*). Until the appearance of the Black Ships of Commodore Perry in 1853 at the shores of Japan, the political situation would be a stand-still, but once the inertia was broken the events would unfold like a typhoon, and the leaders of Honganji, just like their ancestors like Rennyō or Kenyō would face new challenges for its survival as if the fault lines between the victors and losers of the Sekigahara were silently waiting to become active.

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<sup>44</sup> Michael Solomon, The Dilemma of Religious Power: Honganji and Hosokawa Masamoto, *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol.33, No.1 (Spring, 1978), pp.51-65.

## CHAPTER THREE

### HONGANJI DURING BAKUMATSU

The role Honganji played in the making of Meiji Restoration is an understudied subject. On the other hand, it may not be too far-fetched to claim that the revolution might not even be possible without the financial, political, military and spiritual support forwarded to the Imperial cause by the Western Honganji. Although the general narrative on the Bakumatsu developments is based on a dichotomy between Satsuma-Chōshū domainal coalition (Satchō) versus the Tokugawa shogunate, as will be discussed below, the historical facts point to the crucial role played by this religious institution which had the largest popular base in Japan.

The period which had roughly started with the forced entry of the Black Ships of the American admiral Commodore Perry in 1853 and lasted until the right to rule restored to the emperor in 1868, is rightly called “*Bakumatsu*” (The End of Military Rule) in Japanese history. It was a period of turmoil and fluid alliances. All the traditional

institutions of the shogunate were compelled to take sides in this struggle for change. Religious institutions like the Western and the Eastern Honganji were no exception to the rule. In the summer of 1864, an incident would force the sides to show their colours. Even if their respective leaderships would not prefer to get involved in the political and military affairs, the two Honganjis with their ability to mobilize millions of monto believers could not possibly be kept away from this conflict.

During the Kinmon Gate Incident, the Eastern –which was established by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the very founder of the shogunate in 1602 in order to divide the community and weaken the fearful power of Honganji, and was consistently supported by it throughout the 260 years of its rule- , was now targeted by the Chōshū troops for its pro-Bakufu stance. On the contrary, the Western was giving covert support to the *sonnō-jōi* (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarian) movement led by Chōshū. Although the shogunate would try to pressure the Western Honganji by locating a Shinsengumi police force station within the temple grounds, it would not be able to control the

unfolding events. Western Honganji's preferences would soon change the fragile power balance in favour of the anti-Bakufu movement.

On the other hand, the other major player in the game, the Satsuma domain of southern Kyūshū (southernmost of the four main islands of Japan proper), had its own game plan. Its leadership had a firm anti-Buddhist stance and strongly believed that the native religion of the Japanese people, Shintoism should dominate the country. Thus, when Kidō Kōin of Chōshū and Sakamoto Ryōma of Tosa managed to forge an alliance between the two rival domains of Satsuma and Chōshū, the sides had differing views with respect to the established religious institutions. These differences would temporarily be frozen until the shogunate was brought to its knees, but once the victory was reached, and the Imperial Rule restored, religion would again emerge as an issue.

### Choosing Sides: The Kinmon Incident

On 20 August, 1864, at noon the city of Kyoto was filled with a frenzy of explosions caused by continuous cannon fire, battle cries of gunmen

exchanging rifle shots. The conflict which later was to be called “the Kinmon Incident” (*Kinmon no Hen*禁門の変) or the battle of the Forbidden Gate, had started early in the morning with the assault of Chōshū domain troops in an attempt to gain (or rather recover) control over the Imperial Palace qua the emperor’s person. The defending forces of Aizu and Satsuma domains, as well as the Shinsengumi police force were not exactly caught by surprise as the Chōshū commanders expected. They had successfully overwhelmed and expelled the Chōshū units from Kyoto about a year ago on Sep. 30, 1863 during the “8-18 Incident”, and recently on Jul. 8 they had launched a bold attack on the Chōshū adherents trying to organize secret conspiratory meetings at a small hotel called “Ikedaya”.<sup>1</sup>

During the rest of the day, clashes continued here and there with intervals while the Chōshū attackers gradually left their positions and retreated. As the night fell, the defenders could finally claim their control over the city, but before being able to celebrate their victory, they realized that they faced even a bigger threat: the fleeing Chōshū

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<sup>1</sup> Katsuo Inoue, *Bakumatsu-Ishin* (Bakumatsu-Meiji Restoration), (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2007), p.123

troops were setting fires all around the city. Soon an unstoppable fire started to sweep the streets and blocks, spreading rapidly from one wooden building to another. The citizens of Kyoto were witnessing one of the largest fires in the city's history, the *Don Don Yake* (Burn Like Hell) or alternatively known as *Teppō Yake* (The Fire of the Rifles)<sup>2</sup>.

Amidst scorching flames, sheltered by the shadows of the night some Chōshū elements who could not runaway on time with their comrades were secretly taking refuge in the Western Honganji temple. The temple grounds was heavily guarded by *Honganji-tai* (The Honganji Corps), a small army of armed monk-warriors (*sōhei*). Inside, the Chōshū troops quickly had their heads shaven and changed their clothes to disguise themselves as monks. The ones who were lucky enough to get into the temple were thus offered a safe haven from the Shinsengumi police who were tracking them down.

The *Don Don Yake* lasted for three days. Once the last flame was extinguished, the toll of the fire could be calculated: Some 43.000 buildings were devoured by the blaze, including the Eastern Honganji

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<sup>2</sup> Hajime Tamba, *Nishi Honganji Dai 21dai Monshū - Myōnyo Shōnin Shō*, (A Short Biography of Myōnyo Shōnin – The twenty first Abbot of Western Honganji), (Tokyo: PHP, 2004), p.68

temple complex. The head temple of the Ōtani or the Eastern branch of Jōdō Shinshū sect, had totally burnt down. On the contrary, its western counterpart survived the great fire without any major harm. (Appendix. Fig.6) There were eye witness reports that told some people had seen a Chōshū cannon unit approaching the Western Honganji and aiming at the temple building. Just before they fired, one of their officers appeared and warned them to stop because the Honganji they were looking for was not the one they were targeting but the Eastern. Thus the squad, realising the mistake they were on the edge of doing, took their cannon away to the Eastern Honganji and fired there, burning it down.<sup>3</sup>

In the following days, the Satsuma-Aizu domain troops and the Shinsengumi police force were to start a fierce manhunt in the city in order to find the remnants of the Chōshū army. Aware of the dangers of keeping the rebels for long within the compound, the temple administration and the commandant of the Honganji Guards were hurrying to get the Chōshū troops out of the city under disguise. After

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<sup>3</sup> *Myōnyo Shonin Shō*, p.69

a month following the incident, on 12 Oct, 1864, suspecting that the Honganji was still housing rebels, a large contingent of the Aizu troops finally raided the temple for search. Though they did find two Chōshū soldiers in hiding, their search was halted by a commander called Tokugawa Yoshinobu (also known as Keiki; 1837-1913), who was later to become the last shogun.<sup>4</sup>

Yoshinobu was a talented general, committed to modernization of the shogunate army in order to gain ability to relieve his country from the pressure of the Western powers, but there was no way for him to foretell that in a few years, he himself would become a “rebel” and even be declared a *chōteki*, “enemy of the emperor”.

### *Sonnō-Jōi* (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarian)

The Kinmon Incident in Aug. 1864, was only a step in the rapid downfall of the Tokugawa rule. The process leading to its collapse was a product of economic difficulties caused by droughts, matched with a rise in population and a growing unrest among the young samurai

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.73

(*shishi* 志士) from the lower classes who increasingly were demanding social mobility. By forbidding the foreigners to enter and the Japanese to go abroad, the Tokugawa regime had brought the Japanese society into two and a half centuries of standstill. In addition, social mobility was also hampered by laws prohibiting changes in social status.

Hence, appearance of Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858) with his mighty warships at Edo Bay in 1853 and then in 1854 had triggered an unstoppable avalanche of desire for change. (Appendix. Fig.7) The Tokugawa shogunate government had to address two new and urgent challenges: One from the foreigners to open the country for trade, and the other from the domestic domain powerhouses to expel them. The growing demands and protests from both sides paralyzed the shogunate, and its hesitation to act was interpreted as a sign of weakness by the anti-bakufu circles, causing them to look for alternative ways to solve the chaotic situation.

The answer was soon discovered within the teachings of *Mitogaku* scholars like Fujita Yūkoku 藤田 幽谷(1774-1826), Aizawa Seishisai 会 沢 正志齋(1781-1863) and *kokugaku* (nativist studies) theoretician

Hirata Atsutane 平田 篤胤 (1776-1843) from Akita domain.

*Mitogaku* was initiated by the Tokugawa shoguns themselves in the seventeenth century in an attempt to reconcile their own role within the society with respect to the emperor. To serve this end, a voluminous compilation of national and local histories under the title *Dai Nihonshi* (The Great History of Japan) was accomplished.<sup>5</sup> The Neo-Confucianist idea of “*sonnō*” 尊王 (Revere the Emperor) and “*jōi*” 攘夷 (Expel the Barbarian) of Yōkoku were dispersed by his disciple Aizawa who in turn introduced a new theory of *kokutai* 国体 (national polity) in addition to it.<sup>6</sup> Though innovative for their times, still in essence their approaches were more inclined to offer policy tools for the shogunate than to destroy it.<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, in his more radical theories Hirata, as a nativist, was proposing a complete rejection of anything and everything foreign including Confucianism of China as

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<sup>5</sup> Herschel Webb, What is the Dai Nihon-shi?, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, No.19, pp.135-149.

<sup>6</sup> H.D. Harootunian, *Toward Restoration: The Growth of Political Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p.59.

<sup>7</sup> For the nature of loyalty to the Emperor and the relations between the shogunate and the dyansty see: Herschel Webb, *The Japanese Imperial Institution in the Tokugawa Period*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968)

well as Buddhism of India and return to ideals unique to Japan. For him, Japan was the land of gods (*kami*) and all the Japanese (including but not limited to the imperial dynasty) were their descendants. His ideology in search for a revival of Shinto (The Way of Gods) denied the historical role of the *bushi* (samurai) and supplied the basis for the upsurge of national consciousness in the face of foreign threat during the bakumatsu period. <sup>8</sup>

Sakuma Shōzan 佐久間 象山 (1811-1864), a retainer of Matsuhira domain (present day Nagano) who was well educated in both Chinese classics and Western studies (*Rangaku*) took their ideas a step further and stated that state policies should be adjusted in accordance with the needs of the times and that Western technology was a prerequisite for strengthening the country. Later in his life, he even started promoting *kaikoku* (Opening the country) openly, a policy which caused his assassination by conservatives. His teachings deeply influenced his disciples and produced a new generation of political ideologues like Katsu Kaishū 勝 海舟 (1823-1899), Sakamoto Ryōma

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<sup>8</sup> *Toward Restoration*, pp. 104-105

坂本竜馬 (1836-1867) and Yoshida Shōin 吉田 松陰 (1830-1859)

among others.<sup>9</sup> A generation which would combine theory with practice, ideas with action, within these young political activists, Yoshida Shōin of Chōshū domain deserves special attention in order to understand the dynamics of the revolution

### Yoshida's Dream

Yoshida Shōin was the son of a Chōshū samurai from lower-classes. His family, the Yoshida House was traditionally assigned by the Mōri daimyo house as the keeper and transmitter of Yamaga Sokō's 山鹿素行 (1622-1685) teachings on Bushidō (Way of the Warrior). Sokō was a thinker-strategist whose story had connections with Akō domain (present-day Hyogo) famous for the 47 Rōnin incident, an early attempt of rebellious attitude against unfair practices of the Tokugawa shogunate.<sup>10</sup> At the age of nine, Shōin was vested with the hereditary post of instructorship of Sokō's teachings. His talents were

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<sup>9</sup> *Toward Restoration*, p. 137.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas M. Huber, *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981), p.10.

recognized by the domain authorities and at the age of eighteen appointed as an instructor in the Meirinkan academy at Hagi, the capital of Chōshū domain. Then in 1850 he started travelling around the country searching for knowledge. In Edo he met Sakuma Shōzan in whom he found a teacher whose ideas he thought were enlightening. Under the tutelage of Sakuma he continued his studies in history, Chinese classics and military affairs.<sup>11</sup> At the start of 1852 he fled school to visit Aizawa Seishisai (the teacher of Sakuma) in Mito and north-eastern provinces. But since he had gone without proper permission from his domain, he was punished and lost his samurai status together with his stipend. On the other hand, within a year, he convinced his overlords to grant him permission to study abroad and with the help of Sakuma he applied to the shogunate government for approval. The answer was negative as expected. Hence, together with his teacher, they planned an unapproved flight, an open breach of strict Tokugawa rules. On the night of 24 Apr., 1854 he did the unthinkable, and boarding the American flagship under the command

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<sup>11</sup> *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan*, p.13

of Commodore Perry on a small boat, he demanded to be taken to the west. Since they could not decide if he was a spy or not, the Americans refused and returned him ashore. Although he could have gone away without being captured by the authorities, he chose to give himself up in order to ridicule the emigration policies of Tokugawa. He was arrested with his accomplice Sakuma. Ignoring the possibility of capital punishment, they stood defiant. They were indeed sentenced to death but Sakuma's connections saved them, and after a five months of imprisonment in Edo, they were sent to their domains for house arrest.<sup>12</sup> Shōin used his time in prison to read, write and to teach his fellow prisoners. As soon as he was released in 1855, he took over a small private academy administered by his uncle and started an ambitious programme to educate his students. Under the name Shōka Sonjuku, this private academy was going to be the nucleus of Meiji revolutionaries. In his school, he was teaching Chinese and Western thinking but instead of traditional fencing techniques he was training his young students in western military tactics, and formations for

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<sup>12</sup> *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan*, p.18

firearm battles (using bamboo sticks instead of rifles). Building up on Mitogaku's "unity of theory and practice" (*jitsugaku*) concept, he was teaching "*sonnō-jōi ron*" (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarian) and stressing his innovative ideas like "heroic leadership".<sup>13</sup> Among his students who would in time become the builders of Meiji

Restoration and modern Japan were:

- Kusaka Genzui 久坂玄瑞 (1840-1864): loyalist, died in action after the Kinmon Incident),
- Ariyoshi Kumajirō 有吉熊次郎 (1842-1864): loyalist, organizer of Chōshū's *Hachiman-tai* units, died in action after the Kinmon Incident),
- Shinagawa Yajirō 品川弥二郎 (1843-1900): Senior Vice Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, credited with the development of agriculture in Meiji Japan; Home Minister (1891-1892),
- Matsumoto Kanae 松本鼎(1839-1907): Governor of Wakayama Prefecture, member of the House of Representatives (1890); member of the House of Peers (1892),

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<sup>13</sup> *Toward Restoration*, p. 226

- Yamada Akiyoshi 山田顕義 (1844-1892): Secretary of Justice, Secretary of Internal affairs, helped establish the modern law system of Japan; instrumental in the founding of Kokugakuin (1890, Institute of National Studies, today Kokugakuin University); also Nihon Hōritsu Gakkō ( 1892; Japan Law School, today Nihon University),
- Itō Hirobumi伊藤博文 (1841-1909): The first Prime Minister of Japan (also fifth, seventh, and tenth ); the first *genrō*<sup>14</sup>, The first Resident-General of Korea (1904-1909); prepared the first constitution of Japan,
- Nomura Yasushi 野村靖 (1842-1909): Home Minister (1894), Communications Minister(1896),
- Yamagata Aritomo 山縣有朋 (1838-1922): War Minister (1873), modernized the Imperial Japanese Army; Chief of General Staff during Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905); Home Minister

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<sup>14</sup> *Genrō*: Imperial advisers of Emperor Meiji. They had extraconstitutional rights, and powers like selecting and nominating the Prime Ministers and ask for imperial approval. Until 1940 when the last *genrō* died, there were nine *genrōs*, four from Satsuma (Kuroda Kiyotaka, Ōyama Iwao, Saigō Tsugumichi, Matsutaka Masayoshi); four from Chōshū (Itō Hirobumi, Inoue Kaoru, Yamagata Aritomo, Katsura Tarō) and one from kuge nobles (Saionji Kinmochi). These figures are also the Meiji “oligarchs”.

(1883-1887), established modern local administration system;

Prime Minister of Japan (1889-1891, 1898-1900); President of the Privy Council (1893- 1894, 1905- 1922),

- Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晋作 (1839-1867): Established Kiheitai militia units during Bakumatsu; led Chōshū loyalist against Bakufu troops; died a year before the establishment of imperial rule,
- Kidō Kōin 木戸孝允 (1833-1877): Instrumental in establishing the Satchō alliance (1866), drafting of the Five Charter Oath (1868), and implementing the Abolition of the Han System (1871); an advocate of constitutional government and modernization,

and other prominent figures of Chōshū origin like Inoue Kaoru 井上馨 (1836-1915; Vice Minister of Finance, modernized the financial system; the first Minister of Foreign Affairs(1885); genrō) and Ōmura Masujirō 大村益次郎 (1824-1864; the Father of modern Japanese Army) were in his immediate circle of influence. Hence, Yoshida Shōin’s students became the Chōshū “clique” that dominated the Meiji leadership, reflecting the central role that the young samurai of

Chōshū took in the making of Meiji Japan.

In 1858, after learning that Ii Naosuke 井伊直弼(1815-1860) in the name of the shogunate had signed an unequal treaty with the Western powers, Yoshida decided he should put his theory in action. But his plan to assassinate Ii was revealed and he was once again imprisoned and handed over to the Bakufu.<sup>15</sup> His execution in an Edo prison on 21 Nov., 1859, only contributed to the determination of his students led by Kidō Kōin and Takasugi Shinsaku to start an uncompromising enterprise to destroy the Tokugawa regime (*tōbaku*). Although he himself could not see, his dream of a modern Japan would soon materialize.

### Chōshū – Honganji Connection

With its large popular base and organizational capabilities, the involvement of Western Honganji, neglected by the Tokugawa shoguns who favoured the Eastern Honganji for the 260 years of rule, would prove crucial in realising Yoshida's dream. During the late Tokugawa

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<sup>15</sup> Ii Naosuke was assassinated by Mito loyalists within a year after Yoshida's attempt.

years, Yoshida Shōin as a political thinker-activist, had no doubt the deepest impact on the *tōbaku* (destroy the shogunate) movement, a wildfire which had started in Chōshū and soon would spread to other domains. Yet he was not alone in inspiring the young samurai in Chōshū and the rōnin (masterless samurai) in other domains. The other influential figure was a Buddhist monk called Gesshō 月性 (1817-1858). He was the head-priest of Myōenji, a branch-temple of Western Honganji in Chōshū domain (in present day Yanai town, Yamaguchi) and a good friend of Yoshida with whom he frequently exchanged views and letters.<sup>16</sup> The two also corresponded with Utsunomiya Mokurin 宇都宮黙霖 (1824-1897), another priest from Hiroshima, preaching *sonnō-jōi-ron*.<sup>17</sup>

Yoshida used to send his students to the patriotic lectures Gesshō was giving in his private temple-school called Jishūkan.<sup>18</sup> He was such a fervent supporter of the maritime defence that he was

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<sup>16</sup> *Toward Restoration*, p. 200.

<sup>17</sup> For biographical details of Mokurin see: Kōsai Chigiri, *Utsunomiya Mokurin Denki* (Life of Utsunomiya Mokurin), (Tokyo : Ōzorasha, 1993)

<sup>18</sup> *The Revolutionary Origins of Modern Japan*, p.31. On Jishūkan see: p.188.

popularly called “*Kaibōsō*” (Monk Defender of the Seas). He was the author of the treatise “*Buppō Gokokuron*” 仏法護国論 (On Buddhist Law for the Protection of the Country) and a poet famous for his lines “Wherever one goes, one will find a green hill for his grave...” which became a popular motto of his times for encouraging people to act instead of waiting passively.

As early as 1856, the same Gesshō was invited by Kōnyo 広如 (1798-1871; the twentieth chief-abbot of Western Honganji; grandfather of Ōtani Kōzui) to the main temple in Kyoto. In his lectures he delivered in the meeting halls of Western Honganji, he repeated his message “Unless we can not defend our seas, our borders will be violated by foreign ships.” to his audience consisting of monks and *monto* believers.<sup>19</sup> Ōzu Tetsunen 大洲鉄然 (1834-1902) and his protge Shimaji Mokurai 島地黙雷 (1838-1911), both young priests from Chōshū and both serving at the main temple (*Honzan*) in Kyoto were Gesshō’s close friends.<sup>20</sup> A number of letters dating back to 1856,

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<sup>19</sup> *Myonyo Shonin Shō*, pp.50-51.

<sup>20</sup> *Myonyo Shonin Shō*, p.51. For more information on Mokurai’s connection with Gessho see Peter Kleinen, “Buddhismus und Nationalismus: Anmerkungen zur historiographischen Relevanz der Auseinandersetzung mit dem nationalistischen

displayed in Gesshō Museum in Yanai, point to a further and strong connection with Matsui Nakatsukasa 松井中務 (1809-1863), a high level *kashin* (retainer) of Honganji.<sup>21</sup> Matsui's function in disseminating *sonnō-jōiron* to the large masses of Western Honganji's *monto* all around the country was so crucial for the imperial cause that in 1903, years after his death (1863) his services were recognized by the emperor and the late Matsui was conferred the noble title of *Sei go-i* (a title of fifth degree).<sup>22</sup> Matsui was also instrumental in establishing a *dōjō* (martial arts training center) within the main temple grounds to train monks and monto for self-defense<sup>23</sup> and

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Diskurs des Bakumatsu-Buddhismus" (Buddhism and Nationalism: Some Remarks on the Historiographical Relevance of a Discussion of Buddhist Nationalism in Bakumatsu Japan), *Japanstudien* (Yearbook of German Institute for Japanese Studies), No: 6, (1995), pp.387-427.

<sup>21</sup> Gesshō Museum (Gesshō Tenjikan) – Yanai town (Yamaguchi Prefecture), Doc. No. C040000940

<sup>22</sup> Mami Iwata, Bakumatsu-ki Honganji ni Okeru Kin-ōke no Kashin Matsui Nakatsukasa ni Tsuite (About Matsui Nakatsukasa: The pro-emperor family-retainer of Honganji during the fall of the shogunate), *Honganji Shiryō kenkyū shohō*, No.40 (2010), pp.1-6. (The texts of the formal appeals forwarded from Honganji to the Imperial Household can be found within this article. The content of the article shows the close connection of Honganji with the imperial cause.)

<sup>23</sup> The same source states that the *dōjō* was established by Matsui's appointment of a famous martial arts master Kitabatake Dōryū 北畠道龍 (1820-1907) of Hōfukuji (a branch-temple of Western Honganji in Kii/Wakayama) as the center's director. A fact that shows the *dōjō* was already functioning during the Kinmon Incident in 1864. Later, Ōzu Tetsunen had also opened another *dōjō* within Kyoto city for training laymen and volunteers. (*Myonyo Shonin Shō*, p.36)

building up a network by visiting opposition leaders like Chōshū daimyo Mōri Takachika 毛利 敬親(1819-1871) as the personal envoy of Master Kōnyo. Furthermore, the *Kin-ō* (Serve the Emperor) activists were holding secret meetings in a villa (called *Suikōkan* 翠紅館 ) that belonged to Western Honganji at Higashiyama but Bakufu intelligence realized these arrangements and soon Matsui was attacked and killed by unknown assassins.<sup>24</sup>

In 1863, when Kōnyo sent letters to each of the branch-temples of Honganji denomination, ordering them to assume pro-emperor / *Kin-ō* attitude, little room to doubt which side the most powerful Buddhist institution in Japan was standing.<sup>25</sup> Bakufu's response to the developments in Kyoto was to establish a police force called *Rōshigumi* with samurai from Mito domain, which would soon turn into *Shinsengumi*, a mighty pro-bakufu military unit in the capital city.<sup>26</sup> Within a few months, its antagonist, the core anti-bakufu

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<sup>24</sup> *Myonyo Shonin Shō*, p.55.

<sup>25</sup> *Bakumatsuki Honganji*

<sup>26</sup> *Rōshigumi* 浪士組 (proto-Shinsengumi) was established on 26 Mar., 1863 in Edo and immediately left for Kyoto. Sponsored by the Tokugawa regime, *Rōshigumi* was formed in order to protect the shogunate's interests in the city.

military unit, called Kiheitai 奇兵隊 was established in Chōshū by Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉 晋作(1839-1867), a loyal student of Yoshida Shōin, who had taken the leadership of the domain's opposition after his teacher was executed by the shogunate in 1859. The Kiheitai was founded at a Western Honganji branch temple, Kōmyōji 光明寺 in Shimonoseki..<sup>27</sup> Its members were mainly irregulars consisting of some masterless samurai both from Chōshū and elsewhere, and Buddhist priests as well as villagers and laymen. In the spring of 1863, stage for the *tōbaku* 倒幕 (Destroy the Shogunate) movement was thus set.

### *Ōsei Fukkō* (Restoration of the Imperials Rule) and Honganji

The main obstacle in front of a unified opposition against the bakufu was the rivalry between Satsuma and Chōshū domains. Satsuma had an uneasy relation with the shogunate and through the military

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<sup>27</sup> Kōmyōji was established in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Information on the connection of the temple with the founding of the Kiheitai' can be found on its website (<http://komyouji.com>). Kōmyōji also declares that it is the site from which the first canon shot was fired to the allied fleet approaching Shimonoseki in the fifth month of 1863. Interestingly, Takasugi was to establish a second Kiheitai in the first month of 1865, after the dissolution of the first due to financial problems. It was called the Shinmutai and its birth place was again a Western Honganji branch temple, the Senkōji (at modern day Murozumi- Yamaguchi).

leadership of Saigō Takamori西郷 隆盛 (1828-1877) and the diplomatic talents of his associate Ōkubō Toshimichi大久保利通(1830-1878), by cooperating against rebel Chōshū samurai the domain was skillfully playing for more power in the central government. As of Sep.1864, collaborating with a minor domain Aizu, Satsuma had managed to drive the Chōshū adherents out of Kyoto and by securing the exclusive right to guard the imperial palace, it had already become one of the main agents in the political arena. As opposed to Chōshū renegades who sought radical changes including the overthrowing of the shogunate, Satsuma leaders were determined to make sure that neither the establishment nor Chōshū would benefit from the ongoing conflict. Therefore after the failed attempt of Chōshū units to regain the control over the imperial palace, Saigō had assumed the commandership of the first punitive expedition of the shogunal army, against Chōshū. But instead of crashing down the opposition and invading the rival domain, he chose to demand and execute some elements known to have participated in the Kinmon Incident. This way, he was weakening but not eliminating Chōshū's potential for

resistance, and at the same time he was not allowing the shogunate which was occupied with a rebellion in the northern Mito domain, to take the upperhand. <sup>28</sup>

Indeed, soon after he left, Takasugi Shinsaku and his friends started a civil war in Chōshū and succeeded to overthrow the conservative domainal government. Now having direct access to the domain's treasury, Takasugi was at a position to offer a stronger opposition to the shogunate. At this juncture, the efforts of two young samurai, namely Sakamoto Ryōma 坂本 龍馬(1836-1867) of Tosa domain and Kidō Kōin 木戸 孝允(1833-1877) of Chōshū would result in a major shift in the power balance. Against all hardships, conflicts of interest and strong rivalry between the two sides, the two young samurai worked on forging an alliance between Satsuma and Chōshū. A close associate of the two, Nakaoka Shintarō 中岡慎太郎(1838-1867) from Tosa domain<sup>29</sup> was describing the mood of the times in one of his

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<sup>28</sup> W.G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p.232..

<sup>29</sup> For more insight on Tosa domain's involvement in the loyalist cause see: Marius B. Jansen, Takechi Zuizan and the Tosa Loyalist Party, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.18, No.2 (Feb. 1959), pp.199-212.

letters to Sakamoto as follows:

As far-sighted men will see, Satsuma and Chōshū are the two han that will be able to stir the realm in the future, and they have reached their present position because of the benefits of war...in the near future we will all be following the orders of these two han. Any hope of establishing our national way of life [kokutai] someday and wiping out the barbarian insults, must rest on these two han...Unless we establish our national policy we will never be able to become stronger than the enemy. What, then, is the basis of this policy? It is first of all, that we carry out the highest duty of all [taigi meibun] by returning all power to the throne and establishing a unity of government and worship [saisei itchi].<sup>30</sup>

The negotiations for uniting Satsuma and Chōshū were led by Sakamoto stationed at the Teradaya Inn in Kyoto. Communications were done via messengers and in strict secrecy.<sup>31</sup> For the culmination of their tireless efforts, they had to wait until the decision makers agreed on a final text.<sup>32</sup> Once reached, this critical agreement was to accelerate the downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate.

Before taking an open anti-bakufu position immediately, Satsuma chose to show its loyalty to the agreement by not participating in the

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<sup>30</sup> Marius B. Jansen, *Sakamoto Ryōma and the Restoration*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), p.210

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pp.219-221

<sup>32</sup> The original final text dated 9 Mar., 1866, penned by Kidō with notes of Sakamoto in red ink behind, is kept in the *Kunaichō* (Imperial Household Agency) archives. Kyoto National Museum, *Special Exhibition – The Age of Sakamoto Ryōma* (Kyoto: The Kyoto Shimbun, 2005), pp.118-119

second punitive expedition to Chōshū held by the shogunate in the summer of 1866. In the absence of Satsuma's support, the bakufu forces had to return back empty handed, a result which raised more questions about the ability of the shogun to rule the country. The shogunate was pushed into a negative spiral in which all its moves including minor victories were eventually turning into political and military disasters causing it to lose trust and prestige among its supporters.

In January, 1867, first the shogun, Tokugawa Iemochi and then the emperor Kōmei died in quick succession. The new shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu who had defended the shogunate position in Kyoto back in 1864 during the Kinmon Incident, was an intelligent man whose respect for the emperor seemed to be no less than his opponents. He had found himself in complete turmoil and his mild and compromising attitude towards the now unified opposition was not helping the shogunate's fortunes. In addition to the turbulence caused by the Chōshū and Satsuma loyalists, he had to deal with a growing threat and interference of foreign powers who continuously increased their

pressure on the central government for the enforcement of unequal treaties and last but not the least starting from 1866 onwards the country was being swept by violent peasant uprisings. At its peak, the *yonaoshi* (World renewal) or the “*Ee janai ka?*” (So what?) popular riots had reached a number of 106 *hyakusho ikki* (peasant uprisings) and 35 urban *uchikowashi* (Hit and Destroy!) incidents recorded by the authorities.<sup>33</sup>

Under these circumstances and increasing pressure from all sides, on 9 Nov., 1867, Yoshinobu chose to resign from the shogunate and declared *Taisei Hōkan*大政奉還 (Restoration of political power to the emperor). Although this event marked the official end of the two and a half centuries of Tokugawa bakufu, as the daimyo of the largest estates in the country, still commanding a large army, and still having the control of Edo, his plan was to buy time until he could gain more self-confidence with the help of his French military consultants. But a determined and uncompromising front formed by the Satchō Alliance

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<sup>33</sup> George M. Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan – Motives in the Meiji Restoration*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.99. A map showing the distribution of the uprisings [p.97; taken from its original in Takagi Shunsuke, *Ee janai ka*, (Tokyo: Kyōikusha, 1979),p. 24] point to a possible involvement of the peasant believers of Jōdo Shinshū. The areas in question match with the traditional activity zones of Honganji. More research is certainly needed in this field.

mentioned above, never hesitated to push forward and escalate tensions with Yoshinobu and his supporters. On January, 1868, the Satchō forces suddenly attacked and seized the imperial palace in Kyoto. <sup>34</sup>Now they had direct access to the young Emperor Meiji, the source of legitimacy for any political move in Japanese history. Taking a step further, they declared that the imperial system was revived (*Ōsei Fukkō*). Hearing the news of *Ōsei Fukkō*, Yoshinobu realized his mistake and diminishing chances of regaining power, changed his heart and announced that as the shogun he still was the sole ruler of the country. Satchō's response was to burn the Edo Castle, the shogunal palace. Bakufu forces retaliated by raiding the Satsuma residence in Tokyo and thus declared open war against the domain, a move which the Satchō masterminds were looking for. Now they could escalate their hostilities. <sup>35</sup>

Ten days later on Jan. 27, when some bakufu army units from

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<sup>34</sup> W.G. Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan*. (London: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963), p.98.

<sup>35</sup> Ernest Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan: The inner history of the critical years in the evolution of Japan when the ports were opened and the monarchy restored*, recorded by a diplomatist who took an active part in the events of the time, with an account of his personal experiences during that period, (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1921), pp.308-309.

Osaka tried to enter Kyoto in order to present a message of Yoshinobu to the emperor, a full-scale open war was ignited (the battle of Toba-Fushimi). This time Western Honganji too, had to clarify its position in the conflict. In fact, when the hostilities started, the *Honganji-tai* (Honganji Guards), the standing army of guards of Honganji consisting of highly trained warrior-monks had already taken its place around the imperial palace.

A month ago, the mastermind behind-the-scenes of the Meiji Restoration, Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉 具視 (1825-1883) had invited Myōnyo to the palace and forwarded a rather surprising request. He was saying that the emperor wished the Honganji Guards to protect the palace in case of an attack.<sup>36</sup> The young monk who would later become the theologian introducing secularism to Japan, Shimaji Mokurai of Chōshū (who later was to visit Istanbul in 1873) was one of those guards waiting outside the northern gate of the palace (Sarugatsuji area).<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Tamba, pp.19-20.

<sup>37</sup> Kenko Futaba & Hirotaka Fukushima (ed.s), *Shimaji Mokurai Zenshū* [Complete Writings of Shimaji Mokurai], Vol. 5, (Kyoto: Honganji Shuppanbu, 1978), p.855.

During the battle, Myōnyo was ordered by his father, the chief-abbot Kōnyo to take the holy relics and sacred idols to the safety of Yamashina Honganji temple. (Appendix. Fig. 8) Once the clashes ended with the victory of the loyalists and ex-bakufu forces were ousted from the city, on Jan. 30, he returned back but was immediately called for imperial audience. That night he was asked in person by Emperor Meiji to guard the imperial residence at Toba.<sup>38</sup> He was so close to the emperor that a few days later he was invited for his *genpuku* (coming of age ceremony) at the palace.<sup>39</sup>

In fact, from the beginning of the opposition movement Honganji's pro-emperor stance was clear and the *Kunaikan* (Imperial Household Office) officials knew where to resort whenever a need arose, including financial back-up. Western Honganji had already secretly given a huge amount of 10.000ryō<sup>40</sup> for the imperial cause<sup>41</sup>, and responding

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<sup>38</sup> Uehara Yoshitarō, *Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō* [Chronology of St. Myōnyo], (Kyoto: Shinshū Honganji-ha Gotoku-kai, 1935), p.13.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> 1 ryō 兩 was around 15gr. of gold. That gives an approximate amount of 150kg. of gold.

<sup>41</sup> Hajime Tamba, p.54

to the request of Iwakura Tomomi, an additional 45.000ryō was forwarded within 1868 in exchange for the otherwise worthless bonds issued by the new government.<sup>42</sup>

Although Honganji's relations with the emperor and the imperial family was seemingly perfect at this time, deeper dynamics of the revolution were also in the move and soon the Buddhist institutions including the two Honganjis were to face an unprecedented anti-Buddhist persecution campaign.

During the second day of clashes at the outskirts of Kyoto, the Satchō forces had raised imperial standarts bearing the famous *hinomaru* (circle of the sun), declaring themselves as the Imperial Guards and the bakufu forces as *chōteki* (enemy of the Emperor).<sup>43</sup> The flags were designed by Iwakura Tomomi and although nobody knew what it meant at first sight, after messengers were sent to explain its meaning, this symbolic gesture had tremendous impact on the soldiers on both sides. (Appendix. Fig.9) While the disheartened

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<sup>42</sup> Uehara Yoshitarō, p.16

<sup>43</sup> National Archives of Japan. [Available online at ] [http://www.archives.go.jp/ayumi/kobetsu/m01\\_1868\\_01.html](http://www.archives.go.jp/ayumi/kobetsu/m01_1868_01.html), accessed on 02 Jun.2012.

bakufu troops tended to retreat, the daimyō who were still doubting which side to choose hastily started to join the loyalist charge.

Yoshinobu escaped from Osaka castle to Tokyo and the loyalist army lost no time to march north towards the shogunal headquarters.

Shogun's chances of regaining power were diminishing rapidly. <sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> W.G. Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan*, p.99.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### HONGANJI DURING EARLY MEIJI

Western Honganji under the leadership of Myōnyo was among the victors of *Ōsei Fukkō* (Restoration of the Imperial Rule). Myōnyo had skillfully adhered his organization to the Emperor's fortune and had won in this risky enterprise. On the other hand, he was full aware of the fact that the other components in the coalition against Bakufu, namely Satsuma and a clique within the influential nobles collaborating with them, had their own agendas regarding the religious outlook of the new regime. Satsuma domain led by Ōkubo Toshimichi and Saigō Takamori in line with the anti-Buddhist policies of their lord Shimazu Nariakira, had been executing a relentless persecution against the Buddhist temples in the domain for about a year. Myōnyo was no doubt hoping his good relations with the Emperor himself would help protect his community and hoped the young Emperor Meiji would appreciate Honganji's efforts and services

for his cause. But soon he faced bitter facts. Chōshū elements were too busy fighting ex-Bakufu remnants in the north and the masterminds in Kyoto were ready to compromise with their counterparts in Satsuma and court nobles led by Iwakura Tomomi on the solution of the many issues at hand. Somewhere during the process, the tripartite coalition (Satsuma-Chōshū-Court) , in accordance with their priorities would come to a division of responsibilities and rights within the new government. The common denominator of the revolutionary parties was to establish a new system centered around the Emperor. Thus leaving the disputed among themselves part of aside, and postponing the *Jōi* (Expel the Barbarian) part of Sonnō Jōi to a suitable time in the future, they decided to proceed by sticking to Sonnō first. Judging from the later organization of the Meiji government, it can rather safely be claimed that in a broad sense they had reached a consensus over a division of powers: Chōshū had taken the Army, the Court the Navy, and Satsuma the religious policy making.

A worried Myōnyo was receiving continuous reassurances from the

officials that no such thing as a persecution in Satsuma was to be employed. But Satsuma had other other plans.

The new government started operating by first creating itself. This creation was based on “invention of tradition”, very much in line with Hobsbawm’s theory, just like the Imperial flag of sun with rays raised during the Toba-Fushimi War. Hobsbawm argues that such inventions tend to occur more frequently at times of rapid social transformation such as revolutions where history may provide legitimacy for proposed new policies or institutions. He defines the concept:

Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.... However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely fictitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition.<sup>1</sup>

The new government returned to the pages of history told by the nativist scholarship to find a uniquely Japanese system. They found

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<sup>1</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, Introduction: Inventing Traditions, in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp.1-14.

the tradition they in the Ritsuryō System, used more than a thousand years ago. The system had two main parts to govern the two sides of social life: The secular and the religious realms. It was just what they needed to legitimize their political agenda. Soon religious policies restricting the Buddhists' activities would be enacted one after another and attempting to destroy the Unity of Gods and Buddhas (*Shinbutsu Shūgō*), the syncretic nature of Japanese Buddhism which was taken for granted for hundreds of years.<sup>2</sup> A new era in which Buddhist temples would be demolished, statuary and sacred artifacts along with invaluable artworks would be destroyed was just about to begin.

#### Reviving/Inventing Tradition: The *Ritsuryō* System

Although not fully secure until all ex-bakufu troops surrendered, the masterminds of the coup de etat had still to decide what to do next. Now they had in their hands the opportunity to redesign the whole system as they long had dreamt, but during the hectic days of

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<sup>2</sup> Helen Hardacre, *Creating State Shinto: The Great Promulgation Campaign and the New Religions*, *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1986), pp. 29-63

rebellion they had no time to consider what sort of a new government they should create in order to replace the old. In the absence of a full understanding of modern systems and of course driven by the “unity of rite and rule “ (*saisei itchi*) doctrine of nativist teachings in *Kokugaku* (national studies), they returned to their own history for answers they needed.<sup>3</sup> What they found was the Taihō Code, a set of laws enacted as early as 701 in order to reorganize the state mechanism. The ancient system was called “The Ritsuryō System” and it consisted of two main governing bodies: The *Dajōkan* (The Great Council of State 太政官) and the *Jingikan* (The Council of Rites 神祇官).<sup>4</sup> This was the golden age of imperial rule, an age before “alien” influences had started “corrupting” the Japanese nation.<sup>5</sup> This was exactly what the designers of a new Japan needed: A system which would re-elevate the emperor to the status of the sole ruler of

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<sup>3</sup> For a useful discussion on late Tokugawa debates in nativist studies see: Marc McNally, *The Sandaikō Debate: The Issue of Orthodoxy in Late Tokugawa Nativism*, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 2002 29/3–4, pp.359-378.

<sup>4</sup> G.B, Sansom, *Japan - A Short Cultural History*, (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1991), pp.104-105.

<sup>5</sup> On the role of Shintoism in policy making during early Meiji era and the attitude against foreign creeds of Buddhism and Christianity see: J.L. Breen, *Shintoists in Restoration Japan (1868-1872): Towards a Reassessment*, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Jul., 1990), pp. 579-602.

the nation and at the same time a system which would gain its legitimacy from Japanese history. They were more than ready to ignore the fact that the Ritsuryō system itself was a derivative of a T'ang Chinese prototype.<sup>6</sup> But they had to pass through a number of stages before being able to employ the ancient system as it is.

Hence, while the war-like elements of the revolution was behind the ex-bakufu troops at the gates of Tokyo, the system builders were holding meetings to devise a new but quickly implementable system of government. The first step was to establish seven departments of state in mid- February.<sup>7</sup> These departments, similar to their Ritsuryō antecedents, would supervise religion (Shintō); home, foreign, and military affairs; finance; justice; and organization.<sup>8</sup> It was obvious right from the start, that policies towards governing religion was an issue for the designers of this new structure. The department to serve

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<sup>6</sup> E.O.Reischauer & J.K.Fairbank , *East Asia: The Great Tradition*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), pp.481-488.

<sup>7</sup> "... In Gosho palace, a new government was established. The Chancellor (Dajōdaijin) was Arisugawa no Miya Tarubito Shinnō...On 1/9 (2 Feb, 1868) Sanjō Sanetomi and Iwakura Tomomi became Vice-Chancellors. Other supporting appointments were made from among the kuge and daimyos... But the real decision-makers were Iwakura Tomomi and Okubo Toshimichi..." [Hajime Tamba, *Myōnyo Shōnin shō*, p.76]

<sup>8</sup> Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration*, p.318

that purpose was *Jingi Jimu-ka*神祇事務科 (Department of Rites) and Konoe Tadabusa近衛忠房(1838-1873) was assigned as its first director.<sup>9</sup>

### Persecution of Buddhism (*Haibutsu Kishaku*)

Konoe's appointment was a critical move showing the possible direction of the new government's religious policies since he was a well-known pro-Satsuma noble and was the son-in-law of the Satsuma daimyō Shimazu Nariakira 島津斉彬(1809-1858). Konoe was the associate in Kyoto of Satsuma's leading revolutionaries Ōkubo and Saigō. Soon he was to start the country-wide implementation of the anti-Buddhist / pro-Shintoist policies following the model set in 1867 by Satsuma's annihilation of Buddhism within domainal territories. As the new government's self-confidence increased by further military victories against the ex-bakufu remnants, such policies would gradually become more and more oppressive and lead to a movement of Buddhist persecution under the title: *Haibutsu Kishaku* (廢物希

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<sup>9</sup> Uehara Yoshitarō, *Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō*, p.14

釈 : Abolish Buddhism Demolish Shākyamuni).

In his in-depth study on the subject of persecution of Buddhism in early Meiji era, James Ketelaar points out to a four step pattern:<sup>10</sup>

- 1- Establishment of a governmental office, dealing specifically with the temple and shrine issues (*Jisha bugyō*).
- 2- A meticulous survey (done by *jisha bugyō*) of temple and shrine activities and properties
- 3- The persecution carried in the form of confiscation of properties, defrocking and laicization of priests, limiting the number of new recruitment for priesthood.
- 4- Restructuring of popular festivals and practices while removing the “inappropriate” elements within.

Interestingly, the first (and successful) attempt to oust Buddhism from daily life was done in Mito, the domain from which the above mentioned Mitogaku or Kokugaku (nativist national studies) flourished. The persecution was implemented between the years 1661-1666, by Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628- 1700), the very same

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<sup>10</sup> James Ketelaar, pp.47-52

domain lord who ordered and sponsored the initial research project of “The History of Great Japan” (*Dai Nipponshi*).<sup>11</sup> The Office of Temple and Shrine Affairs in Mito had closed down 1.100 Buddhist temples out of some approximately 2.400 temples while the activities of the rest were seriously hampered.<sup>12</sup>

In fact, at the time of Toba-Fushimi battle two hundred years later, a similar (but even more radical) cleansing project was under way in Satsuma. Already in June, 1866 an “Office of Investigation for the Elimination of Temples” (*Haiji Torishirabe-kyoku*) was established and a full-force persecution of Buddhism had started once the preliminary survey was finished within a month. All properties including all bronze bells belonging to the temples were confiscated, all priests were laicized (ones over 18 and younger than 45 were drafted into the new conscript army; olders were assigned as teacher at village schools with a new curriculum; youngsters were sent back to farms from where they came).<sup>13</sup> When the process of “Elimination”

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<sup>11</sup> Ketelaar, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.49.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p.57.

was finally over in 1869, around 4,500 temples were either abolished or dissolved or turned into Shintoist shrines and there was hardly a trace of Buddhism left throughout the entire domain of Satsuma. Now, with the establishment of *Jingi jimuka* (Office of Rites) and *Jingi jimukyoku* (Department of Rites) which followed within almost two weeks, a close associate of the designers of this religious policy implemented in Satsuma had become the head of religious affairs of the new government. Naturally, more could be anticipated.

On the other hand, *Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō* [Chronology of His Holiness Myōnyo], the official account of chief-abbot Myōnyo's life based on contemporary records (which also bears entries on contemporary political developments in the country) does not give any clue of anything unusual or hostile until 5 Apr., 1868 when "The Unity of Rite and Rule" (*Saisei Itchi*) was officially declared. The next day, "The Charter Oath" (*Gokajō no Goseimon*) was announced publicly. The text was prepared by Kidō Kōin of Chōshū and Fukuoka Takachika of Tosa, and it was a perfect example of "invention of

tradition” or as Marius B.Jansen sees it “blending of tradition”.<sup>14</sup> The whole ceremony designed by Kidō was a reflection of the new government’s priorities when religion is concerned. The Office of Rites was the main player and made sure that no trace of Buddhism was to be found in the ceremony. (Appendix. Fig.10)

The Emperor began the ceremony by performing the *heihaku teijo*, a “presentation” of a folded-paper offering to the myriad deities that is then used as a divine “cloth” (*haku*) to clear away the “defilements” (*hei*) of the assembly. The representative from the Office of State . . . then intoned the verses of dedication (*norito*) to the kami. Finally, the members of the Office of Rites arranged and carried out the offerings and other ritual performances for dedication and worship. The simultaneous presence and cooperative performance of the Emperor and the government, as mediated by the Office of Rites and the ceremonial of dedication, first physically articulated here in the promulgation of the Charter Oath, was to serve as the paradigm for one of the basic tropes of the Meiji system: the Unity of Rites and Rule, *saisei itchi*. After this SanjoSanetomi, a court noble recently returned from exile in Kyushu, read the Oath to those assembled.<sup>15</sup>

The five items contained in this oath were supposed to constitute the basis of a new era. At the same time, the oath was giving the policy makers an imperial platform of legitimacy and space for their political

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<sup>14</sup> Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 347-340.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.,p. 340.

maneuvers. Written in a manner showing the imperial will, the items were as follows<sup>16</sup>:

- 1- We shall determine all matters of state by public discussion, after assemblies have been convoked far and wide.
- 2- We shall unite the hearts and minds of people high and low, the better to pursue with vigor the rule of the realm.
- 3- We are duty bound to ensure that all people, nobility, military, and commoners too, may fulfill their aspirations and not yield to despair.
- 4- We shall break through the shackles of former evil practice and base our actions on the principles of international law.
- 5- We shall seek knowledge throughout the world and thus invigorate the foundations of this imperial nation.

After reading the items aloud in the assembly hall, Sanjō Sanetomi 三

条実美 (1837-1891), on behalf of the Emperor read the following text:

My intention is to implement reform the likes of which have never before been seen. I have, therefore, seized the initiative; I have sworn an oath before the gods of heaven and earth; I have set forth our national goals, and I hope, thus, to establish

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<sup>16</sup> John Breen, *The Imperial Oath of April 1868: Ritual, Politics and Power in the Restoration*, *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter, 1996), pp. 407-429

a path of safety for all my subjects. May you be inspired by this initiative. Unite your hearts and be unsparing in your efforts. ...<sup>17</sup>

The emphasis on the gods, as well as the phrasing of Item 4: “break through the shackles of former evil practice” were references to the Shintoist nature of the imperial will. The anti-Buddhist clique was ready to start executing their plans to wipe-out those “ancient evils” from Japanese life.

### Separation of Gods and Buddhas

Three days after the Charter Oath ceremony, a striking edict called “Edict on The Separation of Gods and Buddhas” (神仏分離令 *Shinbutsu bunri-rei*; also known as 神仏判然 *Shinbutsu Hanzen*) was promulgated. The Department of Rites (神祇事務局 *Jingi jimukyoku*) announced that “all ancient evils” would be wiped clean. This was an open declaration of war against the Buddhist establishment which took it for granted that the Unity of Gods and Buddhas (神仏習合 *Shinbutsu shūgō*) could not really be challenged. And now it was.

Helen Hardacre describes the syncretic outlook of Buddhism and

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

Shintō at the end of the Tokugawa period as follows:

At the time of the Restoration it is estimated that there were 74,642 shrines and 87,558 temples in Japan. Administratively, shrines fell within the jurisdiction of the Jingihaku, the Minister of Rites, an office held customarily by the Yoshida and Shirakawa houses. The vast majority of the shrines were small and lacked full-time priests. With the exception of a few very large and powerful shrines, most shrines existed as one component within a temple-shrine complex in which temple and shrine functioned together as a single cultic center. The complex was generally controlled by the Buddhist clergy. Most shrines performed worship of local tutelary gods and hence were known as "the tutelary diety [*gongen, ubusuna, or myojin*] of such-and-such a place." Before Meiji only a few shrines were called *jinja*, the term now used almost universally for Shinto shrines. This relation between the cults of buddhas and kami was expressed doctrinally in the theory holding that kami are the protectors and phenomenal appearances (*suijaku*) of Buddhist divinities, undifferentiated beings in purest, original form (*honji*), the *honji suijaku* theory. Implied was the idea that kami are beings of lower spiritual attainments than the buddhas...<sup>18</sup>

No doubt, Honganji leadership had also sensed a growing threat from the ideologues of new government but all they could do was to rely on their good relations with the Emperor and the support they had been giving to the imperial cause since its start. Financially, including the 50.000ryō used for the construction of Kōjin Bashi Bridge (completed

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<sup>18</sup> Helen Hardacre, Creating State Shinto: The Great Promulgation Campaign and the New Religions, *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1986), pp. 29-63

in Oct. 1867) for imperial use, the total amount of support offered by Western Honganji to the Imperial dynasty had long surpassed 100.000ryō.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, the close relations of Honganji with the dynasty was continuing uninterrupted. Two days after the *Shinbutsu bunri-rei* was proclaimed, Myōnyo was invited to the palace by the Empress Mother and was told that the Emperor was intending to use the Western Honganji Temple (Tsumura Betsuin temple of today) during his planned stay in Osaka.<sup>20</sup> Visit to Osaka was planned by Ōkubo Toshimichi who in fact had previously proposed (and was declined) to transfer the capital city from Kyoto to Osaka, in an attempt to put distance and create maneuvering space between the established system and the new government. The Emperor's visit was expected to strengthen his image as the ruler of the realm in the eyes of the public which for centuries had not seen any emperor in person.

During his month-long stay in Osaka, the Emperor stayed at Honganji and met the foreign envoys there.<sup>21</sup> Myōnyo had left a day

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<sup>19</sup> Tamba, *Myōnyo Shōnin shō*, p.140.

<sup>20</sup> Yoshitarō, *Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō*, p.14.

<sup>21</sup> Ernest Satow, *A Diplomat in Japan*, p. 369 [...The presentation of the minister's

before the Emperor in order to check the preparations on the road and the facilities. He also stayed at the temple as the commander of Honganji Guards in charge of protecting the Emperor<sup>22</sup> and at the end of his stay on May 27, Myōnyo received imperial audience and thanked in person for his services.<sup>23</sup> In the meanwhile, an imperial envoy was sent by Iwakura Tomomi to Kōnyo, the chief-abbot in Kyoto, to whom he asked to mobilize the Honganji forces and adherents in Hokuriku region for the imperial cause.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand, during this period, the Office of Rites was continuing to issue new orders conflicting with the interests of the Buddhist institutions. On April 20, there came a ban on the use of Buddhist appellations for Shintō deities and prohibition of Buddhist

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letters of credence took place on the twenty second [May, 1868]...Our procession consisted of a hundred marines from H.M.S. "Rodney" and the same number from H.M.S. "Ocean," twelve palanquins in which such of us rode as had legs flexible enough, four of the legation escort on foot, and two bodies of Japanese troops who preceded and followed us. We arrived punctually at one o'clock at the Nishi Hongwanji, assigned for the performance of the ceremony...

<sup>22</sup> Tamba, Myōnyo Shōnin Shō, p.111

<sup>23</sup> Yoshitarō, Nenpyō, p.14

<sup>24</sup> Tamba, Myōnyo Shōnin Shō, p.101 [Although Honganji was not willing to mobilize troops of monto as in Warring States period, still, the proposal was given serious thought and the commander-in-chief of the Honganji Guards, Shimotsuma Nakanyo proposed mobilizing the adherent units in Sekkasen region (Setsu-Kawachi-Izumi provinces); Ibid, p.105]

statuary for Shinto kami. Three days later, Hiyoshi shrine at Mt. Hiei (administered by Enryaku-ji temple of Tendai sect) was attacked by Juge Shigekuni (1817-1911), a Shintō priest of the shrine in question and an officer at the Office of Rites, who burned and destroyed anything related to Buddhism within its confines<sup>25</sup> In the meantime, recruiting new priests from laymen was prohibited, the priests serving in shrines were turned into mere teachers, Hachiman Daibosatsu was announced to be called *Hachiman-shin* (god Hachiman).<sup>26</sup> At the end of the month, the Honganji Guards were told that their duty to protect the imperial palace was cancelled.

### Honganji's Reaction: Unity and Reform

Honganji administration could as well continue to consider these incidents as temporal disturbances in chaotic times, but neither its resources nor its tolerance were limitless. When in June, the Dajōkan system was announced to be the new government system designed after its ancient Ritsuryō precursor, and the Department of Rites

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<sup>25</sup> Ketelaar, p.9.

<sup>26</sup> Tamba, p.15.

(*Jingi Jimukyoku*) was elevated into “The Ministry of Rites” (*Jingikan*) with renewed and extended powers over all religious affairs, the time to reconsider Honganji’s stance had come. As Iwakura Tomomi had admitted, the new ministry’s organization and policies were designed by two prominent Satsuma figures: Ōkubo Toshimichi and Inoue Sekimi 井上石見(1831-1868), the Shinto priest in charge of Shimazu clan’s tutelary deity in the domain which was still continuing the process of annihilation of temples at the very moment.<sup>27</sup> In July, Myōnyo on the one hand was demanded more funds for the imperial troops by the Department of War (*Gunmukyoku*) [which he responded by forwarding a rather small amount of 1.000ryō] , while on the other, was forced to send a letter to the head-priests of each branch and affiliate temple of Honganji organization to announce the Separation of Gods and Buddhas and ask them to cooperate with the ministry officials.<sup>28</sup>

Due to the old age of his father, Kōnyo – the chief-abbot of Western Honganji, Myōnyo had to take the leadership and start discussing the

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<sup>27</sup> Ketelaar, p.66.

<sup>28</sup> Yoshitarō, pp.15-16.

situation with the Eastern Honganji branch and the head-priests of other Jōdo Shinshū denominations. In the course of that summer, a number meetings and joint praying sessions were held in Western Honganji which on 2 Nov.1868, culminated in a historic agreement of cooperation between the two main branches of the Shin sect. For the first time since its split by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1602, the two branches of Honganji had reached a consensus on united action against the pressures of government.<sup>29</sup> Within a week Kōshō, the chief-abbot of the East paid a visit to the West in order to celebrate the occasion. Interestingly, the efforts of the Ministry of Rites to weaken the Buddhist institutions (thus the Honganjis as the largest of those) was provoking reaction and hence causing the two separate entities to approach each other and become even stronger. Soon the establishment of the Organization of United Buddhist Sects (*Shoshū Dōtoku Kairen*) was announced and a unanimous declaration including “the inseparability of the Kingly Law and the Buddhist

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

Law" and "the critique and expulsion of Christianity." followed<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, change within Western Honganji was also triggered by some young priests who happened to be from Chōshū. Their leader, Shimaji Mokurai gave a petition to the abbacy in mid-September, and demanded reforms in the administrative structure of the Honzan (The Mountain: A term used for the main temples in Buddhist institutions). His views were taken seriously and a reform plan was announced in November.<sup>31</sup> In his letter, Shimaji was proposing a more democratic governance in which younger priests –who not necessarily come from traditional *kashin* families - would also be given the right to speak about matters related to the administration of the temple affairs as well as have a say on the financial issues faced by the abbacy.<sup>32</sup> If accepted, his proposals would inevitably bring limitations over the powers exercised by the chief-abbot and his close circuit of supporters. Still his views were valued, not only because the need for reform was felt by the

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<sup>30</sup> Ketelaar, p.73.

<sup>31</sup> Yoshitarō, pp.15-16.

<sup>32</sup> *Shimaji Mokurai Zenshū*, p.855.

administration too, but also because as a warrior-monk who had fought in Chōshū against bakufu forces, he had close relations with his fellows in the Chōshū side of the Satchō alliance qua coalition. After all, only three months ago, one of his comrades from Chōshū, Ōmura Masujirō大村 益次郎 (1824-1869) had replaced the famous Saigō Takamori of Satsuma as the commander-in-chief of the new government troops (*Shinseifu-gun*) at the battle of Kan'ei-ji, Tokyo.

#### *Jingikan* (Ministry of Rites) versus Honganji

Between the years 1868 and 1872, during which anti-Buddhist persecution policies were widely and strictly implemented, over 40.000 temples were closed or destroyed, thousands of priests were defrocked, innumerable sacred objects and scriptures were damaged and large temple territories were confiscated.<sup>33</sup> For instance in Matsumoto town, 20 out of 24 temples were razed, while the remaining four belonging to Nishi and Higashi Honganjis were saved only because the local priests backed by monto believers and Kyoto

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<sup>33</sup> Ketelaar, p. 7

headquarters managed to resist fiercely to the authorities. Or in Toyama, when the authorities ordered the Buddhist sects to reduce the number of their temples to one for each, there were 2 Tendai, 17 Jōdo, 32 Nichiren, 42 Shingon, 222 Zen, and 1,324 Shin Buddhist temples within the domain territories.<sup>34</sup> As the distribution of the number of temples clearly show, Honganji organization had to take the leadership to save the Buddhist society. After hard negotiations with the central government, thanks mainly to Nishi Honganji's lobbying with the Chōshū elements in the government, local authorities were ordered to stop persecution. Popular uprisings in reaction to such policies which took place in Toyama (1870), Mikawa (1871), Ise (1871), Echigo (1872), Bungo (1872), Echizen (1873), and Satsuma (1873) were also increasing the pressure on Jingikan.<sup>35</sup> But the officials in the ministry seemed virtually unaffected by these

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<sup>34</sup> Ronald Stone Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism, 1862-1945*, (Ph.d diss., University of California, 1956), p.36. For case studies on particular temples see: Allan G. Grapard, *Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution: The Separation of Shinto and Buddhist Divinities in Meiji* ("Shimbutsu Bunri") and a Case Study: Tōnomine, *History of Religions*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Feb., 1984), pp. 240-265; or Klaus Antoni, The "Separation of Gods and Buddhas" at Ōmiwa Jinja in Meiji Japan, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1/2 (Spring, 1995), pp. 139-159.

<sup>35</sup> Ketelaar, p.7.

efforts, since new edicts restricting Buddhist activity continued to be promulgated. With the entry of Emperor Meiji into Tokyo in late November, it was clear that the new government was there to stay. Military successes against the ex-bakufu forces was giving the ideologues of the new system a heightened morale to step up their endeavor towards centralization.

Until the end of 1871 when Myōnyo became the chief-abbot of Nishi Honganji following his father's death, and the departure of Iwakura Mission; numerous meetings within Honganji and with other sects were held in search for a solution to the problem and many letters of complaint were forwarded to the government, but in vain. In each case, the government was reassuring Honganji that it was not the government but "a few foul-mouthed rebels claiming to speak for the Imperial court" and their "misinterpretation" that caused disturbances.<sup>36</sup>

The oligarchs of the new Meiji government were away for a tour of the Western countries in order to study modern methods of

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<sup>36</sup> Ketelaar, pp.73-74

governance. The Iwakura Mission was led by Iwakura Tomomi and the main figures of Meiji government like Ōkubo Toshimichi, Kidō Kōin, Itō Hirobumi, as well as the priest Shimaji Mokurai were included in the mission. The group had left Japan on 23 Dec, 1871 and was only to return almost about two years later on 13 Sep.1873.

Under these circumstances, Myōnyo found no other way but to go to Tokyo with Mokurai and Tetsunen of Chōshū to show their presence and lobby for the Buddhist cause. (Appendix. Fig.11) He stayed between May and September, 1870 for five months in a smaller branch-temple in Tokyo because the colossal Tsukiji Honganji temple was used as the headquarters of Chōshū troops in the capital.<sup>37</sup> Their lobbying did give results and a separate office called “Temple Department” (*Jiin-ryō*) within *Minbushō* (Ministry of Civil Affairs) was established (12 Dec., 1870).<sup>38</sup> This modest change was crucial for the Buddhists because the Buddhist institutions could finally be represented within the new state organization. Afterall, the Buddhists also wished for a unity of rite and rule in accordance with their

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<sup>37</sup> Yoshitarō, p.19.

<sup>38</sup> Tamba, p.161.

doctrine, the popular unrest caused by harsh execution of the Separation of gods and Buddhas was the last thing the oligarchs needed, and also Higashi Honganji along with some other institutions known for their pro-bakufu attitude were obediently performing missionary activities in Hokkaido since the end of the Bōshin War with bakufu remnants.<sup>39</sup>

On the other hand, they did not have to wait for long for a counter-attack of the Jingikan. Within a month, the emperor paid a visit to the Jingikan and an imperial decree ordering all the temples to return their lands to the state (*Jochi-rei*) was proclaimed. Honganji too, had to give 64chō (around 64hectares) of its land to the government.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, Honganji, having its rich resources squeezed by the government, was now having financial difficulties. At the end of 1870, the main temple had announced a huge deficit of 500,000ryō.<sup>41</sup> Myōnyo responded to the challenge by establishing an office of reforms within the temple; creating a new administrative

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<sup>39</sup> Yoshitarō, p.18.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.20; Tamba, p.164.

<sup>41</sup> Yoshitarō, p.19.

position and assigning a deacon (*shisshi*) to deal with everyday issues and designing a new hierarchy within ministerial functionaries in which the priests had more participation as Chōshū reformers, Mokurai, and Tetsunen had demanded. He held assemblies with representatives of branch and affiliate temples from all around the country, communicated with them through letters, valued their feedbacks, and strongly promoted education and training of priests as well as lay believers of the sect. Honganji was the first in forming an academy, *Daigakurin* (precursor of modern day Ryukoku University) in the modern sense, as early as 1868 and the fastest in establishing local schools throughout the country. In May, 1873, he divided the temple administration structure into three departments: Mission Dept. (*Fukyō-ka* 布教課), Doctrine Dept. (*Hōrei-ka* 法令課) and Administration Dept. (*Yōdo-ka* 用度課). These series of inner-temple reforms by Myōnyo were to continue even after the persecution was over in 1878, leading up to an assembly of representatives (*Shūkai* 宗会), a form of a parliament consisting of priests from each local network of Nishi Honganji as early as 1871 (Nov.29), a full nine years

before the Imperial Diet held its first meeting on 29 Nov., 1890.

Myōnyo, instead of waiting to be pushed back by state policies, had decided to run faster and pull the system behind him. The case of Honganji was to set the model for democratization and modernization of institutions in Meiji Japan.

In the struggle against Jingikan too, Myōnyo had started to gain grounds. According to Ritsuryō system, the Ministry of Rites was even superior (although symbolically) to the Ministry of State (*Dajōkan*).

The oligarchs of the new government too, had started to be annoyed by the radical discourse and actions of the pure-Shintoist officials at the Jingikan. In Sep. 1871, the ministry was first depowered and deranked (stripped of its control over financial matters relating to the temple and shrine affairs) to *Jingishō*, a level below the Dajōkan; then on 21 Apr. 1872, following the proposal by Myōnyo it was further pushed down to a still lower level and renamed as Ministry of Doctrine (*Kyōbushō* 教部省).

Myōnyo's relations with the Emperor was also back in track. In Mar. 1872, he was received by the Emperor, in April he was officially

accepted into the *Kazoku* nobles, and permission to use *Shinshū* as official appellation for the sect was granted; in July he was declared as *Daikyōjō* (The Great Tutor of Doctrine), the top title in Meiji clerical hierarchy; and in August he received a silver gift from the Emperor showing his gratitude for the services he rendered during the Restoration.<sup>42</sup> In the absence of the main players who were away with the Iwakura Mission, the Buddhists had found space for their manoeuvres and steps towards a reconciliation with the state were made. But the *Kyōbushō* soon revealed the fact that it might not be that easy to come to terms with the State-Shinto (*Kokka Shintō*) proponents.

Basing their argument on the declaration of *Taikyō senbu* (Diffusion of the Grand Doctrine) policy, enacted in Feb. 1870, the *Kyōbushō* (The Ministry of Doctrine) was trying its best to form a network of Shintoist preacher-teachers who would communicate the nativist principles to the populace. But they simply did not have enough number of trained Shintoists or educators for that matter, and

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<sup>42</sup> Yoshitarō, pp.21-22

came up with a brilliant idea: The Buddhist priests who traditionally served as teachers in local temple-schools (*terakoya*) should be transformed into agents of nativist thought in one day. Therefore, they standardized the profession of religion (independent of the cleric's faith or sect) as *Kyōdōshoku* (教導職), and established a uniform hierarchy among them. In June, 1872 the leaders of each sect received an official letter which demanded commitment to a set of basic principles of education known as the “Three Doctrinal Standards”

(*Sanjō no Kyōsoku*)<sup>43</sup>:

- 1- Respect for gods and love for the country shall be internalized
- 2- The laws of nature and humanity shall be made clear
- 3- The Emperor shall be revered and his will obeyed

Soon a “Policy of Education” (*Gakusei*) determining the rules of practice followed in October. This combined package was received by the Buddhist community as a bigger threat to their faith than the ongoing persecution, since via education, not only the present but also

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<sup>43</sup> Yoshitarō, p.21. The proceedings in Kyōbushō and a collection of the related records and documents are published in 2007. See: Miyake Moritsune (ed.), *Sanjō Kyōsoku Engisho Shiriyōshū* [A Collection of Explanatory Documents Related to the Three Doctrinal Standards ], (Tokyo: Kinseisha, 2007)

the future of Buddhism was targeted by doctrinal hegemony. Their response was to unite against the common enemy and establish a collaborative institution called “the *Daikyō-in*” (Institute of Grand Doctrine).<sup>44</sup> But it soon became clear that the fundamentalist Shintoists were not ready to do any compromise with their Buddhist counterparts, and when the Buddhists stopped collaborating, the system was blocked. But the arrogant attitude of the Shintoists was not to be tolerated by the decision makers at the higher echelons of power anymore. Emperor Meiji was no exception.

#### Reconciliation: Separation of Politics and Religion

The timing of the highly publicized letter of Shimaji Mokurai who wrote from Paris at the early days of 1873 was perfect. It was the first and strongest doctrinal attack on the nativist officials who were continuing their anti-Buddhist campaign literally unobstructed. In his letter / article titled “Petition Concerning the Critique of the Three Doctrinal Standards” (*Sanjō Kyōsoku Hihan Kenpakusho*) he stated:

Politics and religion differ. It is not possible to demand the

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<sup>44</sup> Yoshitarō, p.22

[unity of] two. Politics is for humans, and is concerned with shaping the humans...Religion is about the divine and is concerned with shaping the hearts. It [unlike politics] surpasses the boundaries of nations...<sup>45</sup>

Shimaji was writing with an authority he had gained from his in-depth studies of Christian, Jewish and Muslim faiths and organizations during his journey with the Iwakura Mission. He regarded the Christian missionary penetration into Japan as the most important threat both to the country and Buddhism. Therefore he continuously bombarded the government officials with letters and appeals calling for the freedom of faith as in the Western developed countries. He argued that Shintō was not a religion but the politics of the Emperor. He asserted that the Buddhists did respect the gods revered in Ise Shrine, the main shrine for the Imperial cult, but differentiated patriotism (Aikoku) from faith.<sup>46</sup> With this critique he was sparking a movement called “*Seikyō bunri*” (Separation of Politics

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<sup>45</sup> Mokurai, Shimaji (Translated to modern Japanese by Yoshida Masami). 3 December 2010. *Sanjō Kyōsoku Hihan Kenpakusho* [Petition Concerning the Critique of the Three Doctrinal Standards] Available [online]:<  
<http://8606.teacup.com/meizireligion/bbs/55> [ 2 Nov.,2011]

<sup>46</sup> Fujiwara Masanobu, *Nihon Kindai no Shinkyō no Jiyū to Seikyō Bunri* (Freedom of Faith and Secularism in Modern Japan), *Ryūkyō Daigaku Bukkyō Bunka Kekiyo Kiyō*, No.46 (Dec.2007), pp. 321-336.

and Religion) qua secularism in Japan.<sup>47</sup> Still, in the same month, Daikyōin was forced to perform “the festival of gods” while new restrictions on the temple activities were imposed by the Kyōbushō.<sup>48</sup>

When Shimaji returned with the Iwakura Mission in Sep.1874, the Buddhist cause had already gained a new impetus. Initially four, then all the Shinshū denominations left Daikyōin membership ( Sep.1873 to Feb.1875) based on their rejection of its policies. Consequently on Apr. 30,1875, Myōnyo demanded officially, the cancellation of the edict on separation of gods and buddhas (*Shinbutsubunri rei*), together with the abolishing of Daikyōin. As his biographical chronology notes, in May, Daikyōin was abolished and the Emperor declared that he would not give any more financial support to the main shrines. On May 5, 1875 Myōnyo held a big meeting, at the Kuroshōin Hall of Nishi Honganji main temple, with Kōsho (Chief-abbot of Higashi) and representatives from all branch temples throughout the country. The day ended with a party celebrating the end of *Shinbutsu bunri* era and

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<sup>47</sup> Ketelaar, p.178 [Ketelaar translates the term as “Separation of Religion and Rule”]

<sup>48</sup> Yoshitarō, p.24.

the anti-Buddhist campaign.<sup>49</sup>

In January 1876, the government declared freedom of faith. Finally, Myōnyo had managed to bring his community to salvation through the turbulent years of early Meiji period. Now, he could work on a better future. Kōzui, his first son was born in these circumstances.

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<sup>49</sup> Yoshitarō, p.27

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ŌTANI KŌZUI

Ōtani Kōzui, the twenty second Patriarch of Honganji, had lived through the most turbulent years of modern Japan. He was a member of a generation which had witnessed the pre-modern, the modern and post-modern stages of the Japanese society. He was born a few weeks after the Southeastern War in which the last samurai remnants of a feudal age were cleared from the way of modernization and experienced the First Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, the Second Sino- Japanese War, the Pacific War, and died within a few years after the Second World War, seeing the total devastation of whatever his generation had managed to create. Among all these wars, he was always seeking peace, for himself, his nation, his Asia, and humanity. It is as if he was searching for the Pure Land on earth in an age of turbulence.

He had seen marvelous days in which he gathered a million people as their half-godly leader or living Buddha, and other days in total disillusionment and isolation. He had preached thousands of soldiers when he was just a child and organized campaigns, sent chaplains to the battlefields, showed his vigorous support for the war efforts of his country, appreciated and saluted by masses. One day, he was in the top echelons of his society together with Prime Ministers, ministers, generals, governors, nobles and the Emperors alike, and the other day he was left in total oblivion.

There are few people today, other than the *Ōtani Gakusei*, a few surviving students he had raised and some scholars interested in the artifacts he had brought from his expeditions, who remember the name Ōtani Kōzui.

Who was Ōtani Kōzui?

It is a difficult task to define a phenomenal personality like Ōtani Kōzui. He was the twenty second chief-abbot of Nishi Honganji and the patriarch of Honpa Honganji denomination of Jōdo Shinshū sect,

that's for sure. On the other hand, his multifarious activities and multifaceted personality had posed a problem not only for his contemporaries but also for today's scholars. Was he a religionist, an entrepreneur, an educator, a writer, a strategist, a discoverer, a geographer, a meteorologist, an agriculturist, a botanist, a political thinker or a public opinion leader? Or was he, as a book on the biographies of hundred most influential people published in 1907 introduces him, a living Buddha, a reincarnation of Saint Rennyō? His name appears with famous contemporary political and economic leaders (both in Japan and worldwide) of his time like the Russian writer Lev Tolstoy (1828-1910), American Media Tycoon William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951), German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II (1859-1941), or the 26<sup>th</sup> U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919). (Appendix. Fig.12) The following text gives a hint on how he was seen by his contemporaries during the peak days of his abbacy:

Current chief-abbot His Holiness Kōzui is a famous geographer. As opposed to [his father] Myōnyō's mild nature as a poet, Kōzui as a geographer is frank and active in nature. Formerly it was proper for a living-buddha staying at a palace, to concentrate on flowers, birds, wind and the moon, but for a living-buddha of our times it is proper to walk through the

mountains and rivers of Eurasian continent, and work on opening the geography of the spiritual world.... On the way back [from Europe] he did an expedition to Buddhist sites in Central Asia and the Indian continent. He is highly appreciated for this within the sect but he is also regarded as the reincarnation of His Holiness Rennyō.... [After becoming the chief-abbot] Although he is fond of travelling, he had to stay inland but his heroic body, the temple of valiance could not stand within the priestly garments and sit in front of the founder's statue for long...If he continues his egalitarian attitude [towards people] and walks among the them in the country, then they will no doubt believe that it is not just a rumour but he really *is* the reappearance of Rennyō.<sup>1</sup>

In another biography written during his abbacy in 1910, portrays him as a devout proselytizer who is fully occupied with *fukyō* (expanding the religion/mission) activities both in Japan and overseas.<sup>2</sup> This is a pattern that repeats itself in official temple publications, semi-official publications of his followers and independent writers as well. But especially after his resignation from abbacy, the writers share the confusion on how to address him. For instance Seki Rokō, a journalist from Osaka Mainichi Shimbun who had accompanied and had written an account of Kōzui and Kazuko's last India trip,<sup>3</sup> in his biographical

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<sup>1</sup> Asahi Shimbun (ed.), *Jinbutsu Gaden* (Pictorial Biographies of Personalities), (Tokyo: Yūrakusha, 1907), pp.51-52.

<sup>2</sup> Hirota Shirō, *Hōshū Kōzui Shōnin den* (Biography of His Holiness Kōzui, the Patriarch), (Tokyo: Kokkōkan, 1910), pp.62-73.

<sup>3</sup> Seki Rokō, *Honpa Honganji Hōshū Ōtani Kōzui haku Indo Tanken* (The Patriarch

book “*Ōtani Kōzui*” expresses this concern in the first few sentences of his prologue:

Is it Count Ōtani or is it Master Kōzui? There is no suitable name to respectfully address him. For the time being I will call him His Holiness Kōzui. His Holiness is a great spoiled child, the spoiled child of a generation, a well-educated spoiled child....His will-power excels, his talents surpass top levels. A man with such high talents is scarce in the world. He is gifted in his genius and loved by the heavens.<sup>4</sup>

Seki was so impressed by Kōzui during the trip in India, that later he assisted him in establishing a publishing house in Nirakusō, the villa at Ashiya near Kobe that became the center of Kōzui’s educational vision. Throughout his book, he tells the story of Kōzui’s deeds with due respect and sympathy, and his emphasis on “the spoiled child” seems to reflect Seki’s emotions, delusional with the events that led to Kōzui’s downfall.

It is as if Kōzui had lived many lives. Hence it is not a surprise to learn that among themselves his students used to call him with a most proper nickname “The Elephant”.<sup>5</sup> The boys had obviously given

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of Honpa Honganji denomination - Count Ōtani Kōzui’s Indian Expedition), (Tokyo: Denbunkan, 1913).

<sup>4</sup> Seki Rokō, *Ōtani Kōzui*, (Tokyo: Seikyōsha, 1916), pp.1-3.

<sup>5</sup> Oral tradition told to the author by Kikuzuki Seijō, the manager of the Ōtani Museum in Beppu, himself a priest and an expert on Kōzui’s life.

the name because of his tall, towering posture<sup>6</sup> and charisma, but considering the symbolic meaning attributed to the elephant in Buddhism<sup>7</sup> and the famous story of people trying to define an elephant in a dark room coming up with different descriptions of the animal, the nickname becomes the most appropriate way to describe Ōtani Kōzui.

### Ōtani Students and *Zuimonkai*

His influence on his students and young followers was so strong that they had established a society of Kōzui fans as early as 1919. The group was first organized under the name *Kōsukai* 光寿会 (Society for Celebrating Kōzui),<sup>8</sup> which later expanded and gave birth to a

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<sup>6</sup> Kōzui was 1,77cm in height, taller than average in contemporary Japan, thus much taller than the children.

<sup>7</sup> The Elephant is the symbol for mental strength and most of the times it is associated with Buddha since it is believed that Buddha had entered into his mothers side in the shape of a white elephant.

<sup>8</sup> Nenpu, p.82 [The Society was established on 6 Jul.1919. Its main office was in Kyōhōji temple Western Honganji affiliate], Shimonoseki. The reason for its establishment was stated as “To do all kinds of studies, publications and organize conferences in order to promote the national religion under the leadership of Ōtani Kōzui”.Kōzui used to give speeches in many local branches (like Osaka, Tokyo, Kyoto Kobe, Shanghai, Dalian, Nagasaki , Moji, Fukuoka, Saga, Hiroshima, Beppu and Singapore chapters) of this society throughout the 1920s (The last being in Oct.1941). It is interesting to note that this movement had sprung from the former Chōshū domain. ]

parallel organization *Kōzuikai* 光瑞会(Kōzui Society)<sup>9</sup> and finally evolved into *Zuimonkai* 瑞門会(Society for the Gate of Kōzui)<sup>10</sup> after his death. This final society was established during the chaotic days of after-war Japan basically by his students who had received his direct education in *Mukō Chūgaku* (Mukō Secondary School) at Nirakusō and other schools he had established later in Lü Shun/Port Arthur (Sakushin Shoin; est.1918), Shanghai (Sakushin Shoin; est.1921), Dalian (Yokujitsusō School), Dalian Kōtō Jogakkō Girls' School (est. 1935) and Taiwan Kaohsiung (Shoyōen School)<sup>11</sup>, but also included his followers and sympatizers. Although the number of its members is continuously decreasing due to aging and deaths (as of 2010 it was 40),

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<sup>9</sup> Nenpu, p. 103-104. [Kōzuikai was established on 8 Jun.1930 in Kyoto, and continued to be fully functional until the start of the Pacific War in Dec.1941. Its purpose was stated as promotion of moral values in addition to Kōsukai's now main goal of translation and publication efforts for sacred texts in Sanskrit.He also gave speeches for the members of this society (the last being in May 1942) which was organized as clubs in main cities. ]

<sup>10</sup> Koide Kyoichi, Ōtani Gakusei to Zuimonkai (Ōtani Students and Society for the Gate of Kōzui), in *Ōtani Kōzui to Ajia* (Ōtani Kōzui and Asia), edited by Shibata Mikio, (Tokyo: Bensey, 2010), pp.447-476.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. [The core group who had received direct tutelage of Kōzui sums up to 238 people including 21 girls.] On the other hand, another contemporary source gives the number of students who had enrolled in the schools he had established as “more than a thousand”. This seems to be a proper estimate especially when the Dairen Girls' School is taken into account. In its first year, 220 students (28 of them Manchurian) were allowed to register. Anonymus, Kanryō wo Shikaru ([Kōzui] Reproaching the Bureaucrats), *Daijō – Buddhist Magazine*, Vol.5, No: 10 (1954), pp.71-73.

it still is operational to this day.<sup>12</sup> Until recently, the group used to publish a bulletin “*Zuimonkai-shi*” in which they shared their views and memories of Ōtani Kōzui with each other.<sup>13</sup> (Appendix. Fig.13) They also compiled and published an inventory of Kōzui’s writings.<sup>14</sup> Although among themselves Kōzui was “The Elephant”, in public they called him “Master” (with suffix –shi 師) or “His Holiness” (*Geika* 猊下). For them, Kōzui was a teacher while other facades of his life remained a mystery.

Locating Kōzui within his family may be a useful first step to understand his multi-faceted personality.

#### Kōzui’s Family Members: Agents of Japanese Modernization

Ōtani Kōzui was the twenty second generation direct descendant of Shinran 親鸞(1173-1262), the founder of Jōdo Shinshū sect. His father was Myōnyo, the 21<sup>st</sup> chief-abbot of Nishi Honganji who had managed

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<sup>12</sup> Some members participated in the symposium “Kindai Higashi Ajia no Jinteki Kōryū: Kōzui Shōnin wo Sasaeta Hitobito” (Human Relations in East Asia during Modern Times: The ones who supported His Holiness Kōzui), held in Nishi Honganji Monbō Kaikan on 9 May 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Koide, *Ōtani Gakusei*.

<sup>14</sup> Okanishi Tameto (ed.), *Ōtani Kōzui-shi Chosaku Sōran* (An inventory of Master Ōtani Kōzui’s writings), (Osaka: Zuimonkai, 1964)

to guide his community to salvation through the dire years of persecution during early Meiji. His birth mother was Enmyōin Fujiko 円明院藤子 but formally he was the son Shinkōin Shigeko 心光院枝子 (d.1931), the official wife of Myōnyo.

Myōnyo had four sons and two daughters.<sup>15</sup> Kōzui was the eldest son and thus he was entitled to succeed his father as the chief-abbot of Honganji. His brothers were Songyō, Sonjū, and Sonyū while his sisters were Fumiko, and Takeko.<sup>16</sup> (Appendix. Fig.14)

Myōnyo's second son, Songyō 尊行 was renamed as Kibe Kōji 木邊孝慈(1881-1969) when he succeeded the abbacy of Kinshokuji temple in Shiga prefecture, the head-temple of Kibe denomination of Jōdo Shinshū.<sup>17</sup> Giving Songyō as an adopted son to the Kinshokuji, Myōnyo had made a strategic move to guarantee the affiliation of this important denomination to Honganji. He performed this job for 28

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<sup>15</sup> Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyo, p.75 mentions a certain (Ayako?) 義子(1897-?) as the third daughter of Myōnyo. She seems to be the only child from his official wife Shigeko, but no information except her birth date (9 Mar.1897) can be found in sources. Some sources including Sohō's biography of Kōzui, do not even mention her name at all.

<sup>16</sup> Myōnyo Shōnin sho, p.278.

<sup>17</sup> Tokutomi Sohō, *Otani Kozui-shi no Shogai* (The Life of Otani Kozui), (Tokyo: Otani Kozui Geika Kinenkan, 1956), pp.20-21.

years.<sup>18</sup> In addition to his abbacy, he was a well-known scholar of

Buddhism. (Appendix. Fig.15)

Third son, Sonjū 尊重 (1885-1961) was better known as Kōmyo 光明 and he was married to Kujō Kinuko (1893-1974), the fifth daughter of the Kyoto aristocrat Kujō Michitaka (1839-1906). During his abbacy Kōzui had declared his brother Kōmyo as his successor but following his resignation he had declined to replace Kōzui's position. In turn, Kōmyo's eldest son Kōshō 光照 (1911-2002) who was only two years' old at the time, became the nominal head of the temple, the twenty third chief-abbot of Nishi Honganji. In 1908-1909, Kōmyo was sent by Kōzui for an expedition around South and East Africa.<sup>19</sup> In 1907, he had stayed and studied in England and U.S. where he got interested in golf. Later in 1924, as the head of Tokyo Golf Club he founded Japan Golf Association (JGA) and became "The Father of Golf in Japan".<sup>20</sup> He is the designer of the first golf courses in the country.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.kdd1.com/kakejiku.html>, accessed on 19 Oct.2011

<sup>19</sup> Katayama Akio, Ōtani Tankentai to Ōtani Sonjū (Kōmyo), Watanabe Tesshin (Kōzui Ōtani's Expeditions and Sonjū (Komyo) Ōtani, Watanabe Tesshin), *Tōkai Daigaku Kiyō*, No.77 (2002), pp.133-156.

<sup>20</sup> [http://www.jga.or.jp/jga/html/about\\_jga/history/1924\\_1929.html](http://www.jga.or.jp/jga/html/about_jga/history/1924_1929.html), accessed on 9 May 2012.

He designed over ten different courses including Kawana Ōshima course<sup>22</sup>, Nagoya Wago course<sup>23</sup>, Chiba Kashiwa course, and Tokyo Chichibu course (Tokyo Golf Club of today)<sup>24</sup>. He was the champion of national tournament of amateur golf in 1922, and he was asked to design a nine hole course in Shinjuku Gyoen for the usage of the imperial family. The same year, he became the golf teacher of crown prince Hirohito (later Emperor Shōwa) and had the privilege to be his partner during a match with the Prince of Wales.<sup>25</sup> He had even created a nine-hole course in the backyard of Honganji.<sup>26</sup> A golf inside a temple, can safely be regarded as a symbolic representation for the role of Honganji in modernization of Japan. (Appendix. Fig. 16)

Myōnyo's fourth son, Sonyū 尊由 (1886-1939) assisted his brothers in temple administration in various capacities. He was despatched as

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<sup>21</sup> <http://www.151a.com/databox/golf100/index.html>, accessed on 3 Jan.2010.

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.princehotels.co.jp/kawana/golf/oshima.html>, accessed on 8 May 2012.

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.nagoyagolfclub-wago.com>, accessed on 8 May 2012.

<sup>24</sup> <http://yoppadon.umu.cc/golfseiha00/472.htm>, accessed on 8 May 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Antony Best, A Royal Alliance: Court Diplomacy and Anglo-Japanese Relations - 1900-1941, *The Suntory Centre Discussion Papers*, No. IS/06/512 (Nov.2006), pp.18-28.

<sup>26</sup> <http://homepage2.nifty.com/sho3ss/ken/7thpage.html>, accessed on 30 Aug.2009.

chaplain to army units in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War. Following Kōzui's resignation in 1914, he also declined to succeed his brother's post and became more involved in politics. In 1928, he was selected as a member of the House of Peers, then in 1937 he was assigned as the Minister of Colony Affairs ( *Takumu Daijin*) in the first Konoe Cabinet.<sup>27</sup> During his term of office (4 Jun.1937- 26 May 1938) he also assumed the role of General Director for Northern China Development Agency (*Hokushi Kaihatsu Sōsai*). Three days after his official appointment, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident took place and the Second Sino-Japanese War erupted. Hence, during the hectic days of the battles of Shanghai (Nov.1937), and Nanking (Jan.1938), both ending with Japanese victory and invasion of the cities in question, Sonyū was unfortunate to be the very person responsible for the administration of those areas in China and Manchuria. On 7 Jul.1939, Sonyū became a member of "The Board for The Construction of Asia" (*Kōa Iinkai*). He soon went to Manchuria to do inspections on site, but

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<sup>27</sup> Ministry of Colonial Affairs (*Takumushō*): A ministry established in 1929 and survived until 1942. It was responsible for the administration of Japanese colonies, overseas immigration of Japanese nationals. It had Korea, Taiwan, Karafuto (Sakhalin), and Southeastern Asia divisions. Famous Southern Manchuria Railway (Mantetsu) was also administered by this ministry.

on 1 Aug.1939 he suddenly died in Zhangjiakou 張家口 <sup>28</sup>. He was the author of “From Shakyamuni to Shinran”<sup>29</sup>, and “The Correct Way of Seeing His Holiness Shinran”<sup>30</sup>. (Appendix. Fig.17)

Myōnyo’s first daughter, Fumiko 文子 (1877- ?) entered Tokyo *Kazoku Jogakkō* Girls’ Peers School in 1887.<sup>31</sup> She was married to Tokiwai Gyoyū 常磐井堯猷( 1872-1951)<sup>32</sup>, the third son of Konoe Tadafusa近衛忠房(1838-1873) who was both a priest and a scholar of Sanskrit. He was sent by the Takada denomination of Jōdo Shinshū to Strasbourg University to study Sanskrit. Upon his return he became professor of Sanskrit in Kyoto Imperial University. In 1913, he became the abbot of Senjūji Temple (Takada-ha). He was the founder of Imperial East Asian Studies Association (*Teikoku Tōyō Gakkai*) , and the author of the first Dictionary of Sanskrit in Japanese.

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<sup>28</sup> Zhangjiakou was originally known as Kalgan (derived from the Mongolian “*haalga*”(The Gate). Today, it is in the Hebei Province of North China.

<sup>29</sup> Ōtani Sonyū, *Shakuson kara Shinran e* (From Shakyamuni to Shinran), (Osaka: Osaka Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1922) [A book about basic tenets of Buddhism and Jōdo Shinshū in particular.]

<sup>30</sup> Ōtani Sonyū, *Shinran Shōnin no Tadashii Mikata* (The Correct Way of Seeing His Holiness Shinran), (Tokyo: Kōkyō Shoin, 1922) [A book on Shinran’s teachings]

<sup>31</sup> Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō, p.49.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.32

Second daughter, Takeko 武子(1887-1928) mostly known as Kujō Takeko, was perhaps the most publicly known figure (after Kōzui) among the family members.<sup>33</sup> After leaving the primary school like his elder brother Kōzui, she continued her education from private teachers at an in-house classroom. She married to Kujō Yoshimune 九条良致(1886-1940) in 1909. Then the couple went to England but a year later Takeko returned alone while her husband enrolled to Cambridge University. Later he was appointed to be the London representative of Yokohama Shōkin Bank and stay there for ten long years. During that period, Takeko studied poetry with Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱(1872-1963) and became a renowned lady poet. In 1920 she published her first book, “*Kinrei*” (The Golden Bell) was published. In 1925, her play “*Rakuhoku no Aki*” (Fall at Northern Kyoto) was played, and in 1928 her second book of poetry “*Kunzen*” (Fragrant Fade) was published. Her two other books were published posthumously; “*Shirokujaku*” (The White Peacock; 1930), and “*Muyūge*” (Flower without Sorrow; 1985). She had become the voice of

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<sup>33</sup> Details of her life with a special emphasis on her activities in Hokkaido, can be found in the biographical study: Tanikawa Mitsue, *Kujō Takeko: Kita no Muyūge* (Kujō Takeko: Northern Flower without Sorrow ), (Sapporo: Kyōdō Bunkasha, 2001)

Japanese women in the early twentieth century. She was also a pioneer in women's emancipation movement. With the start of Russo-Japanese War in 1904, Takeko with her sister-in-law Kazuko (Kōzui's wife) established Buddhist Women's Association (*Fujinkai*) and organized the women throughout the country to come forward to help bereaved families of the soldiers at battlefield. It was a big step for including the Japanese women who traditionally were supposed to stay at home, into public life. In 1920, she established Kyoto Women's College. Following the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, she founded one of the first fully-equipped modern hospitals of Japan in Tokyo: The Asoka Hospital.<sup>34</sup> (Appendix. Fig.18)

All the children of Myōnyo were active representatives of a new era, and via carefully planned marriages they had expanded the Honganji network to new frontiers.

## Marital Connections and Network

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<sup>34</sup> <http://www.asokakai.net/honbu/rekisi3.html>, accessed on 3 Jan.2010.

As mentioned above, the Ōtani and Kujō families had become intertwined via marriages. Kōzui was married to Kazuko, Sonjū to Kinuko, and Takeko to Yoshimune. (Appendix. Fig.19, Fig.20, Fig.21, Fig.22) The significance of this strategic alliance comes with the fact that the Kujō family was one of the *Gosekke*五摂家(Five Regent Houses) families, the five branches of Fujiwara clan, which had the traditional monopoly to give brides to the imperial dynasty and function as regents.<sup>35</sup> Hence, when Kujō Sadako九条節子(1884-1951), the fourth daughter of Kujō Michitaka and the younger sister of Kazuko was received by the Emperor Meiji as the bride for his Crown Prince Yoshihito 嘉仁(later Emperor Taisho大正天皇; 1879- 1926; reigned.1912- 1926) the imperial family had also joined in this alliance forged by Myōnyo and Michitaka. Sadako later would become Teimei Kōgō貞明皇后, the Empress of Taisho era (1912-1926), and the Empress Dowager during the reign of his son Hirohito裕仁, the Emperor Shōwa 昭和天皇(1901- 1989; reigned. 1926- 1989)<sup>36</sup> She

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<sup>35</sup> Gosekke families (all of Fujiwara descent) were Konoe, Takatsukasa, Kujō, Nijō and Ichijō. Due to this monopoly these families were the most powerful among the *kuge* nobility.

<sup>36</sup> Kudo Miyoko, *Kokubō no Kihin: Teimei Kōgō no Shōgai* (The Grace of the Mother of Nation: The Life of Empress Dowager Teimei), (Tokyo: Seiryūsha, 2008), pp.44-49.

was one of the most influential figures of Japan throughout 1926-1951 period.<sup>37</sup> (Appendix. Fig.24)

Although the marital partner of Kōzui's younger brother Songyō (Kibe Kōji) remains obscure, apparently he was chosen by Myōnyo to succeed the abbacy of Kibe denomination of Jōdo Shinshū sect and was given to the Kibe family as an adopted son. Kibe denomination is one of the key communities within the Jōdo Shinshū sect. The support of minor denominations was of utmost importance for the Nishi Honganji in order to continue its leadership in sectarian affairs.

Sonyū's wife Yasuko 泰子 was the daughter of Koide Fusanao 小出英尚(18049-1905), the last daimyō of the Sonobe domain in Tanba region, central-Japan. Fusanao was a well-known defender of the imperial cause during the Bakumatsu period and his family, the Koide was one of the losers of the Sekigahara battle in 1600. Most of the family members had taken their part within the Western forces, loyal to Toyotomi House against the Tokugawa. Yasuko's brother was a high

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<sup>37</sup> Hara Takeshi, Taishō: An Enigmatic Emperor and His Influential Wife, in *The Emperors of Modern Japan*, edited by Ben-Ami Shillony, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp.227-240.

official in the Imperial Household Agency (*Kunaisho*). Sonyū's marriage with the daughter of this samurai family is not only a renewal of a traditional alliance but also a confirmation of the strong relations of Honganji in the area.

Finally, Fumiko was married to Tokiwai Gyōyū, the twenty second abbot of Senjūji (today in Mie prefecture), the head temple of the Shinshū Takada denomination. Although his name may not ring a bell for those who are not familiar with contemporary familial ties, this marriage was in fact an alliance with another *Gosekke* powerhouse, the Konoe family. Tokiwai Gyōyū's pre-clerical name was "Konoe Tsurumatsu" 近衛鶴松 and he was the third son of Konoe Tadafusa 近衛忠房(1838-1873)<sup>38</sup> who in turn happens to be very person behind the Buddhist Persecution (*Haibutsu Kishaku*) policies of Early Meiji. Tadafusa was the son-in-law of Shimazu Nariakira 島津斉彬(1809-1858), the daimyō of Satsuma, the domain famous for its fierce persecution campaign against the Buddhist temples just before this policy was implemented nationwide. (Nariakira was also the protector

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.senjuji.or.jp/about/rekidai.php#22>, accessed on 9 May 2012.

of his protégés Saigō Takamori and Ōkubo Toshimichi, the two Satsuma masterminds of Meiji Restoration.) Thus, this marriage between the Konoe and Ōtani families marks the end of hostilities between Satsuma and Honganji-Chōshū alliance. Furthermore, Tadafusa was the father of the pan-Asianist politician Konoe Atsumaro 近衛篤磨 (1863- 1904),<sup>39</sup> and hence the grandfather of Konoe Fumimaro 近衛文磨 (1891-1945), the three times Prime Minister of Japan, for whom both Sonyū and Kōzui would serve as minister and counselor, respectively.<sup>40</sup> (Appendix. Fig.25)

Therefore, thanks to his father Myōnyo, Kōzui, along with his brothers and sisters, had found himself in midst of a carefully woven net of strong familial relations with a number of powerful families. This closely knit network included the Imperial dynasty, the Kujō, the Konoe, the Koide, the Kibe, and the Takada families. These ties no doubt had an impact on his career. Yet in the second part of his life,

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<sup>39</sup> For the pan-Asianist views of Atsumaro see: Urs Matthias Zachmann, Konoe Atsumaro and the Idea of an Alliance of the Yellow Race, 1898, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documented History, Vol.1:1850-1920*, edited by Sven Saaler and Christopher W.A. Szpilman, (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), pp.85-92.

<sup>40</sup> Konoe Fumimaro was the 34<sup>th</sup>, 38<sup>th</sup>, and 39<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister of Japan. First cabinet between Jun.1937- Jan.1939 (Sonyū acted as the Minister of Colonial Affairs); second cabinet between Jul.1940- Jul.1941 (Kōzui acted as counselor) ; third term between Jun.- Oct.1941

starting with his resignation from abbacy, and replacing all others in importance, a loyal friend would take stage as the strongest connection. Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰(1863-1957) was the single most influential person in Kōzui's life.

### A True Friend: Tokutomi Sohō

A Ph.D. dissertation on Tokutomi Sohō written by Sinh Vinh starts with a most apt description of this crucial figure of modern Japan.

Tokutomi Sohō belongs among the most prolific writers of Japan and the world. During his long active life –as an influential thinker, a controversial journalist, and a prodigious historian - Sohō wrote approximately five hundred books. Amazingly enough, many of his books were either best-sellers or good-sellers.<sup>41</sup>

Born in 1863 in Kumamoto, Sohō was the son of a wealthy peasant.

(Appendix. Fig. 26) His father Tokutomi Ikkei was an admirer of the political reformer Yokoi Shōnan 横井 小楠(1809- 1869) of Kumamoto and a political activist demanding egalitarian changes in the local domain administration. At the age of ten Sohō entered the School of Western Studies in Kumamoto, and four years later protesting the

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<sup>41</sup> Sinh Vinh, *The Thought of Tokutomi Sohō, Journalist and Historian (1863-1957)*, (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1979), p.v.

ban on their American teacher to teach them Christianity , together with a bunch of his friends, he caused the school's closure by the authorities. Then he went to Tokyo to the English School but soon quitted and continued his studies in Dōshisha, Kyoto. Like Kōzui, Sohō also had the habit of quitting schools and before graduation he left Dōshisha, too. In 1882, he opened his own school called *Ōe Gijuku* in his house. His model for his school was Shōka Sonjuku of Yoshida Shōin of Chōshū who had raised most of the leaders of Meiji

Restoration. Later, on this school he would write:

In the desire of rendering service to the nation, it is decided that the *Ōe Gijuku* should be based upon the Shōka Sonjuku of Chōshū...Under the Western liberal system students are to be made into patriotic, loyal, courageous people.<sup>42</sup>

While working with his students he also had the opportunity to read and write. His own ideal was to become a journalist and when one of his initial publications “Youth in New Japan” reached a modest success, he did not hesitate to leave Kumamoto behind and move to Tokyo.<sup>43</sup> His next book “The Future Japan” (*Shōrai no Nihon*) was a

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<sup>42</sup> Sinh Vinh, p.9.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.p.15.

tremendous success and brought him to prominence. Encouraged by his new status of a best-selling writer, in Feb.1887, he started publishing his own magazine “*Kokumin no Tomo*” (Nation’s Friend) after the model of American “The Nation”.<sup>44</sup> For this purpose, he had also established a publishing company called Minyūsha.<sup>45</sup> The magazine was received with enthusiasm by the public, and his successes now allowed him to do what he always wanted: writing and spreading his ideas through journalism. In 1891, he improved his enterprise by publishing a daily newspaper, Kokumin Shimbun.

Sohō was deeply interested in politics but he had decided not to be a politician. His reasons for this choice are interesting and revealing for understanding the politics of contemporary Japan. Those reasons which most probably influenced Kōzui preference to stay away from politics were:

- 1- A politician must have the patience to listen to silly arguments, which he did not have,

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.p.17.

<sup>45</sup> For more information on Minyūsha see: Nishida Takeshi, Wada Mamoru, Yamada Hiromitsu, Kitano Akihiko (ed.s), *Minyūsha to Sono Jidai* (Minyūsha and Its Times), (Tokyo: Minerva Shobo, 2003).

2- A politician, if he does not have his own money, must know how to coax money from others at will, which he was not good at or simply did not like to do,

3- A politician must have some kind of a political base such as a “*Hanbatsu*” (Clan clique), “*Gunbatsu*” (Military clique), “*Zaibatsu*” (Financial clique), “*Gakubatsu*” (Academic clique), or “*Keibatsu*” (Nepotism); but he did not have any of them,

4- A politician must usually talk more than he acts, but he was the opposite, and therefore he could never be a politician.<sup>46</sup>

Instead, Sohō wanted to be a “script-writer of actual politics.”<sup>47</sup> At the start of his career, he was more a liberal critic of expansionist theoreticians of *Fukoku Kyōhei* (Rich Country, Strong Army) and proponents of *Datsua-ron* (Theory of Abandoning Asia) led by Fukuzawa Yukichi. But following the Triple Intervention of Russia, Germany and France after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Sohō’s views on imperialism as well as “Might is right!” arguments went into

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.,p. 27.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

a radical transformation.<sup>48</sup> While earlier, he used to promote Western values and salute the West as the birthplace of egalitarianism and popular moral values, later he had come to a point that he regarded Japan as a secondary power caught in between the competition two world powers Russia and U.S.A. That's why it had to develop a military preparedness and reconsider its policies (imperialism including further expansion in Mongolia and Manchuria) in China and Asia as a whole, in order to maintain its role as a "first-class world power". For him, Japan was the "lonely traveller of the world" and hence it should be strong enough to protect itself and remain independent.<sup>49</sup> From an advocate of democracy he, according to Inoue Kiyoshi, had turned into the most influential exponent of imperialist ideas in modern Japan.<sup>50</sup>

In May 1896, Sohō began a world tour the purpose of which he had openly declared to be to examine and adjust his former ideas and

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<sup>48</sup> Umetsu Junichi, Tokutomi Sohō to 'Chikara no Fukuin': Shōrai no Nihon kara Jimu Ikkagen e (Sohō Tokutomi and "the Gospel of Power": From *Future Japan* to *A Personal Opinion on Emerging Problems*), *Seigakuin Daigaku Ronsō*, Vol.19, No.1 (Nov. 2006), pp.15-31.

<sup>49</sup> Umetsu, *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Inoue Kiyoshi, *Nihon Teikokushugi no Keisei* (The Foundation of Japanese Imperialism), (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), p.1.

create an appropriate view for “Greater Japan”.<sup>51</sup> He first went to England, the country with which he wished Japan to form an alliance. Then after travelling around in Europe he reached Russia, the country which he considered to be the arch-enemy of Japan. During his stay he visited All Russia Industrial Exhibition held near Moscow, and had the opportunity to gather first-hand information about the rich resources of Siberia as well as the news that the Trans-Siberian Railway Project was proceeding rapidly towards completion. The idea that the Russian railway line could in the near future reach Vladivostok was enough to alarm him as a great threat to Japan. In a letter he wrote from Russia to his close friend, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ōkuma Shigenobu, he was urging the cabinet to invest in construction of new and mighty battleships against Russia’s navy.<sup>52</sup> Then on 22 Oct.1896, he reached Istanbul where he met the merchant Yamada Torajirō山田 寅次郎 (1866- 1957) who was also the resident Japanese interlocuter between the Japanese and Ottoman

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<sup>51</sup> Sinh Vinh, p.153.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp.157-159.

authorities<sup>53</sup> and observed the situation in the tumbling Ottoman Empire for nine days until his departure on Oct.30.<sup>54</sup> (Appendix Fig. 27) In his letters he had sent from Istanbul and Rome he noted that in those days Western powers were openly discussing an issue which they had coined as “The Turkey Problem” and that the decision on how its territories would be shared was imminent. He was thinking that the way the Middle Eastern problem would be solved had no small impact on Japan and that Japan should show solidarity with Turkey. He said “The sick man of the Middle East is like China of the Far East and both are at the hands of the same doctor, Russia” and derived the conclusion that there were lessons in Ottoman Empire’s relations with Western countries for Japan. While describing a friday prayer procession of Sultan Abdulhamid II he had witnessed during his stay, he was saying that “the shadow of reality was falling on the grandeur of royal procession”.<sup>55</sup> Then he went to Rumania, Hungary and to

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<sup>53</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, “A *Fin de Siécle* Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: The Life of Yamada Torajiro and His *Toruko Gakan*,” in *Japan, Turkey and the World Of Islam: The Writings of Selçuk Esenbel*, Kent: Global Oriental, 2011,pp.130-147.

<sup>54</sup> Tokutomi Sohō, “*Sohō Jiden*” (Autobiography of Sohō), (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā, 1997), p. 232.

<sup>55</sup> Sugii Mutsuro, *Tokutomi Soho no Kenkyū* (Tokutomi Sohō Studies), (Tokyo: Hosei

U.S.A. via London, finally returning back to Japan in June 1897.<sup>56</sup>

Possibly based on the warm welcome he received from the public, or because of the urgency of Russian threat he decided to get involved in politics. But his direct involvement by becoming the counselor for the Home Ministry in the Matsutaka cabinet (Sep.1896- Jan. 1898) costed him his popularity. Once he had chosen his side he now faced open opposition. In 1905, blamed for his support for the Katsura cabinet in forging a peace treaty with Russia after the Japanese victory in Russo-Japanese war, the offices of Kokumin Shimbun were burned and destroyed by rioters.

Interestingly, in spite of his imperialist vision and his well-known position as a pioneer of patriotic views, he was under attack for not being patriotic enough. But he did continue his activities vigorously and in 1910 he became the director of Keijō Nippō (Korean Daily News), and in 1913 an imperial appointee for the House of Peers. Then

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University, 1977), pp.359-60, and pp.325-338. Yamada Torajirō and Sohō went on to correspond after Sohō's departure. For an account of this correspondence see: Merthan A. Dünder and Nobuo Misawa, *Isutanburu no Nakamura Shoten wo Meguru Ningen Kankei no Jirei Kenkyū: Tokutomi Sohō ni Aterareta Yamada Toarajirō no Shokan wo Chūshin ni* (A Case Study of Human Relations at Nakamura Store in Istanbul: Torajirō Yamada's Letters to Sohō Tokutomi), *Tōyō Daigaku Shakaigaku Kiyō*, No.46-2 (2008), pp.181-220.

<sup>56</sup> Sinh Vinh, p.165.

in 1913 his offices were raided again. The reason was the same: His support for the Katsura cabinet. Starting from 1914 he focused on his writings and started publishing his monumental work hundred volume “National History of Japan”, an endeavor he would continue until its completion in 1952.<sup>57</sup>

It was under these circumstances that Sohō had rescued his old friend Kōzui when he was heading Korea all alone and disheartened due to his removal from the abbacy in November 1914. By giving him the opportunity to write in Kokumin Shimbun, it was Tokutomi Sohō who had offered Kōzui a reason to live and a new goal in life. Although they already had good relations since Kōzui’s youth, it was only then that they cultivated an unbreakable bond between them. (Appendix. Fig. 28, Fig.29) Kōzui’s respect for Sohō was so deep that he used to call him “*Sensei*” (Teacher). The 240 letters of Kōzui to Sohō (720 pages each containing 200 characters, 144,000 characters in total) are stored in Sohō Museum.<sup>58</sup> (Appendix. Fig.30)

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<sup>57</sup> For an extensive account of Sohō’s writings see: Uete Michiari (ed.), *Tokutomi Sohō-shū* (Collection of Tokutomi Sohō’s Writings), (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1979).

<sup>58</sup> Takano, *Sohō to Sono Jidai*, p.298.

Sohō's sympathy to Kōzui on the other hand, can be seen clearly by the fact that that his very last work in his 95 years' life was "*Ōtani Kōzui shi no Shōgai*" (The Life of Ōtani Kōzui).<sup>59</sup> Both men were the witnesses and products of Japan's transformation through Meiji-Taisho- Shōwa periods. They were the members of a generation of Japanese intellectuals who were obliged to lead their society in the rapid process of modernization in the latter half of nineteenth and the former half of twentieth centuries, a period in which they were faced with the problems of the "pre-modern", "modern" and "ultra-modern" ages, all at once.<sup>60</sup>

Sohō had written a series of articles in Yomiuri Shimbun under the title "*Sandai Jinbutsu Shiden*" (Figures of Three Generations) between January – May, 1955. He had planned these articles as the closure of his "National History of Modern Japan" and he had included Ōtani Kōzui among the most important personalities of Meiji- Taisho-

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Tōru Miyakawa, Takeru Igeta, Profile of Asian Minded Man VIII, *The Developing Economies*, Vol.5, No.3 (Sep.1967), pp.512-526.

Shōwa generations.<sup>61</sup> *The Life Of Ōtani Kōzui* was born out of this last project of Sohō's and was published in May 1956, about one and a half years before his death (Nov.1957).

He starts his book with a part titled “Ōtani Kōzui and the Spirit of Meiji Restoration”, and with a lamentation of the amnesia he witnessed in the new generation of the Japanese nation. He says “My nation got sick with amnesia after the War. I can not say all, but most of the people are like they have lost their memory of him[Kōzui].

Instead of grieving for him, I feel like I have to grieve for this amnesia.”<sup>62</sup> He tells how they became close friends as follows:

But how did we two became friends, and not just cordial but also two sincere friends? I guess it was because his father Myōnyo, the twenty first chief-abbot of Honganji had introduced us to each other. On the other hand, what brought us closer was the Russo-Japanese War. He was working in his position and I was working in mine, I mean in a way we were brothers-in-arms on the battlefield. We also had somethings in common that drew us closer....[In addition to Chinese classics] we both had an interest in Chinese literature...We both liked Chinese cuisine. We both were interested in England. But most of all, what brought us together was that we both were the carriers of the Meiji Restoration spirit, the mediums of “the Enterprise of Opening the Country” (*Kaikoku Shinshu*)

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<sup>61</sup> Takano, *Sohō to Sono Jidai*, p. 301.

<sup>62</sup> Sohō, p.6.

introduced by Meiji Restoration. In this endeavor, we were like walking on two parallel roads heading towards the same destination. Depending on the changes in our conditions or in the environment, our tracks would sometimes approach and sometimes get afar but always we had dutifully run towards the same direction.<sup>63</sup>

Sohō was thus describing Kōzui as a comrade carrier of the Meiji Restoration spirit. Sohō was no doubt referring to a part of himself which he saw in his friend. As mentioned above, depending on their relations with him, others had seen and relayed different Kōzuis. Or maybe it was the Ōtani students who had grasped the essence of his personality when –with their childish insight– they called him: “The Elephant.”

### Born into an Age of Turbulence

Ōtani Kōzui was born at 7:00 a.m., on 27 Dec. 1876 in the Nanden (Southern Residence) Hall of Western Honganji.<sup>64</sup> His birth name was Toshimaro 峻磨 and his mother was Emyōin Fujiko 円明院 藤子.<sup>65</sup> It

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<sup>63</sup> Sohō, pp.123-124.

<sup>64</sup> Fujioto Tokunin, *Kyōnyo Shōnin Nenpu* (Biographical Chronology of Master Kyōnyo), (Kyoto: Kyōnyo Shōnin Nanakainen Hōyō Jimusho, 1954), p.1. [Referred to as *Nenpu* hereafter. The dates will follow the records in *Nenpu* unless stated otherwise.]

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

was the ninth year of Meiji era, and the country was shaking to its foundations by local samurai rebellions. Although the ex-bakufu forces were successfully defeated and the new government was firmly established, peace had not come yet. This time, the same young samurai who had fought against the old regime for the imperial cause, had started to be alienated from the new regime, too. They saw the new laws and regulations proclaimed by the new government to modernize and Westernize the Japanese state, as betrayal to the “Expel the Barbarian” (*jōi*) slogan of their *Sonnō jōi* (Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarian) movement which had led to the overthrowing of Tokugawa shogunate. They were also uncomfortable and disgruntled with the changes concerning the samurai class like the Universal Conscription Law (*Chōhei-rei* 徴兵令, Jan.1873), the cancellation of the necessity for the samurai to wear traditional haircut and swords (*Sanpatsu Dattō-rei* 散髪脱刀令, Aug.1871), and the imperial edict banning the samurai to carry swords (*Haitō-rei* 廃刀令, Mar.1876). In all fronts, they were being stripped of their

privileges and status within the society.<sup>66</sup>

Just before Toshimaro was born, rebellions were erupting one after another: The Shinpūren Rebellion in Kumamoto (24-25 Oct. 1876); the Akizuki Rebellion in Fukuoka (27 Oct.- 24 Nov. 1876); Hagi Rebellion in Chōshū (28 Oct. – 5 Nov. 1876); and soon the largest of those was to start in Satsuma (The Seinan / South-western War), led by one of the leading figures of Meiji revolution, Saigō Takamori. The domestic samurai unrest would be only be suppressed by a crushing defeat of the rebels by the modern Imperial Army at the battle of Shiroyama on 24 Sep. 1877 and the death of Saigō.<sup>67</sup>

The infant Toshimaro, unaware of these turbulences of the times he was born into, had his first haircut in the first day of the New Year, and attended his first Buddhist ceremony with his father Myōnyo at the end of January. The news of his birth was well-received by the

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<sup>66</sup> Hyman Kublin, The “Modern” Army of Early Japan, *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Nov., 1949), pp. 20-41. For the effects of conscription at the local level see: Rokuhara Hiroko, Local Officials and the Meiji Conscription Campaign, *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (Spring, 2005), pp. 81-110. For the transformation of samurai class during early Meiji see: Harry D. Harootunian, The Progress of Japan and the Samurai Class 1868-1882, *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Aug., 1959), pp. 255-266.

<sup>67</sup> Charles L. Yates, Saigō Takamori in the Emergence of Meiji Japan, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Jul., 1994), pp. 449-474.

Emperor who, on Feb. 16, paid a visit to Honganji and invited Myōnyo to the Sacred Hall in the imperial palace and present him gifts to celebrate the birth of his first son (Feb. 25). In May, just before Toshimaro started eating food other than his mother's milk (*Hashizome* ceremony), the Empress Mother also visited Honganji and brought gifts to his mother to congratulate the occasion.<sup>68</sup>

### Childhood

Toshimaro had a happy childhood. He was raised within the private residential part of the Honganji complex and as the eldest son, the successor of the Ōtani House, the next *Monshū* (Master of the Gate / Patriarch of the Sect) he enjoyed the attention of his mother as well as the many servants of the house. Every now and then, whenever he could relieve himself of the heavy workload of the temple affairs, his father would also spend time with him. At times, they stayed in his villa Sanyasō at Fushimi, or go to mushroom-hunt for leisure to the Arashiyama mountain together. Myōnyo was continuing his reforms

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<sup>68</sup> Nenpu, p.1

in the temple organization and with the help of Shimaji Mokurai, Ōzu Tetsunen and Akamatsu Renjō of Chōshū he was establishing stronger ties with the new government. His efforts gave results and Honganji gained full trust of the state. The visits to Honganji of Ōkuma Shigenobu大隈 重信(1838-1922), the Minister of Treasury in Oct.1878, and Major Yamaguchi Motoomi 山口 素臣(1846-1904) with 40 officers and more than a hundred soldiers from Ōtsu headquarters in Jan.1879, marked the beginning of a new era. <sup>69</sup> Even the Minister of the Right, Iwakura Tomomi, the mastermind of the restoration, visited the *Daikyōkō* <sup>70</sup>, and enjoyed the gardens of the main temple on 13 Nov. 1879 . (Appendix. Fig.31) With its modern architecture and programme of education, Daikyōkō soon was regarded as a pioneering institution of higher education in Western style, and became so famous that the Emperor Meiji too, visited the school in Jul.1880. In December that year, Honganji was asked by the state to start religious

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<sup>69</sup> Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō, pp.34-35.

<sup>70</sup> Daikyōkō: 大教校 Grand School of Religion founded by Myōnyo in Jan. 1877. Later Bukyō Daigaku then Ryukoku University .

seminars in prisons.<sup>71</sup> The new positioning of Honganji by his father within the new system would have an immense effect on Toshimaro's life in the coming years. On the other hand, Myōnyo's life of strenuous efforts to lead his community to safety was costing him his health. He had started to have troubles with his ears and insomnia.

At the age of six, in Jan.1881, as a sign of his coming of age, Toshimaro wore *hakama* (traditional large trousers for men), and within a few days he started his initial education with a textbook prepared by Mizumoto Jion水原慈音(1835-1908).<sup>72</sup> In September he moved to a separate chamber for his private use. On Nov. 29, when the first assembly of priests of Honganji gathered, he must have been introduced to them as the next patriarch.<sup>73</sup>

The Army's increasing interest in Western Honganji manifested itself at the New Year's memorial services of 1882. A large number of officers from the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment, led by their commander Lieutenant colonel Takashima Tomonosuke高島鞆之助 (1844-1916) came to pray

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<sup>71</sup> Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō, p.39.

<sup>72</sup> Nenpu, p.2.

<sup>73</sup> Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyō, p.40.

at Honganji.<sup>74</sup> Regarding the Chōshū origins of the members of the the Imperial Army chief-of-staff, right from Ōmura Masujirō, the founder of modern Japanese army, this rapprochement should not be considered coincidental.

In April, Toshimaro made his first travel out of Kyoto and went to Tokyo with his aunt Naoko 朴子 and on the way back he had the chance to visit a number temples. This year must have been full of marvels for him since in August he went to Sunagawa to meet Duke Kujō Michitaka 九条 道孝(1839-1906) , the man who would become his father-in-law in the future; in November he spent some days travelling the eastern parts of the Biwako Lake, and visited a number of famous temples.<sup>75</sup> These early journeys must have had their impact on Kōzui's character, who would love to travel freely more than anything else.

On the other hand, his father was planning to step up the boy's education to a higher level. He had to have the education proper for a modern day *monshū*, with skill and capabilities to lead his flock.

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p.41.

<sup>75</sup> Nenpu, p.2.

Therefore, the best teachers of his time were found and requested to take care of his education and training as a Buddhist priest. Hence, at the end of November, a renowned scholar of Shinshū doctrinal studies, Haraguchi Shinsui原口針水 (1808-1893) was assigned as the head tutor of a team of educators. Shigaraki Tetsujō 信樂哲乘 was to teach shorthand writing and Xiao Jing 孝經 or the Chinese Classic of Filial Piety, while Tamuro Tomonori 田室友令 was to train him in the field of classical calligraphy (*Sōsho*) based on a textbook prepared by Mizumoto Jion. Mizumoto himself was to supervise the process.<sup>76</sup>

During the initial months of 1883, all seemed going quite as Myōnyo had planned. Toshimaro was socializing with other boys of his age from other temples. But in April when his father got ill of typhus, at the age of 8, he was asked to lead the important Hoyō ceremony at the Honshōji temple in his stead. At a very early stage in his life, he had to assume responsibility in front of the public. No doubt, the believers of the sect had shown the same respect to him as they would to his father, that is like a sacred being. One can only imagine the

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

psychological effects of such exposure on a small boy at Toshimaro's age. In May, he was transferred to and started living at Yamashina Betsuin (branch temple) where an education facility was created solely for his usage.

Shigaraki Takamaro 信楽峻磨 (1926- ), a scholar of religious studies and a former rector of Ryukoku University, relates these Yamashina days of Toshimaro as depicted in the diary of his grandfather, Shigaraki Tetsujō (Toshimaro's private teacher):

...Toshimaro was taking lessons on more than ten different subjects....The monshū, His Holiness, was giving examinations to his son in all these subjects and he is following his level of education....On the one hand these diaries show how superior was the Master [Kōzui] to normal people, while on the other how a child of his age he was. He frequently used to shout "Become a horse!" to his teacher Tetsujō, and getting on his back he would take him from room to room to wherever he wished, and yelled with delight. He used to ask "Pretend and show me the face of a demon from hell!", and give his teacher hard times.<sup>77</sup>

Although he tried to attend Toshimaro's education in person, due to his ill health and fragility in his condition, Myōnyo was forced to ask more and more help of his son in the endless list of ceremonies he had to participate. His public appearances were thus increasing. Then in

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<sup>77</sup> Shigaraki Takamaro, Toshimaro Jidai (Toshimaro period[of Kōzui]), *Daijō – Buddhist Magazine*, Vol.5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954), p.141

Mar. 1885, his teacher Tetsujō suddenly got sick and following a few days in hospital, he departed and went to his homeland for good. A new teacher was assigned in his place but only a year later he also quitted educating Toshimaro. He was having difficulties to focus on his studies.

In September, his Tokudo (ceremony to be admitted into priesthood) was announced. On Nov. 7, after receiving imperial permission, Myōnyo declared Toshimaro as the legitimate child of his official wife Shigeko 枝子 and thus his rightful heir (*chakushi* 嫡子). On 5 Dec. 1885, he attended the Tokudo ceremony, receiving a secular name “Kōzui 光瑞”, and a priestly name “Kyōnyo 鏡如”.<sup>78</sup> Five days later, he was enrolled in Daikyōkō and at the New Year’s Eve he packed and left his private class at Yamashina facility. Obviously he did not want to continue his education there in seclusion, but at the same time his age was too young to join Daikyōkō.

With the start of the New Year, something seems to have gone wrong because he suddenly was ordered by his father to go and stay at

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<sup>78</sup> Nenpu, p.4

Villa Sanyasō, an Ōtani family residence at the outskirts of Kyoto.

Then a few weeks later, he was told that he should continue his studies at the famous Gakushūin school in Tokyo. On Feb. 6, an unwilling Kōzui departed Kyoto but two days later in a nearby town (Ōmi Nagahama, a few miles north of Yamashina, on the road to Tokyo) he got sick due to rising bodyheat and until the end of the month he stayed at a branch temple (Enshōji in Takamiya).<sup>79</sup> But then instead of continuing forward to Tokyo or returning back to the main temple, he was ordered once again to stay at Villa Sanyasō.

While staying there he seems to have been enjoying his freedom and travelling around in Osaka and Nara area, visiting as many temples and ancient sites as he could. In the meantime, he had recovered from his illnesses and gathered his energy to go Tokyo. On May 19, he once again left Kyoto and this time –without of course forgetting to visit important sites on the way- reached the capital without any problems. Finally on Jun.9, he started his studies at the Gakushū-in, the famous

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

school for aristocrats' children.<sup>80</sup>

### Adolescence

His adaptation to his new school was rather smooth and for the next three years he had no major problems. In the summer holiday of 1887, he travelled in Hokkaido with his father. The year 1888 also passed without any major incident and although he got measles in March next year, his recovery was quick. During the summer of 1889, he invited his classmates from Gakushūin and travelled together in Hyōgo, Kōbe, Osaka and Nara. But on 17 Jan. 1890, at the age of 15, his adaptation problems reappeared and he suddenly dropped Gakushūin and returned to Kyoto. Once again he was leaving his education without proper completion. Quitting school seemed like becoming Kōzui's habit. His father's response was to enroll him at a normal public school (*Kyōritsu Gakkō*). On the other hand, he had all the reasons to be happy in Kyoto. He was invited by nobles like of all major families, and had an official welcome ceremony at the main

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p.5

temple. Then he started living in Yoshida shrine, to the north of the city, a place where he could commute to his new school easily. There, he assumed the role of the lead-hymner during morning prayers. His life was getting back on track but soon new developments would interrupt his studies once again

Towards the end of the year 1890, Myōnyo's health suddenly deteriorated, and he was hospitalized. Kōzui had no other way but to take on his father's responsibilities. At a time when the Imperial Diet was holding its first meeting and Meiji Constitution was coming into effect (29 Nov. 1890)<sup>81</sup>, radical changes in Kōzui's life were occurring. Unlike his previous public appearances, he now was forced to make decisions concerning temple affairs on his father's behalf. His heavy duties included welcoming and hosting important visitors, performing the lead-priest role in major ceremonies, participating in meetings related to administrative work of the main and branch temples, supervising the education in Daikyōkō school, the training programmes of missionary monks as well as many other tasks. He had

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<sup>81</sup> David Murray, *Japan*, (New York: G.P.Putnam's Sons, 1896) [Project Gutenberg E-book No.29798], p.311

lost his chance to behave like a child once and for all. He now had to act like a grown up.

On the other hand, except his frequent visits to his father at Suma hospital at the beginning, he did not seem to have difficulties to adapt himself to his new role. On the first morning of 1891, he received thousands of head-priests from all the branch and affiliate temples throughout the country who had come to see and celebrate the New Year of their patriarch.<sup>82</sup> There sixteen year old Kōzui was standing in the midst of countless elderly priests who were saluting him as the next leader of the Gate. He had to show them with his dignity, level of knowledge and grace in his behaviour that he deserved their respect. A deed which he accomplished and proved himself as the legitimate heir of his father.

In the next few months he participated in ceremonies, led prayers and performed initiation for newcomers. Then he was approached by the high officers of the army to perform memorial services at a number of military headquarters. Hence, starting from April 2 at

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<sup>82</sup> Nenpu, p.7

Toyozen headquarters (Kokura, Northern Kyushu), he performed *tsuichō-hoyō* (memorial service for the war dead) ceremony at the opening of Otsu Miyukiyama and Osaka Nakajima war memorial monuments.<sup>83</sup> On Apr. 26, at day of the three hundredth memorial ceremony for Kenryo (the chief-abbot of Honganji who fought against Nobunaga as mentioned in Chapter Two), he also hosted Major General Yamane Nobunari山根 信成 (1851-1895)<sup>84</sup> at the *Honzan* (The Main Temple).<sup>85</sup>

In May, he quit the Yoshida school since he had no more time to join the classes and returned to his private tutelage. He had shown that he was capable of directing the sect, but his talent as a leader would be challenged by the Great Earthquake of Nōbi (hit Aichi and Gifu prefectures on Nov. 28). At the face of this disaster, his response was quick, determined and compassionate as could be expected from a man of religion. He left Kyoto at once, immediately after he heard

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Yamane Nobunari: Imperial Army general. Born in Yamaguchi prefecture (former Chōshū domain). Participated in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. Killed in action in Taiwan.

<sup>85</sup> *Nenpu*, p.7

the news and headed towards the disaster struck area. He reached Nagoya the next day. On the way, young Kōzui was praying for the well-being of the survivors and giving his condolences to people. He performed rituals for the spirits of the victims at the Honganji branch-temples in the area and on Dec. 2, showing his curiosity he attempted to walk right to the epicenter of the earthquake at Neyatani, but could not reach his goal due to a landslide that blocked the road.<sup>86</sup> There is no way to know how he felt during those days, or if he saw any parallels between himself and Shakyamuni Buddha who as a young prince had once left his palace and was exposed to the miseries and painful lives of people, but it is for sure that his experience had its impact on his personality. He returned to Kyoto on Dec.7.

In the first days of 1892, he applied to the Office of Imperial Household and wanted permission to use his new name Kōzui officially. This symbolic gesture marked the dramatic changes occurring in his life. This year, his future wife was also selected: The

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p.8

third daughter of Kujō Michitaka 九条 道孝(1839-1906), Kazuko 籌子 (1882-1911). Duke Kujō was a close friend of Myōnyō's but if this choice was partly out of friendship, it was also partly a strategic alliance between two important families. After all, Kazuko was of noble origins (Kujō was one of the five families having the privilege to provide brides for the dynasty), and not from a clerical family.

Furthermore, the matchmaker Prince Arisugawanomiya Taruhito Shin-ō 有栖川宮熾仁親王 (1835-1895) was the chief of staff of the Imperial Army at the time, and soon would become the commander-general of the Japanese forces in the war with China.

(Appendix. Fig.32)

### Sino-Japanese War Years (1894-1895)

While Japan was rapidly transforming itself into a modern nation-state with all its military, bureaucratic, economic and cultural institutions; the unequal treaties signed in the Bakumatsu period were continuing to be a major issue in domestic politics.<sup>87</sup> The Satchō

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<sup>87</sup> Jay E. Hoare, The 'Bankoku Shimbun' Affair: Foreigners, Japanese Press and Extraterritoriality in Early Meiji Japan, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.9 No.3 (1975),

Alliance had established itself firmly in the state mechanism and was driving the country to change and to adapt to Western ways in every aspect of daily life, including democracy. The first general elections was held on 1 Jul. 1890 and with the participation of 300 members, the Diet convened in November. Although the number of voters in this first election was limited to a mere 1.13% of the whole population<sup>88</sup>, still it was a big step towards incorporating different opinions into the system. The issue of unequal treaties was a fertile field for any kind of opposition to be directed towards the oligarchs. Iwakura Mission (1871-73) was a failure in that regard, and other insistent Japanese attempts to alter the treaties to a more egalitarian basis had received prompt rejection from the Western powers. The lack of power to assert their own will against the will of foreigners was frustrating the Meiji ruling elite (as well as the populace), who had based their revolution on anti-foreignism and had been criticising the former regime for its

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pp.289-302.

<sup>88</sup> Anonymus. 28 October 2011. *Daiikkai Shūgin Giin Sōsenkyo* [The First General Election for the House of Representatives]. Available [online]: <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/第1回衆議院議員総選挙> [16 November 2011]. (The condition to be a voter was to have done more than 15Yen tax payment and to be more than 25 years old. The number of voters was 450,972 out of the total population of Japan which was 39,933,478.)

inability to act. Therefore the new policy should be “Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Army” (*Fukoku Kyōhei*).<sup>89</sup> They had realized that once that goal was reached Japan could not only sit at the negotiation tables as a respected equal with the Westerners, but it also could identify with and imitate the attitude of those powers against third countries.

The initial signs of such a change in the direction of Japanese foreign policy had come as early as the second year of Meiji rule. Korea, a country which Japan was inclined to see as its inferior, had rejected to recognize the new regime in Japan.<sup>90</sup> Finding this cold response and the treatment of successive embassy missions to Korea unacceptable, a group led by Saigō Takamori in Tokyo had started to advocate an invasion of the Korean peninsula.<sup>91</sup> Following fierce “*Seikan-ron*” (征韓論 Debate on the Correction of Korea) debates in

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<sup>89</sup> George M. Wilson, Plots and Motives in Japan’s Meiji Restoration, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Jul., 1983), pp. 407-427.

<sup>90</sup> For contemporary Japanese views on relations with Korea (also China) see: Okakura Kakuzo, *The Awakening of Japan*, (New York: The Century Co. 1905), pp.201-223.

<sup>91</sup> Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration*, pp. 373-78. An in depth discussion of the “Korean Crisis” can be found here: Marlene J.Mayo, The Korean Crisis of 1873 and Early Meiji Foreign Policy, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Aug., 1972), pp. 793-819.

1873, the scheme was finally aborted due to its “untimeliness” and a disheartened Saigō had left the capital at odds with his fellow revolutionaries, an event which would turn him into a rebel within a few years.<sup>92</sup>

Though nothing was done during the Korean crisis, a year later in May 1874 a punitive expedition was sent to Taiwan for retaliation of 54 sailors from Ryukyu islands were killed by the aborigines in Dec.1871.<sup>93</sup> The successful military action ended up with an agreement forged under British arbitration declaring recognition of the disputed Ryukyu islands as Japanese territory and Chinese payment of compensation for the Japanese casualties. Most importantly, it showed the new government that military action abroad could pay off.

Next serious move was in Sep.1875 when a Japanese battleship showed up at the shores of Korean Gangwha Island and devastated the forts with its superior firepower in retaliation for cannon fire

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<sup>92</sup> E.Herbert Norman, *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State: Political and Economic Problems of the Meiji Period*, (Toronto: UBC Press, 2000), pp.85-88.

<sup>93</sup> Edwin Pak-Wah Leung, The Quasi-War in East Asia: Japan's Expedition to Taiwan and the Ryūkyū Controversy, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1983), pp. 257-281.

opened from the Korean fortifications. This was the first time Japan used gunboat diplomacy in the Western fashion, and the result was an unequal treaty which contained clauses similar to the unequal treaties Japan itself was forced to sign by foreign powers.<sup>94</sup> It gave Japan free access to a number of ports in Korea; freedom of trade and especially the privilege of extraterritoriality for the Japanese nationals.<sup>95</sup> A dramatic increase in the exports of Japanese goods to Korea confirmed gunboat diplomacy could be used to boost trade and thus help reach the goal of enriching the country.<sup>96</sup>

There was a growing rivalry between China and Japan on Korea. Behind the seemingly friendly relations, the competition between the two countries over the peninsula was compelling them to get more and more involved in the domestic politics of Korea.<sup>97</sup> Japanese support for the pro-independence factions against the “conservative”

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<sup>94</sup> Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of a Modern Japan*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2002), p.424. Also; Murray, *Japan*, p.306.

<sup>95</sup> Akira Iriye, “Japan’s Drive to Great Power Status.” In *The Cambridge History of Japan, Vol.5, The Nineteenth Century*, edited by Marius B.Jansen , (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.721-782.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. (Iriye notes that the exports from Japan to Korea had increased by over 90% between the mid-1880s and the early-1890s.)

<sup>97</sup> Payson J. Treat, The Cause of the Sino-Japanese War, 1894, *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Jun., 1939), pp. 149-157

establishment who favoured continuation of Chinese hegemony caused a few confrontations, but the sides were wise enough to hide their enmities until one side made sure it was ready to act. It was in 1894 that Japan finally found the confidence to openly attempt to overturn the power balance to its advantage. On 16 July, 1894 Itō Hirobumi's cabinet succeeded to sign a new treaty abolishing the unequal extraterritoriality rights with Britain.<sup>98</sup> Only sixteen days later, Japan declared war against China.<sup>99</sup> The Sino-Japanese War ended on 17 Apr. 1895 with the Treaty of Shimonoseki which confirmed a complete victory of Japan. The choice of the port of Shimonoseki was of no coincidence, since it was the very town imperial western powers had bombarded in 1863. With this treaty, aside from a large indemnity, Japan had earned opening of some Chinese ports for Japanese traders; the "independence" of Korea, and most importantly full sovereignty over eastern parts of Liaodong Peninsula in south-east Manchuria, a foothold in Chinese territories. On the other hand, this

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<sup>98</sup> A full digital copy of the "Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Japan", Treaty Series, No.23, 1894, can be found at : [<http://www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/treaties/TS1/1894/23>]

<sup>99</sup> Iriye, *Japan's Drive*, p.764.

success had disturbed Russia which other its own plans on the area, and soon a Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany and France followed.<sup>100</sup> Bending under pressure Japan ceded from Liadong, and the area was immediately invaded by Russian forces. But even this de facto situation created by Russia would not hinder Japanese advance in the coming years, and growing tensions with this new rival would lead to Russo-Japanese War. As Japan was emerging as an imperial power in the region, Japanese politicians were full aware of the fact that the war-effort could as well be used as a tool to unite the nation under the umbrella of patriotism.

Obviously, the largest religious institution in the country, the Honganji could not possibly be left out of these developments. After all, the conscripts of the new Imperial Army were peasants within the traditional sphere of influence of the sect since Shinran's times.<sup>101</sup> It is also not a surprise when the close relations of Honganji with the

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<sup>100</sup> Frank W. Ikle, The Triple Intervention. Japan's Lesson in the Diplomacy of Imperialism, *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 22, No. 1/2 (1967), pp. 122-130.

<sup>101</sup> E. Herbert Norman, Soldier and Peasant in Japan: The Origins of Conscriptio –I, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Mar., 1943), pp. 47-64. Also; E. Herbert Norman, Soldier and Peasant in Japan: The Origins of Conscriptio –II, *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Jun., 1943), pp. 147-165.

founders of the army who were mainly from Chōshū are considered. Hence, right after the hostilities began in August, Kōzui started visiting military garrisons and perform *kikyōshiki* ceremonies<sup>102</sup> for the soldiers waiting to be sent to the battlefield. On 16 Aug.1894, Kōzui performed the first of a series of *kikyōshiki* ceremonies at the Otsu army base. More than 500 soldiers were blessed.<sup>103</sup> Then he continued with the 2,400 officers and soldiers of the 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division in Osaka (Aug.20); another 300 officers in the Otsu base (Aug.27). On the first day of September, receiving the news that his father got ill in Kumamoto where he was also performing similar ceremonies, Kōzui went straight to the area to take over his duties. In this prefecture which was hardly hit during the persecution years of *Haibutsu Kishaku*, for three days he did *kikyōshiki* for 3,500 people (including soldiers) per day. Then they went to Fukuoka, where Myōnyo gave sermons and Kōzui performed ceremonies for 1,500

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<sup>102</sup> *Kikyōshiki*: 帰敬式. One of the most important ceremonies of Jōdo Shinshū sect of Buddhism. It is a sort of initiation ceremony in which the applicant expresses his/her belief in the Primal Vow (*Hongan*) and becomes a *monto* (adherent of the sect). After prayers, a Buddhist name is given to the new *monto* by the *monshū* (Master of the Gate/ the chief-abbot).

<sup>103</sup> *Nenpu*, p.11

soldiers. Even after his father returned, he went on with army bases in Sasebo, Nagasaki, Shimonoseki, Matsuyama and Marugame, and others blessing literally thousands of troops and officers.<sup>104</sup>

(Appendix Fig.33) After the clashes were over, Kōzui attended and led the memorial services for the fallen soldiers (*tsuichō hoyō*) held at Nishihama, Kanazawa, Fukui, the Fourth Engineering Battalion at Kyoto, Sixteenth Infantry Division at Kumamoto, Twenty second Regiment at Matsuyama, the last of which was performed as late as 7 May, 1897 at the Fourth Division at Osaka.<sup>105</sup> He also had attended the opening ceremonies of monuments for the fallen at a number of locations including the Fukuoka army base and Tsumura Betsuin branch-temple in Osaka.

During these hectic days, Kōzui witnessed the loss of two important personalities who had been instrumental in arranging his marriage with Kazuko: His matchmaker Prince Arisugawa, the

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<sup>104</sup> The details of these trips and ceremonies were compiled and published in Mar.1895, right before the end of hostilities. The book was presented to Emperor Meiji. For a full account of Kōzui and Myōnyo's activities during the Sino-Japanese War see: Hattori Raijō, *Ryōmonzeki Kaku Shidan Chinjufu Imon Kiyō* [An Account of the Two Masters' Consolation Visits to Each Army and Naval Base], (Kyoto: Kuge Tokimasa, 1895).

<sup>105</sup> Nenpu, p.14

commander-in-chief of Japanese forces in China expedition (Jan.1895), and Empress Dowager Eishō 英照皇太后 (1833-1897) who had shown close attention to Kōzui since his birth. That's why the wedding was postponed until January, 1898.

### Marriage

Kazuko had joined the Ōtani family already on 29 Sep. 1892.<sup>106</sup> She was eleven years old then, and she had come to the Ōtani residence in the Honganji complex to live with the family and to learn the customs of the chief-abbot's household until the wedding. Three days later, she attended her first ritual and the next day the two families, Ōtani and Kujō came together at an engagement feast. Kazuko then started living in a private chamber in the northern part of the residence.

Turmoil during the Sino-Japanese War years and the solemn events that followed had prevented them to hold a wedding in public.

Exchange of dowries between the families was completed as of Jan. 1893, and the training of Kazuko for the role of the next

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<sup>106</sup> Nenpu, p.9.

chief-abbot's wife had started.<sup>107</sup> She had to undergo a quite complicated education on religion, manners and household affairs. In the meantime, since Kōzui was too busy with his official duties, the two had few occasions to meet. Finally on 21 Jul. 1897, a simple wedding was held in the Black Bamboo Hall of Honganji. The families decided not to publicize the event until the next year. As planned, on 31 Jan. 1898 the official public wedding took place in the Buddha Hall. Thousands of *monto* flocked into the temple grounds in order to witness and celebrate their monzeki who had already won their hearts with his self-sacrificing acts, and his filial piety. Kōzui was regarded by many as a living-Buddha. His tall posture and his charisma was giving him an air of holiness, prompting them to show respect and even a voluntary obessiance. That day both 23 years old Kōzui and 17 years old Kazuko, in their beautiful traditional garments, were shining like two stars in the eyes of the people. Many precious presents from all eminent families starting from the late Empress Dowager Eishō and late Prince Arisugawa. Kyōnyo Shōnin Nenpu

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<sup>107</sup> Uehara Yoshitarō, *Kōgen-in Kazuko Fujin* [Kōgen-in Lady Kazuko], (Kyoto: Kōkyō Shoin, 1935), p.14. Based on her own diary, the author gives an account of the items exchanged.

describes the occasion as follows:

In accordance with the wishes of chief-abbot Myōnyo, this ceremony was organized in a glorious fashion and in line with the ancient traditions. Kyōnyo [Kōzui] wore a *kawagoromo-obi* (a cummerbund with fur), a *sashinuki* (ceremonial large-trousers/*hakama*); while Kazuko wore *ko-uchiki* (Heian style kimono), *itabiki* (a traditional textile from Heian period), *hitoe* (thin inner garment), *koki nagakahama* (long, large trousers) and held *yokome ōgi* (a sort of ceremonial fan) in her hand. The ceremony was performed on the platform of the Hishikui Hall according to noble customs. Duke Kujō Michitaka also participated. Starting from the matchmaker Arisugawa no miya family to the family of Yamamoto Kuniyasu many presents were given. Furthermore, a beautifully coloured (wisteria and burning yellow) hakama, showing her superior taste was presented as the gift from Empress Dowager Her majesty.<sup>108</sup>

The wedding was one of the main events in Japan that year. The two were to love each other until the untimely death of Kazuko in 1911.

Kōzui would never marry again although they had no children thus no

heir. Much later, one of his disciples Hadani Ryōtai羽溪 了諦

(1883-1974) who had become a renowned scholar of Buddhism, would

recall that the only time he had ever seen master Kōzui to shed a drop

of tear was when they once talked about Lady Kazuko.<sup>109</sup> At the time

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<sup>108</sup> *Nenpu*, p.15.

<sup>109</sup> Hadani Ryōtai, *A, Shōnin Namidasu* [A, the Master is Crying!], Daijō, Vol. 5, No.10, 1954 Special Edition on Kōzui, pp. 142-144.

of their wedding, Kōzui must have felt confident of a brilliant future.

In April, he participated in the three hundredth memorial service for Toyotomi Hideyoshi. It was a symbolic gesture showing the bond of Western Honganji with the Toyotomi House (The reasons of which were explained in Chapter Two). In November, the Crown Prince Yoshihito 嘉仁 (1879-1926; later Emperor Taishō) paid a visit to the Honzan to congratulate the couple.<sup>110</sup> Kōzui hosted the prince in the gardens of the Temple. Within a few years, the two young men would become brothers-in-law when Yoshihito married Sadako, the sister of Kazuko in May, 1900. In fact, the three families; the imperial dynasty, the Kujō and the Ōtani would become intertwined through marriages. Soon the Emperor Meiji himself invited Kōzui both to congratulate his wedding and to express his gratitude for his efforts during the Sino-Japanese War. Kōzui had the privilege to accompany the Emperor during large-scale military manouvres and listened to the imperial address at the Osaka headquarters of chief-of-general-staff.<sup>111</sup>

Everything seemed to be in order in his life. From the man on the

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<sup>110</sup> Nenpu, p.15.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

street to tens of thousands of soldiers and to the Emperor of Japan, he was highly regarded and respected for his talents. But as his father's health was getting better, Kōzui's insatiable desire to explore and to learn by experience was pushing him to escape from routine. He desperately wanted to see and discover the world. Myōnyo also supported his idea since he thought that his son and successor had to be aware of global issues in order to be able to cope up with the challenges of a new century. A new era in his life was starting.

### Travel to Qing China

Kōzui's first travel abroad was to Qing China.<sup>112</sup> His plan was announced to public on 10 Jan. 1899, nine days later he departed from Kobe harbour on board a French postal ship, "Laos". Before departure he delivered a speech to the crowd waiting to wave him goodbye on the importance of understanding the global situation of religion in general

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<sup>112</sup> Shibata Mikio, Ōtani Kōzui Hajimete no Gaiyū (Ōtani Kōzui's First Travel Abroad), *Tōyōshien*, no.50-51 (Jan.1998) Special Issue: The 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Kōzui Ōtani's Death, pp.85-105. Shibata reaches the conclusion that Kōzui had done this journey for missionary, as well as political reasons. For Shibata, his main concern was "the future of the state and the religion". On the other hand, although Kōzui might have concerns on those areas, his activities point more to a curious explorer than to a priest acting in religious fervor.

and the positioning of Buddhism in particular. He was accompanied by a group of veteran priests of Honganji led by Takeda Tokusho 武田篤初(1847-1905).<sup>113</sup> The group reached Hong Kong 香港 on Jan.26, via Shanghai 上海, and started enjoying the sites in the area. Until they left at the start of the next month, they visited Guangdong and even helped establishing the Japanese Club at Kowloon. They arrived at Shanghai on Feb.11, and went to Hangzhou 杭州 and visited the West Lake 西湖 on Feb.18. Until the mid-March, Uehara Yoshitarō who had been in southeast Asia for a while joined and they travelled to Hankou 漢口, Wuchang 武昌 and Hangyang 漢陽. In Hangyang he paid a visit to the Directorate of Ironworks at Hangyang, and two days later on Mar.12 he had the privilege to travelled to the famous places of Jiangnan 江漢 on board a Qing Chinese battleship chartered only for his pleasure.<sup>114</sup> By now it was obvious that the Chinese were ready to show great hospitality to this young men parallel to his popularity in Japan. Thus he could have spent carefree times in palaces and enjoy

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<sup>113</sup> Nenpu, p.16. The group included Asakura Meisen 朝倉明宣, Honda Eryū 本多惠隆 (1876-1944) and Fujieda Sawayuki 藤枝沢通 (priest who was sent in 1882 to study Sanskrit in France with Sylvain Levy) also accompanied the group until Shanghai.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.,p.16.

the rest of his stay in a peaceful atmosphere but then he decided to respond to the call of adventure.

He was going to challenge himself (and the ones around him) by going on a daring journey to the north, “The Great Transcontinental Travel”. The group reached Beijing via land route on Mar. 14, made quick arrangements and prepared 6 horse-carts, 48 horses, and 8 horse-keepers for their enterprise. The next morning they promptly departed and rushed through unused side-roads, facing violent storms and howling winds towards Kaifeng 開封 via Xinyang 信陽. Since the news that an adventurous young Japanese V.I.P. was heading towards that direction was sent to the governor of Kaifeng, they received a warm welcome when they arrived at the city on Mar. 26. Enjoying the governor’s kind hospitality the group visited famous places like the Grand Xiangguo Monastery. But Kōzui’s plans did not include a long-stay there and soon they were on the road again. On Mar.28 they crossed the Yellow River and hurried back to Beijing. It was on Apr.7 that they finally reached Yongdingmen 永定門 , the main gate of the

southern part of city walls.<sup>115</sup> Within three weeks between Mar.15 and Apr.7, the group had traveled an incredible distance of over 10.000km. Some members of the team got ill after this tiring journey but Kōzui was even more energetic. Unlike others, challenges like nobody had dared before and pushing the limits of his physical and spiritual capabilities were strengthening him. His restless nature was compelling him to move and explore. A few days later, he once again left the city to visit the Juyong Pass 居庸関 on the Chinese Wall (50km. to the north of Beijing), and the tombs of the 13 emperors of Ming dynasty.

He spent his final days in China by doing official visits to high aristocrats, bureaucrats and Tibetan Lamaist Archbishop. Although he was not received by Emperor Guangxu 光緒(1871-1908) and Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧太后(1835-1908) because the Chinese officials deemed it inappropriate due to recent Sino-Japanese conflict, still he was allowed to send gifts (Japanese versions of main sutras) to them. On Apr. 24 he left Beijing and went to Shanghai via Tianjin 天津.

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

When he boarded the “Empress of India” on Apr.29, his four months’ long trip to Qing China was over. He was in Kobe on May 2, and back at the Honzan the next day. A detailed travelogue of this journey was published in 1900 by a group member, Asakura Meisen 朝倉明宣 under the title “*Shinkokujunyū-shi*” (An Account of the Travel to Qing China 清国巡遊誌).<sup>116</sup> (Appendix. Fig.34)

Kōzui was overwhelmed with joy of his unique experience. He was now sure of what he wanted: to see the world and to see it as no one had ever seen before. He wanted to explore, discover, and experience to satisfy his curious soul, instead of staying in classrooms and study ancient sutras. He also had realised that Buddhism was a faith the Japanese shared with other people on the continent. The sutras he had brought as presents to his father contained the main prayers of Jōdo Shinshū but only written in Tibetan language. Hence, he decided that he could combine his father’s plans to send him to Britain for education with his appetite to travel for learning the roots of his

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<sup>116</sup> Asakura Meisen, *Shinkokujunyū-shi* (An Account of the Travel to Qing China), (Kyoto: Bukkyō Tosho Shuppan, 1900)

faith.<sup>117</sup> In October, he announced that he had to go for a pilgrimage to visit the Buddhist relics in India and then to England for further studies. After completing the necessary arrangements, he met his father Myōnyo in Tokyo Tsukiji Honganji temple. Myōnyo must have been both happy and proud to see his son shining like a bright star, ready to lead his community as he himself had done through the turbulent years of early Meiji; and also sad because he was aware of the fragility of his own health. He was aware that his days were approaching to an end. Therefore, despite objections he insisted on declaring his last will publicly: If ever something happens to him, Kyōnyo (Kōzui) would be the official successor of Myōnyo. When Kōzui said farewell to his father that day, probably both knew that it was the last time they saw each other.

On Nov.28, as a sign of his concern, the Emperor Meiji received

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<sup>117</sup> Kōzui's intention to go to Europe seems to be known and appreciated by the members of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Assembly of priests. The Assembly had announced its support for his plans as early as 17 Dec.1898. [Shirasu Jōshin, "Ōtani Kōzui no Ōshū Ryūgaku – Ryūgaku Kettei kara Eikoku Tōchaku made" (Ōtani Kōzui's Study in Europe – From the time the decision was taken to his arrival at England), *Honganji-shi Kenkyūsho-hō*, no.14 (Oct.1995), pp.1-16.] On the other hand, the temple administration had some reserves on this trip. The text of an inner-temple communique written and signed by the deacon shows that the administration had concerns about Kōzui's determination to continue his studies to the end. Otherwise they worried, the successor's reputation could be at stake.[Ibid.]

Kōzui in person. After the private time they spent together in the palace talking about Kōzui's plans for the future, the Emperor granted him the privilege to pray at the *Kashikodokoro*賢所 chamber (a sacred place where the sacred mirror [one of the three imperial regalia] of the Japanese crown is kept), possibly the most sacred place in whole Japan.<sup>118</sup> This gesture was a symbolic representation of complete trust and sympathy shown to Kōzui.

The next day, he assigned all his duties as Vice chief-abbot to his brother Sonjū 尊重 and on Dec.3 he left Kyoto for Kobe. On the way to Kobe, more than 1,500 people accompanied him and even more people crowded the Kobe port the next day. While his ship “Kenich Albert” was leaving the harbour, the twenty six years' old Kōzui was no doubt feeling more than satisfied with his life.

### Years in England

A number of priests were escorting him during the first stages of his voyage, but it was a small team including Watanabe Tesshin渡邊哲信

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p.18.

(1874-1957), Takeda Tokusho 武田篤初 (1847-1905), Sakurai Gichō 櫻井義肇 (1868-1926) and Uehara Yoshitarō (joined the group in Singapore) who would accompany him to London. The group travelled through the following ports until they reached India where they stayed for a while: Nagasaki (Dec.6); Shanghai (Dec.7); Hong Kong (Dec.13); Singapore (Dec.17); Colombo (Dec. 23); Ceylon (Jan.1, 1900); then to Bombay (Jan.17). In India they stayed for about a month visiting ancient Buddhist sites including Gaya, the birthplace of Buddha. Then they left India and reached Egypt in mid-February. After staying in Cairo and doing some sightseeing (mosques and pyramids), they crossed the Mediterranean to Naples from Port Said and visited the Capri Island, and Pompei before reaching Rome where he stayed until Mar.15 . Finally on 19 Mar. 1900 in the afternoon he arrived at his destination, London. <sup>119</sup>

In England he was supposed to study English and inspect religious institutions. In fact, a biographical book written in 1910 during his

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<sup>119</sup> Katayama Akio, Ōtani Kōzui no Ōshū Ryūgaku (Kozui Otani on the Way to Europe), *Tōkai Daigaku Kiyō Bungaku Journal*, no.76 (2001), pp.175-194. The article contains a day to day account of this journey from Kobe to London and a detailed discussion of contemporary reports.

abbacy, gives hints about the expectations if not the exact reality.

Within these three years [in London] he mainly studied the relations between church and state. In addition to it, he also inspected the practices in organizations like prisons, convict children's care facilities, orphanages, nurseries and facilities for elderly people....<sup>120</sup>

London at the turn of the century was one of the liveliest cities in the world. Rich cultural and scholarly activities were attracting men-of-letters from everywhere. Discoverers, scientists, writers, poets, artists, as well as religionists and philosophers were all flocking into the city. Many learned societies but especially the Royal Geographic Society were enhancing this atmosphere by their enterprises and public conferences. Knowledge from all corners of the globe was flowing with a breathtaking speed. It was impossible for a person like Kōzui to keep away from those activities and concentrate solely on his language studies.

Since he had received English lessons from the translator of the Imperial Navy Ishii Kiitsu 石井其一 during his Gakushūin years in Tokyo, he managed to perfect his linguistic capability within a few months. Having good command of the language allowed him to

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<sup>120</sup> Hirota Shirō, *Hōshū Ōtani Kōzui Shōnin-den* (The Life of Patriarch Ōtani Kōzui), (Kyoto: Kokkōkan, 1910), p.44.

participate in the meetings and seminars. He was naturally attracted to geographic discoveries made and the stories told by adventurous explorers. He was mesmerized by the variety and the content of publications he could easily reach in the bookstores and libraries.

Inspired by the stories of explorers of the Arctic Zone like William Edward Parry (1790-1855), Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832-1901), Otto Martin Torell (1828-1900), Alfred Gabriel Nathorst (1850-1921) and Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930), he started planning an expedition to the North Pole. Already in July, 1900 Kōzui was in Spitzbergen, the westernmost part of the Svalbard archipelago of Norway, bordering the Arctic Ocean, the Greenland Sea and the Norwegian Sea. In one of the coldest and hostile environment to human beings he had found a new challenge for himself. He spent more than a month in the Arctic Zone.<sup>121</sup>

In September, Kōzui went to Paris and met the Indologist Sylvain Levi (1863-1935) and the Sinologist Edouard Chavannes

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<sup>121</sup> Katayama Akio, Ōtani Kōzui-shi no Hokkyokuken Ryokō (The Journey of Master Ōtani Kōzui to the Arctic Zone), *Tōyōshien*, no.50-51 (Jan.1998), pp. 46-66.

(1865-1918)<sup>122</sup> the famous scholars who had received students sent by Honganji to study Sanskrit and history under their tutelage. Before the year ended, he made other excursions to Holland, Switzerland and a second travel to France.<sup>123</sup> Aside from his short travels to Berlin and Montreux in January, and a tour in July to Istanbul via Vienna and Budapest, visiting Sweden<sup>124</sup> and Norway on the way back to England, 1901 was generally a quiet year. Then in 1902 he started his preparations for an expedition into Central Asia and India, an enterprise that would last until 1914 and leave its stamp on his life. The First Ōtani Expedition, as it would later be called, was to serve both Kōzui's insatiable desire to discover and his duty as a Buddhist priest to do pilgrimage to the sacred sites of his faith.

By becoming the first Japanese member of the Royal Geographic Society, he had entered into a new network of people interested in the

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<sup>122</sup> Edouard Chavannes is also an important scholar in Turkic history. He had worked on the Eastern Turks during the Tang dynasty. See: Edouard Chavannes , *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* , (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1900).

<sup>123</sup> Nenpu, p.20.

<sup>124</sup> Met the famous Swedish explorer Sven Hedin (1865-1952). *The Anglo-Japanese Gazette*, 15 Sep.1902.

subject.<sup>125</sup> On May 3, he went to White Island and discussed the details of his plan his friend John Milne (1850- 1913) in his Earthquake Observation Center. (Appendix. Fig.35) On Aug.15 he left London and headed towards St. Petersburg where the expedition was to start. A news from a contemporary newspaper contains interesting information about Kōzui and his teammates in England more than the expedition itself.

#### Japanese Exploration in Central Asia

A correspondent writes: “Japan gives frequent instances nowadays of her desire to ascertain the truth in all things. One of the most interesting of these is the archeological expedition which has just left for Central Asia under the management of Count Otani Kozui and M. Watanabe Tetsushin, both members of the Japan Society. Count Otani is also a member of the Royal Geographical Society. The purpose of the expedition is to search for the Buddhistic reamins in Central Asia, India, and China, and to trace as far as is possible the course of Buddhism from its source northwards and eastwards to Japan. The members of the party, seven in number, are all Japanese. Count Otani’s father, Otani Koson, now living in Kyoto, is Lord Abbot of Nishi Hon-gwan-ji, the monastery of the ‘Original Vow,’ and a direct descendant of Shinran, the richest founder of the Shin Shin sect, who lived in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Count Otani Kozui has been an extensive traveller, and was elected a member of the Royal Geographic Society because of his explorations in China. His father sent him to

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<sup>125</sup> Royal Geographic Society, Meetings of the Royal Geographic Society, Session 1901-1902, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol.20, No.1Jul.,1902), pp.113-118. [ Kōzui is listed among the participants of the Annual Dinner held after the anniversary meeting of members on 16 May, 1902.]

Jerusalem to study Christianity and Mahomedanism, and on his own initiative he visited Iceland and spent the best part of a year in the Arctic circle. He is an enthusiastic student of Sanskrit, and ancient Chinese and has done much original work in the Oriental room of the British Museum. All the members of the expedition have been preparing for this work for several years. M.Watanabe Tetsushin has been studying Church history with a priest of the Church of England, and has paid particular attention to the Nestorians who wandered from Constantinople off into Asia in the fifth century. He lived in St. Petersburg one year and speaks Russian fluently. M.Hori Matsuo, who will look after the surveys and the map-making, has been studying topography in Oxford. M. Inongo Koen, a veteran of the Chino-Japanese war, in which it will be remembered the Japanese showed wonderful ability in matters of transport, will have charge of the *impedimenta*. M.Fujii Sensho, Ph.D., is well versed in Chinese and Japanese Buddhistic literature. He has been studying Sanskrit in Berlin and Paris, and has already been several times to India. Though the amount of money that Nishi Hon-gwan-ji can put at their disposal is practically unlimited, M. Watanabe does not expect the cost to be excessive.”<sup>126</sup>

The expedition was indeed going on successfully and Kōzui was quite happy with the results of his tiresome travels in unknown territories. It was like he had finally found the reason for his existence. He was exploring, discovering and collecting invaluable manuscripts and artistic objects, most of which were related to the history of his religion. But his enterprise would come to an abrupt end on 18 Jan.

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<sup>126</sup> *The Times* dated 11 Sep., 1902. Quoted in Katayama Akio, *1902 nen 8 gatsu, Ōtani Tankentai no London Shuppatsu* (Kozui Otani's Central Asian Expedition from London, Aug.1902), Tōkai Daigaku Kiyō, no.75 (Oct.2001), pp. 1-20.

1903, when with the death of his father, he received a telegram from the temple to immediately return back to Kyoto and resume the responsibilities of chief-abbacy. Yet another phase in his life was beginning.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE PATRIARCH

Assuming the hereditary title of “*Monshu*” 門主 (Master of the Gate) meant Kōzui would become the institutional and spiritual leader of a community of around 10 million “*Montō*” 門徒 (Followers of the Gate/ Believers), a network of around 10,000 branch (*Betsuin*) and affiliate temples (*Matsuji*) located in all corners of the country, and a colossal administrative organization of around 10,000 monks and priests. In addition to his rather worldly duties to govern this massive network, Kōzui would also be declared as the “*Hōshu*” 法主 (Master of the Law) of the Honpa Honganji denomination of Jōdo Shinshū sect which meant that he would have the responsibility to lead his community to spiritual salvation and guide them on their way to Jōdo, the Pure Land of Buddhahood. Thus when enthroned Ōtani Kōzui was to become a sort of a king who commands both the mundane and

spiritual lives of his followers, just like his ancestors had been doing for hundreds of years.

### Kōzui Enthroned

Well aware of these heavy responsibilities, Kōzui entered into the Honganji on 13 Mar. 1903. The same day he was informed that the Emperor Meiji had given him the right to use chrysanthemum mark on his garments, a privilege for the members of the dynasty. The Emperor was saluting Kōzui's return in his own ways. Within the following few days he performed funeral services for his father. Then on Mar. 25, he made his first speech as the new chief- abbot and patriarch to a crowd of priests and believers gathered in the main hall of the temple. In his speech he emphasized the importance of unity of the people's hearts in faith (*shinjin* 信心) and also everyone's duty to help their homeland to be in peace.<sup>1</sup> Then he was invited to the imperial palace in Tokyo and received by the Emperor for two days on Apr.1 and 2. Kōzui's stories from distant parts of the world must have

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<sup>1</sup> Nenpu, p.27

impressed him.<sup>2</sup>

Exactly a month later, Kyoto was witnessing one of the biggest spectacles in its history. Kōzui, surrounded by thousands of priests and lay believers proceeded to the grave of his late father at Ōtani cemetery. The procession was designed in order to show the power of the Temple, and as an occasion for the people to see and celebrate the new monshū of Honganji. The celebrations which continued for about a week; an exhibition of artifacts and photos from India was held; Kōzui and his wife Kazuko watched Noh and paid visits to the citizens of Kyoto together. He was like a king enthroned, walking among his subject with his queen.

Shirasu Jōshin indeed likens the administrative system of Western Honganji to a kingdom.<sup>3</sup> According to his analysis the organizational structure of Honganji at the time Kōzui's "enthronement" had all the parallels with a monarchic state system. The *Hōshu* 法主 (Patriarch/ lit. Master of the Law) was like a king having the final say on temple

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.28.

<sup>3</sup> Shirasu Jōshin, Ōtani Kōzui no Ōshū Ryūgaku, *Honganji Shiryō Kenkyūsho-hō*, No.14 (Oct.1995), pp.1-16.

affairs, and represent the symbolic unity of community with religion.

The administration concerning daily affairs of the temple were handled by a *Naikyoku* 内局 (Administrative Council/ lit. Inner Department) functioning like a cabinet of ministers at the state level. Head of *naikyoku* was *Shugyōchō* 執行長 (Chief Executive Director / Chief Administrative Officer) working like a Prime Minister while the cabinet members thus ministers were the heads of three departments: *Hōshikyoku* 奉仕局 (Department of Ministerial Services), *Kyōgakukyoku* 教学局 (Department of Religious Education), and *Seiryoku* 整理局 (Department of Order), each having sub-offices for their related functions. The sub-offices were: *Naikyoku*: *Hōmotsu-bu* 法物部 (Office for Provision of Religious Items to sub-temples), *Sūmitsu-bu* 枢密部 (Office of Communication/ lit. Office of Important Secrets), *Banji-bu* 審事部 (Office of Inspections); *Hōshikyoku*: *Hōshiki-bu* 法式部 (Office of Rites), *Shitsunai-bu* 室内部 (Office of Inner Affairs); *Kyōgakukyoku*: *Fukyō-bu* 布教部 (Office of Missions), *Kōgaku-bu* 興学部 (Office of School Construction); *Seiryoku*: *Teirei-ka* 定例科 (Section of Traditions), *Zaimu-ka* (Treasury Section).

Just like the constitution of a state, all the administrative system of Honganji worked in accordance with and complied to the rules designated in the *Jihō* 寺法 (Temple Laws) which could be promulgated or amended by the assembly of priests, the *Shūkai* 集会 (The Assembly) like a parliament.

Honganji's organization as a model for both religious and official institutions of Japanese modernization period was perfected by Myōnyo's tireless efforts to reform the Temple following the dire times of persecution era of early Meiji. This system combined with the scale of the popular basis on top of which Kōzui was now standing, there are all the reasons to regard him as a "king" in his own right.

The famous journalist and Kōzui's closest friend Tokutomi Sohō (so close that his last published monograph was on the life of Kōzui) gives important information for locating his position within the Japanese society.

Nishi Honganji had social, political, religious power... The Buddhist population of Japan at the time of Kozui's abbacy was around 49 million while the number of Shinshū temples was 19,636. The number of temple abbots was 14,909, and number of believers 13,400,000. Therefore Shinshū believers covered a quarter of total Buddhists in Japan.... Furthermore,

there were 10 different denominations within Shinshū and (within that total number of 14.900 priests) the number of Nishi Honganji priests was 8.500 while Higashi Honganji had more than 6.000 priests [Rest -around 400- was distributed among 8 other denominations] . Thus Nishi Honganji was the largest group within Shinshū which in turn makes it the largest group within religious communities [in Japan]...<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, Sohō adds that Western Honganji's annual income of more than 100.000 *koku*<sup>5</sup> (an amount said to be more than the annual income of the city of Kyoto as a whole) was basically left untouched by the Meiji regime since unlike other institutions, its income was coming from a large popular base throughout the country.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to this popular support Western Honganji was the wealthiest religious institution in Japan, and a "kingdom within a kingdom".

Power has its cost. Soon Kōzui and his vast organization would be called for duty.

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<sup>4</sup> Tokutomi Sohō, *Ōtani Kōzui-shi no Shōgai* (The life of Master Ōtani Kōzui), (Tokyo: Ōtani Kōzui Geika Kinenkai [Society for His Holiness Ōtani Kōzui's Memory], 1956), p.24.

<sup>5</sup> *Koku*: 石 Japanese traditional unit of volume. Originally it was calculated as the total amount of rice a man needs annually. In 1891, 1 *koku* equalled to 180.39lt. There were domains which had 10.000 *koku* of annual income.

<sup>6</sup> Sohō, *Ōtani Kōzui*, p.25.

## Helping the War Effort During Russo-Japanese War Years

Nationalism had found itself a fertile ground in Japan.<sup>7</sup> Isolated for centuries and shaped by the nativist ideas of *Kokugaku* (National studies), the Japanese response to the foreign intruders was “Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarian” movement which in turn had led to the overthrow of Tokugawa regime and the start of Meiji Restoration. Realising the great gap between their samurai pride and the invincibly superior firepower of the Western powers, the masterminds of the new regime gradually adapted a “Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Army” policy. Based on a thorough imitation (or adaption) of western ways from bureaucratic institutions to armament and to negotiation techniques on the treaty tables, as of 1895 with the victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan had succeeded to elevate itself from the position of “yet another Asian nation” to a regional power in the eyes of those Western powers. Before the outbreak of hostilities with Qing China, it had also

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<sup>7</sup> Mark E. Lincicome, Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.58, No.2 (May, 1999),pp.338-360.

managed to renew the unequal treaties signed by the old regime and attain “equality”, a status which it desperately wanted. Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤 諭吉 (1835-1901), the famous advocate of “*Datsu-a ron*” (Thesis of Abandoning Asia) was describing the Sino-Japanese War as “a war between civilization and barbarism” in an attempt to dissect Japan from the rest of Asia.<sup>8</sup> The first proof of this new status was the acceptance of Japanese participation into the eight-nations alliance (Britain, U.S., Russia, British India, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Japan) formed to put down the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900.<sup>9</sup> Like Fukuzawa, many in the governing elite saw this great leap as the result of rapid modernization and stressing of Japanese uniqueness.

On the other hand, global geopolitical developments were favoring Japan, too. The steady expansion of Russian Empire towards the East had triggered a rivalry with Britain which was irritated with the possibility of Russian interference in India. The tension had been gradually increasing since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and evolving into

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<sup>8</sup> Saya Makito (Translated by David Noble), *The Sino-Japanese War – and the Birth of Japanese Nationalism*, (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2011), p.41.

<sup>9</sup> Edward J. Drea, *Japan’s Imperial Army: Its Rise and Fall, 1853-1945*, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2009), pp.97-100

what is called “the Great Game”. Thus, the sympathetic attitude towards Japan on the side of the British had its own reasons. Furthermore, the commencement of the Trans-Siberian Railway connecting St Petersburg with Vladivostok in 1891 was not helping to ease the British fears of aggressive Russian expansion.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, the vivid memory of the Triple Intervention led by Russia after the Treaty of Shimonoseki ending the Sino-Japanese War had stripped Japan off its main gains in Liaodong Peninsula and caused discontent in the populace.<sup>11</sup> The Japanese had experienced an after-shock by finding out that the Russian troops were moving in the areas including the strategically important Port Arthur, they had forced Japan to evacuate. This act had added to the distrust of the Japanese to Tsar Nicholas II (1868-1918; regnavit. 1894-1917) , who in 1891 was attacked and slightly wounded by an angry renegade during his visit to Japan as the crown-prince of Russia (The Ōtsu Incident). As of 1902, the Trans-Siberian Railway project was on the verge of completion

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<sup>10</sup> For the geo-political importance of Trans-Siberian Railway see: Felix Patrikeef, Harold Shukman, *Railways and the Russo-Japanese War - Transporting War* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Saya, *The Sino-japanese War*, pp.155-157.

and Russia seemed reluctant to sign a treaty that would relieve Japanese concerns. The circumstances were bringing Britain and Japan closer. On 30 Jan.1902, the British-Japanese Alliance was struck in London.

Although not willing to go into war with a mighty enemy like Russia, the Japanese general staff had begun planning its tactics as early as 1900. The strong Russian Pacific Fleet was the first target while speedy amphibious operations were to follow. If possible, they wanted to finish the battle before reinforcements via the Trans-Siberian Railway could arrive.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, until Feb.1904 Japan did try to negotiate an agreement with Russia on the condition that Korea would be left under Japanese influence, but it did not work out. Hence on Feb.8, the Japanese Navy leaving the rest of the world in bewilderment (including the Tsar who thought there would be war only if he wished it), started the war by bombarding and blockading the Russian Pacific Fleet caught defenseless within the Port Arthur harbour. Even the famous Baltic Fleet would perish at the

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<sup>12</sup> For tactical preparations see: Drea, *Japan's Imperial Army*, pp.100-104.

hands of Japanese navy commanded by Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō東郷平八郎(1848 – 1934) ,<sup>13</sup> and the war would last for more than one and a half years until the Treaty of Portsmouth confirming Japanese victory was signed by the mediation of U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt on 5 Sep.1905.<sup>14</sup> Japan now had gained the exclusive right to control Korea and southern Manchuria together with all the privileges Russia enjoyed on and along the railway line it was constructing. Bringing such a super power to its knees was indeed a great accomplishment and it was saluted by many all around the world but soon it would be clear that it was not enough to be accepted into the Western Club.

As Naoko Shimazu states, the Japanese were getting more and more aware of “the seemingly unbridgeable racial gap between themselves and the other great powers”.<sup>15</sup> Japan had suddenly found itself regarded as a threat for the colonial interests of Western nations.

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<sup>13</sup> Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.516. A detailed account of the war can be found in Drea, *Japan's Imperial Army*, pp.97-124.

<sup>14</sup> *The New York Times*, 17 Oct. 1905. A full text of the treaty is given in the news.

<sup>15</sup> Rotem Kowner, “The war as a turning point in Japanese history”, In *The Impact of the Russo-Japanese War*, edited by R.Kowner, (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp.29-46.

It was not very welcome by the Chinese or Koreans either. Just before he was assassinated in Korea, Itō Hirobumi would write that “never before had Japan been so isolated politically”.<sup>16</sup> In search for a Japanese identity, along with nationalism, a new current of thought, “Asianism” positioning Japanese nation along fellow Asians as opposed to Fukuzawa’s proposal to abandon Asia, was beginning to gain grounds among intellectuals. (The issue of Asianism will be focused in a separate section.)

On the other hand, the Japanese society had embraced the victory with a burst of patriotism and increasing self-confidence. All the opposition was left aside for the duration of the war and the whole society –at least seemingly- had united for the national cause. Self-sacrifice and contribution to the war effort at all levels was considered as a duty for the Emperor and the nation.<sup>17</sup> Western Hanganji was not an exception or rather, it was one of the major promoters of the notion “unity of the state with the nation”. Under the

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. (Kowner, *The war*).

<sup>17</sup> For an extensive discussion on the reaction of Japanese society to the Russo-Japanese war see: Naoko Shimazu, *Japanese Society at War: Death, Memory and the Russo Japanese War*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

leadership of Kōzui, Honganji was becoming the main supplier of morale for both the troops on the battlefield and their families at home.

Once again, Kōzui was fast to act and respond to changing conditions. In January 1904, having read the signs of increasing tension, he had already established a temporary Emergency Bureau within the Temple. He immediately sent monks to Beijing and Dalian, a monk to Nagoya Division, his brother Sonyū 尊由(1886-1930) to Hiroshima army headquarters, and the other brother to Kanazawa Division.<sup>18</sup> He himself was working for long hours, on how to respond in case a large-scale war commenced. On Feb.2, a day before the Japanese assault on Port Arthur, he was received by the Emperor in person.<sup>19</sup> Unlike their previous meetings, this call from the Emperor had an extraordinary nature because he had entered directly to imperial audience without taking normal procedural steps of a visit which included short visits to the high officials of Imperial Household Agency. He was also asked to bring his wife Kazuko along. Obviously,

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<sup>18</sup> Nenpu, p. 31.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

while the two sisters, Sadako (now the wife of the crown prince) and Kazuko spent time together, Kōzui was informed by the Emperor on Japan's declaration of war to Russia the next day, and was asked about his preparations. Kōzui must have expressed his determination to mobilize his resources for the protection of his homeland by using all in his power. Which he did with great enthusiasm and energy during the whole course of Russo-Japanese War and after. On 11 Feb.1904, he addressed his followers and his speech was published in *Kyōkai Ichiran* (Honganji's widely distributed bulletin) on Feb. 25. In his speech he was warning of the hardships lying in front of the country and describing how a Buddhist, soldier or lay, should respond to the call of duty:

You are fortunate to be in the military ranks now, as this is a fine opportunity to serve the lord [the emperor] and the country with one's death, and leave fame for one thousand years to come. Throughout one's lifetime of some fifty years, some will not be able to avoid death, and when the time comes, there is nothing better than to die. Your situation today is enviable. When the time comes to be mobilised, advance without a thought of returning alive, whether you return alive triumphant or die as a corpse strewn in the field, your glory will remain beyond death.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Shimazu, *Japanese Society*, p.95

He soon started showing his organizational talents. First thing he did was to establish 20 branch-offices and 800 liason offices throughout the country.<sup>21</sup> The activities of those offices were directed and coordinated by the Emergency Bureau headquarters at the main temple. Next he delegated priests to the army units as chaplains for the pastoral care of the soldiers. The priests would console and motivate, perform ceremonies like initiation (*Kikyōshiki*), offer funeral services, and sermons. They were called “*Jūgun Fukyō-shi*” that is “the Embedded Missionaries” and they were no different than the chaplains in contemporary Western armies. Until mid-February Nishi Honganji “chaplain” sent by Kōzui to the garrisons had already performed large scale ceremonies at 32 different occasions. Until June, 93 priests were “embedded” in their respective units and the number would soon reach 113, all sent off to the battlefield in Manchuria under the leadership of Sonjū (younger brother of Kōzui). The Honganji priests were living and sharing the hardships with the troops in their camps.

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<sup>21</sup> Nenpu, p.31

After seeing that his network was working smoothly , Kōzui started travelling among the garrisons and performing ceremonies just as he had done during the 1894-95 Sino-Japanese war. He blessed tens of thousands of officers and soldiers waiting to be despatched to the battlefield. He arranged donation gathering activities and raised large sums of money via sales of temple bonds to be used for caring of orphans and bereaved families. In August 1904, he even personally went to see the conditions of the soldiers at Mukden, one of the main theatres of the war in Manchuria.<sup>22</sup>

His wife, Kazuko was active too. She sent a number of letters to the wives of the branch-temple abbots in the country, appealing them to contribute to the relief efforts.<sup>23</sup> Like her husband, she was also travelling around the country, talking to women and trying to raise their consciousness on the hardships suffered by the soldiers on the frontline. In November, she started publishing “*Fujin*” (Lady) magazine for the women. She helped the establishment of a war orphan hospital and sending of gifts to the prisoners of war held in

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<sup>22</sup> Nenpu, p.33.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p.32. Also Shimazu, *Japanese Society*, p.96.

Russia.<sup>24</sup>

Until the end of the war, Honganji under the leadership of Kōzui had distributed 440,232 amulets, 780,328 booklets; raised 829,000Yen via bonds; sent 12,533Yen to the families of chaplains; despatched 265 chaplains (122 for reserves, 105 on the battle front, 8 for translation, 30 for hospitals); sent 91,776 booklets to the field hospitals (titles like “Soothing body and heart”, “The Godly Power of Immortality”, or “Mirror of the Heart” ). In addition, Kōzui himself had performed *kikyōshiki* ceremonies at 40 bases, distributed 888,370 amulets, and given Buddhist names to 499,337 soldiers and officers. The Honganji priests on the field had distributed 305,000 postcards to the soldiers in order for them to write to their families.<sup>25</sup> The total amount of money used until the end of 1905 to support the Emergency Bureau had reached 814,356Yen. <sup>26</sup>

Kōzui’s tireless efforts for the national cause had heightened his image among the people to the level of a half-god, or as Ronald

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<sup>24</sup> Shimazu, *Japanese Society*, p.96.

<sup>25</sup> Nenpu, 35-37.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

Anderson rightly put it, he had “become a star actor stimulating the whole country to support the war”.<sup>27</sup> A few years later, 18 Mar.1907, Chūgai Nippo, a Buddhist newspaper would write:

The Nishi Honganji service in the war was extremely remarkable. Kozui, leader of Nishi Honganji devoted his whole energy to the affairs of our nation. His hostility against our enemy, based on loyalty and justice caused tremendous admiration and respect among the people. If the Nishi Honganji temple had not existed in Japan, it would be doubtful if the Japanese Buddhists could have gained honour in the Russo-Japanese war.<sup>28</sup>

Thus his services were appreciated by a large public. Emperor Meiji was not an exception. As a sign of his gratitude and recognition of his efforts, the Emperor granted a silver medal (October 1905), and issued an Imperial Rescript (13 May, 1907) to honour Kōzui.<sup>29</sup>

The Russo-Japanese War for Kōzui ended only when he performed a two day memorial event for the war dead at the main hall of Honganji. The ceremony was held on 25-26 Apr.1906 with the participation of 2,643 family members of the fallen, and 22,500

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<sup>27</sup> Ronald Stone Anderson, *Nishi Honganji and Japanese Buddhist Nationalism, 1862-1945*, p.86.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p.87.

<sup>29</sup> Anderson, p.88. [Anderson had mistakenly taken this date to be May, 1912. *Nenpu*, p.44 gives the exact date with the text of the edict.]

ordinary people.<sup>30</sup>

### Journeys with Kazuko (1906-1910)

Then in June, after giving necessary orders for the preparation of large-scale Six hundred fiftieth commemoration event for Master Shinran, the founder of the sect, with Kazuko he left Kyoto for a trip to Eastern Russia. The itinerary of their one-month trip was :  
Hokkaido- Vladimiroka- Garky- Dobky- Nayputi- Nayoro- Vatspen island - Nayoro- Manuy- Kusunnay- Mafka- Korsakof (established a branch-office of Honganji here).

After a brief stay back at Kyoto, they once again left, and departed Kobe on Sep.27 for a journey to China.<sup>31</sup> Although the initial plan was to return until the end of the year, Kōzui preferred to extend this holiday to do more research in Xi'an 西安 and other parts of China. Hence, the couple was away from the temple for more than seven months until 4 May 1907. Following their arrival, responding to an invitation from the Imperial Household Agency they went to Tokyo

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<sup>30</sup> Nenpu, p.40.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p.41

where Kōzui was granted by the Emperor the edict mentioned above.

In August, he surprised his followers by announcing his brother Sonjū to be his successor. Possibly, by now he had understood that he might not have a son to declare as his heir.<sup>32</sup>

Gradually he started to spend more time with his ambitious construction project Nirakusō (The Villa of Two Joys) on Mt. Rokkō at Ashiya town. The pioneering eclectic architecture which he personally designed was becoming his safe haven from the busy life of a *monshū*. As Nirakusō will be dealt separately in another section it will suffice here to say that he had planned the building as an educational complex where a new generation of highly educated Buddhist priests would be educated under his own tutelage. It was his “The Pure Land”, the paradise in his faith, the place for peace and tranquility. Finally, in Sep. 1908 the construction was over and with Kazuko he began staying there whenever he could find time. Nirakusō was like a substitute for his insatiable appetite for travel and exploration. He brought all the manuscripts and artifacts from the expeditions, stored

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p.45

them within the complex. In the meantime, the expeditions were still continuing and new material was flowing in. On Dec. 2, he hosted the famous discoverer of Central Asia, Sven Hedin in the Honzan.<sup>33</sup>

(Appendix. Fig.36) They talked about their findings and new plans.

Sir Aurel Stein had just found the famous Cave No.7 in the Dunhuang monastery, Western China. It was a groundbreaking news for the global academia. No doubt, Kōzui was planning to focus on the area, too and he wanted to consult with Hedin.

For the next few months, everything was too orderly and too routine for Kōzui. His escapes to Nirakusō were increasing in number but his soul was still restless. In Apr. 1909, he was troubled with insomnia and mental exhaustion and in December, he decided he could not bear to stay still anymore. On Dec.24, with Kazuko he was once again on board a ship leaving Kobe port. Their destination was India.<sup>34</sup> After visiting Buddhist sites and meeting with Zuichō

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p.49.

<sup>34</sup> Itinerary for India trip(Dec.1909-Jan.1910): (P.O. Lines/ Ship:Oriental) Shanghai-Hong Kong - Penan - Colombo - Moubai -Tonga -Rawalpindi- Paramra- Srinagar - Sermu River- Ural Lake-Srinagar - Lake Dal- Jamna River (in House-boat)- Head for Sind - Sonamarg - Islamabad - Sonamarg (meet with Zuicho Tachibana & Nomura Eizaburo) - Islamabad -Srinagar - Rawalpindi- Peshawar- Delhi- Agra- Calcutta (via Ratskuno)-Darjeling- Calcutta -Gaya- Bihar- Bukhabur-

Tachibana and Nomura Eizaburō who came from Central Asia, in late January Kōzui decided to go forward to Europe instead of returning to Japan. The couple then continued to Suez (stayed more than a month) – Palestine – Jerusalem – Cairo – Athens – Naples – (via the coastal road) Rome and finally reaching London. They stayed until August travelling around in England and Scotland. On Aug.20 Kōzui left for Japan via the usual sea-road but Kazuko chose to go through the northern-road crossing Russia. She arrived at Kyoto on Oct. 1 while Kōzui on the sixth.<sup>35</sup> As if there was a secret agreement between the two, on Oct. 18, he was at the Imperial Palace in audience with the Emperor Meiji.

On 23 Jan.1911, an unexpected tragedy struck Kōzui: His beloved wife Kazuko died suddenly at the age of 31. The cause of her death is not clear but possibly due to a disease she contracted during her long travel through the continent or extreme weariness due to her busy

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Calcutta- Rawalpindi- Peshawar- Lahor- Anpala -Simla - Delhi- Ragra - Rakno- Benares- Arabat - Gaya - Patna- Naranda - Mt. Souna - Guryak village- Gaya - Calcutta- Bombay- Ajanta- Bombay [Ibid.,p.51-57]

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.,p.57

schedule, her health had deteriorated quickly in her final days.<sup>36</sup> Her untimely death had left a vast vacuum in his soul. Her loss was the first of a series of events leading to his downfall. Kōzui was on the edge of a cliff, and on the verge of a freefall.

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<sup>36</sup> Kazuko Fujin, *Honganji Urakata Ōtani Kazuko* (Ōtani Kazuko The Lady of Honganji), (Osaka: Hōjunsha, 1911), p.134

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE FREE-FALL AND REASCENSION

The era which started with the death of the Emperor Meiji and the enthronement of the Emperor Taishō and ended with his death in 1926, is the “Taishō Period” in Japanese history. During this period (1912-1926), Japan witnessed a shift of power from the oligarchs of Meiji to the Imperial Diet, thus from the Satsuma and Chōshū ex-samurai initiators of the Meiji Restoration, the “Satchō Clique” (*Hanbatsu*) to other leaders who rose via democratic elections. That’s why the period between the end of World War I to the end of Taishō, is also called “The Taishō Democracy”. The oligarch had secured themselves a privileged position in the extraconstitutional *genrō* institution, and tried hard to install their protégés in order to continue their influence on the politics nevertheless they could not stop the transition of power to the people.

With the eruption of the World War, Japan used the opportunity to capture the German leased territories in China by declaring war against Germany on 23 Aug.1914. At the end of the War, Japan also managed to have the victorious world powers recognize its extensive acquisitions in China and consolidated its gains via mutual agreements. Thus, it was an era of overseas expansion and domestic change for Japan.

The Shōwa Period (1926- 1989) until the end of the Second World War in 1945, on the other hand , was a period of increasing militarism and shrinking democracy. Throughout this period, not unlike the other countries in the world, etatism and nationalism rose, the continuous interference of the Armed forces into politics finally led Japan into a total war with the Allied Powers and to defeat and destruction. All these developments would have their impact on the life of Ōtani Kōzui.

### Ascending to the Peak

In 1911, just before the events began unfolding Kōzui reached a peak:

The Six hundred fiftieth Commemoration of Shinran. The whole temple for a few years now, was working on the most important event of the sect. All kinds of detailed plans were prepared, buildings were renewed, assistants were trained, announcements were already sent to the local temples. At the time of Kazuko's death, Honganji was almost ready for the big event. So many Shin Buddhist followers were expected to flock into the city to participate in the ceremonies that, in collaboration with the city of Kyoto, a special tramline was drawn from the central station to the temple.<sup>1</sup> Calculating the safety and capacity problems that might occur, the planners had decided to divide the activities into two parts. Therefore the Commemoration was to be held twice on 26 Mar. and 8 Apr., 1911 (for 5 days each). The figures clearly show the scale of Kōzui's organizational skills and the capabilities of the temple administration. Within ten days, the temple hosted more than 1 million people and held *kikyōshiki* ceremonies for about 130 thousand.<sup>2</sup> (Appendix. Fig. 37, Fig. 38)

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<sup>1</sup> Sugimori Hisahide, *Ōtani Kōzui*, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōrōnsha, 1975), p.188.

<sup>2</sup> *Nenpu*, pp. 60-61 [A total of 1,007,440 people had participated in the ceremonies (575,824 in the first and 431,616 in the second half), while 128,521 people had received *kikyōshiki* (74,592 in the first and 53,929 in the second half) ]

By all means it was a tremendous success. It was too big a popular event for the politicians to ignore. Hence, Prime Minister Katsura Tarō 桂 太郎(1848-1913) and Minister of Communication Gotō Shimpei 後藤 新平(1857-1929) honoured the occasion by participating and praying in the ceremony at the opening day of the second phase on 8 April.<sup>3</sup>

After the whole thing was over, Kōzui started to devote most of his time to Nirakusō. In May, he opened a secondary school (*Mukō Chugaku*) for the children of temple abbots. He personally gave examinations and selected 191 students out of 396 applicants.<sup>4</sup> He was teaching most of the lessons himself in accordance with a curriculum he had designed. It was as if he was trying to create the ideal school he never had the chance to attend. He was so occupied with the affairs of Nirakusō that he seldomly showed up in the main temple. People back at Kyoto were concerned about his absence and lengthened stays at Ashiya.

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<sup>3</sup> Nenpu, p.60. [Both figures had close relations with Tokutomi Sohō, Kōzui's life-long friend and confidant.]

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.62

In order to comfort the people who were worried and curious about the mysterious Nirakusō, he opened it to public in November. Within two days 97,000 people visited the site.<sup>5</sup> In Feb.1912, he was invited by the Imperial Diet to give a conference at the Kazokuin Hall (House of Peers) in Tokyo. In this unprecedented conference given by a religionist to politicians, almost all members of the two wings of the Diet (654 from The House of Peers; 103 from the House of Representatives and 24 from the government) were present.<sup>6</sup> By now, Ōtani Kōzui was highly esteemed by almost everyone in Japan, from laymen to the members of the cabinet, as well as the Emperor.

### The Free-fall

In late July, he received the news that Emperor Meiji was ill. From July 27 until the Emperor passed away on July 30, he was right at the side of the Emperor's deathbed, praying for his recovery. In the Emperor's person, Kōzui had lost both a friend with whom he could share the stories of each time he returned from his travels, and a

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.63.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.,p.65.

protector who had always appreciated and supported his efforts.

The funeral for the Emperor was complete on Sep. 15 and his remains were brought to his tomb in Kyoto, and placed at the Yoneyama imperial burial site.<sup>7</sup> Therefore Kōzui, after participating in the ceremonies held in the three days until the burial, returned to Honganji on Sep. 16.

Just two days later, on Sep. 18, an official investigation on the properties of Ōtani family started.<sup>8</sup> It was claimed that there was a huge deficit in the family's account which meant that as the head of the family he would be held responsible for the resulting debt. This was the first time he ever encountered a problem with money. Not only his, but also his family's reputation since Shinran's times was at stake. Black clouds were gathering and a storm was approaching Kōzui. (Appendix. Fig. 39)

In the coming months, he desperately tried to find a solution to the problem. He gathered the representatives of branch-temples,

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<sup>7</sup> For a full account of the funeral of Meiji see: Teikoku Tosho Fukyūkai, *Meiji Tennō Gotaisōgi Meisairoku* (A Detailed Record of Emperor Meiji's Funeral), (Tokyo: Teikoku Tosho Fukyūkai, 1913).

<sup>8</sup> Nenpu, p.67.

established a committee and a temporary bureau to work on the issue, issued temple-bonds to raise money, but nothing was working well. Somehow all his efforts to fill the hole were proving to be in vain.<sup>9</sup> He was not prepared to deal with figures, so he was frequently going out of Kyoto to visit local temples only to find out the problem had worsened let alone to be solved. In March, he was forced to stop the Chinese language classes in Nirakusō for financial reasons. In April, he had to accept the sale of 675 items from the family's treasury in public auction.<sup>10</sup> Until the end of the year he had to see thousands of his family treasures to be sold out for three more times. In September, he called the Assembly of Priests for an emergency meeting and wanted their help; and in November he was grieved with the news

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<sup>9</sup> Chūgai Shōgyō Shinpo, 29 Jul.1912. [The news titled “*Hatan no Kigyō Ginkō: Seiri Yōi Narazu*” (Kigyō Bank in Bankruptcy: Solution is not easy yet), reveals the connection of the financial trouble with a bank established in 1898 with a contribution from Honganji during Kōzui's father's abbacy. In August, 1913, Kōzui's brother held a press conference and explained that all the necessary steps were taken to solve the issue of Kigyō Ginkō; Osaka Asahi Shimbun, 13 Aug.1912. The issue, still lingering in 1913 was focused by the same newspaper in a serial article “*Kyōto Zaikai no Konogoro:Nishi Honganji Mondai*” (These days in Kyoto's financial world: The Western Honganji Problem) published between May 13-18, 1913 . The article notes that basing their arguments on the recent financial problems, a Reform Faction (*Kaikaku-ha*)within the Temple was pressing for more reforms in the administration; Chūgai Shōgyō Shinpo, 13-15 May, 1913. Another news from Sep.1913, shows the details of new policies including a fourth sale of Ōtani family items, decided during a meeting within the temple; “Osaka Asahi Shimbun, 26 Sep.1913, “*Nishi Honganji Seiri Kaigi*” (Meeting for Tidying Western Honganji)]

<sup>10</sup> Nenpu, p.70.

that Nirakusō was badly hit by a storm. Kōzui's miseries would not end but intensify with the New Year.

In Jan.1914, the temple administration decided to close Nirakusō down and move Mukō Chūgaku, the secondary school he so carefully had created, into temple grounds. This startling decision was a hard blow on the face of Kōzui. His dreams were shattered.

Then in February, yet another financial scandal related with the temple exploded. One of his mentors, the famous reverend Akamatsu Renjō was arrested by the police.<sup>11</sup> Without being able to give meaning to what was happening around him, Kōzui was exhausted and gradually losing his will to fight. In March, he did not object when he was asked by the administration to stay within the temple grounds.<sup>12</sup> As if he was in a house arrest, he started living in a small room in the residential quarter of Honganji. Developments were getting more and more out of his control. For the first time in his life, he was helpless, and alone.

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<sup>11</sup> Yomiuri Shimbun Newspaper, Nishi Honganji Funjō-shi-I (The History of Western Honganji's Troubles-I), 18 Mar 1916.

<sup>12</sup> Nenpu, p.72.

In April, for a brief period he managed to pull himself out of his room and went to visit his sister-in-law Empress Sadako and the Emperor Taishō, who in attempt to raise his morale granted the noble title of fourth degree.<sup>13</sup> Maybe out of a new determination to resist or out of unwillingness, on his return he began refusing to do anything, or perform any task. But as if it was a retaliation against his show of will, the administration declared total abolishment of Mukō Chugaku (the secondary school established in Nirakusō and recently transferred to Kyoto). This new move pushed Kōzui to nervous breakdown.

#### Resignation from Abbacy

On 14 May 1914, tired of falling, he declared his resignation from the chief-abbacy of Western Honganji and the patriarchate of Honpa Honganji denomination of Jōdo Shinshū sect.<sup>14</sup> He also resigned from his right to use his aristocratic titles including “*Hakushaku*”

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. (A Meiji hereditary aristocratic title within the peerage system designed after the British system. The system was used between 1869-1946).

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.,p.73.

(Count).<sup>15</sup> With this unprecedented, unheard of move, he was showing everybody that he could survive as an ordinary person without having any titles. He wished to leave Master Kōzui behind and start a second life.

Until November, clinging to his dreams he stayed all alone in the now abandoned Nirakusō. He was peniless but he did not seem to mind it. Then on Nov.1, he quietly left the building and the next day at the port of Kobe, he was on board a ship heading towards Pusan, Korea, the closest point on the continent to Japan.

### Reascencion: A Second Life in China

There was a great distance between being the host of a million people and the star of a nation, and travelling away from one's homeland, all alone and peniless. All had happened within three years between 1911 and 1914. It is not possible to fully clarify the reasons behind his fall. Had he spent, as some claimed, too much on Central Asian expeditions, or during the Russo-Japanese war effort; or was he

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<sup>15</sup> Sugimori, *Ōtani Kōzui*, pp.280-281.

careless in his expenditures on Nirakusō? Or maybe he was the victim of an inner-temple conspiracy led by the chief-administrator Kagai Myōrō利井明朗 (1832-1918) as Kōmyo and Sonyu, his brothers claimed.<sup>16</sup> It is also possible to speculate that Kōzui was targeted by politicians of the day, who were not amused by his popularity. Especially when the general election in 1912 is considered together with a growing grudge against the now aging Chōshū oligarchs, seeing Prime Minister Katsura Tarō (from the Chōshū clique) with Kōzui in the same picture during a million-people event in Mar.-Apr.1911, might have made him a good target for some. Afterall his fall had started only when Emperor Meiji had passed away and a new era, the “Taishō democracy”, during which the power of the oligarchs would gradually diminish had begun. In any case, as the head of his community he nobly had taken responsibility for the troubles that occurred during those years, and no matter what the real reasons were, there he was, alone, without any plan or money, escaping from

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<sup>16</sup> Yomiuri Shinbun Newspaper, 19 Mar 1916, “*Nishi Honganji Funjō-shi-II*” (The History of Western Honganji’s Troubles-II). [Kagai was born as the heir to the abbacy of a Honganji affiliate temple in Osaka. In 1848, he started working in the head-temple administration in Kyoto. Interestingly, he had established a school in Honshōji temple with his brother. Thus he in theory, he should have shared Kōzui’s ambition for education.

his old self on board a steamer.

In this desperate moment, an old friend Tokutomi Sohō came to his help. The two used to exchange letters and meet whenever they found an opportunity. Sohō was the director of both Kokumin Shinbun (the populist, liberal, nationalist and pro-parliament newspaper) and Keijō Nippō (semi-official newspaper of Japanese Government of Korea) newspapers, and upon receiving the news of Kōzui's departure to Pusan, he promptly sent one of his aides to welcome and assist him during his stay in Korea. A letter in Tokutomi Sohō Museum (Ninomiya Town, Kanagawa) sent right after his arrival at Pusan, shows Kōzui's relief to find someone who was willing to offer him a helping hand.<sup>17</sup> But Sohō did more: He proposed him to write his views and impressions from the places he was planning to go, and promised to publish them in Kokumin Shinbun. This offer possibly included a discreet stipend for Kōzui's expenses, but most of all, it gave him a reason to live. He needed more than anything to know that his ideas were still valued by others.

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<sup>17</sup> Shizuko Takano, *Sohō to Sono Jidai – Yoserareta shokan kara* (Sohō and His Time – From Sent Letters), (Tokyo: Chuōkōron Shinsha, 2002), pp.326-327.

He sent the first letter dated 29 Nov.1914, from Pusan, and it was published in Kokumin Shinbun on Dec.3 . From then on, he continued sending his impressions from places like Korea, Shanghai, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore et al. Kōzui had soon proved himself to be an enthusiastic writer. His letters, a total 48 until Sep. 1915, published in the newspaper were compiled and published by Minyūsha with a title “*Hōrō Manki*” (The Travelogue of Wanderings) in Oct.1916.<sup>18</sup> In the following years, Sohō would continue publishing Kōzui’s books from Minyūsha: “*Gaisei Yogen*” (Prophecies for a World-in-Grief) in 1917<sup>19</sup>, “*Teikoku no Kiki*” (The Crisis of the Empire) in 1919<sup>20</sup>, “*Taisei Gyakkō-ron*” (Theories on Retrogression of Current Trends) in 1920<sup>21</sup>, “*Kiken Shisō-ron*” (Theories on Dangerous Thoughts) in 1921,<sup>22</sup> “*Shina-ron*” (Theories on China) in 1923,<sup>23</sup> “*Taishi Ōbi narabi*

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<sup>18</sup> Takano, Sohō, p.327. Ōtani Kōzui, *Hōrō Manki* (The Travelogue of Wanderings), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1916).

<sup>19</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Gaisei Yogen* (Prophecies for a World-in-Grief), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1917).

<sup>20</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Teikoku no Kiki* (The Crisis of the Empire), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1919).

<sup>21</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Taisei Gyakkō-ron* (Theories on Retrogression of Current Trends), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1920).

<sup>22</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Kiken Shisō-ron* (Theories on Dangerous Thoughts), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1921).

*Kaigai Tōshi-ron*’ (Superficial Anti-China Discussions and a Theory for Overseas Investment) in 1924,<sup>24</sup> “*Takusokudō Manpitsu*” (Notes of Takusokudō<sup>25</sup>) in 1925,<sup>26</sup> and “*Sonshi Shinchū*” (A New Interpretation for Sun Tzu) in 1926.<sup>27</sup>

Writing had provided him a convenient reason for his travels. He spent 1915 wandering around in China, Manchuria, India. Due to his modest budget, most of the times he was staying at Buddhist temples. Then in Jan.1916, he went to the Himalayas and spent seven months at Simla for studying Sanskrit. In mid-August he got ill (*carditis*: Inflammation of the heart muscles) and somehow managed to carry himself to Shanghai where he rented a house and settled in the French Concession. Infact, he had already told about his plans to

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<sup>23</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Shina-ron* (Theories on China), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1923).

<sup>24</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Taishi Ōbi narabi Kaigai Tōshi-ron* (Superficial Anti-China Discussions and a Theory for Overseas Investment), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1924).

<sup>25</sup> Takusokudō: 濯足堂 Name of the house Kōzui lived for a while in Shanghai. (Lit. The House of Washing Feet).

<sup>26</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Takusokudō Manpitsu* (Notes of Takusokudō), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1921).

<sup>27</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Sonshi Shinchū*’ (A New Interpretation for Sun Tzu), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1926)

settle in Shanghai in a letter to Sohō as early as May 1915.<sup>28</sup>

He was getting more and more aware of the importance of money. He had to do something to earn his living. He decided he could make use of his interest and knowledge on plants. He had worked on local plants during his expedition in 1903 and he had constructed a green house within Nirakusō where he grew various vegetables and fruits. In Feb.1917, after receiving a loan from a bank he established a company called “*Ranryō Higashi Indo Nōrin Kōgyō Kabushiki Kaisha*” ( Dutch East-Indies Agriculture and Forestry Industry Stock Company ) in Surabaya town on Java island. He operated natural rubber plantations for gum production in Johor State of Malaysia and in Singapore. Kōzui now had become an entrepreneur, and his self-confidence that he could stand on his own two feet was growing.

In the meantime, after his departure from Japan was heard at Honganji, many people including priests and lay followers had started asking questions about the intentions of the temple administration. Both of his brothers, Sonjū and Sonyu were refusing to cooperate with

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<sup>28</sup> Takano, Sohō, p. 328-329.

the new deacon, Kagai Myōrō.<sup>29</sup> Finally, the administration had to bend under increasing pressure to call Kōzui back, but when he heard the news he published a letter in Kokumin Shinbun on 11 Jul.1915. In his letter Kōzui was publicly condemning the administration and declaring his detestation of anything related with it.

According to Kokumin Shinbun, the deacon of Honganji, Kagai [Myōrō] wants to come to Shanghai in order to present his plea for my return. In fact, I think, that 80 years' old man does not dare to come. But if ever he could produce an extraordinary horse power of a lunatic or a fool, I still would not believe it. Indeed since 20 years ago, me and Kagai have differences in principles, and last spring his group of followers made plans to oust me. They thought they had succeeded but now they are forced to invite me back. This fact deserves attention. Today, they are facing embarrassment.

Even if he had come to Shanghai, I am resolute not to meet him. As you all know, I have hopes for [to be like] Cecil [John] Rhodes.[1853-1902]<sup>30</sup> in the future. There is no other way but to wait and see the outcome of one's efforts. As a religionist, [I declare that] I am resolute not to live in Japan until I die. This world, since its origin, is a gathering of devils. It is easier to conquer demons in their battle gear than devils disguised as saints. Also; now that this world is already full with miseries, why do you try to capture and put people in chains and shackles? I think it is better to invite a smile than to leave a tall tree and go to a rainy valley. If you had [really] missed your abbot, you would have forbid fear to fight on his side.

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<sup>29</sup> Yomiuri Shinbun, 19 Mar.1916.

<sup>30</sup> Cecile John Rhodes: English born South African entrepreneur. A mining magnate and the founder of the diamond company De Beers. He was active in Africa and mainly in South Africa. He was a leading supporter of British expansion.

From now on, it doesn't matter how many millions of people submit how many pleas, I will never change my will. My only concern is to devote myself to my country.

To kings, to buddhas I declare that whether it exists or not, I will not have anything to do in relation with Honganji. I have one more thing in my heart, that is I will never forgive repayment of good with evil. In a house like Honganji, gathered are the devils, the devils from the branch-temples.<sup>31</sup>

This letter is the only case where a defiant Kōzui is seen to utter bitter words of anger. His words reflect how deeply hurt he was. At the same time, his crystal clear resolution to find his Pure Land in China and denounce Honganji can be read through his lines. And like a phoenix born out of its own ashes, Kōzui had created a new life from scratch in Shanghai. Shanghai was a deliberate choice since in addition to its status as an international city, there was a rather large Japanese community and the city had been the center of Honganji's missionary activities in the continent during his abbacy. He had given the order to build a mission office in 1906 and had started missionary activities next year.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Kokumin Shinbun, 11 Jul.1915.Takano, Sohō, pp.329-330.

<sup>32</sup> Shibata Mikio, Shanghai Nihonjin Kyoryūmin to Bukkyō (Shanghai Japanese Concession and Buddhism), in *Shanghai – Jūsō Suru Nettowāku* (Shanghai: Intersecting Networks), edited by Nihon Shanghai-shi Kenkyūkai, (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2000), pp. 401-425. [ Note that in 1931 the Shanghai Honganji Branch Temple, designed by the famous architect Itō Chūta, was completed. It was in Indian Ajanta style. In 1944, a pagoda tower of Indian Buddhagaya style was added.].

Within a few years he was able to construct a gorgeous villa which he called *Muyūen* in the outskirts of Shanghai (1921); another in Java Island (Villa *Kansuisan-sō*, 1923), and Kaohsiung 高雄city, Taiwan (Villa *Shoyōen*; 1940)<sup>33</sup>; establish *Shanghai Sakushinshoin*, a school for Japanese children (1921); *Daijō-sha*, a publishing house which published *Daijō*, a monthly magazine and other books (1922-1943); extended his enterprises to Turkey (1927) and then to Taiwan (1935); become a counselor in the second Kono cabinet (July 1940- October 1941)<sup>34</sup>, and the Koiso cabinet (July 1944- April 1945).

Although he visited Japan every once in a while, mostly to speak at public conferences organized by *Minyūsha*, and *Kōsukai*, society of *Kōzui* fans, he did not live in his home country until the end of the Second World War. In fact, even then he had to be forced to leave China on 28 Feb.1947, by the arrival of the Chinese Red Army army at Shanghai. He was old and sick by then, and he had to spend most of

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<sup>33</sup> Chao-Huang Huang, *The History and Architectural Constitution of Otani Kozui's Shoyoen in Kaohsiung City [Taiwan] in the Late Period of Japanese Governance* (Ph.D. Diss., National University of Kaohsiung, 2009), pp.62-67.

<sup>34</sup> Government Edict, promulgated on 3 Oct.1940, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan, Ref. No. A03023520600

his time in hospitals. Finally, he started staying in a small house (Villa Tetsurin) in Beppu, Oita and on 5 Oct. 1948 at 17:45 he passed away at the age of 73.<sup>35</sup>

His last words to his secretary Inoue Takeko 井上武子(1920-) were: “We will go for shopping tomorrow.”<sup>36</sup>

Today, there is a small museum in Beppu displaying the few personal items he managed to carry with him when he left China. The subjects of the books in his modest library give both a summary of his life, and the keywords to define Ōtani Kōzui: “Buddhism”, “Asia” and “Agriculture”. (Appendix. Fig. 40, Fig.41)

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<sup>35</sup> Nenpu, p.129.

<sup>36</sup> Inoue Takeko (last secretary of Kōzui), interview by Erdal Kucukyalcin, video-recording, Tsumura Betsuin Temple, Osaka, Japan, 9 Nov.2009.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE ASIANIST

Ōtani Kōzui was an Asianist. But as his extensive study *Kōa Keikaku* (The Construction of Asia Project) clearly shows, he was a totally different type of Asianist when compared to his contemporaries like Tokutomi Sohō, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉(1835-1901)<sup>1</sup>, Hatano Uhō 波多野烏峰(1882- 1936)<sup>2</sup>, Konoe Atsumaro, Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心 (1862- 1913)<sup>3</sup> or Ōkawa Shūmei 大川周明(1886- 1957)<sup>4</sup> or many other intellectuals in Japan who advocated Asian solidarity. Neither was he

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<sup>1</sup> *Nationalism and Internationalism*; Annette Schad-Seifert, Constructing National Identities: Asia, Japan and Europe in Fukuzawa Yukichi's Theory of Civilization, pp.45-68.

<sup>2</sup> Renée Worringer, Hatano Uho: *Asia is in Danger*, 1912, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documented History, Vol.1:1850-1920*, edited by Sven Saaler and Christopher W.A. Szpilman, (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), pp.149-160.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Brij Tankha, Okakura Tenshin: "Asia is One", 1903, pp.93-100; and also Jing He, Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism, 1903-1906, pp. 101-111.

<sup>4</sup> Christopher W. A. Szpilman, Ōkawa Shūmei: "Various Problems of Asia in Revival," 1922, in *Pan-Asianism: A Documented History, Vol.2:1920-Present*, edited by Sven Saaler and Christopher W.A. Szpilman, (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), pp.69-74.

like Chinese Sun Yat-Sen (1866-1925)<sup>5</sup> or Indian Rash Behari Bose (1886-1945)<sup>6</sup> or Tatar Abdürreşid İbrahim (1853- 1944)<sup>7</sup>. Ōtani Kōzui's fundamental concern with respect to the future of Asia not political but economic, and always with a bias in agriculture.

Tokutomi Sohō, in his book “Ōtani Kōzui-shi no Shōgai” (The Life of Ōtani Kōzui), defines Ōtani Kōzui primarily as an “*Ajiain*” (Asian), a sort of person difficult to find in contemporary Japan. For him, Kōzui was someone who loved Himalayas more than Mt. Fuji, and preferred a cup of tea at the heights of Pamir instead of a tea ceremony in Kyoto. Kōzui no doubt was a devout Buddhist and his tremendous knowledge on Buddhist doctrine and history was superior to any of the high priests of his time. But for Sohō he was more a preacher than a carrier of tradition.<sup>8</sup> Kōzui would say “Religion

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<sup>5</sup> For the Asianist views and activities of Sun Yat-Sen in Japan see: Yu Xin-Chun, *Son Bun no Kakumei Undō to Nihon* (Sun Yat-Sen's Revolutionary Activities and Japan), (Tokyo: Rōkkō Shuppan, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> Pan\*Asianism, Vol.1, Eri Hotta, “Rash Behari Bose: The Indian Independence Movement and Japan”, pp.231-240.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol.1, Selçuk Esenbel, “Abdürreşid İbrahim: The World of Islam and the Spread of Islam in Japan,”1910, pp. 195-204.

<sup>8</sup> Sohō, p.38.

springs from the spirit and gets lost in form.”<sup>9</sup> Probably, this conviction was one of the factors behind his resignation from abbacy. It also was the main reason why he kept away from institutional religion thereafter.

Consequently, Sohō identifies two main goals of Kōzui through which he combined both of his ambitions together:

- 1- To promote Buddhism, and by doing that to help the East Asian peoples attain spiritual peace
- 2- To open all kinds of resources of East Asia, to improve the living standards of East Asian nations, help them attain their self-sufficiency, and thus end the colonial rule.<sup>10</sup>

Judging from Kōzui’s own statements and activities, the word “East Asia” in Sohō’s explanation, can safely be interpreted as “Asia” as a whole. Kōzui dreamt of a peaceful and prosperous Asia that would rise on agriculturalism (as opposed to industrialism) but strong winds were flowing towards the opposite direction.

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<sup>9</sup> Sohō, p.3 [From Ōtani Kōmyō’s preface, quoted from Kōzui’s “*Hōrō Manki*” ].

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp.102-103.

## Asianism

Asianism (*Ajiashugi*) was an intellectual movement born in Japan in the late nineteenth century and gained popular support during the turbulent years of Taishō and Shōwa periods until the end of the Second World War. It is generally believed that even if the movement had started as a naïve, philosophical discourse of solidarity among Asian nations, but gradually evolved into an intellectual pretext for Japanese domination over other nations in Asia. Reviving scholarly interest in Japan's role in East Asian politics during the pre-WWII years, has recently triggered new academic research on the field. These studies show how deeply entrenched was the issue of Asianism (or Pan-Asianism as recent scholars of Asianism prefer to use in order to stress the expansionist side of the movement) in Japanese society. Although the subject could traditionally find a place within intellectual history accounts like "*The Chinese and the Japanese: Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions*" (1980)<sup>11</sup> or "*Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*"

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<sup>11</sup> Akira Iriye, *The Chinese and the Japanese: Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

(1990),<sup>12</sup> with the rising interest in the last decade, titles focusing solely on the theme of Asianism like “*Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian Brotherhood, or World Citizenship?*” (2003),<sup>13</sup> “*Imperial Japan and National Identities in Asia, 1895-1945*” (2003),<sup>14</sup> “*A Vision of Empire: Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan*” (2003),<sup>15</sup> “*Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War, 1931-1945*” (2007)<sup>16</sup>, “*Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*” (2007),<sup>17</sup> “*Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*” (2009),<sup>18</sup> and the two consecutive volumes “*Pan-Asianism - A Documentary History, Volume 1: 1850-1920*” and *Volume 2: 1920-*

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<sup>12</sup> J. Thomas Rimer (ed.), *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> Dick Stegewerns, *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian Brotherhood, or World Citizenship?*, (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

<sup>14</sup> Li Narangoa and Robert Cribb (ed.s), *Imperial Japan and National Identities in Asia, 1895-1945*, (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> Brij Tankha, *A Vision of Empire: Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan*, (New Delhi: Sampark, 2003).

<sup>16</sup> Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan’s War, 1931-1945*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) .

<sup>17</sup> Brij Tankha (ed.), *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, (Kent: Global Oriental, 2009).

<sup>18</sup> Sven Saaler and J.Victor Koschmann (ed.s), *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*, (New York: Routledge, 2009).

*Present*” (2011)<sup>19</sup> started appearing in quick succession.

Furthermore, a promising side-path was opened by the pioneering works of Selçuk Esenbel on the connection between Pan-Islamism and Pan-Asianism<sup>20</sup> via her articles “*Japan and Islam Policy during the 1930s*” (2002),<sup>21</sup> “*Japan’s Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900-1945*” (2004),<sup>22</sup> and “*The Legacy of the War and the World of Islam in Japanese Pan-Asian Discourse: Wakabayashi Han’s Kaikyō Sekai to Nihon*” (2007)<sup>23</sup>. Following the path opened by Esenbel, among others, Ali Merthan Dündar published “*Pan-İslamizm’den Büyük Asyacılaşma: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Japonya ve Orta Asya*” (From Pan-Islamism

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<sup>19</sup> Sven Saaler and Christopher W.A. Szpilman (ed.s), *Pan-Asianism - A Documentary History, Volume 1: 1850-1920 and Volume 2: 1920- Present*, (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> Esenbel’s works on this and related subjects are recently compiled in a single volume. See: Selçuk Esenbel, *The Writings of Selçuk Esenbel: Japan, Turkey and the World of Islam*, (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2011).

<sup>21</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, Japan and Islam Policy during the 1930s, in *Turning Points in Japanese History*, edited by Bert Edström, (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), pp. 180-214.

<sup>22</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, Japan’s Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900-1945, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 109, No. 4 (Oct.2004), pp.1140-1170.

<sup>23</sup> Selçuk Esenbel , The Legacy of the War and the World of Islam in Japanese Pan-Asian Discourse: Wakabayashi Han’s Kaikyō Sekai to Nihon, in *Rethinking the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5, Vol.I, Centennial Perspectives*, edited by Rotem Kowner, (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2007), pp.263-280.

to Pan-Asianism: Ottoman Empire, Japan and Central Asia) (2006)<sup>24</sup> while Cemil Aydin came with “*The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought*” (2007)<sup>25</sup>. A continuously increasing amount of literature points to bilateral and even multilateral linkages of Japanese Pan-Asianism with its contemporary independence movements in China, India, Korea, Indonesia and even Turkey against Western domination. Shedding light on those linkages stand as the new challenge of Asian Studies in comprehending present Asia, thus understanding the dynamics of Japanese *Ajishugi* becomes even more important today than it was yesterday.

The notion of *Ajishugi* (Asianism) was the child of the Triple Intervention of Russia, France and Germany after the Japanese victory in Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. Until then, the *Datsu-A* 脱亜 (Abandon Asia) theory of Fukuzawa Yukichi had its stamp on the Japanese intellectual circles. Fukuzawa, with Mori Arinori 森有礼

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<sup>24</sup> Ali Merthan Dündar, *Pan-İslamizm'den Büyük Asyacılaşma: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Japonya ve Orta Asya* (From Pan-Islamism to Pan-Asianism: Ottoman Empire, Japan and Central Asia), (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2006).

<sup>25</sup> Cemil Aydın, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

(1847- 1889) , and Shimaji Mokurai had participated in the establishment of one of the earliest intellectual societies in Japan, *Meirokeisha* (literally meaning Meiji Six Society since it was established in the sixth year of Meiji) established in 1874. The group was led by Mori who was an expert in Western education and firmly believed in the necessity of Western values if Japan would have any chance of becoming a modern country. Mori would later become the Minister of Education and establish the modern education system of Japan. Fukuzawa's proposal to leave the old, outdated traditions and worldview of the East and replace them with a fully Western system with all its facades.

The early signs of an interest in Asia were seen by the establishment of the Asianist groups like *Kōakai* 興亜会(Construction of Asia Society) in 1880 by Ōkubo Toshimichi and Sone Toshitora; *Genyōsha* 玄洋社(Dark Ocean Society) by Toyama Mitsuru in 1881; *Ajia Kyōkai* アジア協会(Asia Association) by Katsura Tarō in 1883 (subsumed *Kōakai*); *Tōakai* 東亜会(East Asia Society) by Inoue Enryō and Shimaji Mokurai; *Seikyōsha* 政教社(Policy and Doctrine Society)

in 1888. But these groups were not able to attain wide public interest until the Triple Intervention. The Intervention had caused a trauma in the Japanese Society. Sinh Vinh gives the example of Tokutomi Sohō who had gone to the Liaotung Peninsula right after the Treaty of Shimonoseki and had received the news of Intervention there:

It needs little imagination to perceive the shock felt by the Japanese. Deeply chagrined at the news of the return of the Liaotung Peninsula, Sohō later recalled that “It is no exaggeration to say that the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula dominated the rest of my life. After hearing about it, I became almost a different person psychologically.” He decided to take the first ship back to Japan. Before embarking, he took “a handful of sand from the beach of Port Arthur and wrapped it in his handkerchief as a souvenir of what had been, for a time, Japanese territory.”<sup>26</sup>

Sohō was not alone in his disillusionment about the outcome of events produced by the *real-politik* at the global level. The Russian invasion of the territories left by the Japanese turned the feelings of disappointment into anger and a strong wave of anti-Russianism swept the society. It is in these circumstances that the champion of Asianism in the political arena, Prince Konoe Atsumaro 近衛篤磨 (1863- 1904), the president of the House of Peers took stage. With a

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<sup>26</sup> Sinh Vinh, *Tokutomi Sohō*, pp.149-150.

strong anti-Russian emphasis, he established the *Tōa Dōbunkai* 東亜同文会 (East Asia Common Culture Society) in 1898. *Tōa Dōbunkai* was founded by the financial assistance of the Japanese government and the merging of two previous societies: The *Tōakai* and the *Dōbunkai*.<sup>27</sup> Its aim was to induce public debate and increase consciousness on issues related to China and Korea, and to serve that end the Society would publish a bulletin in Chinese (since Chinese characters were regarded to be the common denominator among the three nations), establish a school in Shanghai and joint ventures with the Chinese in order to promote mutual trade. The Society published “*Tōa Jiron*” (Contemporary Debate in East Asia) bulletin until 1899 December, “*Tōa Dōbunkai Hōkoku*” (East Asia Common Culture Society Report) until July 1910, and “*Tōa Dōbunkai Shina Chōsa Hōkokushō*” (East Asia Common Culture Society China Research Report) until Dec. 1911, “*Shina*” (China) until its closure in Jan. 1945.<sup>28</sup> For the first the first time, the term “*Shina Hozen*”

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<sup>27</sup> Aibara Shigeki, Konoe Atsumaro to Shina Hozenron (Konoe Atsumaro and Preserving China Theory), in *Kindai Nihon no Ajiakan* (Views of Asia in Modern Japan) edited by Okamoto Kōji, (Kyoto: Minerva, 1998), pp. 51-77.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

(Preserving China) was used in these publications.

Konoe Atsumaro was a fervent advocate of Asianism, unity of China and a solidarity of the yellow race (Japan- China- Korea) against the white. <sup>29</sup>He was proposing a new policy, the “*Nyū-A*” 入亜 (Enter Asia) against the former “*Datsu-A*” 脱亜 (Abandon Asia). His anti-Russian position carried him to an antagonistic relation with the “pro-Russian” or “pro-Western” group in the government led by Itō Hirobumi and Prince Saionji Kinmochi who were inclined to accept a compromise with the Russians in the form of the “*Mankan Kōkan-ron*” (Exchanging Korea for Manchuria Thesis). <sup>30</sup> Konoe established *Kokumin Dōmeikai* (The National League) in 1900 and started a large-scale campaign throughout the country against Itō’s position. He publicly was calling for a war against Russia if inevitable in order to “Preserve China” and “Protect Korea”. Although he died just before the Russo-Japanese War, his high-profile activities had certainly

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<sup>29</sup> Urs Matthias Zachmann, Konoe Atsumaro and the Idea of an Alliance of the Yellow Race, 1898, in *Pan-Asianism*, Vol.1, pp.85-92.

<sup>30</sup> Yagami Kazuo, *Konoe Fumimaro and the Failure of Peace in Japan, 1937-1941: A Critical Appraisal of the Three-time Prime Minister*, (North Carolina: McFarland, 2006), p.14.

influenced the public opinion on Asianism. Konoe was quoted to say to some Chinese revolutionaries:

Asia is the Asia of Asians. East Asians must be independent and must have the right to solve the East Asia problem. This is the meaning of the U.S. Monroe Doctrine . The duty to realize the Asian Monroe-ism in the Far East lies with both your and our nations. This is a must in these circumstances. Our final objective has to be to realize this.<sup>31</sup>

Konoe had done his homework and was basing his argument of the “paramount interest” of Japan in the Far East, on the “The Monroe Doctrine”, the 1823 declaration of U.S. President James Monroe (1758- 1831) in which the United States had rejected foreign intervention on the continent by the European powers and emerged as the protector of the newly founded Latin American states. The discourse of a “Japanese Monroe Doctrine” concerning East Asia would gradually become the main determinant of Japanese foreign policy, lead to the establishment of a “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere” (*Daitōa Kyōeiken*), a bloc including Japan, Korea, Manchukuo, and China in 1940 by the then Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro and finally to a clash with the United States in 1941.

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<sup>31</sup> Aibara, *Konoe Atsumaro*.

Although Fumimaro, the three-time prime minister of Japan was only 14 years' old when his father died in Jan.1904, he no doubt had inherited his father's distrust against the Westerners. In 1918, a year after his graduation from the university and a few days before the end of the WWI, he wrote an essay titled "*Eibei Honi no Heiwashugi wo Haisu*" (Reject the Anglo-American Centered Peace) and published in the journal *Nihon Oyobi Nihonjin* (Japan and the Japanese). Yagami Kazuo believes that this essay contained the main facades of Konoe Fumimaro's convictions as the policy-maker of Japan in the future:

...What is regrettable, however, is that, today, Japanese leaders tend to follow blindly an Anglo-American version of democracy and humanitarianism, and therefore, fail to see its nature. In Bernard Shaw's book, *Fate and Man*, Napoleon says the following: "...While daring to commit robbery and plunder, the English always have a moral excuse, and while advocating freedom and independence, they divide up the world under the name of colony and squeeze profit from them."... The European conflict is a fight between the accomplished nations and the unaccomplished nations and between those who find the preservation of status quo beneficial and those who find the destruction of status quo beneficial. The former demands peace, the latter demands war. [Japan] should be advocating the destruction of the status quo along with Germany and Italy...As for Japan's entering into the League of Nations at the upcoming Peace Conference, therefore, the central questions Japan can not fail to address are the end of economic imperialism and nondiscriminatory treatment of the Asians by

the Caucasians....In essence, economic imperialism is equal to military imperialism, and it also should be resisted.<sup>32</sup>

Aside from influential politicians like Konoe, there were many other ideologues of Japanese Asianism who approached the same issue from different angles. Their views helped establish the popular basis of the Asianist policies of Japanese governments in the first half of the twentieth century. For instance; the art-historian famous for his declaration “Asia is one”, Okakura Tenshin 岡倉天心 (1862- 1913), who published his views in English language, had stressed the uniqueness of the Asian culture as opposed to the Western.<sup>33</sup> During his visit to India in 1901-1902, he met Indian intellectuals like Rabindranath Tagore (1861- 1941) and Swami Vivekananda (1863- 1902) and under their influence he published his “*The Ideals of the East*” (1904), the “*Awakening of Japan*”(1904) and “*The Book of Tea*” (1906).<sup>34</sup> Brij Tankha summarizes his contribution to the notion of Asianism:

His contribution lies not just defining the artistic heritage of

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<sup>32</sup> Yagami, Konoe Fumimaro, pp.16-17.

<sup>33</sup> Brij Tankha, Okakura Tenshin: “Asia is One,” 1903, in *Pan-Asianism Vol.1*, pp.93-99.

<sup>34</sup> Wakakuwa Midori, Japanese Cultural Identity and Nineteenth-century Asian Nationalism: Okakura Tenshin and Swami Vivekananda, in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism- Shadows of the Past*, edited by Brij Tankha, (Kent: Global Oriental, 2009), pp.22-26.

Japan and linking Asia through Buddhism and art but in laying the boundaries of what it means to be Japanese. In effect, even as Okakura talked of a common Asia, he was, through a shared aesthetic past anchored in Buddhism, as well as through the progress of Japanese history, identifying the intellectual inheritances and heroes that created modern Japan.<sup>35</sup>

Another contemporary thinker, the Marxist (anti-Russian) intellectual Kita Ikki 北 一輝 (1883-1937) who also had taken part in the Chinese revolution against the Qing dynasty, on the other hand used to stress the importance of power in order to attain Asian solidarity, and stand up against Western domination. He also called for unity of the regional countries under the leadership of Japan which had to accumulate power in order to be strong enough to help others. His proposals included expansionist policies.<sup>36</sup>

Unlike Kita, Miyazaki Tōten 宮崎滔天 (1871- 1922) represented a

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<sup>35</sup> Brij Tankha, Okakura Tenshin: Writing a Good History upon a Modern Plan, in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism- Shadows of the Past*, edited by Brij Tankha, (Kent: Global Oriental, 2009), pp.27-45.

<sup>36</sup> Brij Tankha, *A Vision of Empire: Kita Ikki and the Making of Modern Japan*, (New Delhi: Sampark, 2003), p. 137. Also his romantic idealization of Japan's leadership can be seen at a passage in p.293: [*The Reorganization of Japan* by Kita Ikki (Aug.1919, Shanghai), translated by Brij Tankha] "... Turkey boldly unfurls the crescent moon flag. That the star flag of America presided over the meeting at the Versailles palace implicitly reveals that it was a dark night for the world. The Japanese rising sun flag after defeating England, reviving Turkey, making India independent, and China self-reliant will shed the light of Heaven on all the people of the world. The coming again of Christ, prophesied all over the world, is actually the Japanese people's scripture and sword in the shape of Mohammed....Japan, as the Greece of Asian civilization, destroyed a strong Russia, as Persia was in the sea battle of Salamis...."

group of young Japanese revolutionary renegades who preferred simple action to complex ideologies. Influenced by the fervent teachings of Tokutomi Sohō in his private school Ōe Gijuku, young Tōten had gone to Shanghai in 1891 with the hope that he could be instrumental in the liberation movements there. He did get to know Sun Yat-sen 孫文(1866- 1925), the Chinese revolutionary who would later be called “The Founding Father of the Republic of China” and became one of his closest associates in his enterprise to overthrow the Qing dynasty. Tōten established valuable ties in Japan for Sun. In 1905, with the help of Uchida Ryōhei 内田良平(1873- 1937), the founder of the ultranationalist Black Dragon Society 黒龍会 (*Kokuryūkai*; Amur River Society), Tōten managed to found a Sun Yat-sen-ist organization in Tokyo, the *Chūgoku Dōmeikai* 中国同盟会 (China League) and assumed the editorship of *Kakumei Hyōron* (Revolutionary Review), a monthly magazine promoting Chinese Revolution.<sup>37</sup> Though not an ideologue like Kita or Okakura had a firm anti-Western stance.

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<sup>37</sup> Christopher W.A. Szpilman, Miyazaki Tōten’s Pan-Asianism, 1915-1919, in *Pan-Asianism Vol. 1*, pp.133-139.

Uchida Ryōhei on the other hand, was more an organizer than an individual adventurer. As a master of martial arts, he had gathered many young activists around him (which he called the *Shishi* [heroes/ lit. men with will-power]), and established his Kokuryūkai in 1901. He was a loyal follower of the nationalist mastermind Toyama Mitsuru 頭山満(1855- 1944) and a member of his Genyōsha (Dark Ocean Society). Together with Toyama, Uchida was also active in the founding of *TaiRo Dōshikai* (Anti-Russian League) by Konoe Atsumaro in 1903. After the 1910s, especially during WWI, his organization of *Shishi* -whom he trained with samurai values and Bushidō- increasingly got involved in the local rebellions against Western presence throughout the continent, established intelligence networks and used aggression whenever they deemed necessary.<sup>38</sup> In addition to Sun Yat-sen, Kokuryūkai had close connections and gave support to the causes of Indian revolutionary leader Rash Behari Bose (1886- 1945),<sup>39</sup> and Tatar Pan-Islamist Abdürreşid İbrahim (1853-

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<sup>38</sup> Sven Saaler, The Kokuryūkai, 1901-1920, in *Pan-Asianism Vol.1*, pp.121-132.

<sup>39</sup> Eri Hotta, Rash Behari Bose: The Indian Independence Movement and Japan, in *Pan-Asianism Vol.1*, pp.231- 240.

1944)<sup>40</sup>.

All these activists and intellectuals had to face a dilemma of “Nationalism versus Internationalism”. On the one hand, they claimed equality of races and promoted Asian solidarity, and on the other, they demanded Japan’s leadership and regarded the continuity of Japanese imperial dynasty as the legitimate basis for their claims. Thus, when they saluted the Xinhai Revolution of 1911 in China where the dynasty was overthrown by the people, they had to find a way to explain why something so crucial for China did not hold true for the Japanese case. Tokutomi Sohō, the close friend of Kōzui was not an exception.<sup>41</sup> Starting from the mid-1910s, Sohō became the leading propounder of “Japanese Monroe Doctrine-ism” as the conciliatory policy for overcoming the dilemma in question.<sup>42</sup>

Ōtani Kōzui was standing in the midst of all these strong currents

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<sup>40</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, Abdürreşid İbrahim: “The World of Islam and the Spread of Islam in Japan,” 1910, in *PanAsianism Vol.1*, pp. 195-203.

<sup>41</sup> Sinh Vinh, Tokutomi Sohō, p.165. [...*the two presumably contradictory concepts of heiminshugi (egalitarianism/democracy) and Emperor-centralism were but a “happy fusion” in Sohō’s mind*].

<sup>42</sup> Alistair Swale, Tokutomi Sohō and the “Asiatic Monroe Doctrine,” 1917, in *Pan-Asianism Vol.1*, pp. 279-286.

but he had his own worldview and his own vision for Asia.

### The Asianist

Starting from his first visit to Qing China in 1899 at the age of 24, Kōzui nurtured a deep interest, or as some of his disciples described a “deep love” for the continent.<sup>43</sup> He frequently used to say “My homeland is China” (*Waga furusato wa Chūgoku nari*).<sup>44</sup> At other times, he was heard to utter “When I die, I don’t need a grave. As the Grand Master [Shinran] did, I’d like my body burned and my ashes thrown into the sea. But not any sea, the Eastern Sea of China.”<sup>45</sup> Such words were also interpreted by his young disciples as proof of his affection for the continent.

His fascination with China had no doubt started with that first visit in 1899. This fascination was further strengthened and expanded to cover Central Asia and India during his expedition 1902. It was

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<sup>43</sup> Anonymus, *Waga furusato wa Chūgoku nari*, *Daijō – Buddhist Magazine*, Vol.5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954), pp.22-23.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Anonymus, *Hai wa Shina Higashi kai ni make*, *Daijō – Buddhist Magazine*, Vol.5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954), pp.24-25.

Asia, the continent as a whole that he saw the roots of his faith, in ancient temples and grottoes of the Silk Road he found traces of ancient Buddhists with whom he realized he shared a common worldview. In ancient texts written in various old –some extinct– languages and scripts he came across the origins of the sutras he read daily. Thus, for Ōtani Kōzui, Asia was primarily a personal experience in which he had found himself qua his identity: A Buddhist without borders, national or of time.

Furthermore, unlike his father Myōnyo who had to protect his community from persecution thus had to employ defensive measures and adjust Honganji in a way to respond to the changing times of early Meiji Restoration, Kōzui was a member of a new generation of Buddhists who now was looking for its identity. Pushed to a corner and blamed to be a foreign creed by the Shintoists, the Japanese Buddhists were in desperate need of proving their faith to be an essential part of Japanese culture, and an instrumental one, too. In fact, Ōtani Kōzui is the pioneer or the founder for that matter of a new generation of Japanese Buddhist scholars who eagerly went

worldwide to find out what their religion really was. This generation, with its vast accumulation of knowledge whether linguistic or theological or organizational succeeded to establish one of the strongest scholarly traditions on Buddhism in the world. Jackie Stone identifies the threat posed by Christianity in addition to native Shintoism, since “the younger intellectuals, crediting Western religion in part with the remarkable rise of Western science and technology, tended on the whole to turn away from Buddhism”.<sup>46</sup> Their response to this threat was to launch a large-scale counter-offensive by mirroring the missionary activities of Christianity and doing extensive research on Buddhist history. By sending students to Western universities as well as Buddhist institutions in Southeast Asia, the sects had commenced both a race among themselves for leadership, but also a joint effort to reconstruct the legitimacy basis of Buddhist institutions in Japan and the world. The more they learned about their faith, the more they gained confidence that Buddhism

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<sup>46</sup> Jackie Stone, A Vast and Grave Risk: Interwar Buddhist Studies as an Expression of Japan’s Envisioned Global Role, in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, edited by J. Thomas Rimer, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1990), pp.217-233.

could contribute to both Japanese national development and to the development of Asia as a whole.<sup>47</sup> If Christianity was the basis of Western progress, Buddhism could as well become the very basis of Asian progress. Kōzui's efforts should be viewed within no other but this context. But with a slightly different tone.

While intellectuals like Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭 (1872-1933)<sup>48</sup> or Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 (1889-1960)<sup>49</sup> were asserting their standpoints with reference to European philosophers like Goethe, Schopenhauer or Heine, Kōzui consistently preferred to relate his ideas to figures in Chinese tradition like Confucius or poet Li Bai 李白 (701-169).<sup>50</sup> When he calls for an ideal unity between Confucianism and Buddhism, through the merging of which Confucianist education and Buddhist religion can complement each other,<sup>51</sup> it is perfectly

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> William R. LaFleur, A Turning Point in Taishō: Asia and Europe in the Early Writings of Watsuji Tetsurō, in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, edited by J. Thomas Rimer, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1990), pp.234-256.

<sup>50</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Gaisei Yogen* (Words after Deep Grief), (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1917), p.4.

<sup>51</sup> *Gaisei Yogen*, pp.45-46. [Section 11: "Our first duty as Buddhists": "...Knowledge of Confucianism entered into our country during Shōtoku Taishi's times. He respected Confucius and revered Buddha together...In China there was unison of Confucius

possible that his personal experience in Yamashina temple school was echoing in his words (where his first textbooks were Chinese Confucianist classics).<sup>52</sup>

In fact, Kōzui does mention memories of his childhood as the start of his interest in Asia by saying “...when I was seven, for the first time I was shown a world map by my father, I came to realize how small an island our empire was.”<sup>53</sup> He also adds that he could not forget that moment after some thirty years. There within the same text, he declares his identity as an Asianist:

...At the center of all my deeds, lies in the five characters of *A-ji-a-shu-gi* 亜細亜主義 (Asianism). Asianism is Greater Japan-ism. To realize this is a duty of Mahayana....In order to realize this goal, I will learn anything I can, I will act whenever I can...<sup>54</sup>

It is possible to argue that at this point in his life he was heavily influenced by his friend Tokutomi Sohō's views. Sohō was a representative of those Taishō political thinkers who with the rapid growth of Japanese influence in Asia, were experiencing a dilemma

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with Buddha...These can coexist in harmony]

<sup>52</sup> Nenpu, p.2.

<sup>53</sup> Gaisei Yogen,p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

between nationalism and internationalism.<sup>55</sup> But unlike Sohō, who in 1916 published “Taishō Youth and the Future of the Empire” and proposed a conciliation between the two concepts (imperialism qua expansion with democracy qua egalitarianism) by binding them with the Imperial Household,<sup>56</sup> Kōzui never once in his writings mentions “expansionism”. His vision of Asia can best be summarized as “peaceful co-existence” and not domination or subjugation. His Asianism was more romantic than utilitarian, and more pragmatic than theoretic. Unlike his Asianist contemporaries developing conceptual frameworks for Asian affairs, Kōzui was always on site, living, experiencing and studying the conditions in the continent.

Even during his abbacy he had spared the time to travel to Eastern Russia (Jul.- Aug.1906), China (Sep.1906- May 1907), India (Sep. 1909- Jan.1910), and England (Jan.1910-Sep. 1910). In addition, at

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<sup>55</sup> Dick Stegewerns, The Dilemma of Nationalism and Internationalism in Modern Japan: National Interest, Asian Brotherhood, International Cooperation or World Citizenship?, in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian Brotherhood, or World Citizenship?*, edited by Dick Stegewerns, (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp. 3-16.

<sup>56</sup> Alistair Swale, Tokutomi Sohō and the Problem of the Nation-state in an Imperialist World, in *Nationalism and Internationalism in Imperial Japan: Autonomy, Asian Brotherhood, or World Citizenship?*, edited by Dick Stegewerns, (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), pp. 68-88.

times when he was too busy to travel personally, he sent his disciples or brothers to different parts of the world. Of these the second (1908-1909) and the third expeditions (1910- 1914) to Central Asia are well known.<sup>57</sup> But recently Katayama Akio's studies revealed that there were also some less popular expeditions organized by Kōzui: S. Umegami to South and North America (1907-1908), Z. Hashiramoto to India and Kashmir (1907-1909), Sonjū Ōtani (his brother Kōmyō) and Watanabe Tesshin to South and East Africa and India (1908-1909).<sup>58</sup> The monks sent to different corners of the world were coming with fresh first-hand information, which in turn was used by the Honganji temple administration to plan future missionary activities. Owing to such updated information, in August 1908 at Wutaishan in China, he was able to organize meetings of Honganji representatives with Dalai Lama the 13<sup>th</sup> who had escaped from Tibet following British occupation. It was the first such meeting in which doctrinal issues of Buddhism were discussed, and an agreement for student exchange

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<sup>57</sup> These Ōtani expeditions together with the first (1902-1904) in which he personally participated will be treated in a separate chapter.

<sup>58</sup> Katayama Akio, Ōtani Tankentai no Katsudō to Ōtani Sonjū, Watanabe Tesshin, (Kozui Otani's Expeditions and Sonju (Komyo) Otani, Tesshin Watanabe), *Tōkai Daigaku Kiyō*, No.77 (2002), pp.133-156.

was reached. Soon two Tibetan student monks were sent to Japan and started their education in Villa Nirakusō.<sup>59</sup>

The Buddhist relics, objects or sacred texts retrieved from expeditions and excavations were also brought back for further studies. Kōzui had designed and built a special building and related facilities in order to store those materials and make them available for further research. This unique building, Villa Nirakusō reflected his vision of Asia.

#### Nirakusō (Villa of Two Joys)

Situated on the slope of Mt. Rokkō in Ashiya town near Kobe, Nirakusō commanded a large panorama of the Setonaikai (Seto Inner Sea) and the mountains. The “Two Joys” in its name was given by Kōzui to symbolize this panorama. The selection of the town Ashiya was also deliberate since its pronunciation was very close to Kōzui’s beloved *Ajia* (Asia).

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<sup>59</sup> Shirasu Jōshin, Meiji 41 nen 8 Gatsu no Shinkoku Gotaisan ni okeru Kaidan to sono Hamon – Gaikō Kiroku kara Miru Gaimushō no tai Tippetto Shisaku to Ōtani Tankentai (The Meeting held in August 1908 at Wutaishan in Qing China and the Sensation it Created – Japan’s Tibet Policy Seen from the Documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ōtani Expeditions), *Hiroshima Daigaku Daigakuin Kyōiku Kenkyū Kiyō*, Vol.2, No. 56 (2007), pp.55-64.

Traditionally the chief-abbots of Honganji used to have summer houses or villas for leisure at a number of places. The Villa at Suma (Kobe) was one of them. The Villa called Tsukimiyama, was built by Kōzui's father Myōnyo around 1890 in order to stay during his illness.<sup>60</sup> Its name was changed into “Suma Kaisō” (Suma Sea Villa) during the visit of the president of the House of Peers, the famous Asianist Kone Atsumaro.<sup>61</sup> Then Kōzui had built an additional building nearby for storing the materials brought back from his excavations in India. In 1907, the Imperial Household Agency came up with a request to purchase the villas and the land at Suma in order to build an imperial residence (*Suma Rikkyū*). After the sales was realized in April, Kōzui decided to build his own dream villa at Ashiya.

After long negotiations with the local villagers, the site was finally purchased and the construction work started with the new year. The design team led by Kōzui consisted of Honganji professionals. The famous architect who had travelled all around Asia (including the

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<sup>60</sup> Wada Hidetoshi (ed.), *Nirakusō to Ōtani Tankentai –II* (Nirakusō and Ōtani Expeditions –II), (Ashiya: Ashiya City Fine Arts Museum, 2003), p.16.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

Ottoman Empire) in order to create a unique Japanese architecture, Itō Chūta伊東忠太(1867-1954) also joined as advisor.<sup>62</sup> In order to lower the costs, the wooden components of a Russian ship, sunk in the Kobe port were used in addition to the lumber acquired from the forest on Mt. Rokkō. <sup>63</sup> The overall design of the main building which had two storeys above the ground level and a storey below, was influenced by the architecture of Timurid Moghul Empire of Sultan Akbar's (1542-1605) times and also Taj Mahal. <sup>64</sup> The dome rising above the villa was a distinct feature that caught the eye of the visitors who were not accustomed to that sight anywhere in Japan. (Appendix. Fig.42, Fig. 43)

Inside, Kōzui had preferred an eclectic combination of different

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<sup>62</sup> For the details of Chūta's travels see: Itō Chūta, *Seiyū Rokuman Mairu* (Sixty Thousand Miles of Travel to West), (Tokyo: Hokkōsho, 1947). Since they shared the same vision of Asia, the collaboration between the two continued after Nirakusō. Under the patronship of Kōzui, Chūta would in 1934 design the Nishi Honganji's Tokyo branch temple Tsukiji Honganji. For the details of this Indian style Buddhist cathedral see: Honganji Shuppansha Tokyo Shisha(ed.), *Tsukiji*, (Kyoto: Honganji Shuppan, 2009). In 1912, he had realized his first project for Honganji under Kōzui's abbacy, by designing the *Shinshū Shinto Seimei Hoken Kaisha* (Shinshū Believers Life Insurance Company; today known as *Dendōin*). The information board in its entrance, introduces the building as one of the earliest architectures of modern Japan reflecting an Asian style.

<sup>63</sup> Ashiya Shiritsu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan (ed.), *Modanizumu Saikō: Nirakusō to Ōtani Tankentai* (Rethinking Modernism: Nirakusō and Ōtani Expeditions), (Ashiya:A shiya Shiritsu Bijutsu Hakubutsukan, 1999), p.55.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*,p.61.

cultures of Eurasia. There were five rooms decorated in line with the representative features of five distinct styles: The Chinese Room, the Arabian Room, the English Room, the Indian Room and the Egyptian Room. The construction of the main building was completed on 10 Sep.1909. <sup>65</sup> But the work on related facilities like the school building, the teachers' office building, the playgrounds (including a tennis court), the gardens, the greenhouses (one hot and one cold) and the student dormitories continued. A large library and storage for the artifacts from expeditions were also planned. Even a cable-car system (with three separate ropeways) to carry people from the valley up to the complex was under construction. Finally in April 1911, all the facilities were ready and 337 students selected by an examination prepared personally by Kōzui, entered into the dormitories. On May 5, the opening ceremony of Mukō Chūgaku was held. <sup>66</sup> A student of that school, who later had become a professor of Buddhism in Takezono College, Yamamoto Kōshō 山本晃紹(1898- 1976) remembers vivid details of his days in Nirakusō. After describing daily life he

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p.61-64.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p.194.

adds “Ōtani Kōzui’s goal was to establish a school restricted by no one, a school in total freedom an a school giving education unparalleled in the world....He aimed at creating an education of genius.”<sup>67</sup>

(Appendix. Fig. 44)

The boys used to stay at the dormitories, woke up at 7:00a.m. and slept at 10:00p.m. They lived in strict discipline. Everyday until noon they had lessons mainly in English, Chinese and mathematics. All the textbooks were in English, while some also studied Sanskrit or Mongolian. In the afternoon they had freetime but generally they used to work in one of the greenhouses or printing facility.<sup>68</sup> Kōzui regarded practical knowledge as important as textbooks. During the heyday of Nirakusō, he was visited by many important figures of contemporary Japan. Among them were Katsura Tarō (Three time Prime Minister of Japan; Jun.1901-Jan.1906, Jul.1908- Aug.1911, Dec.1912- Feb.1913), Gotō Shinpei (The first director of South Manchuria Railway in1906; Home Minister in 1916, and Minister of

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<sup>67</sup> Yamamoto Kōshō, Rokkō ni Omou (Thinking of Rokkō), *Daijō – Buddhist Magazine*, Vol.5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954), pp.153- 166.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

Foreign Affairs in 1918) and Terauchi Masatake (Prime Minister between Oct.1916- Sep.1918). At times Katsura would stay at Nirakusō for a few days while Count Terauchi would come along with Kuhara Fusanosuke (the mining industrialist and politician) who had his summer residence nearby.<sup>69</sup> These figures were all well-known for their Asianist attitude, and their long discussions with Kōzui no doubt had some political content. On the other hand, his rapport with such figures might have played a role in his downfall since with the start of Taishō democracy, the political arena would increasingly be hostile towards clan politics (*hanbatsu*) led by them (Katsura, Terauchi and Kuhara were all from Yamaguchi, former Chōshū).

Whatever the reasons for his downfall were, when he left Nirakusō in 1914 Kōzui was leaving his dream, his Jōdo (the Buddhist Paradise) on earth, and his own small Asia he had created for himself. In his final days in Nirakusō which he stayed in isolation, he had understood the fact that it was an impossible task to bring Asia to Japan, instead he decided to return and get lost in his beloved

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<sup>69</sup> Seki Rokō, *Ōtani Kōzui*, (Tokyo: Seikyōsha, 1916), pp.73-74.

continent.

At the end of his life, he would prepare his gift for the Asian nations: “*Kōa Keikaku*” (Construction of Asia Project), a detailed plan for the economic development of Asia compiled in ten volumes.

### *Kōa Keikaku* (Construction of Asia Project)

While departing Japan in 1914, Ōtani Kōzui was probably feeling like his ancestor Rennyo who was persecuted many times but in each case had managed to find a new place for himself and his followers. Rennyo had known how to rise up after falling down, so was Kōzui. In search for his own Jōdo, land of peace Rennyo had gone to places where his words were needed, so was Kōzui. And like Rennyo, Kōzui also succeeded to create a new life for himself in a new land, rising as the expert on continental affairs to prominence, who knew Asia better than anyone in the Empire. He had buried his old self, the patriarch of millions in 1914 and 1920ies to 30ies he continuously grew as a respected public opinion leader. This process reached its zenith in 1935 when one day Prince Konoe Fumimaro visited him in Tsukiji

Honganji temple in Tokyo and asked him if he could kindly accept to be the Prime Minister of Japan. One of his students Tamagawa Yoshitaka, was with him and witnessed the dialogue between Kōzui and Konoe that day:

In the year Shōwa 10 [1935], I was there when Prince Konoe proposed Master Kōzui to be the Prime Minister. The Prince was continuously calling Master Kōzui as “My Uncle”. Then Master Kōzui answered like this: “To make me something like the Prime Minister is like killing me. I am not apt for taking charge of fussy politics. That’s why I decline.”<sup>70</sup>

Young Tamagawa was impressed with the Prince’s respectful attitude and did not really conceive why he was calling his Master as “My uncle”. In fact, the Prince was referring to their familial relations which Tamagawa was not aware of. As explained above, Konoe Fumimaro’s uncle Konoe Tsurumatsu (Tokiwai Gyoyū) was married to a younger sister of Kōzui (Fumiko). This episode, beside being a critical moment in Kōzui’s life, constitutes an example showing the importance of familial relations in Japan.

Although he had declined to lead Japanese politics directly in 1935,

Kōzui would choose to support his nephew during his second cabinet

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<sup>70</sup> Tamagawa Yoshitaka, Tokyo-Berlin Tetsudō no Yume (The Dream of Tokyo-Berlin Railway), *Daijō – Buddhist Magazine*, Vol.5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954), pp.40-41.

(Jul.1940- Oct.1941) by becoming his counselor.<sup>71</sup> In fact his brother Sonyū had also given his support to Konoe by becoming a minister in his first cabinet (Jun.1937- Jan.1939).<sup>72</sup> It was during this period that Kōzui started publishing his voluminous work “*Kōa Keikaku*” (Construction of Asia Project). (Appendix. Fig. 45)

*Kōa Keikaku* is the culmination of Kōzui life-long endeavor to see a prosperous and independent Asia. The publication of the volumes started in Jun.1939 and ended with the tenth in Oct.1940. <sup>73</sup> The introduction to these ten volumes gives a clearer image of Kōzui’s vision of Asia:

The nations and countries have not lived a day of peace in more than twenty years. They have pursued wrong policies, continuously blamed each other , and yet no one has attained peace. Instead of working together they [the politicians] clashed, they divided the masses, they reversed escape [from collaboration] . That’s how we came to these days. I, [ am calling] the sacred kings and the six furious sages to assemble, with a million guarding angels, and descend [from

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<sup>71</sup> The official document containing his appointment, dating 3 Oct. 1940 and bearing Ōtani Kōzui’s name can be seen at: <http://www.jacar.go.jp>, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Doc. Ref. No. A03023520600.

<sup>72</sup> The official document containing the list of ministers of Konoe cabinet and the name of Sonyū Ōtani as the Minister of Colonial Affairs (*Takumu Daijin*), dating 10 Jun. 1937 can be seen at: <http://www.jacar.go.jp>, Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, Doc. Ref. No. A03022068600.

<sup>73</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Kōa Keikaku VI-X* (Construction of Asia Project I-X), (Osaka: Daijōsha, 1939-1940).

heavens] like marching tigers and bears. Assemble and rescue peoples from the miseries caused by their neighbours. [Only] Then we may welcome sunny days, and heavenly angels may rule.

Destroying plants, ruining mountains and rivers, closing them down as we did until now, will not lead to the peace of future generations.

The ancient Sage-king Yu the Great, had created the Nine Provinces [i.e.China], prepared irrigation canals, conquered the water and soil, and with his princely deeds he brought food for the people. His works were so great that his light still shines today. Afterall doesn't politics exist for supporting the people? To support people it [first] has to correct itself morally, and value life... <sup>74</sup>

He ends his introduction by adding that he had travelled in the continent for over forty years since his youth, and although he could have lived silently under a bush he had decided to write the book because he felt it was his duty to tell what he knew. Aside from his apparent call for peace, the two points he emphasized needs to be underlined due to their significance in Kōzui's thinking. The first one is his reference "The Six Sage-kings". By resorting to their help for salvation, he makes an interesting and deliberate choice. The six sages are believed to be renowned philosophers who have lived in India during the lifetime of Shakyamuni Buddha. Their teachings are

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp.2-4.

accepted as heresy by the institutional Buddhism. Kōzui's stress on them and not for instance bodhisattvas shows his inclusive stance as a Buddhist as opposed to exclusive attitude of orthodoxy.

On the other hand, his reference to Yu the Great also conceals his stance as an Asianist. Yu is the legendary founder of China, the king who tamed the rivers, opened canals, dredged riverbeds and irrigated barren lands. By controlling the devastating floods he became the symbol of agriculture in China. Yu's egalitarian attitude towards his people and his contribution to China's prosperity had made him a perfect idol for Kōzui.

In the "Construction of Asia", Kōzui did what he promised in his introduction and put everything he knew on paper. His extensive knowledge on the geography, topography, geology, botany, transportation (both maritime and land) as well as mining, agriculture and industries of the region is impressive. In each volume he elaborates on the local resources and their potentials accompanied by detailed maps and his practical proposals for development. He foresees new trade ports, settlements and new lines of transportation

among which “The Tokyo-Berlin Railway” in Volume VI is especially noteworthy. Following the ancient routes of the Silk Road his project proposes two lines, both starting from Dunhuang which pass through the northern and southern sides of Tarim Basin and meeting once again in Kashgar of Chinese Turkistan. From then on the line goes through Tashkurgan – Pamirs – Hindukush – Celalabad – Kabul and via Tehran it is connected to the Bagdad Railway.<sup>75</sup> He was hoping this railway to help flourish the local economies and the interconnectedness of Asian countries. In a way, he was proposing a new Silk Road on rails. Although quite visionary for his time (or maybe because it was) the project was not received with popular support. He no doubt had shared his views on his dream with the cabinet members when he was functioning as advisor for the Second Konoe (1940-41) and the Koisō (1944-45) cabinets, but again the political Zeitgeist was not suitable for his plans, and the volumes of his meticulous study were to be left in oblivion. (Appendix. Fig. 46)

In April 1945, when the Koiso cabinet fell, and Kōzui’s duty as

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<sup>75</sup> Kōa Keikaku, Vol.4, pp.137-191.

cabinet advisor also finished, he decided to go to China. It was mid-war and Japan was approaching defeat on all fronts. Japanese nationals living abroad were trying to get back, but Kōzui was saying “I will return to my homeland.”<sup>76</sup> By “homeland” he meant China. He did not listen to people around him who warned him about the dangers of traveling since there were frequent bombardments on transport lines and ships sailing to China were continuously targeted. But he wouldn’t change his mind. After a month-long travel full with hardships he succeeded to reach Beijing via Korea. It was as if he wanted to die in China.<sup>77</sup> Possibly on the day he left Japan in 1914, he had promised himself that he would live and die on the continent he loved.

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<sup>76</sup> Anonymus, Waga Honkyo Chūgoku nari.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER NINE

### THE EXPLORER

Ōtani Kōzui had started to show the initial signs of his insatiable curiosity when he had tried to go to the epicenter of the Great Nōbi earthquake in 1891 when he was 16 years' old.<sup>1</sup> The during his visit to Qing China in 1899, although he had received great hospitality from the Chinese high officials he had preferred to challenge himself with a trans-continental journey to the north on horseback. Then in England too, he could not stay still for long and had tried to reach the North Pole as the news from discoverers so tempting that he was not able to ignore. Thus when he decided to organize an expedition into Central Asia no one was surprised.

His timing was also convenient since Japan and England were approaching each other against the common conceived threat of the

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<sup>1</sup> Nenpu, p.9.

Russian Empire. It was the time of the Great Game, and no doubt the young Kōzui was also interested in the political chessgames played over the Central Asia. But his main focus was his faith, since he knew Buddhism had reached Japan via the region and he was enthusiastic to find traces of Buddhist cultures. For him, the expeditions into Central Asia and India were journeys into his own identity. After he became the chief-abbot of Honganji he went on sending monks to the region. As the abbot of the leading Buddhist institution in Japan, he was well aware of the importance of knowledge on his religion. He followed his father Myōnyo's pattern and sent missionary monks, students monks and discoverer monks to all corners of the world in order to accumulate knowledge just like the Christians did for centuries. He had the conviction that Christian missionary enterprises were the pioneers of Western imperial expansion, and since they posed a threat for the future of his faith, they had to be stopped at some point. Sharing this conviction, the Japanese Buddhists did not hesitate to imitate them.

By imitating the Western church practices, not only Honganji but

also all the other major sects had begun a campaign to learn their own history. Soon they had realized that Western scholarship had long gained grounds in the fields of Buddhist history, languages including Sanskrit related to the Buddhist manuscripts found in Central Asia as well as its doctrine. Japanese scholarship on Buddhist studies today, owes its prestigious position in the field to the efforts of Ōtani Kōzui, his disciples and many others from different sects but same generation of Japanese monks who undertook the difficult task to travel, discover and learn on site.

### The Route Buddha Came to Japan

Buddhism was born in India and flourished in the third century B.C. during the reign of Ashoka (c.304- 232 B.C.), the King of the Mauryan Dynasty. The territories of his kingdom reached Afganistan in the West and Indian sub-continent in the east. Systematic propagation of Buddhism helped the faith to spread throughout his kingdom. Then in the second century A.D. another mighty ruler, Emperor Kanishka (regnavit. 127 -151) of the Kushan Empire converted to Buddhism and

his support for the Gandharan school of Greco-Buddhist art and his conquests to the north had brought the faith into Central Asia before reaching China.<sup>2</sup> By the fifth century, Hinayana style earthly Buddha, Shakyamuni had already given way to a new form of understanding called Mahayana, an esoteric view of Buddhism which portrayed Buddha as a more celestial suprahuman being instead of Buddha as a historical figure.<sup>3</sup> For the Japanese that it was in Central Asia that Mahayana branch of Buddhism had evolved into what we know it now. Robert Fisher evaluates the role of the region in the transformation and evolution of the religion as follows:

Central Asia the vast area of small kingdoms and caravan routes between India and China, played a major role in the development of Chinese Buddhism, for nearly all the early Buddhist scriptures were translated in Central Asia. Due to the periodic destruction of Buddhist institutions across China, the remains in Central Asia have assumed an ever greater importance in the broad understanding of Buddhist art, at times providing evidence for destroyed Chinese art or, in the case of the Miran wall paintings, examples of Gandharan painting. The faces of the monks from Miran match those of Gandharan sculptures... some

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<sup>2</sup> For the transmission of Buddhism to China via Central Asia see: Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> Fisher, Robert E., *Buddhist Art and Architecture*, (Singapore: Thames&Hudson, 1996), pp.56-58.

elements of East Asian Buddhist art originated in Central Asia. An example of the Central Asian role can be seen in the portable wooden shrine, which drew many of its stylistic features from Gandharan sources, yet the distinctive armour of the four guardians, brandishing their weapons, originated in Central Asia, and these martial figures were to assume prominent roles in East Asian Buddhism. Its mandala-like arrangement, particularly with the eight bodhisattvas surrounding the central Buddha, was a theme that began in India and was continued in Central Asia, remaining popular in Korea and Japan.<sup>4</sup> .

By the seventh century it was persecuted and wiped out of India in favour of Hinduism by the Gupta Dynasty (4-6 centuries A.D.).<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, Buddhist art continued its development in Tokharistan and Western Turkistan reaching its maturity in the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>6</sup> All the Buddhist settlements, mostly in the form of caves, including Gandhara, Miran, Khotan, Adzina Tepe, Bezeklik, Kucha, Turfan or Ghazni had flourished during this period. The famous sites Bamiyan in Afganistan and Dunhuang in Eastern Turkistan were no exceptions. The Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang 玄奘(c.602-664), who had travelled in the area in the seventh century

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<sup>4</sup> Fisher, *Ibid.*, p.86.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.55.

<sup>6</sup> Salter, Deborah Klimburg, *The Kingdom of Bamiyan – Buddhist Art and Culture of the Hindukush*, (Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1989), p.51.

gives a detailed account of the Buddhist settlements along his route to India.<sup>7</sup> The sacred texts and sutras of Buddhism were translated into various languages like Tibetan, Xiuxia, Classical Chinese, Sogdian, Tokharian, Uighur and Mongolian.<sup>8</sup> The libraries of Buddhist monasteries were full with such manuscripts containing both religious and secular content. But by time, other faiths like Islam gradually replaced Buddhism in the region, and the countless scrolls were whether deposited or hid in secret caves to be protected from harm during continuous wars. Then they were forgotten.

### Discovery of Inner Asia

The revival of the interest in Central Asia region in the mid-nineteenth century, corresponds with its increasing geo-political importance in the Great Game. With the enthronement of Alexander I in March 1801, the Russian Empire had gained a new momentum. Starting from the Treaty of Gulistan with Persia in 1813, between

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<sup>7</sup> Edwin O. Reischauer, John K. Fairbank, *East Asia the Great Tradition*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), p.146.

<sup>8</sup> Kōgi Kudara, A Rough Sketch of Central Asian Buddhism, *Pacific World Journal*, Vol.3, No.4 (Fall 2002), pp. 93-107.

1839-1895 the Empire had been consistently expanding its territories and subduing the khanates in Central Asia one by one. This expansionism in turn was causing the British Empire to conceive Russia as a growing threat to its interests in India. Hence, Central Asia (Eastern and Western Turkistan) and Afghanistan had become a chessboard on which the two sides played their best moves for strategic supremacy over Asia. Both sides had done their homework and read their Sun Tzu, and pushed for learning qua mapping the terrain in order to gain tactical advantage. The region had largely remained to be a terra incognita for the Westerners and it was not that difficult to find adventurers eager to explore the area.

Under these circumstances, it is not easy to assume the establishment of learned societies like British Royal Geographical Society (1830) and the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (1845) backed by their respective states, as mere coincidences.

The Russian expeditions had a head-start with Petr Petrovich Semenov Tian Shanskii (1827 – 1914) in mid-century (1856-57). He had set the example for future scholarly travels. He started raising

young enthusiasts willing to become scholar-travelers in accordance with the highest standards of European scholarship. Matsushita Bailey gives the criteria for an ideal Russian scholar-traveler as follows:

An ideal scholar-traveler would devote a number of years in study, either in the imperial capital of St. Petersburg or in a metropole intellectual center like Omsk. Through the study of scientific subjects such as botany, biology, geography, and others, the scholar-traveler could equip himself with the necessary tools to communicate in the language of science. It would no longer be enough to provide random or even uneducated musings on the environment. One should be able to identify and catalogue scientifically, ideally using the Linnaean system of scientific classification, the flora and fauna that the scholar-traveler encountered. This would aid the state in gaining insight into the potential value of lands for cultivation, hunting, or human inhabitation. Oriental Studies training was also a critical scholarly discipline for the cultivation of the nineteenth-century Russian scholar-traveler. Education in *vostokovedenie* often involved gaining familiarity or fluency in the languages, cultures, and histories of the peoples of the Central Eurasian region.<sup>9</sup>

Soon many scholar-travelers like Chokan Valikhanov (1835- 1865),

Nikolai Prezhevsky (1839- 1888), Grigory Potanin (1835-1920) ,

most of them army officers in origin, went and returned with

tremendous information on the geography, flora, fauna, ethnography

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<sup>9</sup> Scott C. Matsushita Bailey, *Travel, Science and Empire: The Russian Geographical Society's Expeditions to Central Eurasia, 1845-1905*, (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawaii, 2008), p.12.

and current affairs of the region. They were increasingly encountering Buddhist relics and art on their routes. Their findings were applauded in the academic circles in Europe and at the end of the century Russia had managed to build up a considerable level of knowledge (which they liked to call “*samopoznanie*: self-knowledge) on Central Asian cultures and history. <sup>10</sup>

The British, on the other hand, led by Francis Younghusband (1863- 1942) who in 1886-87 travelled through the uncharted territories of Manchuria, Gobi Desert, Eastern Turkistan to India, were concentrating on mainly on Tibet, Lhasa, Bhutan and the Himalayas. In 1889, Hamilton Bower (1858-1940) acquired a Brahmi manuscript in Kucha. The manuscript, which later was known as “the Bower Manuscript” was written on 51 leaves of birch bark and in Sanskrit. <sup>11</sup> It brought great sensation in the world since Rudolph

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<sup>10</sup> An exhibition titled “On the Trail of Texts Along the Silk Road” held between 14 Jul.- 6 Sep. 2009 in Kyoto National Museum had presented a selection of those findings. For details see: Kyoto National Museum (ed.), *Siruku Rōdo: Mojiwo Tadotte* (On the Trail of Texts Along the Silk Road – Russian Expeditions: Discoveries of Manuscripts in Central Asia), (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 2009) .

<sup>11</sup> Fellner, Hannes A., The Expeditions to Tocharistan, *Instrumenta Tocharica*, Vol.1 (Winter 2007),pp.13-36.

Hoernle (1841- 1918), the authority in the field declared that it was the oldest manuscript in Sanskrit ever found.<sup>12</sup> Already in 1877, Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833- 1905), the expert on China who had coined the term “The Silk Road”, had started publishing his monumental writings on China.<sup>13</sup> He had stayed and travelled around China and the Western Regions between 1868-1872. Then in 1893, his student Sven Hedin encouraged by the news of the recent findings, began his epoch-making studies and explorations in Central Asia.<sup>14</sup> Between Oct.1893- Mar. 1897, he did extensive travels in the region and drew detailed maps of unchartered areas. His works attracted great attention both from the public and academia. Now, discovering Central Asia had become a popular subject in the West. Therefore on 3 Oct. 1899, at the wake of Kōzui’s arrival to London, when the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists gathered in Rome, Central Asia was the star of the agenda. The opening speech of

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<sup>12</sup> Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts from Northern Turkestan and Their Relation to the Chinese Tripitaka, in *Collection of Essays 1993: Buddhism Across Boundaries – Chinese Buddhism and the Western Regions*, (Taipei: Fo Guang Shan Foundation, 1999), pp. 107-136.

<sup>13</sup> Daniel C. Waugh, Richthofen’s Silk Roads: Towards the Archeology of a Concept, *The Silk Road*, 5/1 (2007), pp.1-10.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

the Italian Minister of Education, Guido Bacelli reflected the mood of his audience :

Human civilisation sailed from the shores of the Indian Ocean, gradually spread to Central Asia, Egypt, Greece and to the rest of Europe, now travels back, enriched, towards those regions.... knowledge of things oriental which is the bright star, radiating its brilliance to reach the farthest corners of the globe and bring these peoples out of their centuries-old darkness. *Ex Oriente Lux!*<sup>15</sup>

The speakers were like a parade of famous scholars of Indology, Sinology, and Turcology within Finnish-Russian, British-Government of India, German, French and Hungarian delegations and there were participants from many other countries, including Japan. <sup>16</sup>

In fact, the discoveries in Central Asia and the European studies on Buddhist texts in Sanskrit had been the center of attention for the Japanese Buddhists for a while.

### Japanese Buddhist Monks Sent to Europe

An entry in *Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyo*, shows that as early as 1857,

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<sup>15</sup> "Proceedings (Extract) of XII International Congress of Orientalists, Rome, October 1899", <http://idp.bl.uk/education/orientalists/index.a4d>, accessed on 12 May 2012.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

Honganji was aware of the translation and publication of “Great Tang Records on the Western Regions” by the French scholar Stanislas Julien (1797?- 1873).<sup>17</sup> Yet another entry in 1876 (the year Kōzui was born) noting Max Müller’s translation of Buddhist sutras in Sanskrit, proves that the Japanese Buddhists were sensitive to the developments in European scholarship.<sup>18</sup>

As in other fields, Western Honganji started to lead the Japanese Buddhist community in consuming the knowledge accumulated by the Western scholars on their faith.<sup>19</sup>The first student sent in 1875 by Nishi to U.S. was Imadate Tosui今立吐醉 (1855-1931). A year later, following the publication by Max Müller, the Higashi sent Nanjō Bunyū南条 文雄(1849-1927), and Kasahara Kenju笠原研寿 (1852-1883) to England to study with him. Then in 1881, Kitabatake Dōryū北畠道竜(1820-1907); 1882, Fujieda Sawayuki藤枝沢通 (Studied Sanskrit for 10 years with the famous Indologist Sylvain Levy [1863-1935] ), Fujishima Ryōon藤島了穩(1852-1918; studied law for 9 years

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<sup>17</sup> Myōnyo Shōnin Nenpyo, p.5.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>19</sup> Richard M. Jaffe, Seeking Shakyamuni: Travel and Reconstruction of Japanese Buddhism, *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol.30, No.1 (Winter 2004), pp.65-96.

in France), Suga Ryōhō菅了法(1857-1936; studied Sanskrit for 2.5 years in England) of Nishi followed. In 1886, Tokiwai Gyōyū 常盤井堯猷(1872-1951), the son-in-law of Myōnyo, was sent by Shinshū Takada denomination to Germany to study Sanskrit with Ernst Leumann (1859- 1931) in the Strasbourg University. The same year the Shingon sect started a new trend by sending one of its monks to directly study Pali and the Buddhist practices in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The Rinzai sect followed this pattern in 1886 , and soon Shinshū Bukkōji-ha, Higashi and Shinshū Jōshō-ha joined in by sending monks to Ceylon and Siam (Thailand). In 1889, the Nishi's Tokuzawa Chiezō徳澤知恵蔵 (1871-1908) went to India where he stayed and studied Brahmanism for seven years. The next year, Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866-1945) of Nishi travelled through England, Germany, France and Italy and studied Sanskrit with Max Muller, Hermann Oldenburg [1854-1920] and Paul Deussen [ 1845- 1919]). Many other Japanese monks from various sects were now flocking to European universities as well as Southeastern Asian temples. In 1899, a year before Kōzui's arrival at London, Sonoda Shūe 蘆田宗恵(1862- 1922), and Fujii Senshō 藤井宣

正(1859- 1903) from Nishi had started their education in Germany and England respectively.<sup>20</sup> Thus set was the stage for the Ōtani Expeditions into Central Asia.

### The First Ōtani Expedition (1902-1904)

At the turn of the century, the new Age of Discovery was under full sway, enthusiasm for learning had reached a peak. Adventurous scholar-travelers were coming back with unprecedented quantities of knowledge and marvelous stories of every uncharted territory in the world. London was one of the vibrant centers of scholarship. In March 1900, Ōtani Kōzui arrived at London in this atmosphere. The news of recent findings of explorers in Central Asia was flowing into the newspapers, magazines and academic journals. The explorers were met with public enthusiasm and their conferences in learned societies like the Royal Geographical Society attracted large audiences. Thanks to developing techniques of photography, beautiful books were

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<sup>20</sup> The list of Japanese Buddhist monks sent abroad is developed by the author based on [http://ryubin.com/ryutan/persons/tokuzawa\\_chiezo/chiezo.html](http://ryubin.com/ryutan/persons/tokuzawa_chiezo/chiezo.html), accessed 24 Oct.2011; which in turn was extracted from Kashiwabara Yūsen, *Nihon Bukkyō-shi (Kindai)* (History of Japanese Buddhism (Modern Times), (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan,1990).

published one after another. Faced with this environment, the young and energetic Kōzui who had just recently done extensive travels in Qing China could do nothing but be mesmerized.

It was at this point that Sir Aurel Stein (1862- 1943) began his first expedition into the Khotan area and sending his reports on the exceedingly Buddhist content of his discoveries (1900-1901). He was largely influenced by Hedin's discoveries in the area and was fully aware that the Tarim Basin was a promising field for new discoveries. In a book he published in 1904, he had described his thoughts at the time :

Chance finds of ancient manuscripts in Sanskrit and mostly Buddhist, which commenced in 1890 with Captain (now Colonel) Bower's famous birch-bark leaves from Kucha, were the first tangible proof that precious materials of this kind might still be preserved under the arid soil of Chinese Turkestan....But on the cultural *entourage* in which this far transplanted Indian learning had flourished, such chance acquisitions, of uncertain origin, and unaccompanied by archeological evidence, could throw little light. <sup>21</sup>

Stein had come up with tremendous results from this expedition.<sup>22</sup>

Hearing also about a German plan to send an expedition to the area,

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<sup>21</sup> M.Aurel Stein, *Sand Buried Ruins of Khotan – Personal Narrative of a Journey of Archeological and Geographical Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1904), pp.xiv-xv.

<sup>22</sup> Aurel Stein's findings and writings are mostly stored in British institutions. For a detailed account of such material see: Helen Wang & John Perkins (ed.s), *Handbook to the Collections of Sir Aurel Stein in the UK*, (London: The British Museum, 2008)

Kōzui, as an Asian and a Buddhist as Sohō would later describe him, must have felt the urgent need to start one on his own.<sup>23</sup> Stein's enterprise was sponsored by the British Indian government, but thanks to Honganji's vast resources, Kōzui had the chance to supply the necessary funds without problem. He used most of his time in Europe to plan his expedition. He met the famous traveler Arminius Vambery, an expert on the Ottoman Empire and its sufi traditions, and had been to Western Turkistan disguised as an Ottoman dervish and had compiled his journeys in a number of books.<sup>24</sup> He met with Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin in person.<sup>25</sup> Though details are not known, his visit to Sweden on the way back from Turkey to England was possibly to meet Sven Hedin in order to gather further information. He also paid a visit in May 1902, to his friend John Milne

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<sup>23</sup> The reading of a paper titled "Geographical and Archeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan", written by Aurel Stein on 16 Jun.1902 during fourteenth ordinary meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, which Kōzui was a member, must have strengthened both his curiosity and urgency. The Royal Geographical Society, Meetings of the Royal Geographical Society, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol.20, No.1 (Jul. 1902), pp.113-118.

<sup>24</sup> For the details of Arminius Vambery's life and activities see: David Mandler, *Arminius Vambery, the Eastern (Br)Other In Victorian Politics and Culture: Hungarian (Jewish) Orientalism and the Invention of Identities*, (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> Sohō, p.45.

in his observatory in White Island.<sup>26</sup> After completing the preparations the First Ōtani Expedition took its start from St. Petersburg on 18 Aug.1902. There were only days before the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists would gather in Hamburg, (Sep. 1902) with the participation of Aurel Stein as keynote speaker.<sup>27</sup> Central Asia was the main topic of attention. Following Swedish Hedin and Russian Dmitri.Klementz (1847-1914) in 1898, the First German Expedition to Turfan (Nov.1902- Mar.1903)was to leave after the Congress, led by Albert Grünwedel (1856-1935) and Georg Huth (1867-1906).<sup>28</sup> Obviously Kōzui wanted to reach the region before them.

As a devout Buddhist, it was not only a scholarly mission but also a sort of pilgrimage for him. He was full aware of the importance of his

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<sup>26</sup> Nagasawa Kazutoshi, Tankentai wa Nani wo Mita ka? (What did the expedition group see?), *The Sun*, No.360 (Jun.1991), Special Edition on Ōtani Expeditions, pp.11-68.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Albert von Le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in OstTurkistan*, (Leipzig: JHC, 1926), pp.8- 9. [The second expedition was held to Turfan and Komul between Sep.1904- Dec.1905.The third to Kucha, Turfan Karashahr, Komul between Dec.1905- Jun.1907, and the fourth to Kucha and Maralbashi between Jan.1913 – Feb.1914.]. For the German findings in Turfan which were later compiled and published, see: Albert von Le Coq, *Buddhistische .Spatantike in MittelAsien*, (Berlin: Dietrich Riemer, 1922).

enterprise for his faith, and he was determined to find out the traces of Buddhism in Central Asia.<sup>29</sup> Thus unlike its western precursors, the Japanese expedition was assuming a religious character in addition to its academic purpose. Kozui, accompanied by young members of his team Inoue Kōen井上弘円, Honda Eryū 本多恵隆, Watanabe Tesshin渡辺哲信, and Hori Kenyū堀賢雄, headed towards Baku.<sup>30</sup> On Sept.4, the group reached the eastern end of the Turkistan railroad, Osh. Then after completing their preparations they travelled on horses, and crossing the 3.800m. Derek Pass, on Sept.21,1902 they succeeded to arrive at Kashgar, the westernmost point of Chinese Turkistan<sup>31</sup> They stayed overnight in the house of the Russian consul but the next day they met Colonel Miles, the British Consul in Kashgar and decided to stay at his residence.<sup>32</sup> Colonel Miles warned them about the winter. (Appendix. Fig. 47) They

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<sup>29</sup> Sato Ken, *Amida ga Kita Michi*, (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 2003), p.17.

<sup>30</sup> Sohō, p.45.

<sup>31</sup> Toei, *Siruku Rōdo Saiiki Bunbutsuten Zuroku*, (Kyoto: Toei, 2001),pp.6-13

<sup>32</sup> Recently signed (Jan.1902) Anglo-Japanese Treaty was showing its impact on daily relations. Sohō refers to the favorable atmosphere for this expedition created by the treaty: “*Until Washington Treaty in 1921, Japan was the watchdog of England in Asia, and England was the stable guarantor of Japan in international platforms. Therefore it was a very suitable situation for the expedition...*” Sohō, p.46.

learned that with the advent of the winter, the postal road to Srinagar via Girgit would soon be closed due to heavy snowfalls. Therefore out of necessity Kozui decided to split the group into two separate teams:<sup>33</sup> One to head towards India and the other to the regions around Taklamakan. Thus on Sep. 27 the group left Kashgar, passing through the southern route of Eastern Turkistan reached Yarkand and continued to Tashkurgan. (Appendix. Fig.48) There, on Oct. 14, finally the group split into two. Kozui headed south to India with one of his companions while the others went northwards. The India team went through Mintaka Pass, Girgit into Kashmir, arriving at Srinagar on 9 Nov., 1902. The Eastern Turkistan team went north to Yarkand and following the southern route (south of Taklamakan desert) to the east they reached Khotan. Staying for forty days in Khotan, they made research in the areas nearby. This team departed Khotan with the coming of the new year (Jan. 2) and started travelling through the desert road to the northern parts of Taklamakan. After travelling extensively in Aksu, Ush, and Turfan they returned to Kashgar. Their

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<sup>33</sup> Toei, *Siruku Rōdo*.

next route was Maralbashi – Tumsuk – Aksu – Bay – Kucha, reaching Kyzil on 10Apr. 1903. They stayed in this region for over four months, a sign that shows they had found important relics during their excavations. They had concentrated their research activity on Doldolakol, Kyzil Thousand Buddhas Caves and Kumtura Thousand Buddhas Caves. Leaving the area on 11 Aug. 1903, this team returned to Japan via Urumchi, Hami and Chinese inland.<sup>34</sup>

As for the India team led by Kōzui himself, their voyage had come to an abrupt halt by the news that Myōnyo, his father had died (Jan., 18, 1903) He had to return to Kyoto as soon as possible, in order to be declared as the new abbot of Nishi Honganji. Kozui reached Nagasaki on March 12 as a champion of his faith and delivered his first address as the new chief-abbot of Nishi Honganji on March 25.<sup>35</sup> His love for Central Asia would never cease and in fact his ambition would in the future cost him his position within his sect.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Nenpu, p.27

### A. Stein's Discovery of the Library Cave in Dunhuang (1907)

The expeditions into Central Asia had come to a temporary halt with the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. Then following the end of the war Kōzui went on a journey to Eastern Russia and China with his wife between Jul.1906- May 1907. Soon a news would once again force him to focus on the region and start planning a new expedition.

On a day at the end of May,1907 a spectacular discovery was made by Sir Aurel Stein in a grotto in the remote area of Dunhuang, Western China. He had reached the area after a long and tiring journey through the Taklamakan desert during which he had already come across some other archeological treasures that the arid land had hidden from the eyes of the passers-by. His camels were already packed with ancient artifacts and a variety of relics, enough to make any archeologist in the world to be overwhelmed with the joy of being able to illuminate a large portion of the unknown past. But he was yet to make the biggest of his discoveries in the coming days.

He had heard about the beauty of the wall-paintings of the cave shrines in a Buddhist monastery nearby the small town of Dunhuang

from one of his fellow countrymen, Prof. L. de Loczy, the then head of the Hungarian Geological Survey, and president of the Geographical Society of Hungary. Prof. Loczy and his team had visited the site called “Halls of the Thousand Buddhas” as early as 1879.<sup>36</sup> Now, five years after his first contact with this intriguing information, Stein was ready to spare some time to inspect the site. In a report he delivered at The Royal Geographical Society on 8 Mar. 1909, he was expressing his first impressions on what he saw that day, as follows:

I had paid my first flying visit to the sacred caves carved into the precipitous conglomerate cliffs at the mouth of a barren valley some 12 miles to the south-east of the oasis, I had found my expectations fully verified, and now I was drawn back by the remembrance of a wealth of art treasures waiting for closer study. There were hundreds of grottoes, large and small, honeycombing in irregular tiers the somber rock-faces, and my first hurried inspection showed that almost all of them had on their plastered walls a profusion of beautiful and more or less well-preserved frescoes. In composition and style they showed the closest affinity to the remains of Buddhist pictorial art as transplanted from India to Eastern Turkestan, and already familiar to me from the ruined shrines I had excavated in the Khotan desert.<sup>37</sup>

Adding to his enthusiasm, two months before he placed his tents at

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<sup>36</sup> M. Aurel Stein, Explorations in Central Asia, 1906-8 (Continued), *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Sep., 1909), pp. 241-264.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

the site, he had heard “vague rumors about a great hidden deposit of ancient manuscripts, which had been accidentally discovered by a Taoist monk about two years earlier, while restoring one of the temples”.<sup>38</sup> Relying on his instincts and experience he decided to make a deeper inquiry about that rumor and had long conversations with the monk in question in order to persuade him to show some pieces from the hidden treasury. When finally the monk gave in, he took Stein and his Chinese assistant Chiang-ssu-yieh to a cave and showed them something that surpassed the wildest dreams of the archeologist. The man was holding a roll in his hand which bore Chinese inscriptions of a Buddhist text translated by the infamous Chinese travelling monk of Xuanzang of the seventh century. Stein’s account of the moment of discovery gives us a vivid picture of his excitement:

....the Tao-shih then summoned up courage to open before me the rough door closing the entrance which led from the side of the broad front passage of his temple into the rock-carved recess, and which, previous to accidental discovery through a crack, had been hidden behind a frescoed wall. The sight of the small room disclosed was one to make my eyes open wide. Heaped up in layers, but

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

without any order, there appeared in the dim light of the priest's little oil lamp a solid mass of manuscript bundles rising to 10 feet from the floor and filling, as subsequent measurement showed, close on 500 cubic feet. It was impossible to examine anything in this "black hole." But when the priest had brought out some bundles, and had allowed us to look rapidly through the contents in a side room of the newly built porch, where we were well screened from any inquisitive eyes, my contentment rose greatly.<sup>39</sup>

Following this initial exposure, Aurel Stein's insistence in seeing the rest of the materials sealed in the Library Cave No.17, gave its fruits and he managed to take over 14.000 scrolls and fragments back to England.<sup>40</sup>

Within a year, in March 1909, having heard about the discovery in Dunhuang but without knowing the details, a rival of Stein's, Frenchmen Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) who was a well-known expert on China and Inner Asia, arrived at the site and found the Taoist priest, Wang. Pelliot was delighted with what he had seen in the library cave but though he was ready to do anything for it, it was impossible to persuade Wang to give all the content of the cave away. Finally, the two agreed to separate two piles of manuscripts which Pelliot had

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Helen Wang, John Perkins (ed.s.), *Handbook to the Collections of Sir Aurel Stein in the UK*, (London: The British Museum, 2008), p.3.

chosen after days and nights of examination full of strain and traded them for 500 taels (90£).<sup>41</sup> Due to his strenuous work, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris now boasts to host the most important pieces of the tens of thousands of manuscripts from Dunhuang caves.<sup>42</sup> Pelliot failed to keep his promise of secrecy he had given to Wang and showing some pieces to his Chinese colleagues, he talked about his recent finds while he was already in China. His joy was not shared by the Chinese officials who felt forced to take precautions for further plundering of the scrolls and sent orders to the local authorities for their immediate transportation to the capital. The Taoist Wang soon hid himself with a part of the manuscripts while the Chinese officials on duty also seem to be eager to secure some pieces for their own collections. From bulk of what was left in the library, only 8.697 pieces could make it to the Beijing Library.<sup>43</sup>

Despite the sealing of the library cave by the Chinese officials and

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<sup>41</sup> Hopkirk, Peter, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), pp.182-184.

<sup>42</sup> Woodbridge Bingham, Notes on Tun-Huang Manuscripts in Paris and London, *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Nov., 1951), pp. 67-70.

<sup>43</sup> Wenbin Zang (ed.), *Dunhuang - A Centennial Commemoration of the Discovery of the Cave Library*, (Beijing: Morning Glory Publishers, 2000), pp.182-83.

transfer of its content to Beijing, the interest of the international scholarly community was not likely to end in the foreseeable future (In fact some manuscripts possibly from the area brought by Albert von Le Coq even ended up in the private collection of Sultan Abdulhamid II in Yildiz Palace, Istanbul. Today they are preserved at the Library of Istanbul University<sup>44</sup>).

### The Second Ōtani Expedition (1908-1909)

Soon after Stein's discovery, a new development changed the outlook of the global political arena. The Russians and the British had decided to end their hostilities in Central Asia and form an alliance against the growing threat of Germany. The Anglo- Russian Treaty signed on 31 Aug. 1907, was the virtual end of the Great Game. Utilising the peaceful atmosphere created by this treaty, new expeditions were under way. Kōzui prepared his plans and ordered his disciples Tachibana Zuichō 橘瑞超 (1890-1968) and Nomura Eizaburō 野村栄三

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<sup>44</sup> Mazumi Mitani, Istanbul Daigaku Toshokan ni Turfan Shutsudo Bunsho ga Dono youni Ikan Sareta ka? (How were the Turfan Documents in Istanbul University Library Tranferred?), *Bulletin of Research Institute for Buddhist Culture*, No.47 (2008), pp. 68-76.

郎 to start an expedition right away. (Appendix. Fig. 49) This time he would not be able to participate personally, but in Nov. 1908 he invited and hosted Sven Hedin in his residence within the temple grounds.<sup>45</sup> The two discussed the new developments in the field as well as the possible areas for new discoveries. Kōzui used this information to direct Tachibana and Nomura.

The two left Beijing on 16 Jun.1908. They first crossed the Gobi Desert, passed through Ulan Batoor and reached the Orkhon Inscriptions.<sup>46</sup> After doing research on the Turkic and Mongolian relics in the area, they went to Tarim Basin via Altai and Tian Shan mountains. From mid-November till the end of the year, they spent time surveying the Buddhist cave complexes around Turfan. With the New Year, having received new funds from Kōzui at Urumchi, they continued to Korla but decided to split on Feb.21. Tachibana traveled through the southern desert route of Lob Nor and Niya while Nomura used the northern route via Kucha and Aksu. During this period,

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<sup>45</sup> Shirasu, Jōshin, *Otani Tankentai to Sono Jidai*, (Tokyo: Bensey, 2002), p. 26.

<sup>46</sup> Dainobu Yūji, *Ōtani Kōzui to Saiiki Bijutsu* (Ōtani Kōzui and Central Asian Art), (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2002), pp.23-24.

Nomura came across a manuscript dating from 782 AD in the Kumtura caves, and Tachibana discovered in the sands near Loulan, a manuscript written in the fourth century by a certain Li Bo who was understood to be the Chief Aide Administrator of the Western Regions.<sup>47</sup> The document later became famous as the “Li Bo manuscript”. The two met at Kashgar in July 1909. Together they crossed the difficult path of Karakorum Mountains and entered into Kashmir and India where an impatient Kōzui was waiting to meet and learn their findings. From there Tachibana joined Kōzui in his trip to England and Nomura returned to Kashgar where they had left their precious cargo containing numerous manuscripts and other artifacts. Nomura took the cargo back to Japan and the materials were stored in the Villa Nirakusō which was built partly for this purpose and was completed in Sep.1908.<sup>48</sup> Thus the two had traversed thousands of kilometers on the following route between Jun.1908 – Oct. 1909 : Beijing – Ulan Batoor – Ergenichao – Uriastai

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<sup>47</sup> [http://idp.bl.uk/pages/collections\\_jp.a4d](http://idp.bl.uk/pages/collections_jp.a4d), accessed on 13 May 2012.

<sup>48</sup> Ashiya City Fine Arts Museum (ed.), *Nirakusō to Ōtani Tankentai* (Nirakusō and Ōtani Expeditions), (Ashiya: Ashiya City Fine Arts Museum, 1999), p.55.

– Kobot – Urumchi – Turfan – Karashahr – Korla – Lob Nor – Khotan –  
Yarkand – Kucha – Kashgar reaching India on the way back to  
Japan.<sup>49</sup> (Appendix. Fig.50)

### The Third Otani Expedition (1910-1914)

After the details of Aurel Stein's discovery became clear, Kōzui was determined to find the spot and reach the vast reserve of manuscripts kept in Mogao caves. On 30 Oct. 1909, in Srinagar, he met Sir Francis Younghusband, another famous explorer, no doubt asking for his views of Stein's discoveries. Obviously not satisfied with the information available he decided to extend his travel to England instead of returning to Japan from India, as planned. In August 1910, he met both Hedin and Stein in London. He knew he had to act swiftly in order for his team to reach the site before others. He ordered Tachibana to leave immediately, and he did depart London on 16 Aug. 1910. Whether he was a volunteer or a friend or a partner provided to accompany Tachibana according to an agreement reached

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<sup>49</sup> Wenbin, Dunhuang.

with the providers of information, for unknown reasons today, in this journey a young Englishman, a certain Hobbs was also with him.<sup>50</sup>

The two got on the Siberian railway and via Umsuk reached Urumchi on Oct.19. But for some reason, instead of going straightly to Mogao One Thousand Buddha Caves, Tachibana spent about a month around Turfan carrying out excavations. Then leaving what he had gathered in the excavations to Hobbs and sending him to Kucha, he began crossing the Taklamakan Desert in a vertical route from Cherchen in the south to Kucha in the north. When he finally reached Kucha he learned that Hobbs had died on the way. In March, he headed towards Khotan but he encountered further troubles, and he had to leave some of his cargo behind after he lost the animals in his caravan.

Without being able to learn the whereabouts of Tachibana, Kōzui was worried. He decided to send another man, Yoshikawa Koichirō to meet him. Yoshikawa left Japan on 29 May 1911, and headed directly

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<sup>50</sup> *Bunbutsuten Zuroku* [This Hobbs was to die in the Taklamakan desert while Tachibana survived and reached his destination. Interestingly, his name was not mentioned in the report given by Tachibana to the Royal Geographical Society before his departure. The Royal Geographical Society, The Monthly Record, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol.35, No.4 (Apr.1910), pp.445-456.

to Dunhuang, the Cave No.17. After reaching Dunhuang he began purchasing manuscripts from Wang, the keeper of the now famous library cave who, due to high demand had turned the scrolls into his business. With the money he brought, Yoshikawa managed to acquire some 400 scrolls of Buddhist sutras written in Chinese, Uygur, Tibetan and other languages.<sup>51</sup> Meanwhile, hoping they would somehow reach Tachibana, he was also sending messages with caravans to meet him at Dunhuang. Finally when he showed up on 26 Jan.1912, Yoshikawa had difficulty to recognize him.

Thus, as Kōzui planned the next visitors of Dunhuang after Pelliot were the Japanese team of Zuicho Tachibana and Yoshikawa Koichiro.<sup>52</sup> But the two were finding to stay in China increasingly difficult. On the one hand, there were violent uprisings in the country (The Xinhai Revolution) and on the other they were facing financial problems due to Kōzui's position at home. After continuous attempts to find money, Tachibana finally was able to return to Japan in Jun.

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<sup>51</sup> For the usage of various languages of Central Asian origin see: Jan Natier, Church Language and Vernacular Language in Central Asian Buddhism, *Numen*, Vol.37, Fasc.2 (Dec.,1990), pp.195-219.

<sup>52</sup> Wenbin, Dun Huang, *Ibid.* Also see: The Royal Geographical Society, The Monthly Record, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (Apr., 1910), pp. 445-456.

1912. Yoshikawa stayed for the next one and a half years in the region, and returned in Feb.1914. Thus ended the Third and the last Ōtani Expedition.

The global sholarly interest in Dunhuang material lingered for another while. In the same year Yoshikawa left China, a Russian explorer Sergei Oldenburg (1863-1934) arrived at the area to take some thousands of manuscripts and other material back to St. Petersburg Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Science.<sup>53</sup> Finally, in 1924 an American team led by Langdon Warner (1881-1955) from the Harvard University, possibly frustrated by the impossibility of acquiring any more portion of the treasury of Dunhuang Library Cave, simply because nothing was left, decided to take the murals from the walls. His technique caused much damage to the frescoes in the caves and no more foreigners were allowed into the caves in the “guise” of scholarly interest after that incident.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Wenbin, Dun Huang, p.184.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

## The Fate of the Ōtani Collection

A detailed account of the three Ōtani Expeditions was compiled and published in two magnificent volumes in 1937.<sup>55</sup> The material brought to Japan containing manuscripts in different languages, ancient drawings, coins, statuettes, textile, as well as plants and local clothing, and countless photographs on the other hand, was unfortunately split and scattered among a number of locations. Following Nirakusō's closure, Kōzui's resignation from abbacy and his departure from Japan, the Ōtani Collection was dispersed among individuals as well as institutions in a number of countries, and some were lost for good during the Second World War. Today, parts of it are stored in the collections of (Japan) Ryukoku University, Otani University, Tokyo National Museum, Kyoto National Museum, MOA Fine Arts Museum, (China) Lü Shun Museum , Beijing Library and (Korea) Seoul National Museum.<sup>56</sup> The Ōtani Collection, like the

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<sup>55</sup> Uehara Yoshitarō, *Shinsaiiki-ki* (The New Records of the Western Regions) I-II, (Tokyo: Yūkōsha, 1937) . Later an annex including an index was also published: Katayama Akio, *Ōtani Tankentai kankei Monjo Mokuroku* (Inventory of Texts Related to Ōtani Expeditions), (Tokyo: Igusa Shuppan, 1984).

<sup>56</sup> Sugimori Tō, Ōtani Tankentai to Shōraihin (Ōtani Expeditions and Materials Brought), *Bunka Isan-The Cultural Heritage*, Vol.11 (Apr.2001), Special Edition: Silk Road and Ōtani Expeditions, pp.4-6. [An up to date distribution of the collection

collections of numerous other explorers of Central Asia with their tens of thousands of items stored in archives, are waiting for a new wave of interest in the region. (Appendix. Fig. 51)

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can be found at: [http://idp.bl.uk/pages/collections\\_jp.a4d](http://idp.bl.uk/pages/collections_jp.a4d), accessed on 13 May 2012.].

## CHAPTER TEN

### THE AGRICULTURALIST IN TURKEY

With the rise of industrialization throughout the nineteenth century, the share of agriculture within gross national products was continuously decreasing. The reaction to this deterioration in the economic value attributed to agriculture came in the form of an economic theory, the Physiocracy. The Physiocrats, basing their arguments on “the “*Tableau Economique*” of Francois Quesnay, maintained that agriculture should be the main source of riches in an economy. They argued that unlike Mercantilism which necessarily brought hierarchic relations within and among nations and caused wars, agriculture was egalitarian qua democratic in essence.<sup>1</sup> But their voices were too faint to be heard in the chaotic period of late 19<sup>th</sup> century, during which colonialism, armament race boosted by technological advances, spread of heavy industries were reigning in

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<sup>1</sup> For the details of Physiocracy see: M.Beer, *An Inquiry into Physiocracy*, (London: Frank Cass&Co., 1966).

politics. Beginning with the Meiji Restoration, and its policy of *Fukoku Kyōhei* (Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Army), Japanese intellectuals too, were bothered with the rapid industrialization and its impact on their society. Just like their precursors in nineteenth century Europe, they claimed that agriculture should remain to be the main source of income for the Japanese economy. They had a strong conviction that living in natural conditions and obeying the rules of nature were essential for the well-being of humanbeings. Hence, they idealised the life in villages and farms.

Ōtani Kōzui liked to call himself a “farmer”.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the years he lived in China, he saw agriculture as his main occupation. It was such an important component of his identity that he had “Agriculture” written in his passport as his profession.<sup>3</sup> (Appendix. Fig.52) Although this fact seems surprising at first sight, a closer look at his activities in South-east Asia shows that he did deserve to be called an “agriculturalist”. His deep interest in agriculture had carried

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<sup>2</sup> Harada Ryōtetsu, Hyakushō Kōzui – I am a farmer! (Farmer Kōzui), *Daijō Kōzui Edition*, pp.54-55.

<sup>3</sup> Nimoto Shōe Collection, Aomori Kōgyōji Temple Archives.

him to Malaysia and Singapore for natural rubber plantations, to Celebes Island for coffee and palm-oil production, to Java for the production of essential oils from herbs like citronella, and to Turkey for essential oil and fragrances from rose in Ankara Forest Farm with Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey and silk in Bursa.

All through his life, Ōtani Kōzui was a fervent advocate of “*Nōhonshugi*” (lit. “Agriculture is the origin” Theory). In the fourth volume of his monumental work “*Kōa Keikaku*” (Construction of Asia Project; ten volumes published between in 1939-1940), he openly declared his views:

Agriculture is the basis of the country. Without agricultural activity humanity can not exist...I negate [the ones who claim that] the countries will rise on industry....It is deviant talk...Without food people will die. Without people there will be no country [whatsoever]. This is what the industry [they claim] to be the basis of the country lacks and agriculture has.<sup>4</sup>

Agriculture was a field he could combine his love of Asia with his vision for humanity. His activities in Southeast Asia and in Turkey go beyond the limits of a profit seeking businessman, and constitute his experiments that show his conviction that the basis of human welfare

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<sup>4</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Kōa Keikaku – VI* (Construction of Asia Project· VI), (Osaka: Daijōsha, 1939), pp.1-6.

should be agriculture.

### Physiocracy - *Nōhonshugi*

Similar to the “physiocracy” movement in France initiated by Francois Quesnay (1694- 1774) in the eighteenth century Europe, more than a century later, the *Nōhonshugi* proponents in Japan were claiming that the main source of income of the nation was (or rather should be) agriculture. Quesnay’s influential work “*Tableau Economique*” was published as early as 1758, in an era when growing industrial production had started to threaten the agricultural sector. Economic deterioration in the villages was causing increasing numbers of peasants to flow into the cities where they could find jobs in newly opened factories. The shift in the basis of production and wealth alarmed the landlords and thus gave birth to “Physiocracy” as a reactionary movement against industrialization. M.Beer defines this development as an economic and ethical resentment against

Mercantilism:

Physiocracy was a reaction from Mercantilism, with its promotion of manufacture and traffic, its discriminating

tariffs and balance of trade policy, or sociologically speaking, a reaction from the industrial revolution which was set on foot in France in the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup>

Here the main features of Mercantilism ; (i) the conception of money as the essence of wealth, (ii) the regulations on foreign trade, (iii) emphasis on balance of trade as the main criterion of national prosperity, (iv) promotion of manufacture by supplying it with cheap raw materials and labour, (v) protective customs duties, and (vi) its view that economic interests of nations are mutually antagonistic, are rejected as a whole.<sup>6</sup> For physiocrats, such antagonism between the nations created by the Mercantilism was the main reason behind the wars and thus the miseries of the people. In its turn, the physiocrats were proposing “the Rule of Nature” (*physei-kratia*) by definition, “a system of advanced liberalism or a foundation for a constitution of a peasant democracy”.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the landlords were to play the main role in this new system. Hence, it is not surprising to see the Physiocratic movement to gain rapid support in Britain where the established landlord class had to encounter the fastest growth in

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<sup>5</sup> M.Beer, *An Inquiry into Physiocracy*, (London: Frank Cass&Co., 1966), p.13.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p.15.

manufacturing industries throughout Europe. The conflict of interests among different social classes triggered by the industrial revolution would soon lead to the French Revolution.<sup>8</sup>

Though it is not possible to establish a direct connection between the eighteenth century physiocracy and its counterpart *Nōhonshugi* which appeared in Japan in the early twentieth century, the similarities in the conditions they were born in, are obvious. Japan's rapid industrialization after the Meiji Restoration had caused a similar reactionary movement.<sup>9</sup> During the Taishō period (1912-1926) manufacturing industry had replaced agriculture as the largest source of wealth within gross national income: In 1895 agriculture (including fishery and forestry) had 42.7% and industry (including mining) had a 21% share while in 1925 agriculture had become 28.1% and industry 37.7%.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Kokaze Hidemasa, *Ajia no Teikoku Kokka* (The Imperial State of Asia), (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004), pp.161-166. [Kokaze maintains that Japan during Taishō had chosen centralization of power which in turn points to *Nōhonshugi* as complementary to centralization policies.]

<sup>10</sup> Iwasaki Masaya. 10 Dec.2008. *Taishō-Shōwa Zenki Nōhon Shisō no Shakaiteki Kenkyū* (Social Study of "Agriculture is the Origin" Thought in Taishō and Early Shōwa Periods), Available [online] :  
"http://repository.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2433/78058/1/D\_Iwasaki\_Mas"

The demographic changes, urbanization, altered life-styles caused “The Agriculture is the Origin” movement gain momentum after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Masaya divides this popular movement into three interconnected phases<sup>11</sup>:

1- The “Return to Agriculture” (*Kinō shisō*) in the Taishō period (mid-1910s to mid-1920ies) in which agriculture was praised by the intellectuals as the natural productive activity of humanity. They pushed for the betterment of government policies to support small farms. Tolstoy’s works depicting village life and Tolstoyism became popular.

2- The “Autonomous Village” (*Jichi Nōson*) in the early Shōwa (mid-1920ies to the World War) in which the villages and village life became popular.

3- The “Peasant Spirit” (*Nōmin Tamashi*) during the Second World War years (late 1930ies to mid-1940ies) in which the village was seen as the stock for man-power for the war effort. Educating the village youth became popular.

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aya.pdf“ [18 May 2012],p.12.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp.12-14.

Thus throughout the 1910s to 30ies, a transition of emphasis from Agriculture (*Nōgyō*), to Village (*Nōson*) and finally to Peasants (*Nōmin*) was experienced.<sup>12</sup> Kōzui's departure from Japan coincides with the first phase, that is when the agriculture itself as a human endeavor was praised. The movement was led by a famous poet Tokutomi Rōka 徳富蘆花(1868-1927; younger brother of Tokutomi Sohō) who helped romanticizing agricultural work and even start living in a village.<sup>13</sup> He was a well-known admirer of Tolstoy and frequently corresponded with him.

#### Agriculture - From Hobby to Profession

Kōzui must have been influenced by the spirit of the time. He had cultivated an interest in plants since his expedition into Central Asia where he had gathered many endemic plants along with Buddhist artifacts. In Nirakusō he had built two separate greenhouses, one hot for growing tropical plants, and another one with suitable conditions for plants from cold mountainous areas of the continent. He used to

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p.24.

lecture his students in these greenhouses on rare plants he was

carefully raising. One of his students, Yamamoto Kōshō recalls:

On the southern side there was multi-level Persian style garden. The garden was so beautiful that I believe Kōzui could challenge the Moghul Emperors...There was a tennis court and below it a hot and a surprisingly long, low-heat greenhouse....In the hot greenhouse there was an Ashoka Tree [Sorrowless tree]; in the cold a Himalayan Rhododendron [a type of magnolia], and mask melons... He used to teach us “This is the largest type of Rhododendron in the world”...Also Russian cucumbers.<sup>14</sup>

He sometimes enjoyed sending mask melons, rare fruits no one had ever seen in Meiji Japan, and surprise his friend Tokutomi Sohō.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, his interest could have remained to be an aristocratic hobby if he did not have to move to China and compelled to think of a way to sustain his life without the almost limitless financial resources of Honganji available at his command. The small amount of stipend he received from Kokumin Shimbun might be enough to survive, but not sufficient for the big plans he had in his mind. Then he realized he could turn his hobby and knowledge of plants into his profession.

After all his faith Jōdo Shinshū had initially spread among the

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<sup>14</sup> Yamamoto Kōshō, Rōkkō ni Omou (Thinking of Rōkkō), *Daijō – Buddhist Magazine*, Vol.5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954), pp.153- 166.

<sup>15</sup> Takano, Sohō to Sono Jidai, p. 299.

peasants and the traditional basis of *Ikkō-shū* (The sect of the Single-Minded / Jōdo Shinshū) had always been the peasants and villagers. They were the ones who had listened to the words of his ancestor Rennyo and followed him to salvation. As the chief-abbot he frequently travelled among villages and stayed at village temples. Thus at this new stage in his life he decided to “return to agriculture”, the very roots of his faith. In *Nōhonshugi* (Agriculture is the Origin) he had found the respect for nature, valuing of life and the egalitarianism of Rennyo’s teachings.

#### Farms in Southeast Asia

After leaving Japan, Kōzui wandered around in India and Southeast Asia. With 1915, he had finally found the energy to start his new life and met one of his disciples he had sent for mission work to the region, Hashiramoto Zuigi at Penang, Southern India.<sup>16</sup> He talked about the possibilities of starting an agro-business and asked his ideas on the potential areas he had visited. After learning that the natural rubber

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<sup>16</sup> Nenpu, p.76.

production was on the rise, Kōzui decided he could create a venture to sustain his life in the continent. He spent the summer looking for the right place to start his business. In Sep. 1915, he established his company “The Rising Sun Rubber Estate” (Kyoku jitsu Gomu-en 旭日護謨園) at the address: Hanaya Hotel, Victoria Street, Singapore.<sup>17</sup> The company’s first business was a natural rubber plantation at Renggam in the Johor State of Peninsular Malaysia. Soon another plantation was bought in Singapore.<sup>18</sup> But within a year, the British authorities, obviously disturbed by the increasing international interest in the areas under their control began restricting free-trade. In March 1917, they prohibited nationals other than British and Malaysian more than 50 acres of land, and in July a declaration of prohibition to own any land by “foreigners” followed. The prohibition included Johor State which meant Kōzui had to move out. Thus, he was forced out of Malaysia and Singapore by the British, but he did not give his dreams

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<sup>17</sup> Katō Toki, Ōtani Kōzui to Nanyō (Ōtani Kōzui and Southeast Asia), in *Otani Kozui to Ajia*, edited by Shibata Mikio, (Tokyo: Bensey, 2010), pp.248-269.

<sup>18</sup> Western Honganji was active in Singapore since 1898. For the details of Honganji activities in Singapore see: Shibata Mikio, Singapore Honganji to Nihongo Gakkō (Singapore Honganji and the Japanese School), *Kan-Nihonkai Kenkyu Nenpo* (Annual Bulletin of the Northeast Asian Studies), No.14 (Feb.2007), pp. 127-146.

up. After selling his properties there, he moved his operations to Celebes Island [ today Sulawesi, Indonesia] in the Dutch controlled territories where unlike the British, the Dutch authorities were cooperative. He established a new company called “*Ranryō Indo Nōrin Kōgyō Kabushiki Kaisha*” (The company’s official name in Dutch was: “Nederlandsche indische industrie land en bosch exploitatie maatschappij”, and its abbreviation: “NIILBEM), with an initial capital of 200,000 Guilders and its center at Surabaya city in East Java.<sup>19</sup> Soon a second company to deal with trading of products, “*Celebes Bussan Kaisha*” (Celebes Products Company, “CBS”) with a capital of 100,000 Guilders followed.<sup>20</sup>

The planning and preparations including the acquisition of property as well as machinery lasted for more than a year. Finally in May 1919, the plantation in Nongan (35 miles from Manado city) started its operations. The plantation cultivated coffee and palm, while extraction of essential oils were also done in a factory built on-site. The international sales rights of its products were given to

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

Mitsui Bussan which distributed them via to its branches in Hamburg, London and Paris. The Arabica, Liberica and Robusta types of coffee beans produced in the Celebes plantation could be found in Tokyo stores<sup>21</sup> (Appendix. Fig. 53)

In July 1920, he decided to expand his plantation business to Java Island. He purchased land from Dutch and Chinese nationals in Java and established the “Dojerang dgeroe” farm at the Southeastern edge of Surabaya State (East Java).<sup>22</sup> Here he focused on cultivating and extracting essential oils from herbs. Citronella, Kapok [Ceiba Pentandra], and palm were the main products of the plantation but tests for growing Lemon Grass, Akar Wangi (A type of vetiver herb) and other fragrant plants were done.<sup>23</sup> In 1923, realizing that the Japanese working at the farm were having difficulties with the heat, Kōzui established a new plantation at S’hadji, on the skirts of Mt. Cikuray (today in Garut Regency of West Java, Indonesia) at an

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

altitude of 1,300m. above sea level.<sup>24</sup> The climate and the environment was so beautiful that in 1923 he also built a residence which he named “Villa Kansuisansō”( 環翠山荘 ). One of his assistants Matsumoto Yoshiharu 松本義晴 , who had lived in the villa during those days, would later describe the atmosphere at the farm as “paradise” and tell that main products of the plantations were Citronella, Vetiver grass, and Patchouli herbs, all for extraction of essential oils.<sup>25</sup> (Appendix. Fig. 54)

Within a few years since 1917, Kōzui had managed to become a full-fledged agriculturalist with investments in Celebes and Java islands. He had focused on cash-crops and utilized new techniques of production for adding value to herbs and spices by processing them to become widely used, high-priced essential oils. Although he seemed succeeding as an entrepreneur, his main concern was to give a message to the Japanese society and draw their attention towards Southeast Asia, the region which he believed could only prosper by the

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<sup>24</sup> Fujibe Bungaku, Robō no Kyōen (Party at the end of the road), *Daijō – Buddhist Magazine*, Vol.5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954), pp.56-59.

<sup>25</sup> Matsumoto Yoshiharu, Java no Soba (Soba of Java), *Daijō – Buddhist Magazine*, Vol.5, No: 10 (Oct. 1954), pp.51-53.

help of fellow Asians, the Japanese. But the faltering demand in Europe in the post-World War I years and increasing domestic instability in Indonesia had started to have their impact on his business.

It is at this point that he noticed Turkey. For him, the newly declared Republic of Turkey located at the western edge of Asia constituted a new model of independence for the Asian nations. Kōzui decided that his services were needed in Turkey and as always, promptly started to act.<sup>26</sup>

### Kōzui Turns towards Turkey

On 14 Feb. 1924 the business and political elite of Japan had gathered at the conference hall of the Teikoku Hotel for a conference held by the Kokumin Shimbun newspaper. The speaker was Ōtani Kōzui, a once chief-abbot of Honganji and now an entrepreneur well-known for his investments in South-east Asia. His conferences were considered as valuable occasions to learn about the present economic and political

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<sup>26</sup> Tatsumi Uemura. *Watashi no Keireki* (My Personal History), *Zuimonkai-shi*, Vol.3, (Osaka, Zuimonkai, 1953), pp.8-9.

situation in the world as well as its direction in the future. He had become a public opinion leader whose analyses and vision were respected by the business world. The title of the day's talk was "*Kaigai Tōshi ni Tsuite*" (About Investing Abroad). Full text of this conference was published in the Kokumin between 4-20 March. (Appendix. Fig. 55)

In his speech, while encouraging the Japanese businessmen to prioritize agriculture via production of cash-crops and agriculture-based industries, he specifically was asking them to invest in the Turkish Republic. It is particularly noteworthy that the speech was delivered only three months after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic on 29 Oct.1923.

I personally believe that, similar to many areas in Europe and the Balkans, Anatolian Turkey will become an interesting region in the future. When I made a survey to see if Japanese businessmen were interested in this region, I noticed that as usual, the Osakans had acted before anyone else. They have already entered the region. As to how I discovered this: When I went to the Shōkin Bank in Shanghai, I asked if the currency of that region (Turkey) was moving and I learned that it was. Apparently, if this trend continues, the Shōkin Bank will have to open a branch in İstanbul. <sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> "*Kaigai Tōshi ni Tsuite*", Kokumin Shimbun, 4- 20 March 1924.

His interest in Turkey may be considered within the framework of Asianism. He must have been impressed with the Independence War of the Turkish nation against the Western invaders. His actions following the above mentioned speech, show that he had regarded providing support for the economic development of the new Republic as a mission for himself. He would soon employ all in his power in order to establish strong bonds between the two countries.

In fact, he had been to Turkey in his youth while the country was still under the reign of a sultan, Abdulhamid II (1842-1918; regnavit.(1876-1909). According to his biographical account, the "*Nenpu*", his first visit to Istanbul took place in June of 1901. During his extensive travels in Europe while he was living in London, he had chosen Istanbul as his new destination. After having visited cities like Montreux and Cannes, he travelled across Austria and Hungary, and finally reached Istanbul.<sup>28</sup> His itinerary matches perfectly with the route of the famous Orient Express, the most

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<sup>28</sup> Nenpu,p.21.

convenient travel service of the period for people of his class.<sup>29</sup>

Although there is little information available about this journey, it can safely be assumed that he stayed at the Pera Palace Hotel, which was built in 1895 to accommodate the Orient Express passengers. Thus, at the age of 26, Kōzui had personally witnessed the current situation of the faltering Ottoman Empire.

It is impossible to construe the impact Ōtani Kōzui's memories of this visit had on his subsequent interest in Turkey. Nevertheless, in an entry he wrote in his diary as his ship was docking in Istanbul port on 11 April 1926 at approximately 10 a.m., Ōtani observes, "Though I could say that the view I recall from my first visit more than a decade ago has hardly changed, it seems that the number of dwellings in Üsküdar, on the opposite shore, have increased in number." His comment suggests that Istanbul had left its mark in his memory.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Between 1883 and 1914, the Orient Express used the following route: Paris-Strasbourg- Munich- Vienna- Budapest- Bucharest. The Sirkeci Train Station in Istanbul was the final destination. This route corresponds to Kōzui's itinerary.

<sup>30</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, "Chichukai Yūki" (Travelogue of the Mediterranean), *Daijō*, No.5-7(Jul.1926), pp. 53-64. Here, the reference to "a decade" is either a typo or a trick of Ōtani's memory, as his second visit took place in 1926, 25 years after 1901. On the other hand, although in the absence of concrete information it is impossible

In an article Ōtani's former student and future representative in Turkey Uemura Tatsumi 上村辰巳 (d.1974)<sup>31</sup> published in the journal *Zuimonkaishi*, it appears that Ōtani had decided to invest personally in the Turkish Republic as early as the spring of 1925.<sup>32</sup> In September of the same year, Kōzui had already sent Uemura to Turkey to learn about the foreign trade policies and investment conditions of the new republic.<sup>33</sup> During this period, Uemura frequently visited the Embassy to demand information and finally, on 4 May, he was able to procure the documents indicating the foreign

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to conclude that there was a second visit, his testimony may well point to his travel with his wife Kazuko in 1910. The couple had visited Athens in April, and it is perfectly possible that they made a brief visit to Istanbul.

<sup>31</sup> Having assumed a key role in most of Ōtani Kōzui's endeavors in Turkey, this individual initially used the name Uemura and was later referred to as "Kamimura" as well. Since "上", the first character of his name corresponds to both pronunciations, it can create a confusion. However, as his name is clearly transliterated as "Uemura" in Latin letters in his business card, he will be referred to as such in this text. Based on Uemura's story, Sugimori Hisahide had written an interesting section on Turkey in his biography of Ōtani Kōzui. According to this story, Kōzui with the help of Uemura helps the independence war led by Kemal Pasha and provides Japanese weapons for the Turkish cause. This extensive account does not match with real events and dates, hence will not be taken up in this study. See: Sugimori Hisahide, *Ōtani Kōzui*, (Tokyo: Chūō Kōrōnsha, 1975), pp.324-351.

<sup>32</sup> Uemura Tatsumi, "Watashi no Keireki" (My Personal History), *Zuimonkaishi* (Journal of the Society of Kōzui Lovers), v. 3, (1942), pp. 8-9.

<sup>33</sup> This fact is revealed in a letter that the newly established Japanese Embassy in İstanbul wrote to the Foreign Ministry on 1 September 1925. Japanese Foreign Ministry Trade Relations Documents-Turkish Section, Japanese Foreign Ministry Diplomacy Archives, Document no. 3.14.3.18-25, pp. 75-76. Before the embassy building in Gümüşsuyu began to operate, Uemura visited İstanbul and Ankara for the first time in April 1924. Uemura directly conveys this information. Uemura Tatsumi, "Ajia Toruko Junreiki -I" (Travelogue of the Anatolian Pilgrimage -II), *Daijō*, No.5-10 (Oct.1926), pp. 83-91.

trade and customs procedures.<sup>34</sup> At about the same time, fourteen-year-old Gotō Satoru 後藤智, whom Kozui had sent to İstanbul to learn Turkish, arrived in the city<sup>35</sup> and was enrolled at the Galatasaray Lycée.<sup>36</sup>

Meanwhile, Ōtani Kōzui continued to lobby in the Japanese business world to encourage investing in Turkey and developing trade relations. With the arrival of deputy ambassador Hulusi Fuad (Tugay; 1890-1967) in Tokyo and the official inauguration of the Turkish Embassy on 17 July 1925, the initiatives gained momentum and the Osaka businessmen that Kōzui had mentioned became active. Following Hulusi Bey's visit to the Osaka Chamber of Industry and Commerce, where he had expressed the need to establish an institution to develop the commercial and personal relations between the two countries, "*Osaka Nichi-Do Bōeki Kyōkai*" (Osaka Japanese-Turkish Trade Association) was officially founded

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<sup>34</sup> Japanese Foreign Ministry Diplomacy Archives, same document, pp. 81-84 (The Nishi Honganji logo is clearly identified in Uemura's petition).

<sup>35</sup> Uemura, *My Personal History*.

<sup>36</sup> Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry, Document: HR-İM, 174-66, Date: 1926/1/31 and Document: HR-İM, 183-35, Date: 1926/4/18.

immediately on 16 Nov. 1925.<sup>37</sup> The association was the first institution to be established in this area. During this period, Kōzui got acquainted with Yamada Torajirō 山田寅次郎(1866-1957), the pioneer in Turkish-Japanese relations during late Ottoman times, who was then living in Osaka.<sup>38</sup> In Kōzui's person, Yamada had found a strong and energetic associate with whom he soon saw that he could revive his connection with Turkey. The two played an active role as co-founders of the association, and would also in 1929 collaborate in organizing official recognition of Ertugrul Frigate Incident , the tragic sinking on 16 Sep.1890, of the Ottoman battleship sent to Japan under the command of ambassador plenipotentiary Emin Osman Pasha by Abdulhamid II) as a milestone in Turkish-Japanese relations.

As always, Kōzui was hasty to take action ro realize his vision.

Right after attending the inauguration ceremony of the Association he

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<sup>37</sup> “Nichi-Do Bōeki Kyōkai Seiritsu” (The Establishment of the Japanese-Turkish Trade Association), *Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper, 1925/11/17.

<sup>38</sup> For Yamada Torajirō and his activities in Turkey see: Sel çuk Esenbel, “*A Fin de Siécle* Japanese Romantic in Istanbul: The Life of Yamada Torajiro and His *Toruko Gakan*”, in *Japan, Turkey and the World Of Islam: The Writings of Selçuk Esenbel*, (Kent: Global Oriental, 2011),pp.130-147.

was planning to leave for Turkey. During the ceremony he had delivered a speech to the guests including Hulusi Fuad and Inahata Katsutarō 稲旗勝太郎 (President of Osaka Chamber of Industry and Commerce; 1862-1949) on the importance of Turkey for Japan.<sup>39</sup> In his speech, Ōtani said, “You are planning to sell [to Turkey], whereas I am planning to buy [from Turkey]. I will soon leave for Turkey to see the cotton and wool I am interested in buying. Because if you wish to buy something, the best is to buy it from a friendly nation...” and thus encouraged Japanese businessmen to concentrate on importing from rather than trying to export to Turkey.<sup>40</sup> His emphasis on buying instead of selling should be regarded as his intention to contribute toward the development of the new republic. Five days later, on 8 Feb. 1926, he started his two months’ long journey destined for Istanbul.<sup>41</sup>

(Appendix. Fig. 56)

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<sup>39</sup> In a group picture of the participants taken after the ceremony, Ōtani Kōzui can clearly be seen sitting at the front row with the deputy ambassadour Hulusi Fuad and the President of the Association Inahata Katsutarō. *Servet-i Fünun*, 10 Jun. 1926. [Published in: Nobuo Misawa, *Türk-Japon Ticaret İlişkileri* (Turkish-Japanese Trade Relations), (Istanbul: İTO, 2010), p. 112].

<sup>40</sup> “Umareta Nichi-Do Boeki Kyōkai” (The Japanese-Turkish Trade Association is Born), *Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper, 1926/2/4.

<sup>41</sup> *Nenpu*, p. 93.

## Promoting Republic of Turkey

After leaving Kobe, the French Far East liner *D'Artagnan* followed its ordinary route via Hong Kong-Saigon-Pnom Penh-Colombo-Aden-Djibouti-Suez, reaching Port Said on 27 February. Then after brief visits to Jerusalem, Nazareth and Haifa by land, he got on *Baraski* of the Italian Lloyd Triestino Company and once the ship docked in Mersin port on April 6 for a few days, he used the opportunity to rent a car and do some preliminary research on the quality of soil in Çukurova.<sup>42</sup> Thanks to his experience with his plantations in South-east Asia, he was an expert on agricultural production by now, and he knew well what the composition of soil and the climate meant for the growth of cash-crops. He was so impressed with what he saw in the Cukurova region that he noted the following in his travelogue:

Compared to the delta of the Nile, the land has less sand and more soil. It is truly a rich and fertile soil of the best quality. The farmers say that they harvest other products in winter and cotton in summer. This region is a vast cotton basin.... If the region were to be fully cultivated, it could leave Egypt [known for its high-quality cotton] behind...<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.94.

<sup>43</sup> Ōtani Kōzui, *Chichūkai Yūki*.

Although Kōzui had decided to invest in Anatolia long before he had seen the terrain, he must have realized that he had made the right decision. After leaving Mersin, his ship stopped at the ports of Antalya, Rhodes, Mytilene and reached İzmir, whereupon he immediately went to Nif (present-day Kemal Paşa) and inspected the fertile agricultural lands in this area as well. Finally, on 9 April 1926, as his ship entered the port of Istanbul Kōzui, expressing his delight at the termination of this long and arduous journey, made the following entry into his journal: “We will set foot in İstanbul this afternoon. Sixty days after leaving Kobe, we are finally completing the first phase of this journey today.”<sup>44</sup> The same day, he checked in at the Tokatlıyan Hotel. In a letter he wrote there on 18 April, he gives an in-depth analysis of the economic conditions of the Turkish Republic. Accordingly, if Istanbul, which had an immense potential as an intermediate port, were to develop its transportation network, Turkey could easily become a hub, a crucial junction point on the East-West as well as North-South trade routes and enjoy a rapid growth through the advantages of its location.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

In his letter, Kōzui addressed both the Turkish and the Japanese governments and public, soliciting their support for further collaboration:

Due to its natural setting, [this city] has the potential to assume a key role, like Kobe or Shanghai.... [In fact], set between the Black Sea and the Aegean, it has an advantage over both Shanghai and Kobe. Yet, apparently not of the same view, the Turkish government is not taking any measures, let alone building the facilities that such a junction port would require. The distant port of İzmir seems to have assumed the function of serving as the country's port of export. If the Turkish government were to use the advantages that nature has provided, they would certainly help the country prosper... Today, those in our country who speak of the development of the Middle East must [personally] visit this region. If they want progress, the Japanese should tour Anatolia... The development of this region's foreign trade is filled with real-life lessons... While the Foreign Ministry has assigned an ambassador to initiate diplomatic relations, neither a commercial attaché nor a consul has yet been designated.... If one is to speak [sincerely] of economic development, is it not obvious that it can only be achieved through support?<sup>45</sup>

Kōzui further added that instead of selling goods to the economically underdeveloped Turkey, the Japanese businessmen should start buying from Turkey to support the country. His objective was to set an example by personally investing in Turkey. In order to realize his plans, he went to Ankara shortly thereafter and was welcomed at the

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

train station by Münir Bey, the Principal of Ankara High School of Trade who could speak perfect Japanese.<sup>46</sup> Münir Bey was the son of famous Pan-Islamist activist and had studied law in Waseda University with a scholarship provided by the *Kokuryūkai* (the Black Dragons/Amur River Society, an ultra-nationalist, pan-Asianist organization led by Uchida Ryōhei). Although the presence of someone with such good command of Japanese in Ankara could be a great advantage, Kōzui did not communicate with Münir Bey later, possibly because he had heard about his father's political activities.

After having met with Minister of Agriculture Sabri Bey (Toprak; 1877-1938)<sup>47</sup> and Foreign Minister Tevfik Rüştü (Aras; 1883-1972),<sup>48</sup> he traveled with his team to Konya and Adana searching for the suitable land to invest. Wherever they went, they received hospitality

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<sup>46</sup> Münir Bey spoke perfect Japanese. In his article titled, "My Personal History," Uemura makes the following comments about him: "Münir Bey welcomed us at the train station. A graduate of the Law Department of Waseda University, this gentleman now works as the principal of the High School of Trade here... Münir Bey spoke in a perfect Tokyo dialect." The mentioned Münir Bey must be the son of Abdürreşid İbrahim (1857-1944), the Pan-Islamist activist.

<sup>47</sup> Mehmet Sabri Toprak (1877-1938): Minister of Agriculture in the Third İnönü Government (3 March 1925 -27 November 1927). A close friend of Atatürk.

<sup>48</sup> Tevfik Rüştü Aras (1883-1972), a politician who served as Foreign Minister between 1923 and 1939. During their meetings, Kōzui was much impressed by the talents of this young minister, who was less than forty years of age.

and assistance of the officers from the Ministry of Agriculture who were acting upon the minister's orders.<sup>49</sup> Within a week, having collected soil samples they returned to Ankara. At a meeting held on May 4, Kōzui shared his observations with Sabri Bey, and upon his recommendation decided extend his survey to Bursa.<sup>50</sup> He swiftly went back to İstanbul and on May 7, he reached Bursa via Mudanya.<sup>51</sup> Here, he visited the school of agriculture, the research center for sericulture, and the Karacabey Farm. Judging that he had acquired sufficient information, he left Turkey on 13 May 1926. He then traveled in Europe with the intention of having his samples analyzed and deciding on which part of the country to invest in. Inspired by the attention they had received in Turkey and Kōzui's enthusiasm, Uemura Tatsumi would write the following in his journal as they sailed across the Adriatic Sea: "All the joys in the world, come and

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<sup>49</sup> Impressed by the support of Sabri Bey and his ministry, Kōzui sent telegrams to the Osaka Japanese-Turkish Trades Association calling for procurement of Turkish products. His emphasis was cotton. "Accelaration of Japanese-Turkish Trade: Ōtani Kōzui's Expectations", Osaka Mainichi Shibun, 29 Jun.1926; "The Supply of Turkish Cotton: Wishes for Direct Trade with Japan", Osaka Jiji Shinpo, 27 Jun,1926.

<sup>50</sup> Uemura Tatsumi, "Ajia Toruko Junreiki -II" (Travelogue of the Anatolian Pilgrimage-II), *Daijō*, No.5-11(Nov.1926), pp. 65-74.

<sup>51</sup> Nenpu, p.94

shine on Turkey!”<sup>52</sup>

Ōtani Kōzui’s impressions from this second visit to Turkey can be followed from a set of letters he sent from Paris.<sup>53</sup> (Appendix. Fig. 57)

In his letters, Kōzui consistently reiterates the need to invest in Turkey and focus on imports rather than exports, particularly noting that the investors would greatly profit from introducing new agricultural technologies to Adana. He further adds that due to linguistic similarities between Japanese and Turkish, the Japanese could learn this language without difficulty. His tireless efforts to convince the Japanese public to invest in Turkey could have been appreciated better if these texts were translated then:

[Turkey is] An incomparable land for Japanese to make their base for cotton production. Most of the land in Turkey is private property but the cultivated areas do not exceed 1/3 of the total land stock. It is like the whole country is waiting to be cultivated in the future. Now that it is too costly to buy large amounts of land, the government is promoting its usage via leases. All the land-owners whom I met, wish the Japanese to do investments and even propose partnerships. I believe this country will be the best place for the Japanese to invest in the future. I believe the land-owners [in Japan] should

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<sup>52</sup> Uemura Tatsumi, Junreiki-II.

<sup>53</sup> “*Hōjin no Chūmoku Subeki Toruko no Nōsangyō*” (Turkish Agricultural Industry Business on which the Japanese should focus), Osaka Mainichi Shimbun, 20-22 Jul., 1926.

transfer their resources instead of getting too involved in small-scale farming. In the Anatolian valley, once the necessary arrangements are made, it is possible to have two harvests in winter and summer.... The production of fruits is another field. Various fruits are already grown in almost every village... California doesn't have to be the only place for fruit production. With the help of the low labour cost I believe it is possible to surpass California in fruit production.... Although the Turkish government has reserves on rice production due to the threat of malaria, they are ready to accept suitable methods which contain prevention of such risk. If the Japanese use rice [and techniques], rice production in this country can well exceed Siam, Saigon Rangoon... The area around Izmir is next to Adana in agricultural productivity... Bursa is famous with its silk production... My general impression about Turkey is that it is a country that the Japanese should import. Importing Turkish products is a profitable business for the Japanese.<sup>54</sup>

Kōzui's enthusiasm to create public opinion about Turkey was beginning to give results. Following the establishment of the association in Osaka, a decision was made to create one in Tokyo as well. Currently active, "*Nichi-Do Kyōkai*" (Japanese-Turkish Association) was inaugurated on 15 June 1926. Ōtani Kōzui's name was mentioned among the co-founders of this association.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> To see Otani Kōzui's name among the co-founders of the association in all the bulletins published between 20 December 1926 and 1 July 1931, see Misawa Nobuo (ed.), *Nichi-Do Kyōkai Kaiho* (Bulletin of Japanese-Turkish Association), CD-ROM, Ver.1, (Tokyo, Toyo University Center for Asian Cultural Studies, 2009).

## Partnership in Ankara Gazi Farm

When Ōtani returned to Turkey on 3 November as he planned, he directly went to Bursa and stayed there for almost ten days. Such an extended stay in Bursa indicates that he was interested in investing in the city. But then, upon receiving an invitation from the Minister of Agriculture Sabri (Toprak) Bey, he went to Ankara and had a meeting with him. It appears that during this meeting, Sabri Bey, a close friend of President Mustafa Kemal, asked Kōzui if he would like to collaborate with the President at his new project, the Gazi Farm, in the outskirts of the capital. The area was not exactly the place Kōzui was looking for, but still it was a bigger challenge to cultivate barren lands than to use fertile land. It was only natural for Ōtani Kōzui to choose the harder way. He accepted without hesitation and the two sides agreed on the terms. Within the short time period he had spent in Turkey, his good intentions had carried him directly to the top echelons of the new republic. Taking this as a sign for the right direction, he was determined to bring all his experience in South-east Asia and expertise in agriculture to the project. With this agreement,

Ōtani Kōzui, a man so committed to agriculture that he would have his profession to be written “agriculture” on his passport<sup>56</sup>, and the founder of the Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal, who preferred to be called a “farmer” were becoming partners<sup>57</sup>.

Dated 28 March 1927, a letter sent by Ambassador Obata Yukichi stationed in Istanbul to the Foreign Ministry of Japan reveals the details of the agreement reached between the sides regarding their collaboration on the Gazi Farm. The number of stamp marks on the letter indicates that the letter had aroused considerable interest within the Ministry. The letter contains the following articles:

- 1- President Kemal Pasha and Ōtani Kōzui have agreed to collaborate on the “Ahi Mesud Farm” near Ankara.
- 2- An agreement has thus been signed in Ankara on 22 February 1927.
- 3- The agreement has been signed by the respective

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<sup>56</sup> Nimoto Shōe Collection, Aomori Kōgyōji Temple Archives.

<sup>57</sup> Özlem Y. Kocabaş, *Türkiye’de Tarımsal Kooperatifçilik Düşüncesinin Gelişimi* (The Development of Idea of Agricultural Cooperatives in Turkey), (Libra: Istanbul, 2010), pp. 107-108. [Quotation from a speech by Atatürk: “I know it because I am a farmer too. Agriculture can not be without mechanization. Hand labour is difficult...Our country has just recently earned the right to be a country of peasants. We will be a country of agriculture. This can only be possible with mechanization...”]

representatives of the President and Ōtani Kōzui, as well as İş Bank General Manager Celal (Bayar; 1883-1986).

4- Kemal Pasha and Ōtani Kōzui will invest 51,000 Lira and 50,000 Lira, respectively in the company set up for the investments to be made on the farm.

5- Ōtani Kōzui will pay 25,000 Lira until 17 March and the remainder will be transferred to İş Bankası from abroad within the month of April.

6- A maximum number of 8 Japanese employees will work in the establishment and the rest will be comprised of Turks.<sup>58</sup> (Appendix. Fig. 58 a, b, c)

The company mentioned in the article 4, was established two months later on 20 April 1927. The company in which Mustafa Kemal had 51% and Kōzui 49% shares was named as “*Ankara Sanayi-i Ziraiye Limitet Şirketi*” (Ankara Agricultural Industry Company Ltd.). Two other evidences for this partnership; a letter sent from İş Bankası administration to the private secretary of the President, and another

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<sup>58</sup> Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Document No: 120E4.3.1.161, National Official Correspondence Archive Asian Documents Center, No: E 1888.

to the Ministry of Economy were found in the archives of İş Bankası, Istanbul. Interestingly, the information about the name and the establishment of the company appears only when its closure in 1931 is concerned. Due to their importance as historical material, the texts of both letters are quoted below:

9 Jun.1931

Attn. to: The Directorate of Private Secreteriat of the President of Turkish Republic, Ankara

Dear Sir,

The Ankara Agricultural Industry Co.Ltd. which was established on 20 Apr. 1927 in accordance with the agreement reached between Japanese Kont Otani and our bank, is liquidated in line with your written order dating 24 Jan.1931. A copy of the stamped agreement containing the terms of liquidation and the newspapers publicizing the liquidation are presented as attachments [of this letter].

Please confirm you have your consent that the liquidation procedure is done in accordance with the above mentioned agreement. Using this occasion we forward our respects, Sir. General Directorate of the T.C. İş Bank<sup>59</sup>

The next letter written the same day to the Ministry of Economy and contains the appeal of the Is Bank to the ministry to confirm that the procedure is completed:

9 Jun. 1931

Attn.to: The Ministry of Economy

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<sup>59</sup> İş Bank Archives, Istanbul, Ref. No. 480/32433

Dear Sir,

The Ankara Agricultural Industry Co.Ltd. which was established on 20 Apr.1927 with the approval of the Ministry of Trade, is in this occasion liquidated in accordance with the decisions and terms contained in the stamped agreement in attachment and this situation is registered and announced in the trade registries.

The three copies of the newspaper bearing the announcement are attached. Please make the necessary registry arrangements. Using this occasion, we confirm our respects.Sir.

General Directorate, T.C. İş Bank<sup>60</sup>

Ōtani Kōzui's investment constitutes the first direct foreign capital investment made to the Turkish Republic. Considering that İş Bank was founded on 26 Aug. 1924 by Celal Bayar (who also had signed the aforementioned contract) with an initial capital of 250,000 Lira, the significance and scale of this investment of total 101,000Lira (51,000 by President Mustafa Kemal and 50,000 by Kōzui) can be better understood.

On the other hand, it is important to note that although the activities in Gazi Farm naturally had to receive the President's final consent, the daily works and decisions related to the farm was handled by his two confidants: his personal secretary Hasan Rıza

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<sup>60</sup> İş Bank Archives, Istanbul, Ref. No. 480/32716.

(Soyak; 1888- 1970) Bey, and agricultural expert, the director of the Gazi Farm, Tahsin (Coşkan; 1890- 1952) Bey whom he had appointed as his official representative on date 6 Jun.1925.<sup>61</sup> Thus as the above mentioned Japanese diplomatic note as well as the İş Bank communications testify, both the President Mustafa Kemal and Ötani Kōzui had established this partnership via their representatives.<sup>62</sup>

Content with the results he achieved Kōzui ended his search, returned to Istanbul on 23 November 1926, and the next day, he traveled back to Japan, leaving Uemura Tatsumi behind.<sup>63</sup> As Kōzui's

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<sup>61</sup> İzzet Öztoprak, *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği'nin Tarihi* (The History of Atatürk Forest Farm). (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), pp.17-20. The official appointment deed can be seen on pp.147-151. Hasan Rıza and Tahsin had the ability to draw money from his account for the farm's operations. Although Hasan Rıza was clearly involved in the liquidation process of the company, interestingly he does not mention the Japanese venture at all in his memoires. Hasan Rıza Soyak, *Atatürk'ten Hatıralar* (Memories from Atatürk), (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2010).

<sup>62</sup> A letter dated 9 Feb.1929 sent by Celal Bayar, the General Director of İş Bank, to Saffet Bey, the branch-manager of İş Bank in Bursa, related to Kōzui's visit to Bursa Mensucat Factory shows clearly the participation of the President in this partnership. "Letter dating 9 Feb. 1929", İş Bank Archives, Ref. No.545/38746. [ *Bu zevatı biz Gazi Hazretlerinin Ankara'da alakadar buldukları bazı işler dolayısıyla tanımaktayız. Zatıalimize tarafımdan vaki ifadeleri doğrudur...*] (We know these persons from some business related to His Excellency the Gazi [President Mustafa Kemal] in Ankara. What they have said about my statements is true....) A further reference to the Private Secretary of the President, Tahsin Bey is contained within a previous letter sent by the branch-manager to the Director General. "Letter dating 28 Jan. 1929", İş Bank Archives, Ref.No.N.A. [ *Evvvelki gün nezdi aciziye iki Japonyalı zat gelip Riyaset-i Cumhur Kalemi Mahsus Müdürü Tevfik (Bıyıkhoğlu; 1889- 1961) Beyefendi ile zat-ı alinizden bahs ederek...*] (The other day two Japanese came to me and by talking about Mr. Tevfik, the Private Secretary of the President and yourself....)

<sup>63</sup> Uemura Tatsumi, "Toruko ni okeru Watashitachi no Nōen Seikatsu Katagata-I" (Our Farm Life in Turkey-I), *Daijō*, no. 7-1 (Jan.1928), pp.42-51.

representative, Uemura was to conduct the necessary preparations both for the agreement and the project itself. In an interview he gave to *Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper upon his arrival at the port of Kobe on 4 Jan. 1927, Kōzui made the following statement with regards to the new Turkey Mustafa Kemal and his colleagues were trying to establish: “they are using all in their power to develop agriculture-based industries. They say that unless agriculture stands up, it will not be possible to develop any other form of industry...”<sup>64</sup>

In another interview he gave at the Miyako Hotel in Kyoto the next day, Kōzui said that similar to the case of Japan during the Meiji Restoration, Turkey had attained a number of revolutionary changes after its war of independence. He praised the agricultural policies of the new republic, without of course, forgetting to solicit the support of the Japanese business world to invest in Turkey.

Turkey has realized the importance of agriculture and started doing investments in that direction. On the other hand, as they have recently won their independence from the Westerners, the nation has not forgotten their memories [of the independence war]. Their attitude to foreigners is

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<sup>64</sup> “Kiwamete Yuryō Toruko no Menka” (The Uncontested Superiority of Turkish Cotton), *Osaka Mainichi* Newspaper, 5 Jan.1927.

therefore not ordinary. The cost of accommodation is twice the cost of staying in Paris and that's why it is not convenient to stay long. As for business, cotton and sheepwool are the two main resources of this country. The quality of cotton is very good and it is more than No.40 cotton yarn count, equivalent to the world's best Egyptian cotton. As for wool, there are two types: Goat and sheep. This wool can compete with the Australian wool but although some manufacturing exists, they still use the old techniques to produce cheese, butter and leather. It is important for the Japanese to observe them.... It is possible to trade these materials but I believe the best would be to invest in this country. They do not want the Westerners to come in but -even if they do not offer of special treatment- they are very understanding and kind towards the Japanese.<sup>65</sup>

In March 1927, he again delivered a speech to 500 businessmen in Osaka explaining the political and economic situation in Turkey for one and a half hours. He again promoted direct investment, but did not mention the partnership with the President since the contract was not signed yet.<sup>66</sup>

In the meantime, Uemura Tatsumi was working on the details of the contract and the transfer of promised capital. In *Daijō*, he conveyed his memories of this period as follows: “Finally, in March

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<sup>65</sup> “Nōgyō Rikkoku Toruko: Hōjin Hatten Nozomi Ari” (Turkey: A Country Rising on Agriculture- Hopes for Japanese Development), *Osaka Asahi* Newspaper, 6 Jan.1927.

<sup>66</sup> “Toruko Miyage: Kigyō Yūbō, Imin wa Dame” (Turkey as a Gift: Companies Allright, Migrants Not), *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, 25 Mar.1927.

[1927] the agreement with President Kemal Pasha was signed. We are ready to appear on stage as farmers at our joint enterprise on the Ahi Mesud Farm, 25 km. to the west of Ankara.”<sup>67</sup> After the finalization of the partnership, and signing of the contract, Ōtani Kōzui publicly announced his partnership with the president of Turkey with a statement he made to the business circles in Kyoto on 23 May.<sup>68</sup>

Led by Uemura, thus began the Ankara adventure of a few young Japanese men, who struggled with the scarcity of water and cold winds. Inspired by the dynamic atmosphere of Ankara during that period, the young Japanese men, or the “Japanese Colony” as the foreigners in the capital called them, eagerly embraced their work.<sup>69</sup> According to the sixth article of the contract, a maximum of eight Japanese nationals were allowed to work in the project. The letters published in *Daijō* give clues about their identities of some: Beside

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<sup>67</sup> Uemura Tatsumi, *Nōen Seikatsu*.

<sup>68</sup> “Kaigai Kigyō ni Tsuite” (About Overseas Companies-I), *Osaka Ginkō Tsushinroku* (Osaka Bank Communication Bulletin), no. 360 (Aug.1927), pp. 135-140.

<sup>69</sup> Uemura Tatsumi, “Toruko ni okeru Watashitachi no Nōen Seikatsu Katagata-II” (Our Farm Life in Turkey-II), *Daijō*, No. 7-2 (Feb.1928), pp.63-74.

Uemura; Itō Kenzō伊藤謙三,<sup>70</sup> Tokketsu Hōsha突厥呆者[Inoue Kōen],<sup>71</sup> Shiojiri Hikoichi監尻彦一,<sup>72</sup> Suyama Akira 須山彰<sup>73</sup> are the ones who had sent letters from Ankara to Shanghai. Their sentimental letters to Daijō contain deep commitment as well as solitude. (Appendix. Fig. 59)

The construction work for the two-storeyed atelier building which would provide them with workplace and accommodation started as of May 1927 and was completed in late Oct. 1927. In the meantime, they stayed in tents and started working on the field right away. In an attempt to demonstrate the productivity of the farm, they began harvesting some vegetables and other plants, selling them to public at Ankara bazaars (Plants like cowpea, radish, carrot, anise, fennel, coriander, tanacetum). The main plan was to establish a factory for

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<sup>70</sup> Itō Kenzō, “Toruko Yuki” (On the Way to Turkey), *Daijō*, no.7-1, pp.52-58.

<sup>71</sup> Tokketsu Hōsha, “Angora no Ahi Mesud no Uta” (The Song of Ankara’s Ahi Mesud), *Daijō*, no.7-1(Jan.1928), pp.59-60. [The name Tokketsu Hōsha is apparently a pen-name meaning “Fan of Turks”. A bit of information in an anonymous article titled “Ningen Kōzui” (Human Kōzui)(*Daijō Digest Magazine*, Oct.1954, Special Edition on Ōtani Kōzui, pp.134-140)reveals the fact that Kōzui had the habit of giving nicknames to his students in Nirakusō, and Tokketsu was the name of Inoue Kōen 井上弘円.

<sup>72</sup> Shiojiri Hikoichi, “Angora no Hara Shigoto” (Fieldwork in Ankara), *Daijō*, No.7-2 (Feb.1928), pp.83-84.

<sup>73</sup> Suyama Akira, “Watashi no Mita Angora no Kanchi Nōhō”(My View on the Dryland Farming Methods in Ankara), *Daijō*, No.7-2 (Feb.1928), pp.75-82.

manufacturing and bottling rose derivatives like rosewater, rose oil or lotions. Kōzui had decided to carry his know-how in essential oil production he had accumulated in his operations in Celebes and Java Islands in South-east Asia, but in Turkey rose would replace citronella, and Lemon grass. The new company had taken the responsibility of approximately 100 hectares of land (out of 1,500 hectares of the total area of the Gazi farm), machinery was ordered and preparations for the factory and the laboratory were proceeding.<sup>74</sup> Though water shortage and freezing cold of Ankara plain were causing them difficulties, they still were excited and determined to succeed in their endeavor. Soon, Kōzui would come with additional plans for Turkey: A silk factory in Bursa with Gökçen Family

### The Gökçen Family of Bursa

Kōzui had found an eminent figure of Bursa, Saffetbeyzade Abdülhalim Mehmet Memduh Bey (1877-1932) as his partner in the new venture. Interestingly, as Kōzui was the heir of a long dynasty of

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<sup>74</sup> Uemura, Nōen Seikatsu –II.

religious leaders, so was Memduh Bey. His ancestors had been the religious leaders of Bursa, the sheikhs of highly influential *Eminiyye Dergahı* (Convent) of the Sufi tradition of Mevlevism. Originally a Nakhshibandi from Qirkuk (Mosul-Iraq), the great-grandfather of Memduh Bey, Mehmed Emin Kerkûki (1727- 1813) had come to Bursa and opened his convent in 1801.<sup>75</sup> His teachings reflecting a tolerant and inclusive interpretation of Islam, and a synthesis of both Nakhshibandi and Mevlevi traditions, soon attracted many followers, and the convent stayed operational until the prohibition of religious convents by the Republic in 1925.

On the other hand, Memduh Bey's wife Fevride Hanım was from a family of prominent businessmen in Bursa. Her father Osman Fevzi Efendi was a successful entrepreneur, the founder and the first president of Bursa Chamber of Trade in 1889.<sup>76</sup> Memduh Bey himself was a very well-educated man who could speak fluent French and Greek. In 1914 elections, he was elected from Bursa and became a

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<sup>75</sup> *Manolya Ağacının Kökleri*, pp.26-27.

<sup>76</sup> Raif Kaplanoğlu, Nihat Balkan, *120 Yıllık Tarihi bir Çınar – Bursa Sanayi ve Ticaret Odası* (A Platanus Tree of 120 Years of Age- Bursa Chamber of Commerce and Industry), (Bursa: BTSO, 2009), p.63.

member of the 4<sup>th</sup> term in the Ottoman Parliament on the *İttihat ve Terakki* (Unity and Progress Party) side.<sup>77</sup> Following the Mondros Armistice the Parliament was dissolved by the Sultan Vahdeddin and Memduh Bey chose to join the *Kuvva-i Milliye* (Power of the Nation) movement back in Bursa. With the establishment of the Republic, he became an entrepreneur.<sup>78</sup>At the time when the partnership with Kōzui was forged, Memduh Bey was one of the most respected figures of the city.

#### The Bursa Turkish-Japanese Silk Weaving Factory

During his preliminary survey in 1926, Kōzui had spent ten days in Bursa and was possibly on the verge of choosing the city for his enterprise. Once he realized that the preparations in Ankara were safely on track, he decided to continue his investments as he initially planned. This time, he would enter a partnership with an eminent businessman of Bursa, Saffetbeyzade Mehmet Memduh (Gökçen) Bey (1877-1932). Following initial negotiations in the summer of 1928, an

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<sup>77</sup> *Manolya Ağacının Kökleri*, p.121.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p.122.

agreement to establish a joint-venture for manufacturing silk products was reached. On 1 Sep.1928, Kōzui informed the public on this project by saying “I will do a large-scale silk investment in the Republic of Turkey, starting from next year. The Mediterranean Coast will be the Number One in the World in terms of silk production.”<sup>79</sup> Cutting-edge technology machinery from Japan and France would be installed and the “*Türk-Japon İpek Dokuma Fabrikası*” (Turkish-Japanese Silk Weaving Factory) was planned to be opened in Jan.1929. The factory would have threading, weaving, dyeing, and varnishing (apprêt) units, and a daily production capacity of 200m. (upgradeable to 300m. per day) with 60 workers and 24 looms. It was also planned to produce high value-added silk-fabric products like Japanese style *Pongee* (Tsumugi<sup>絹</sup>)<sup>80</sup>, and Chinese style *Habotai*<sup>81</sup> in the near future.<sup>82</sup>

Kōzui wanted to attend the opening. He left Shanghai in Jun.1928

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<sup>79</sup> Katō, Ōtani Kōzui to Nanyō, p.261.

<sup>80</sup> Special type of silk fabric made out of threads spun from silk floss in the same manner as cotton or wool. Thus it resembles cotton at first sight. The technique was developed since the wealthy were not allowed to wear silk in feudal Japan. <http://kougeihin.jp/en/crafts/introduction/weaving>, accessed on 22 May 2012.

<sup>81</sup> A type of light weight fine silk used for scarves or lining.

<sup>82</sup> *Manolya Ağacının Kökleri*, p.124.

and after listening to Uemura's briefing on the preparations at Port Said, he continued to Europe. In October, he did research on roses in France and also ordered some machinery for the fragrance factory in Gazi Farm. It was 18 Dec. 1928 when he finally entered into Turkey for his fourth visit. He was welcomed by the deputy ambassador Ashida Hitoshi 芦田均(1887-1959; forty seventh PM of Japan in 1948) and had a chat for a while.<sup>83</sup> However, he wasn't feeling well and he had difficulty in eating. Soon it was understood that he was afflicted with a serious disease on the way to Istanbul and had to be hospitalized at the French La Paix Hospital. At the New Year's Eve he was able to attend a party at the Embassy, but he still was feeling weak. It was only after a long period of convalescence which he spent in an apartment in Osmanbey that he regained his health. On 20 January, the energetic Kōzui was back again. He immediately went to Ankara, visited the Gazi Farm, inspected the preparations for the essential oil factory on the site, and had a meeting with Celal Bayar, the General Director of İş Bank and representative of Atatürk's shares

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<sup>83</sup> Sohō, *Ōtani Kōzui no Shōgai*, p.118.

in the company.

He then traveled to Bursa, met Memduh Bey and received information about the preparations for the silk weaving factory.

(Appendix. Fig. 60) Although it was set for January, the opening was postponed to April due to a delay in the arrival of the machines. While in Bursa Kōzui wished to pay a visit to İpekiş Silk Textile Factory (an İş Bank enterprise) but the branch manager Saffet Bey's uncooperative attitude annoyed him.<sup>84</sup> He had to inform Celal Bayar to pressure the manager for his visit.

9 Feb 1929

Saffet Beyefendi,

Türkiye İş Bankası Müdürü, Bursa

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dating 28 Jan.1929, concerning Count Otani's wish to visit to the textile factory. We know this gentleman from some business in Ankara related to His Excellency the Gazi [President Mustafa Kemal]. Their statements referring to me are correct. Consequently we may enter into any combination they propose if we deem gainful. Using this occasion I confirm my respect, sir.

The Director General<sup>85</sup>

Probably also affected by this cold treatment he received from Saffet

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<sup>84</sup> İş Bank Archives, Ref.No.545/38744 [Document dated 13 Feb. 1929. Here, the branch manager reveals the real reason behind his cold attitude towards Kōzui. He had some other investor, Marsel Romangal from Lyon in his mind.]

<sup>85</sup> İş Bank Archives, Ref.No.545/38744.

Bey, he promptly left the city without being able to attend the opening as he intended. His fourth visit to Turkey ended as he crossed to Syria by train on 3 Feb. 1929. The factory would finally be opened six months later, on 4 Aug. 1929.<sup>86</sup> (Appendix. Fig.61)

Despite his illness, the difficulties the young men were facing at the Ankara Gazi Farm, and the delay of Bursa factory opening, Kōzui was certain that his dream from 1924 was about to become real. One at the capital with President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the other in Bursa with Memduh Bey, he now had two investments advancing successfully. As soon as he returned to Japan, he shared his excitement with his close friend Tokutomi Sohō, whom he met at Villa Sanyasō in Kyoto. Sohō was impressed by his enthusiasm and energy:

Apart from Ōtani Kōzui, the group in the room included Mr. Uemura, who was in charge of the enterprises in Turkey, Morimoto Zuimyō from Kobe, and Tachibana Zuichō from

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<sup>86</sup> Kōzui's biographical chronology gives April 1 as the opening date (Nenpu, p.101), but this must be the completion date of the project, and the beginning of sample production. The official opening ceremony with the participation of the Japanese ambassador was held on 4 Aug.1929 (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 5 Aug.1929). This information is confirmed by a news in a German newspaper; *Industrie und Handels Zeitung*, 17 Oct.1929, according to which the factory started its full operation in August,1929. The news also includes the information that the factory was established with a capital of 25,000£ with the partnership of a famous Japanese industrialist "Graf Otani". It would have a production capacity of 200m./day, and employ 60 workers. The news adds that the enterprise had the risk to compete with cheap products in the international markets. Private Archive of Şükûfe Gökçen; also published in: Banu Demirağ, *Manolya Ağacının Kökleri: Dün Bursa* (The Roots of the Magnolia Tree: Bursa Yesterday), (Istanbul: Gökçen Ltd., 2000), pp.123-124.

Nagoya.... We listened to his accounts with great pleasure... I had heard that he was afflicted with jaundice in Turkey and was hospitalized. Yet, he had been completely cured at the time. In fact, I recall that compared to our previous meetings, he was in much better health. From Marseilles, France to the silk weaving business in Turkey, he kept recounting things that I heard for the very first time...<sup>87</sup>

A few weeks after this pleasant meeting on 14 March 1929, a memorial was erected with a ceremony held in Kushimoto through the efforts of Yamada Torajirō in commemoration of the Turkish sailors who had lost their lives in the Ertuğrul frigate disaster of 1890.<sup>88</sup>

Known as the “Ōtani Kōzui Inscription”, the monument reflects Ōtani Kōzui’s sentiments and sympathy for Turkey. His words inscribed on stone eternalize the memory of the martyrs: (Appendix. Fig.62)

On 16 September 1890, the Turkish frigate Ertuğrul, which departed from the port of Yokohama and headed for Kobe with a crew of 650 under the command of ambassador plenipotentiary Emin Osman Pasha, was caught in a storm in Kumanooki and most unfortunately hit the reefs near the Kashino Cape and sank. Along with the ambassador, 581 members of the crew were drowned, surrendering their brave souls to the wild waves. Needless to say, they have left behind an eternal sorrow.

The Japanese-Turkish Trade Association finds that as the friendship between Japan and Turkey deepens with each

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<sup>87</sup> Tokutomi Soho, “*Otani Kōzui-shi no Shōgai*” (The Life of Teacher Ōtani Kōzui), (Tokyo, Ōtani Kōzui Geika Kinenkai, 1956), p. 127.

<sup>88</sup> Nobuo Misawa, Turkish-Japanese, p.113. [In a photograph Yamada Torajirō is seen in front of the monument containing the Kōzui Inscription.] .

passing day, it is imperative to commemorate this tragic time. On 5 August 1928, memorial services honored by the presence of Hulusi Fuad Bey, the esteemed deputy ambassador of the Turkish Republic, were held in Oshima and Kashino. We sincerely hope that this monument will help us cherish and remember the heroic souls of the soldiers who lost their lives and will eternalize the commemoration that this association has organized.

5 April 1929

Ōtani Kōzui <sup>89</sup>

Due to Kōzui's strenuous efforts the new Turkish Republic was now being noticed in Japan. One of the most important signs of this was Emperor Shōwa's visit to the Kushimoto Ertuğrul Memorial on June 3 of the same year.<sup>90</sup> It is not difficult to surmise that behind this unexpected visit was the request of his uncle Ōtani Kōzui.

1929 was a milestone in Turkish-Japanese relations. In addition to a joint enterprise in Ankara, a factory opened in Bursa, commemoration ceremonies held at Kushimoto, now a new step was on the way: "*Istanbul Nihon Shōhinkan*" (Musée Commercial of Japan

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<sup>89</sup> For the text and other details, see Mori Osamu (ed.), "*Toruko Gunkan Ertuğrul-go Sōnan*" (The Disaster of the Turkish Frigate Ertuğrul), (Tokyo, Wakayama Prefect Kushimoto High School Society of History, Japanese-Turkish Association, 1990). Detailed information about the commemorative ceremony held on 5-6 August 1928 with the participation of deputy Ambassador Hulusi Fuad Bey before the installation of the memorial stone can be found in the booklet "*Toruko-koku Gunkan Ertuğrul-go Sōnan Tsuitōki*" (The Record of the Ceremony Held in Commemoration of the Disaster of the Turkish Frigate Ertuğrul) that was created by Yamada Torajirō at the time.

<sup>90</sup> Mori Osamu, *The Disaster of the Turkish Frigate Ertuğrul*, p. 63.

in Istanbul).<sup>91</sup>

The project to establish a facility in which Japanese export product would be exhibited was developed by the Japanese-Turkish Trade Association of Osaka.<sup>92</sup> After finding the necessary financial support from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce of Japan, the Association completed its preparation and The Nihon Shōhinkan was opened on 1 Sep. 1929, in Karaköy District, nearby the Galata Bridge.<sup>93</sup> (Appendix. Fig. 63) Opened near the Galata Bridge in Karaköy as “*İstanbul Nihon Shōhinkan*” (Musée Commercial of Japan), the store assumed a central role in the commercial relations between the two countries until it was closed down in 1937.<sup>94</sup>

Soon thereafter, the honorary president of the Japanese-Turkish

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<sup>91</sup> Interestingly, in a series of articles published by a journalist (Takahashi Masutarō 高橋増太郎) who writes about remote areas of Anatolia, transportation methods from minor cities, coffeehouses in Ankara or trade opportunities in Turkey remains silent about these developments. “*Shinkō no Toruko: Subete ga Tatenashi*” (Newly Constructed Turkey: Everything Under Construction) Osaka Mainichi Shimbun, 5-11 Sep.1929.

<sup>92</sup> Osaka Mainichi Shimbun, 13 Sep.1928.

<sup>93</sup> Nobuo Misawa, Turkish-Japanese, pp.116-127 [An official document showing the Ministry’s cooperation with the Association can be seen on page 126.]

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., pp.127-133. The Shōhinkan had published a monthly bulletin starting from 1930 until its closure in 1937. A digital collection of these bulletins can be found in: Nobuo Misawa (ed.), *Nichi-Do Bōeki Kyōkai ‘Konsutanchinōpuru Nihon Shōhinkan Kanho’* (The Reports of Japanese Commercial Museum in Istanbul), DVD ed., Ver.1, (Tokyo: Toyo University Asia Research Center, 2008).

Association in Tokyo, Prince Takamatsu no Miya 高松宮宣仁親王 (1905-19087)<sup>95</sup> visited Turkey between 12-19 Jan. 1931 and met with Atatürk. During the dinner the President gave in honor of the Prince at Gazi Farm, which by then was called “*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*” (Atatürk Forest Farm), both sides expressed their wishes for the development of the relations between the two countries.<sup>96</sup> At the end of his visit, the Prince also received Kōzui’s representative Uemura Tatsumi in Istanbul, and expressed his appreciation for his efforts.<sup>97</sup>

### The Fade-out

The smooth progress in the relations between the two countries must have been satisfactory for Kōzui. On the other hand, new political and economic developments at global and national levels, were on the brink of pushing that progress into a stagnation if not a halt. The main reason for the deterioration in relations was the global economic

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<sup>95</sup> Prince Takamatsu was the heir to the Arisugawa-no miya house of Taruhito Shinnō, the matchmaker of Kōzui with Kazuko, and also the fourth son of the Emperor Taishō and Empress Teimei (Kazuko’s sister).

<sup>96</sup> Nihon Toruko Kyōkai, “*Nihon-Toruko Kyōkai 70 nen-shi*” (A History of the 70 Years of the Japanese-Turkish Association), (Tokyo, Nichi-Do Kyōkai, 1996), pp. 21-25.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p.23.

crisis that emerged in the U.S. in October 1929. In retrospect, the timing of the Bursa factory can be judged to be unfortunate. The factory was designed to operate on export-basis, and hence almost totally dependent on the global demand for its products. But soon it was discovered that it was failing to reach a sales level necessary to sustain the enterprise. The rapid shrinking of consumption across the world hit the factory which was opened with high hopes. Possibly supported by new loans from İş Bank<sup>98</sup> and working undercapacity, for about two years, the factory continued its operations uninterrupted. The photos taken in January 1931 show that the factory was operational and Japanese nationals were still working together with their Turkish colleagues.<sup>99</sup> (Appendix. Fig. 64)

Eventually problems between the partners surfaced. A letter Uemura wrote (this time under the name Kamimura he had begun using) on

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<sup>98</sup> Following the death of Memduh Gökçen in January 1932, İş Bank had started the procedure to return the credit forwarded via court. A letter dated 4 Jul. 1933, sent from the General Directorate to the Bursa branch clearly states that the Bank was demanding his shares in the Turkish-Japanese Silk Weaving Factory “...*avukatımız Hulusi Bey’in mütalaası suretinde Saffet Beyzade Memduh Beye ait Japon fabrikası hissesi için Asliye hukuk mahkemesince.*”, İş Bank Archives, Ref.No. 121/19662.

<sup>99</sup> The Private archive of Şükûfe Gökçen. Published in: S.Esenbel, M.Girardelli, E.Küçükyağın (ed.s), *The Crescent and the Sun: Three Japanese in Istanbul*, (Istanbul: Istanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010), pp.389-393. Also in Feb.1931, the factory had sent some samples requested by the directorate of İş Bank. Letters dated 16 Feb.1931 and 25 Jan.1931, İş Bank Archives, Ref.No.71/106.

14 May 1930 from his office in Istanbul to the factory reveals that the corporate structure had already changed as of 3 May 1930 and that the partnership was in a bind.<sup>100</sup> (Appendix. Fig. 65) Soon financial difficulties struck and cost Memduh Bey his life (d.31 Jan.1932).<sup>101</sup> Struggling to find ways to pay his debts while the factory's deficits aggravated, Memduh Bey's health had deteriorated and he could not recover from pneumonia he caught.<sup>102</sup>

With the loss of Memduh Bey, and diminishing revenues the partnership had become nominal, and the factory was shut down in February 1932.<sup>103</sup> The name “*Japon Fabrikası*” (The Japanese Factory) lingered as late as 1940.<sup>104</sup> (Appendix. Fig. 66)

The situation in the Ankara Agricultural Industry Co.Ltd. was no

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<sup>100</sup> The Private archive of Şükûfe Gökçen.

<sup>101</sup> Banu Demirağ, *Manolya Ağacının Kökleri*, p.123.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Şükûfe Gökçen, Dedem Ahmet Hamdi Sami Gökçen (My Grandfather Ahmet Hamdi Sami Gökçen), in *Manolya Ağacının Kökleri – Tarih, Zaman, Gerçek* (The Roots of Magnolia Tree – History, Time, Truth), edited by Şükûfe Gökçen, (İstanbul: Gökçen Ltd., 2007), pp.84-91. [A letter dated 25 Feb. 1932, given on page 87, shows the inheritors of Memduh Bey had given the decision of closure and informed the Japanese side on this issue.]

<sup>104</sup> An “Exemption License” issued by the Ministry of Economy shows that the name survived until 1940, though its grade was reduced to second degree in 1935 due to low capacity usage. The Private archive of Şükûfe Gökçen..

different. Shortage of water, delay in the arrival of machinery, troubles with the seeding equipments were only some of the factors hampering progress. In January 1928, Uemura was called back to Japan to explain the situation.<sup>105</sup> After his return to Turkey later that year, he never writes a word about the life in Ankara farm. For instance, in a letter he had sent from Istanbul in October, he gives a detailed account of the Republic Ball held on 29 Oct.1927, in Ankara Palas Hotel. Although vivid, unlike his previous letters his narration of the night lacks his usual enthusiasm and it is distanced.<sup>106</sup>

In fact, as of February 1929, an office to coordinate the affairs of the two ongoing operations in Ankara and Bursa was established in Istanbul. Kōzui had brought a trade counselor, a certain M.Suzuka<sup>鈴</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Uemura Tatsumi, *Ajia no Nishi Kara Higashi e Sashite* (Pointing East from the West of Asia), *Daijō*, No.7-4 (Apr.1928),pp. 57-64. His three other letters sent from Villa Sanyasō in Kyoto were published in successive months: Uemura Tatsumi, *Ajia no Nishi Kara Higashi e Sashite -II* (Pointing East from the West of Asia-II), *Daijō*, No.7-5 (May 1928),pp. 51-56; Uemura Tatsumi, *Ajia no Nishi Kara Higashi e Sashite -III* (Pointing East from the West of Asia-III), *Daijō*, No.7-6 (Jun. 1928),pp. 53-58; Uemura Tatsumi, *Ajia no Nishi Kara Higashi e Sashite -III* (Pointing East from the West of Asia-III), *Daijō*, No.7-7 (Jul. 1928),pp. 51-63.

<sup>106</sup> The letter was published in two parts: Uemura Tatsumi, *Toruko Kyōwasai no Kono Yoru-I* (The Night of the Turkish Republic Festival-I), *Daijō*, No.7-10 (Oct.1928),pp. 51-57; . Uemura Tatsumi, *Toruko Kyōwasai no Kono Yoru-II* (The Night of the Turkish Republic Festival-II), *Daijō*, No.7-11 (Nov.1928),pp. 49-66. [The letter is interesting as a primary material from an eye-witness of the night sharing his view and intimate conversations among the Republic's elite and diplomats throughout the Ball. This is also the first (and the last) time a certain Chōsōkabe Mitsuchika 長宗我部光親 is mentioned as the representative for the Ankara Agricultural Industry Company.]

鹿 from Kyoto, and left him behind to look after the growing businesses.<sup>107</sup> A letterhead in İř Bank Archives show that his current address was:

Bureau Central Des Entreprises Du Comte K.Otani en  
Turquie  
Galata Assicurazioni Generali Han  
4 Etage N.85 Stamboul  
Telephone: Pera 2058  
Adresse Telegraphique: Bellder Stamboul Code:  
Bentley's<sup>108</sup>

As an expert in business practices Suzuka had observed the conditions of the farm in Ankara, and holding meetings with the stake-holders, in an attempt to find solution to the slow progress he judged to propose amendments in the original terms of contract. For this purpose he met Celal Bayar at a point in early March, and discussed the issue. Bayar must have said that he would consider the proposal of the Japanese side, but obviously he was not inclined to do the changes. A few weeks later, in mid-March, Suzuka was asking him about the

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<sup>107</sup> Nenpu, p.100. [A letter dated 7 Feb. 1929 in İř Bank Archives reads: “...*Ōtani has departed our city (Istanbul) as of Feb.1. Our partner Shiojiri will return to Ankara and receive yours answers to the issues related to Ankara farm that His Highness the Count had told to you...*”

<sup>108</sup> İř Bank Archives, Ref.No. 545/246197 [Letter written in French to “Djelal Bey” (Celal Bayar, the Director General of İř Bank) and signed by M.Suzuka; date 27 Feb.1929].

amendments by a letter.<sup>109</sup> Mutual understanding and the will to collaborate between the sides had started faltering.

A year later, it had become clear that the operation in Ankara was not worth continuing anymore. A letter dated 18 Jun.1930 reveals the fact that already in April the sides had reached an agreement to end the partnership. It was written by the directorate of İş Bank to “Monsieur Tatsumi Kamimura” stationed at the Central Bureau mentioned above. In the letter; the bank was requesting him to assign a liquidator in order to complete the procedures. On 16 Apr. 1930, the Japanese side had submitted some conditions for liquidation and the bank was assuring that those conditions would be met by the liquidation committee.<sup>110</sup> The official dissolution process was completed with the submission of a final letter to the Ministry of

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<sup>109</sup> İş Bank Archives, Ref.No.545/38737 (Document date: 19 Mar.1929:”...*O zaman rica eylediğimiz çiftlik mukavelesinin ıslahı için bu bayramdan sonra hemen cevabımızı alabileceğimizi ümit eylediğimiz halde...tekrar sormamıza affınızı istirham eder ve şayet gönderilmemiş ise lütfen en seri posta ile irsal buyurmanızı...*”).

<sup>110</sup> İş Bank Archives, Ref.No. 547/39342 [Document dated 18 Jun.1930. “*20 Nisan 1927 tarihinde teşkil eylediğimiz Ankara Sanayii Ziraiye Limitet Şirketinin sureti teşekkül ve feshine dair olarak serdeylediğiniz bazı şeraiti muhtevi 16 Nisan 1930 tarihli mektubunuzu aldık. Feshine karar verdiğimiz bu şirket muamelesinin ikmali intacı zımında evvel emirde her iki tarafca likidatör tayini lazım gelmektedir...*”. At the same day, the directorate also wrote to Hasan Rıza (Soyak), the private secretary of the President, informing him about the situation and requesting his appointment of a liquidator as well. Letter to Kamimura was attached to it. İş Bank Archives, Ref.No.547/3140].

Economy on 9 Jun.1931.<sup>111</sup>

Considering the steady growth and flourishing of the Atatürk Forest Farm, as well as the consistent rise in its profits during the same period, the reasons for this rapid decline may not be explained merely by economic factors.<sup>112</sup> It appears that political reasons may have played a role in the dissolution of the partnership as well. The expansionist policies of the Japanese government over China and Manchuria following the Mukden Incident in September 1931<sup>113</sup>, as well as its attempts to extend its influence to the Central Asian Muslims through Tatars were increasingly becoming a global issue.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> See footnotes 33-34..

<sup>112</sup> İzzet Öztoprak, *Atatürk Orman Çiftliği'nin Tarihi* (The History of Atatürk Forest Farm), (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006), pp. 71-74. [A table on p. 101, shows clearly that the farm had declared consistent annual profits between the years 1926- 1937 with a single exception of 1927. ]

<sup>113</sup> On the Mukden Incident, its significance, and the Lytton Report see: Robert H. Ferrell, The Mukden Incident: September 18-19, 1931, *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol.27, No.1 (Mar.,1955), pp.66-72.

<sup>114</sup> For the Japanese Pan-Asianist policies and their intersection with the Pan-Islamist movements through the pre-Second World War years see: Sel.uk Esenbel, Japan's Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900-1945, *The American Historical Review*, Vol.109, No.4 (Oct.2004), pp.1140-1170. Also for the activities of émigré Tatars in Japan see: Larisa Osmanova, Senzen no Higashi Ajia ni Okeru Turk-Tatar Imin no Rekishiteki Hensen ni Kansuru Kakusho (Memorandum on the Historical Transformation of Turk-Tatar Immigrants in Pre-war East Asia), *Tōhoku Ajia Kenkyū*, No.10 (Jan.,2006), pp.45-66; and A.Merthan Dünder, *Japonya'da Türk İzleri: Bir Kültür Mirası Olarak Mançurya ve Japonya Türk-Tatar Camileri* (Footprints of Turks in Japan: Turkish-Tatar Mosques in Manchuria and Japan as Cultural Heritages), (Ankara: Vadi, 2008).

This expansionism matched with the Islam policy (*kaikyō seisaku*) of Taishō and early Shōwa periods were disturbing the founders of the Turkish Republic, who had just recently abolished the Caliphate and strived to implement a secular system in the country.<sup>115</sup> Matsuoka Yōsuke's two day visit on 25 Dec.1932 to Istanbul and holding meetings and a press conference at Pera Palas Hotel without bothering to go to Ankara had infuriated Tevfik Rüştü Aras, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and no doubt the rest of the Turkish authorities including the President.<sup>116</sup> Two months later (24 Feb.1933), the same Matsuoka would announce Japan's departure from the League of Nations which Turkey had just recently managed to become a member (18 Jul.1932).<sup>117</sup> The national policies of the two countries were diverging instead of converging as Ōtani Kōzui would have liked to see.

Under these circumstances the fading away of Kōzui's enterprises

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<sup>115</sup> Selçuk Esenbel, "Japan and Islam Policy During the 1930s", in *Turning Points in Japanese History*, edited by Bert Edström, (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), pp.180-214.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. [Matsuoka's emphasis on Islam and "our Tungusic Brothers" discourse did not attract sympathy either. ]

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

may as well be regarded inevitable. In a way, the political Zeitgeist was not convenient for his projects. Nenpu records that Ōtani Kōzui's operations in Turkey had finished by 1933.<sup>118</sup> Hence, a dream that had started with great vigor in 1927 had reached a peak in 1929, declined until 1931 and vanished into total oblivion in 1933.

It is strikingly mysterious to find so scarce information about these enterprises. The role of Ōtani Kōzui, who had come up with the idea of supporting the new Turkish Republic with all in his power as early as 1924, who had been instrumental in the establishment of all institutions related to Turkish- Japanese relations, at a certain stage, was totally erased from the social memories of the two nations. Together with him, all those young Japanese men who lived and worked in Ankara and Bursa during the formation years of the Republic are forgotten. (Appendix. Fig.67)

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<sup>118</sup> Nenpu, p.95.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### CONCLUSION

Ōtani Kōzui had lived in an age of turbulence. Among the clamour of wars, he was continuously looking for a paradise on earth, the Pure Land of his faith. A place where he can hide in peace. His first attempt to create his own paradise was Villa Nirakusō, but his dreams were shattered by harsh earthly realities. He went to Simla at Himalayas only to find out that his physical build was not fit to live at such altitudes for long. Then he went to Southeast Asian islands like Celebes and Java. There too, like in Shanghai, Port Arthur or Kaoshiung of Taiwan he built beautiful villas within large gardens but he never had the chance (or the will) to settle down. He was a restless and curious soul and travelling was a life-style for him. He had resigned from chief-abbacy but possibly he knew that he was not fit for such a routine job. Even during his years in office, he used to travel abroad and was absent for several months. Instead of the busy

atmosphere of the Western Honganji, he would rather prefer to attend his mask melons in his greenhouse or search for a Buddhist relic in India. But in his era, it was difficult to find a place of peace. There were wars, uprisings, riots everywhere in the world. The world was changing, and Japan was changing with it. So like his father, he was compelled to lead the change since he simply did not like to follow.

When Kōzui was born in December 1876, the last samurai remnants of the feudal age, most of whom were the revolutionaries that paved the way for the new age, the Meiji Restoration, were now declared as rebels of the new regime and were struggling for their lives. In the two months before Kōzui's birth, ex-samurai rebellions had erupted in Kumamoto, Fukuoka and Hagi, the hometown of revolution. All were crushed by the new Imperial army but still within a month after his birth, Japan was shaken by yet another uprising led by one of the masterminds of the revolution, Saigō Takamori. When finally the *Seinan* (Southeast) War or the Satsuma rebellion ended in September 1877, the last obstacle was removed, or as Danton would say “the revolution, like Saturn, had devoured its children”, and

Japan could start its transformation in full-force. In the absence of a model, the new regime looked back in Japanese history for a legitimate system and in an Hobsbawmian fashion, found the solution in the invention of tradition. The Ritsuryō system of government with its *Dajōkan* (Ministry of Rule) and *Jingikan* (Ministry of Rite) wings. While *Dajōkan* would deal with the earthly affairs of the state, the *Jingikan* would handle the other-worldly. This meant trouble for the Buddhists, and soon after the establishment of the new system persecution commenced.

Just before Kōzui was born, following almost a decade of persecution, the new regime had finally accepted to come to terms with the Buddhist community led by Western Honganji, the largest and most influential religious institution in Japan. During these turbulent years of *Haibutsu Kishaku* (Abolish Buddhism, Demolish Buddhas), Kōzui's father Myōnyo had managed to lead his community to safety by his political manuvres at the new capital Tokyo and by responding to the increasing pressure asserted by the Ministry of Rites with continuous reforms within his own institution. Instead of

being a passive victim of developments, he had chosen to take initiative and lead change. Thanks to his efforts, at the time of Kōzui's birth, Western Honganji had evolved itself into a religious institution in the modern sense.

Myōnyo had reorganized the temple administration, renewed the regulations concerning the temple affairs, prepared a sort of constitution, and even opened an assembly of representatives coming from local temples affiliated with Honganji on 29 Nov. 1881. This move towards democracy has predated the opening of the Japanese National Assembly a full nine years (29 Nov. 1890). He also opened local secondary schools and a university in secularized Western fashion. The Ryukoku University which originally was founded in 1639 as a religious school, had started including Western studies into its curriculum as early as 1875 and assumed the character of a modern university in 1876, a year before the founding of the Tokyo Imperial University. In 1879, a Western style campus for the university was built.

Western Honganji's pioneering efforts to modernize itself had its

impact on the whole society. While assisting Myōnyo in his reforms, Shimaji Mokurai (1838- 1911), a priest from Chōshū domain, participated in the Iwakura Mission (Dec.1871- Sep.1873), studied the religious institutions and church-state relations in the West (including the Ottoman Empire which he visited between 11- 23 Apr. 1873), and became “the father of secularism” in Japan. His doctrinal assaults at the Ministry of Rites which at the time, was fervently employing anti-Buddhist / pro-Shintoist policies, were instrumental in ending the persecution. Mokurai’s words were influential not only because he was speaking with an authority he gained through his studies in the West, but also because he was a warrior-monk during the Bakumatsu (End of Tokugawa shogunate) period and his fellow Chōshū comrades were now the policy makers of the new government.

Hence, this study have shown that Western Honganji was an active participant and a leader in the transformation of the Japanese society and the state during early Meiji. In fact, the institution and its community had constituted one of the main components of the *tōbaku* (overthrow the shogunate) movement and the *ōseifukkō* (restoration

of power to the Emperor) along the path to Meiji Restoration in 1868.

The arrival of the “Black Ships” of Commodore Matthew Perry at the Edo Bay in 1853 had triggered an avalanche that would end up with the overthrowing of the shogunate. The unequal treaties giving extraterritoriality and other trade privileges to Western powers, was signed by the shogunate in 1858 and caused further upheaval within the country. The *sonnō jōi-ron* (“Revere the Emperor, Expel the Foreigner” Theory) quickly gained momentum. Compromises made by the shogunate were interpreted as its weakness, and an opposition front was formed. The turmoil that followed, allowed two domains to step forward as leaders of this newly forming opposition: Satsuma and Chōshū. These two rival domains, striving for more power at the national level were brought together to form an alliance in 1866, and this united front, in cooperation with their allies within the court soon brought the shogunate to its knees.

This narrative about the Bakumatsu constitutes the main storyline of mainstream historiography regarding the period. While not refuting the validity of this basic narrative, this dissertation has

claimed and hopefully demonstrated that it gives an incomplete picture of the period, and unless the role of religious institutions –and in this case the Western Honganji- throughout the process is revealed, it was destined to remain so.

Modern historiography has a tendency to ignore the political, spiritual and even military role played by the religious institutions in history. Omitting the religious institutions from historywriting means to undermine their organizational capabilities, hierarchic structures, command- and- control systems, spiritual leadership and motivational capacities, economic power as well as their capabilities to mobilize masses. As it was shown in this dissertation, in the case of Honganji, military capabilities must also be added to this list. The *Honganji-tai* (Honganji Guards) division consisting of heavily armed and highly trained warrior-monks had taken part in the protection of the Imperial Palaces in Kyoto during the clashes between the shogunate and the Satchō forces in 1868.

Honganji, since the time of Rennyō (1415- 1499), the second founder of the sect, had always been struggling for survival against

the other established sects as well as the samurai establishment.

Continuing the proselytizing efforts of the founder Shinran (1173-1263) Rennyo was able to spread his faith among the peasants and organize them under Jōdo Shinshū, which then was known as “*Ikkō-shū*” (The Sect for the Single-minded). Unlike other established sects, his teachings involved an egalitarian approach to the low-classes and thus spread like wildfire among them. During Rennyo’s lifetime, the *Ikkō-shū* had reached a wide popular basis, helped the peasants to get organized among themselves, form confederations and start uprising against the nobles and samurai ruling classes who -thru their manorial rights- had been receiving most of the wealth generated by the peasants. The uprisings called the “*Ikkō-Ikki*” were so successful that they started forming self-governing temple-towns (*jinai-machi*) all around the country.

Throughout the sixteenth century which corresponds roughly to the Warring States period, the temple-towns had established strong ties among themselves. A large network of temple-towns was led and administered by the head-temple Ishiyama Honganji (at the site of the

Osaka Castle). The strong supply lines among these temple-towns proved very useful during the siege laid by general Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), one of the Three Unifiers of Japan. Between 1570-1580, Ishiyama Honganji commanded by Kennyo (1543-1592), the 11<sup>th</sup> chief-abbot of Honganji, gave Nobunaga the fiercest military resistance he ever met during his campaigns. Kennyo agreed to hand his castle over to Nobunaga only after the Emperor intervened.

When Nobunaga was killed by one of his generals two years later, his successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) was aware that if he wanted a country unified under his rule, he should have a policy regarding the Honganji. Thus, he invited Honganji to Kyoto and helped establish an impressive head-temple. This cathedral is the Western Honganji today. Hideyoshi's successor Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616), the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate or the Pax-Tokugawa that would last for the next 260 years, also knew that he should take Honganji and the *Ikkō-shū* into account. In the decisive Sekigahara battle in 1600, together with the Mōri clan of the Chōshū domain, Honganji had given its support to the Toyotomi

House, and thus had taken its part against the Tokugawa.

After his victory at Sekigahara, Ieyasu found his solution and decided to split the community into two. In 1602, he helped establish a second head-temple, the Eastern Honganji. His descendants, the Tokugawa shoguns would continue the example set by their ancestor and consistently go on supporting the Eastern against the Western Honganj but always paying attention to keep the delicate balance. Today, the two sister temples are still towering symmetrically at the heart of Kyoto.

Even this short summary should show clearly to which extent a religious institution can assume a leading role in the making of history. Further scrutiny on the alliances forged during the process leading to the overthrowal of the Tokugawa, reveals the fact that they can be traced back to the alliances of the past. As this study has shown, the Meiji Restoration movement was a “Tripartite Coalition” among the Chōshū and Satsuma domains with the court. The sides were united by the court-noble Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883). Even at that early stage of Tripartite Coalition, religion was an issue. All the

three sides had their own agendas regarding religious policies.

Chōshū had a strong connection with Honganji while Satsuma was openly anti-Buddhist and carrying a persecution campaign at the time of the Restoration. The decisive factor then, was the court which favoured *Shinbutsu Bunri* (Separation of Gods and Buddhas) as opposed to the traditional *Shinbutsu Shūgō* (Unity of Gods and Buddhas) for obvious reasons. The “Separation” was a policy consistent with the Emperor-centered new system they were envisioning. Therefore, the fact that a court-noble, Konoe Tadafusa (1838- 1873) well-known for his pro-Satsuma stance (Konoe was the son-in-law of the daimyo of Satsuma domain) was appointed as the first head of Ministry of Rites (which immediately started its push for the nationwide persecution of Buddhism), comes as no surprise. These relations were handled in detail within the dissertation and it is seen that the familial relations and networking in the transition period from a feudal to a modern system presents a promising new field in Japanese Studies which has the potential to enhance our understanding of Japanese society and politics, especially when the

period in question is concerned.

A phenomenal personality like Ōtani Kōzui, can only be understood as a product of these continuities and not in isolation.

Ōtani Kōzui stands on top of a religious tradition deeply entrenched in the Japanese society. The role played by Honganji throughout the Japanese history, its doctrine, its organization and its relations with the state were all factors determining his worldview and deeds.

Working on Kōzui's life is a real challenge for the historian. The challenge comes not from the lack of sources (both primary and secondary), but from their abundance. This wealth of information makes it difficult to portray a single Kōzui as subject matter. There is such a vast pile of information on his activities, travels, writings, the news related to him, the books written on him, his explorations, travels, researches and network that he virtually seems to have lived many lives. If one reason for the large quantities of information related to Kōzui is his multi-faceted character, the other is that almost whatever he had said or written were kept by his followers.

If not many, he certainly had two lives or rather two distinct

phases in his life: One, until the end of his chief-abbacy, and the other his life in China until his death. Kōzui was born as the eldest son and heir to the throne of Myōnyo, thus he was destined to become the next leader of Western Honganji. Already in his childhood, due to his father's weak health, he had to represent him and preach and bless tens of thousands of Japanese soldiers at the army garrisons throughout the country before and during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. Since he had difficulties in adapting to the school system, he was educated basically by private tutors. On the other hand, he was a good reader all through his life and had cultivated a special interest in geography and maps. Wherever he went he used to carry detailed world maps with him. In 1899, he went to Qing China, in 1900 he travelled to England to study but he spent most of his time in travels. During his stay in Europe he even challenged to travel to the North Pole. In 1901, he visited Istanbul among many other cities. But it was in 1902, that he started his expedition into Central Asia, an enterprise which would affect the rest of his life.

Between 1903-1914, Ōtani Kōzui was the patriarch of Honganji.

During the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) he organized a nationwide campaign to support the troops on the battlefield and their families at home. He sent Buddhist monks as army chaplains to the battlefield. After the war, he was saluted by the laymen as well as the Emperor Meiji himself, as a national icon of patriotism. In 1907, he built the Villa Nirakusō at Ashiya, Kobe and a secondary school to implement the ideal education system he had in mind. In 1911, he organized the Six hundred fiftieth Commemoration event of Shinran, the founder of the sect, and hosted over one million people within ten days. It was an unheard, unprecedented show of organizational capabilities of Honganji and the power of Ōtani Kōzui over his community. He had reached a peak in his life.

Then in 1912, right after the Emperor Meiji passed away, Kōzui started to fall. A financial controversy erupted and he was blamed and pushed to a corner for his usage of money. A group within the temple administration criticised him for the support he had been giving to the expeditions into Central Asia. Within the following two years, he lost almost everything, and in November 1914, he gave a radical decision

and resigned from his post and his aristocratic title (Hakushaku/Count).

When he got on a ship heading towards Pusan, Korea, Kōzui had left his old life (or self) behind. From then on he was going to live in China for the rest of his life, and create a new life from scratch. In his new life too, he succeeded to ascend to the post of counselor to the Second Konoe and the Koiso cabinets. He established large plantations in Celebes and Java islands in Southeast Asia (1917-1924), Kaoshiung in Taiwan (1935) and even became partners with Atatürk in his Ankara Gazi Farm Project (1927) and opened a silk weaving factory in Bursa with Gökçen family. Hence, the “living-Buddha” Ōtani Kōzui had appeared in Turkey in the late 1920ies as the “Agriculturalist Kōzui”.

All through his life, he continued to be a devout Buddhist and gave sermons on his faith. His close friend, the well-known Asianist journalist Tokutomi Sohō in his “*Ōtani Kōzui-shi no Shōgai*” (The Life of Master Ōtani Kōzui) describes him as an Asianist who had the vision to unite East Asia with his faith. It is true that Kōzui saw

Buddhism as a common denominator that the East Asian peoples shared. It is also true that he knew the roots of his faith was in Asia. Throughout his explorations he had seen the Buddhist sites all around the continent. But on the other hand, at least in the second part of his life, he seems to have distinguished between religion as a personal choice and religion as an institution. Though he used to have a small temple in his residences where he could pray by himself, he kept away from institutional religion after his resignation from abbacy.

Kōzui used to define himself as an “Asianist” but he was neither an ideologue of Pan-Asianism nor a mere follower of other people’s ideologies. He was more a man of knowledge and action than a philosopher. He was a visionary. The deep love he nurtured for the continent crystallizes in the ten volumes of “*Kōa Keikaku*” (Construction of Asia Project), the series of books in which he demonstrated his unparalleled level of knowledge on the geography, meteorology, economics and flora-fauna of the continent as well as his vision for a prosperous Asia. In this work, he proposed a railway line connecting Tokyo with Istanbul and Berlin via a southern route,

alternative to the Russian Trans-Siberian Line in the north. Probably the late 1930ies was too early to realize his vision, but the information contained within those ten volumes no doubt continue to be still valid and valuable for today's world.

Via the history of Western Honganji and the life of its 22. Patriarch Ōtani Kōzui, this dissertation has targeted to demonstrate the role played by a religious institution, Western Honganji in the making of modern Japan. As we have seen, Western Honganji priests who fought in the Bakumatsu battles were also the ones who had introduced secularism into Japan. The demand for the separation of politics from religion had come from the religionists themselves. The Western Honganji priests and adherents were the founders of some of the earliest modern schools, hospitals, women's societies as well as publication houses and monthly magazines in Japan. *Daikyokō* (The Grand Academy), the precursor of the Rykoku University had been one of the earliest universities incorporating scientific courses in its curriculum.

Modern historiography both in Japan and at the global level,

possibly due to the traumas related to the colonialist, nationalist, pan-Islamist or pan-Asianist discourses before and during the Second World War has until now tended to oversee the interaction between the secular and religious spheres of social life. But we choose not to see, does not cease to be there.

This study hopefully may enhance our understanding of church-state relations today, and open the way for further research on the roles of other religious institutions like Western Honganji, and other personalities like Ōtani Kōzui in shaping the state and society in Japan and other countries. Without including this missing part in history, neither the social mechanisms underlying revolutions and change, nor the dynamics of national and international politics may be fully understood.

APPENDIX:  
RELATED VISUALS



Fig. 1 Shinran and Rennyo  
Source: Rikkōji, Nara

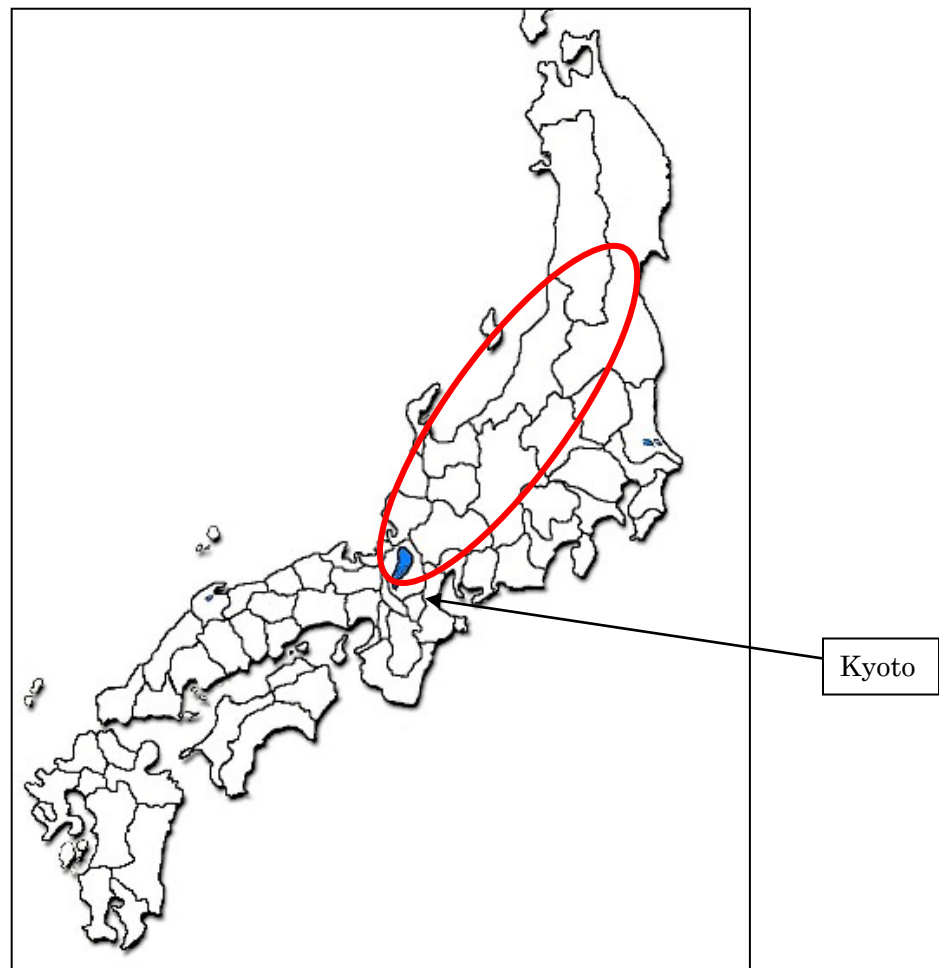


Fig.2 Hokuriku Region where Shinran was active.  
Source: Author

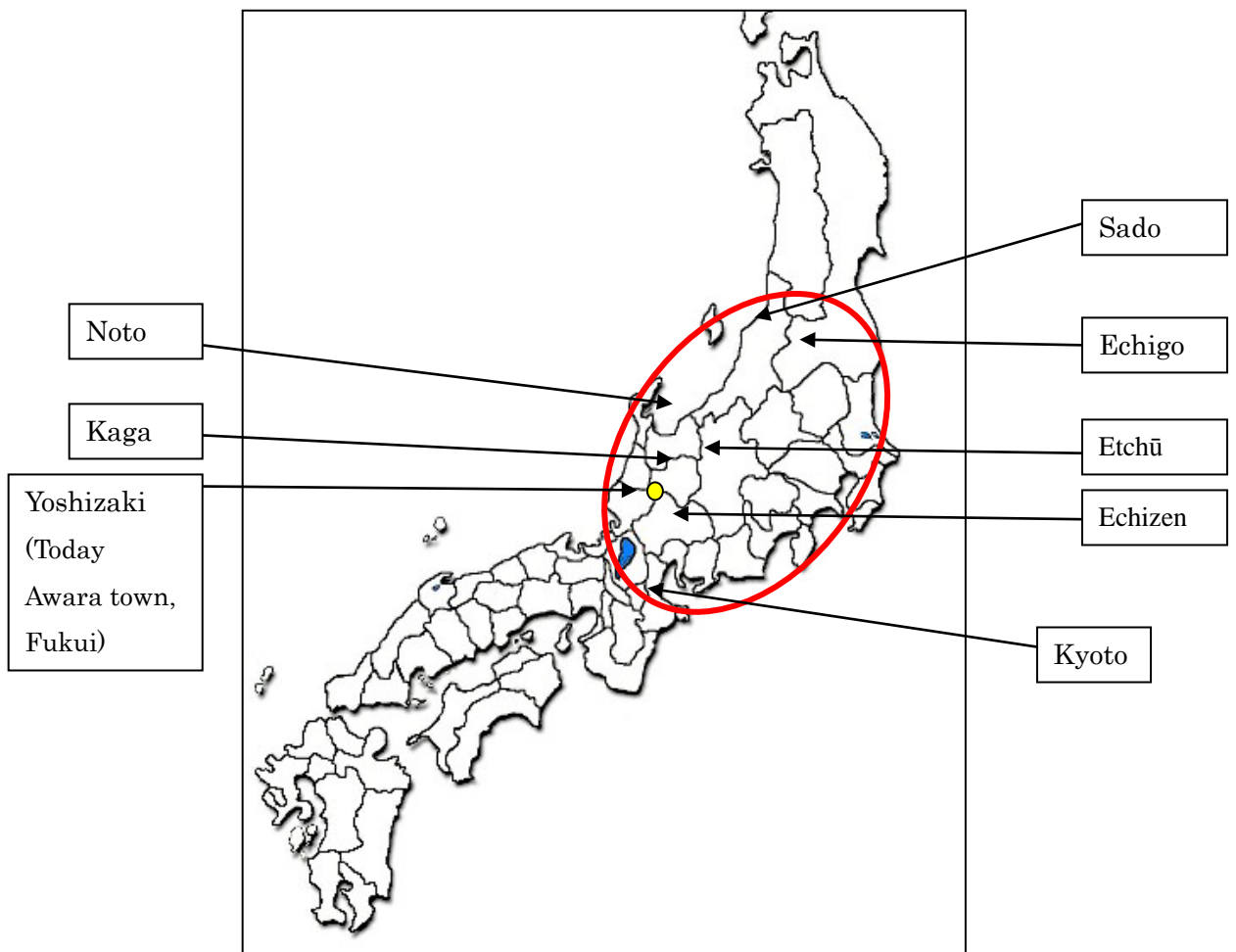


Fig.3 The areas Rennyō was active and Yoshizaki where he settled.

Source: Author



Fig. 4 Rennyō and his peasant followers having troubles with local authorities.  
Source: *Rennyō Shōnin Eden* (Saionji temple collection, Ichinomiya town, Fukui)

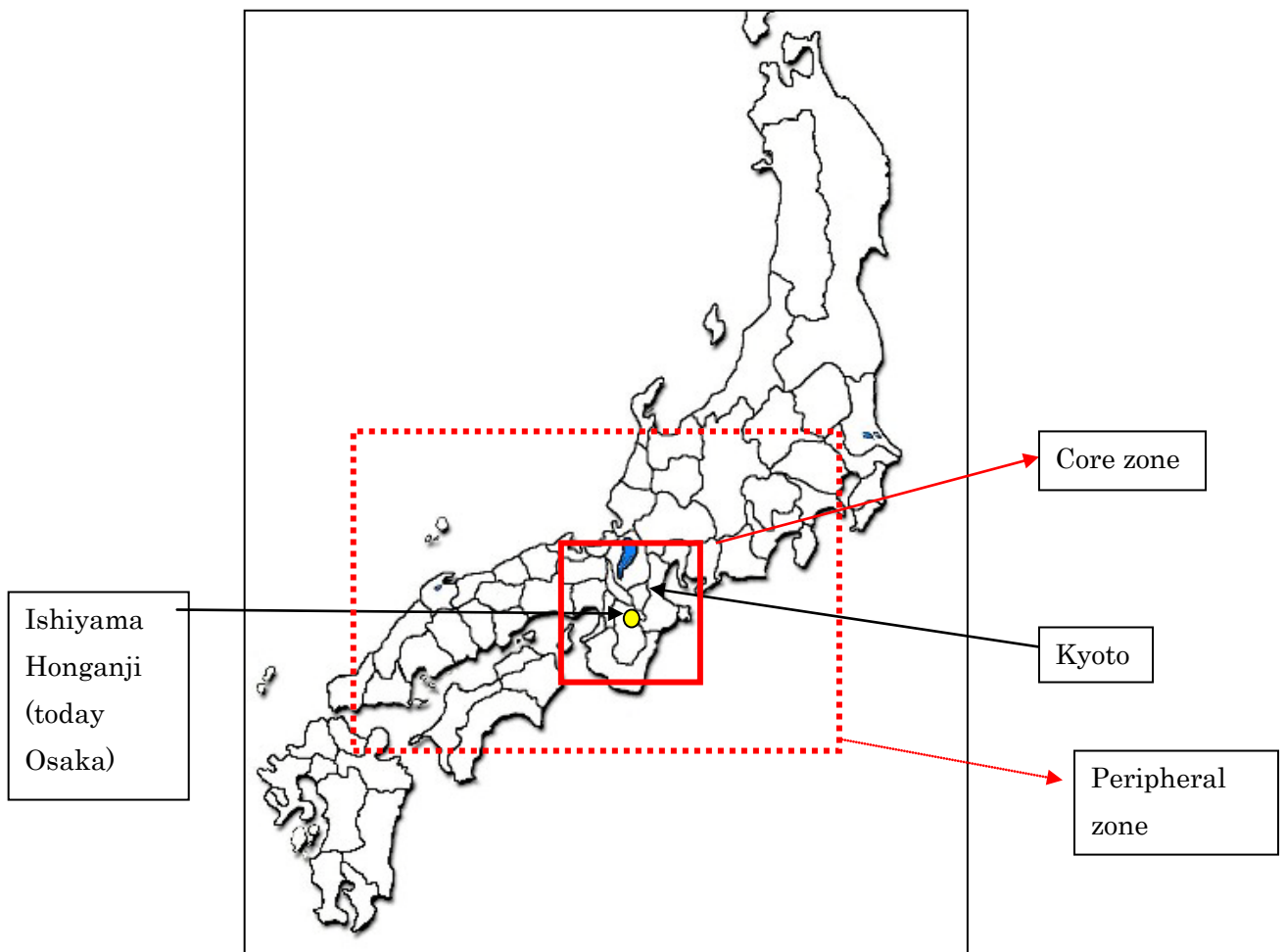


Fig.5 The Core and Peripheral Zones of Honganji activity during the Sengoku period. A vast network of 40 temple-towns was operated from Ishiyama Honganji.

Source: Author





Fig. 7 Commodore Perry's "Black Ship" and a Tengu-esque depiction of the Commodore himself as imagined by a contemporary artist.

Source: *Sakamoto Ryōma no Kaketa Jidai*



Fig. 8 Kōzui's father Patriarch Myōnyo at the age of 26.

Source: *Kōson Shōnin Ketsurui-ki*



Fig. 9 The Imperial Flag designed and used during the Toba-Fushimi War (Nishiki no Mihata 錦の御旗)  
Source: National Archives of Japan,

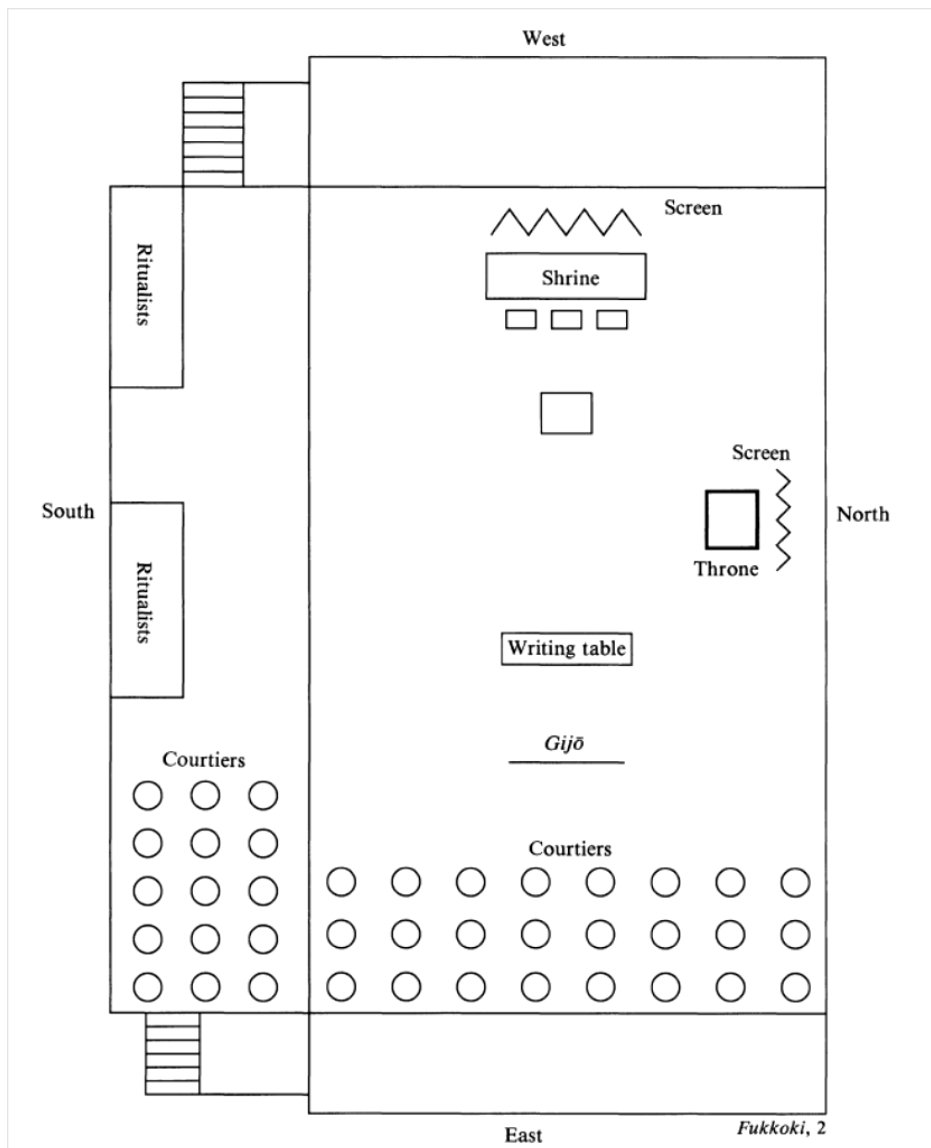


Fig. 10 The seating order at the Charter Oath ritual showing the Shintoist character of the new regime (6 Apr. 1868).  
 Source: J.Breen. "The Imperial Oath of April 1868."

Shimaji Mokurai (1838-1911)



Ōzu Tetsunen (1834- 1902)

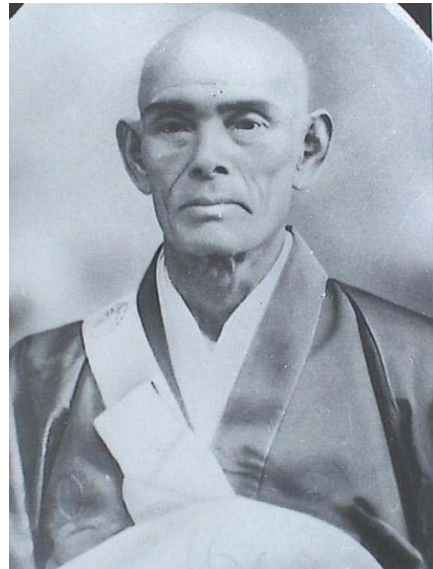


Fig.11 Shimaji Mokurai and Ōzu Tetsunen.  
The two eminent priests and ecclesiastical reformers from Chōshū. Shimaji is the pioneer who introduced the notion of secularism into Japan. He is also the first Japanese who visited Turkey with Fukuchi Genichirō, in 1874.

なかつたが、大臣も曾爾アラ助君となり、君の手腕に待つもの多く、鬼才田尻博士は居らず、郡才添田君一氏は居らず、年は若くても順は君の大政大臣たるべきに至つた、尤も君が伴つば人間ならば、其迄に預つたかも知れぬ、又大臣ならぬかも知れぬ、なつても無邊無涯の如く、大術家とするかも知れぬ、然れど其處は阪谷君なり、元來が善男子、人に可愛がられる所がある、又寺内君などの所には便利に出来て居る、無理な賭博も張でも遣り易い、然るに意外にも阪谷君は怒つた、正直な丈懸つて見たが、仲裁が出て折衷的賭博張となつた、是れが若し無邊無涯なら斯う丸くは活きぬ、彼も心算一瞬の妙を得て居るけれど、其の前に失敗る、君は然らうでない、怒つても惜しめぬ、元來が段違ひの相撲でもあらうが、同情が君の方に多いからである、斯て六億一千萬圓でよ豫算は、君の手で議會に投げ出された。

誠實も先づ無事である、閣員の内合も無事である、斯うして二年も立てば、男爵は腹の前にチラついて居る、即ち榮一君と同格になる、ニライ立身である、縦と貞白の足らぬといふも、老人許り見慣れたからである、今日の時勢は二十代で總理大臣になつても好い、君の四十五にして大臣たるは當然である、君は開山の人物、有名なる即盧翁の第四子、翁も亦後ありと謂ふべし。

二六 西本願寺法主大谷光瑞君



先代の光瑞法主は堪能なる歌人であつたが、現代の光瑞法主は有名な地理家である、明敏なることは、光瑞師も光瑞師も共に譲らぬが、歌人の資性濃厚なりしに反して、地理家は磊落不羈である、昔の生佛としては六條御殿の深窓に、北島風月を友としたことが似合はしかりし如く、今の生佛には歐亞大陸の山川を踏破して、精確の地理の開拓に努めることが似合はしい、昨秋來表方を待つて南滿地方を遊歴し、數日前には夫妻相携へて、海國皇帝に謁見し、今は早や歸途に就くことであるが、君の清國旅行はこれが二回目、廿二年中に一度同國を謁察して歸朝し、同年の十二月に歐米遊遊の途に就き、

人物畫傳

五一

Fig.12 Ōtani Kōzui in 1907.  
Source: Jinbutsu Gaden

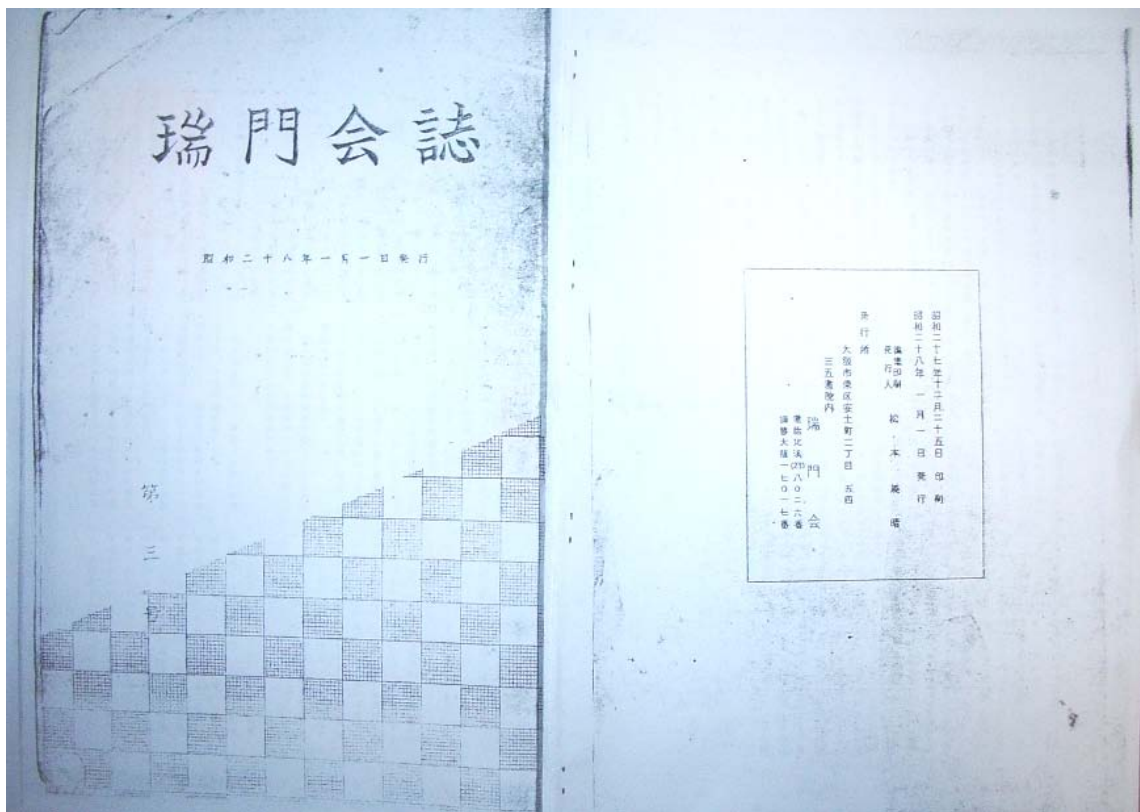


Fig.13 *Zuimonkai-shi*, the bulletin of *Zuimonkai*.

Enmyōin Fujiko (Birth mother)  
 (Also the mother of Kōmyo, Sonyū, Takeko)



Ōtani  
 Kōshō  
 (Nephew,  
 current  
 chief-  
 abbot)

Ōtani  
 Kōmyo  
 (Brother)

Ōtani  
 Kōzui

Shinkōin  
 Shigeko  
 (Official  
 mother)

Kibe  
 Kōji  
 (Brother)

Ōtani  
 Sonyū  
 (Brother)

Kujō  
 Takeko  
 (Sister)

Ōtani  
 Kinuko  
 (Kōmyo's  
 wife)

Ōtani  
 Yasuko  
 (Sonyū's  
 wife)

Naoko  
 (Aunt)

Fig.14 Ōtani family at the Twenty fifth Commemoration of Myōnyo(1927)  
 Source: *Myōnyo Shōnin Ketsurui-ki*



二十代 大興孝慈上人

Fig.15 Kibe Kōji (1881- 1969). Kōzui's brother and the twentieth abbot of Kinshokuji, the head-temple of Kibe denomination of Jōdo Shinshū. (Yasu town, Shiga prefecture)

Source: <http://www.kddl.com/kakejiku.html>



Fig. 16 Ōtani [Sonjū] Kōmyo (1885- 1961). Kōzui's brother. "The father of golf in Japan". Founder of the Japan Golf Association (JGA) and the designer of the earliest golf courses in Japan. (At the center)

Source: <http://www.151a.com/databox/golf100/index.htm>

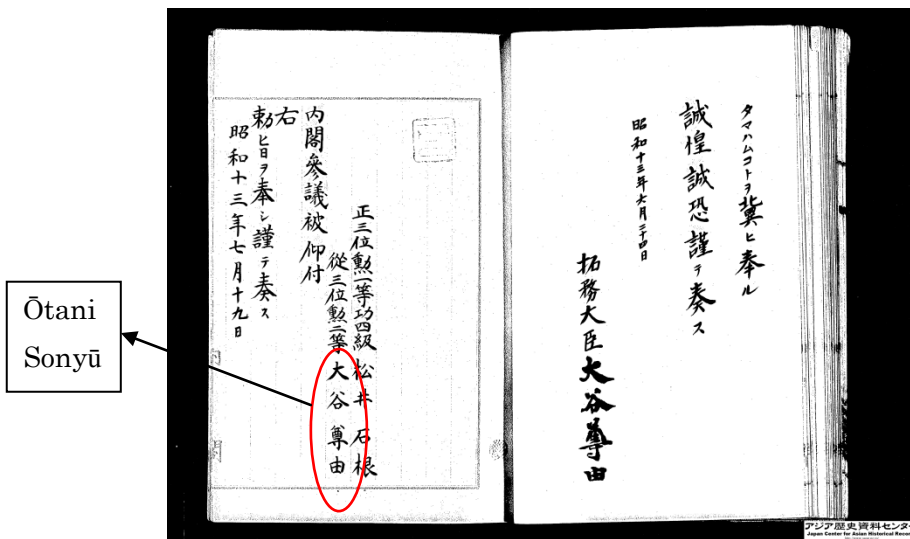


Fig.17 Ōtani Sonyū (1886- 1939). Kōzui's brother. Minister of Colony Affairs (*Takumu Daijin*) between 1937-1938).  
 Source: *Shinran no Tadashii Mikata*  
 Below: Government appointment of Ōtani Sonyū as *Takumu Daijin*. Source: Japan Center for Asian Historical Records



昨日着函  
れたる九  
男武子夫  
九條長致  
大勳は其  
五男にして  
九條通實  
なり夫人は  
瑞法主人は  
瑞法主人は  
瑞法主人は  
瑞法主人は  
瑞法主人は



函館日日新聞の記事

Fig.18 Kujō Takeko (1887- 1928). Kōzui's sister. Poetess, women's liberation activist. Founder of Kyoto Women's College (1920), The Asoka Hospital (1923) and the Asoka Society for health-care of the elderly, centered around the hospital.

Below: A news informing the public on her return from her journey to England (1910).

Source: Source: *Kujō Takeko: Kita no Muyūge*

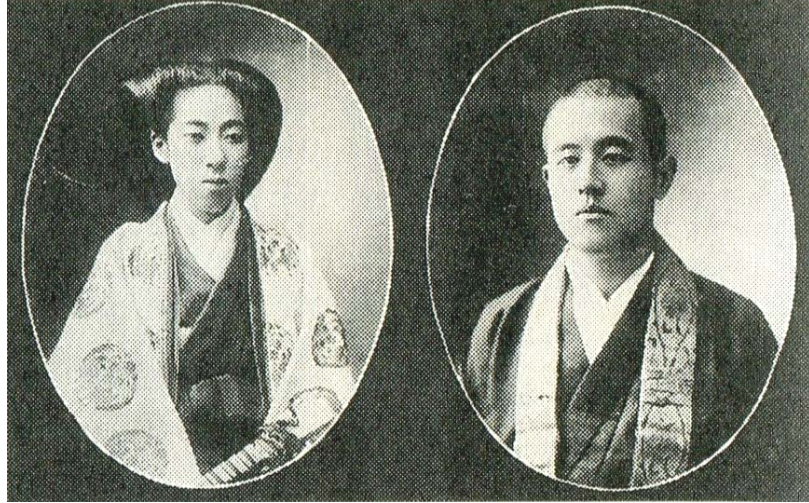


Fig.19 Kazuko and Kōzui at the time of their marriage (1898) Source: *Kujō Takeko: Kita no Muyūge*

Below: Kazuko in traditional clothing.

Source: *Kōgen-in Kazuko Fujin*

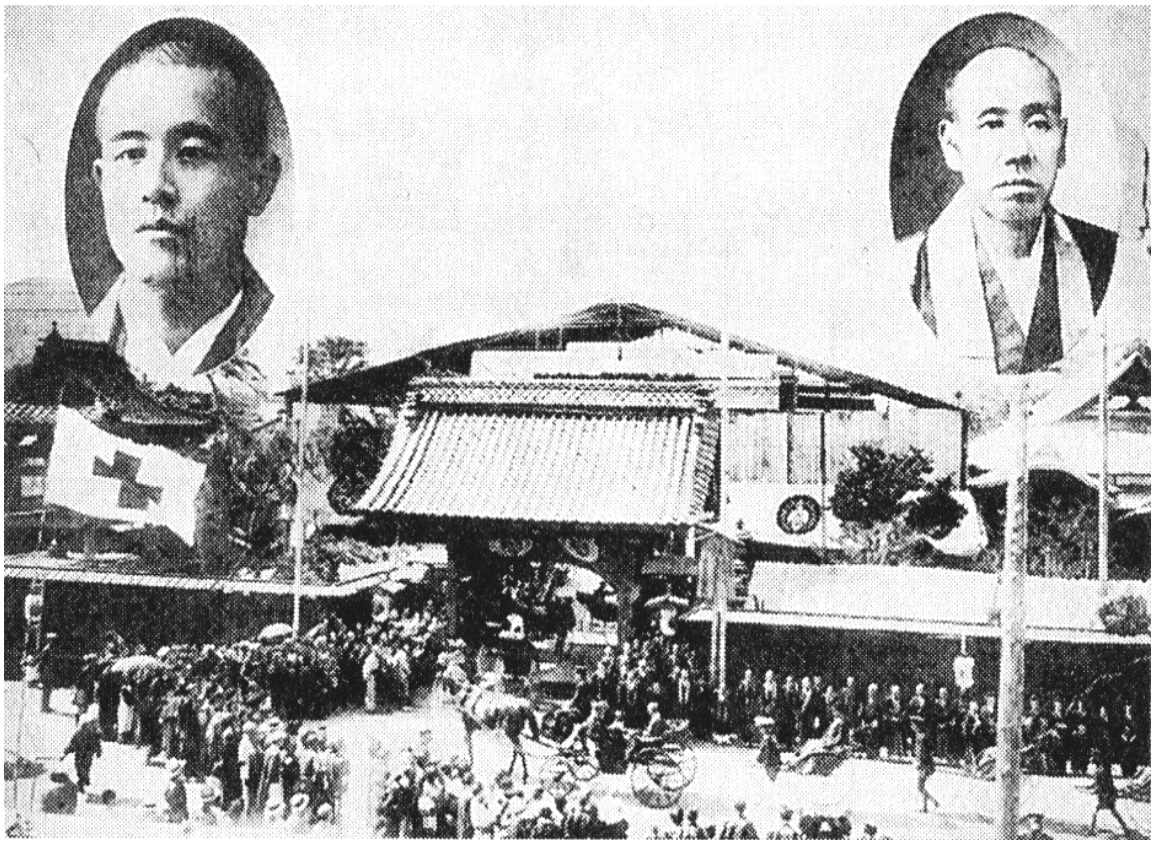


Fig.20 Patriarch Kōzui and Lady Kazuko's procession entering into Honganji Sapporo Branch-temple. (1906)

Source: *Kujō Takeko: Kita no Muyūge*



Fig.21 Kōzui and Kazuko during their stay in England (1910).

Source: *Ōtani Kōzui to Chūō Ajia Tanken*



Fig. 22 Kazuko in India (1909).

Below: Kazuko, the founder and president of Buddhist Women's Association of Japan (*Fujinkai*), at a meeting in the Mōri Residence, Tokyo.

Source: *Kōgen-in Kazuko Fujin*



Fig. 23 Empress Teimei Kōgo (1884- 1951). Sadako, Kazuko's sister.



Fig.24 Sadako's husband Crown Prince Yoshihito (Later Emperor Taishō), and son Prince Hirohito (Later Emperor Shōwa). (1904)

Below: Empress Teimei Kōgo visiting citizens of Tokyo after the Great Kantō Earthquake (1923).

Source: *Kokubō no Kihin*



Fig. 25 Prince Konoe Atsumaro (1863- 1904), President of House of Peers, Asianist.

Below: Prince Konoe Fumimaro (1891- 1945), President of House of Peers, three-times Prime Minister of Japan.

Source: National Diet Library, Japan.



Fig. 26 Tokutomi Sohō (1863- 1957), journalist, historian. Founder of Kokumin Shimbun and Minyūsha publishing house. Kōzui's friend and the author of a biography of Kōzui.

Source: National Diet Library



Fig. 27 Tokutomi Sohō in Istanbul (October 1896). From left to right: Sohō, Yamada Torajirō, and Sohō's travel partner and the editor of the "Far East" English language magazine, Eigo Fukai.  
Source: Tokutomi Sohō Kinenkan, Ninomiya.



Fig.28 Sohō and Kōzui (1920)  
Source: Tokutomi Sohō Kinenkan, Ninomiya.



Fig.29 Kōzui at the center, Sohō to the right (front row). (circa 1910) See their body language, giving hints about their relationship based on mutual respect.

Source: Tokutomi Sohō Kinenkan, Ninomiya.

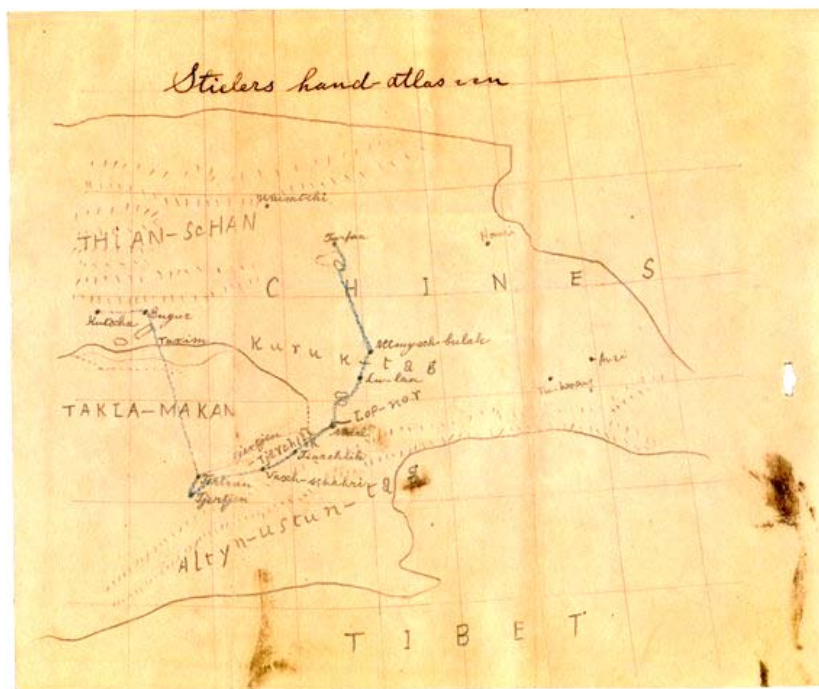
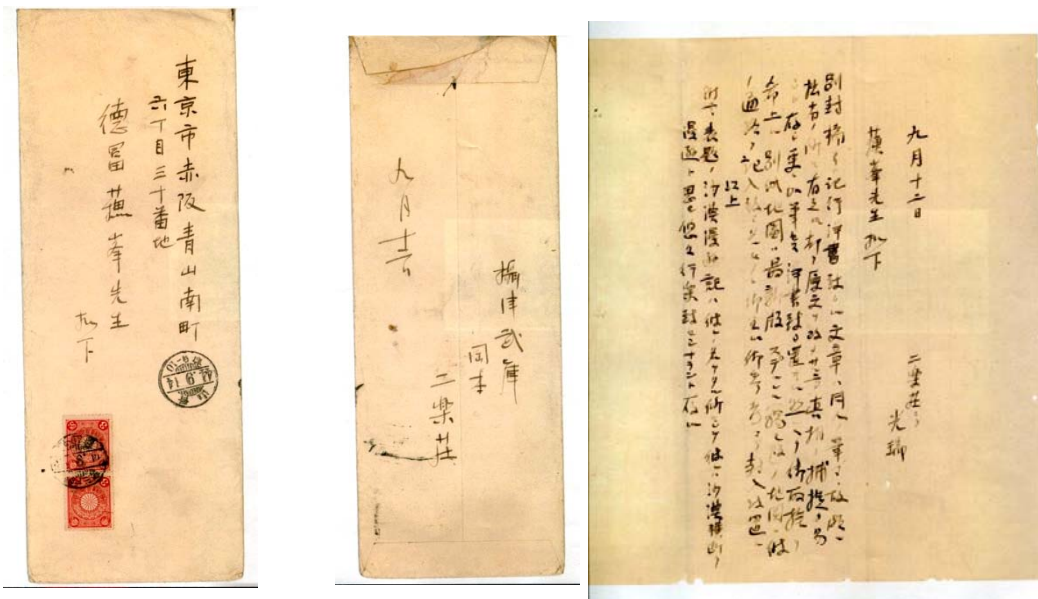


Fig.30 A letter sent by Kōzui to Sohō (dated 12 Sep.1911) from Villa Nirakusō. Includes a map of Tibet region drawn by Kōzui. Source: Tokutomi Sohō Kinenkan

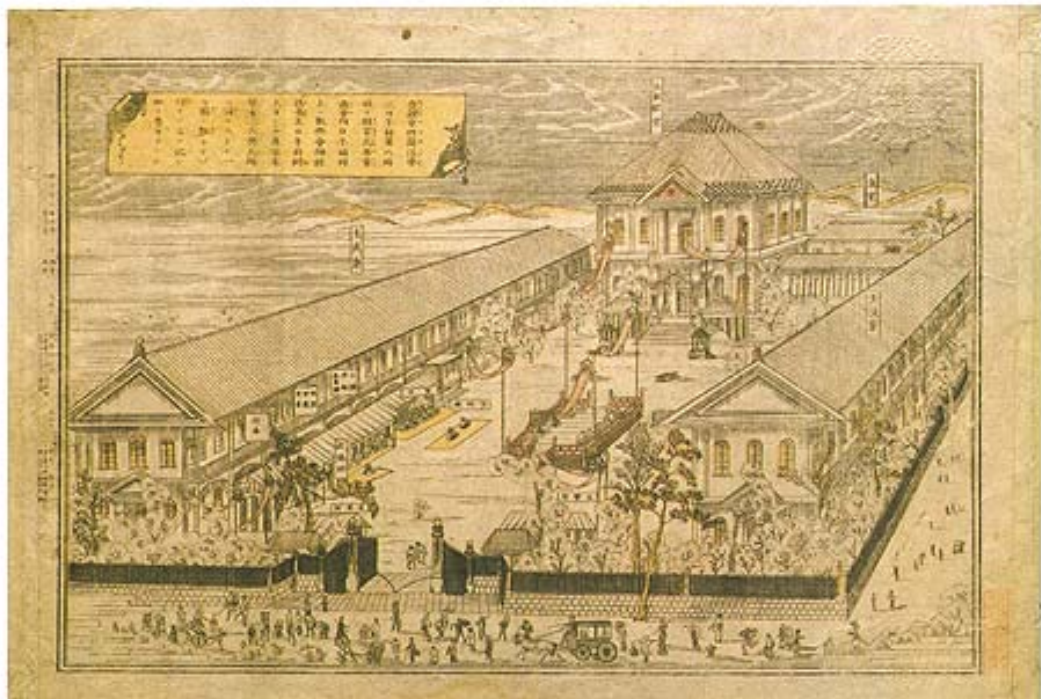
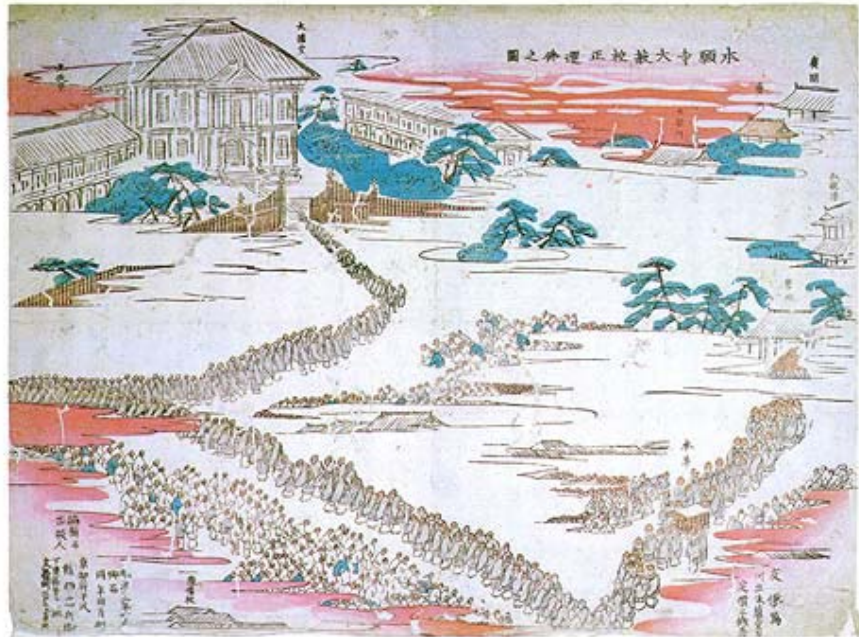


Fig.31 The opening ceremony of *Daikyōkō* (The Grand Academy) of Honganji, the first modern campus building in Kyoto. The ceremony lasted for three days (3-5 May 1876). Below: A contemporary drawing of the main building.  
 Source: <http://www.ryukoku.ac.jp/tenjishitsu/t4/1.html>



Fig.32 Prince Arisugawa no Miya taruhito Shin-ō (1835- 1895). The head of *Arisugawa no Miya* House, a cadet branch of the Imperial family. Chief of staff of the Imperial Japanese Army between 1889-1995. The matchmaker of Kōzui with Kazuko.  
Source: <http://hrp.mad.buttobi.net/famous/2008101710s.JPG>

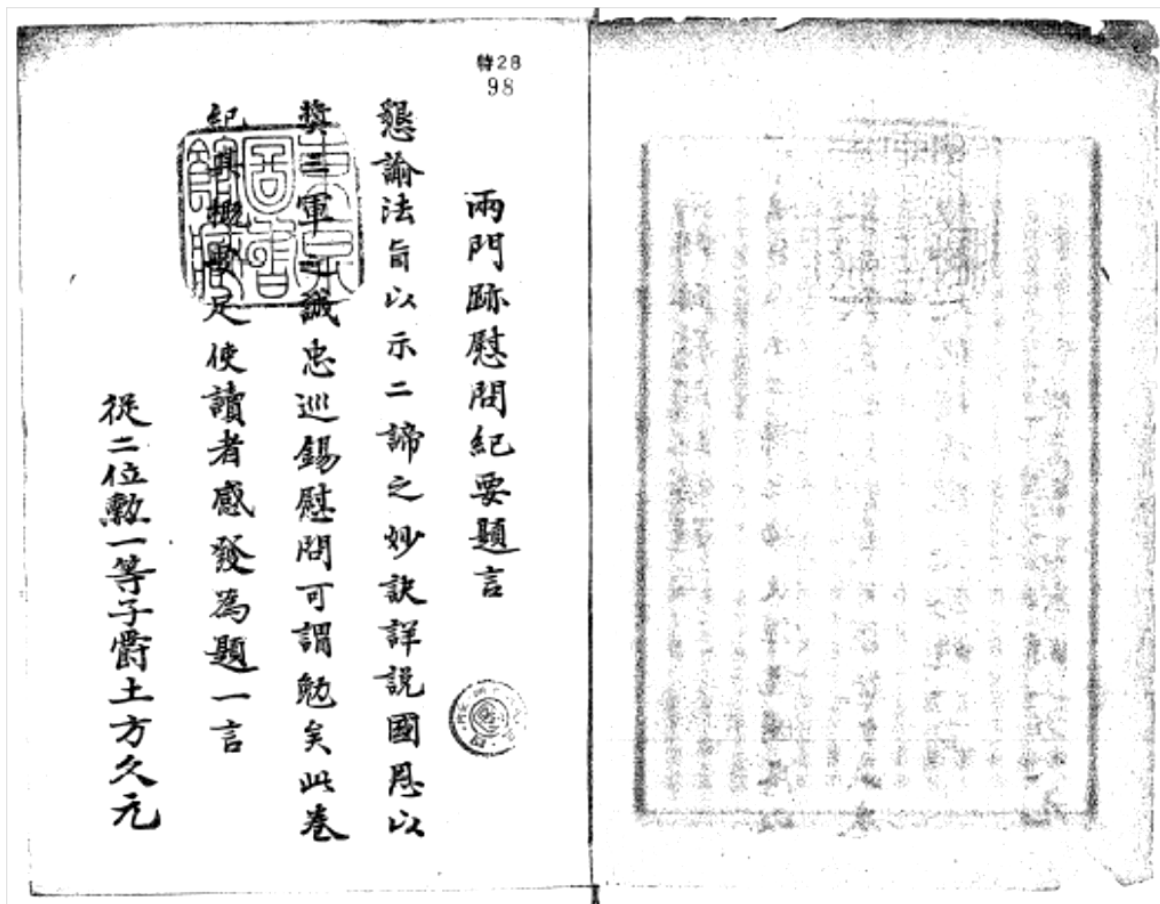


Fig. 33 The report of Myōnyo and Kōzui's activities during the Sino-Japanese War years (1894-1895). The report was published in 1895 and submitted to the Emperor Meiji.  
 Source: *Ryōmonzeki Kaku Shidan Chinjufu Imon Kiyō*

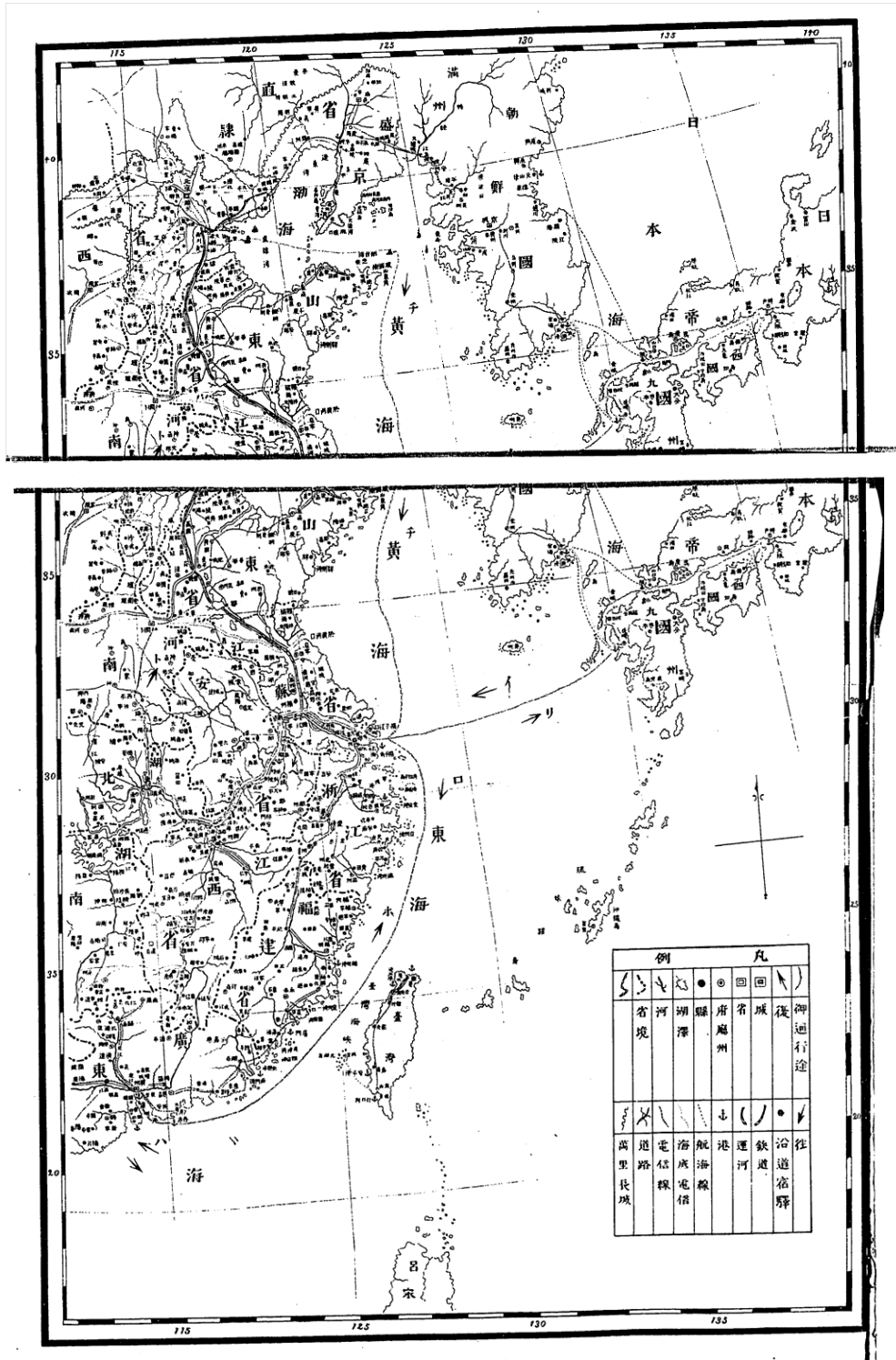


Fig.34 Maps showing Kōzui's route in Qing China.  
 Source: *Shinkoku Hunyū-shi* (1900)



Fig. 35 Kōzui (left, sitting) with John Milne (1850- 1913), a pioneer of seismology, inventor of horizontal pendulum seismograph, and founder of Seismological Society of Japan (1880).

Source: *Ōtani Tankentai to Sono Jidai*



Fig. 36 Sven Hedin in Honganji (2 Dec.1908). Front row second from left. Kazuko and Kōzui to his right.  
Source: *Taiyō*, No.369 (1991)



Fig. 37 The Six hundred fiftieth Commemoration of Shinran (Mar. – Apr. 1911) at Western Honganji

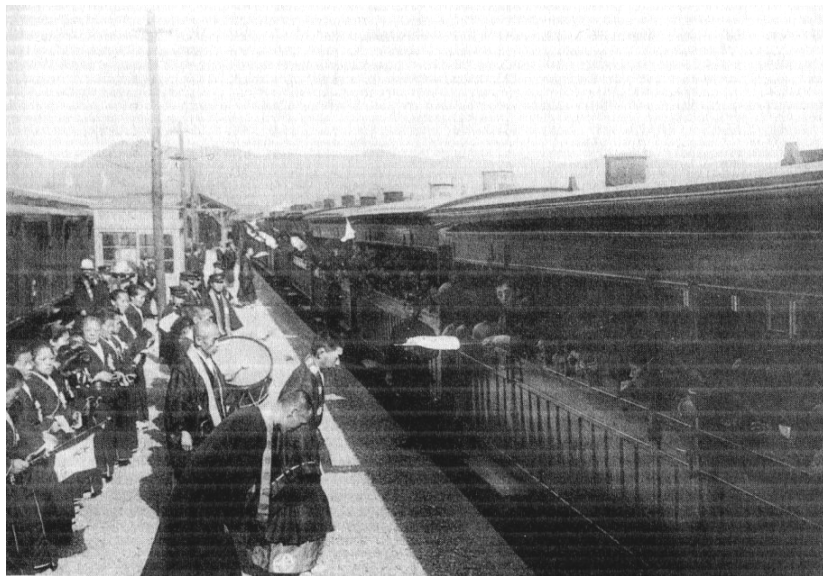
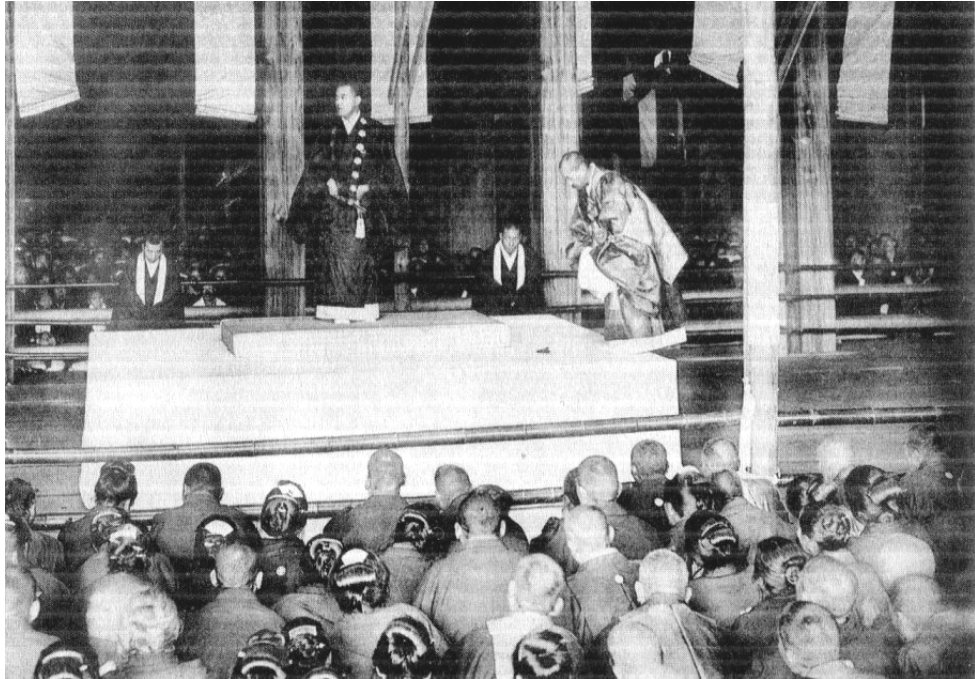


Fig. 38 Patriarch Kōzui to start his sermon.

Below: Monto believers are sent back to their hometowns at the Umekōji station built for this event.

Source: *Ōtani Kōzui to Ajia*

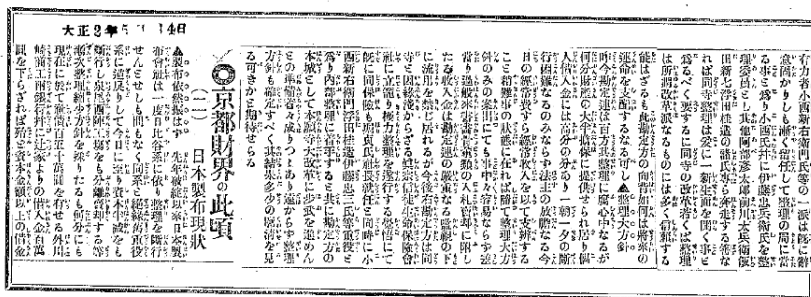
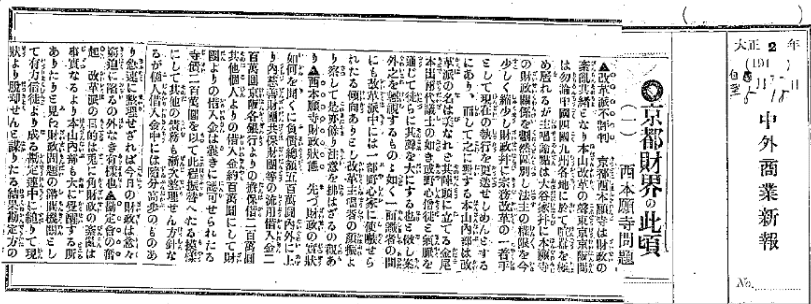


Fig.39 News on the financial troubles of Western Honganji  
 Above: Osaka Asahi Shimbun, (26 Sep.1913)  
 Below: Chūgai Shōgyō Shinpo, (1-18 May 1913)



Fig. 40 The monument for Ōtani Kōzui at the spot he passed away. Beppu, Oita prefecture.

Source: Author



Fig. 41 Ōtani Kinenkan (Ōtani Museum) in Beppu, Oita. A few personal artifacts and books are exhibited in a modest hall.  
Source: Author



Fig. 42 Villa Nirakusō at Ashiya, Kobe.  
Source: Taiyō, No.360 (1991)



二楽荘公開時に発売された着色絵葉書。異国風俗を採り入れた絢爛たる装飾に光輝の趣味がうかがわれる



Fig. 43 Rooms of Nirakusō (From top: Arabian, Chinese, English and Indian styled rooms) Source: Taiyō, No. 360 (1991)

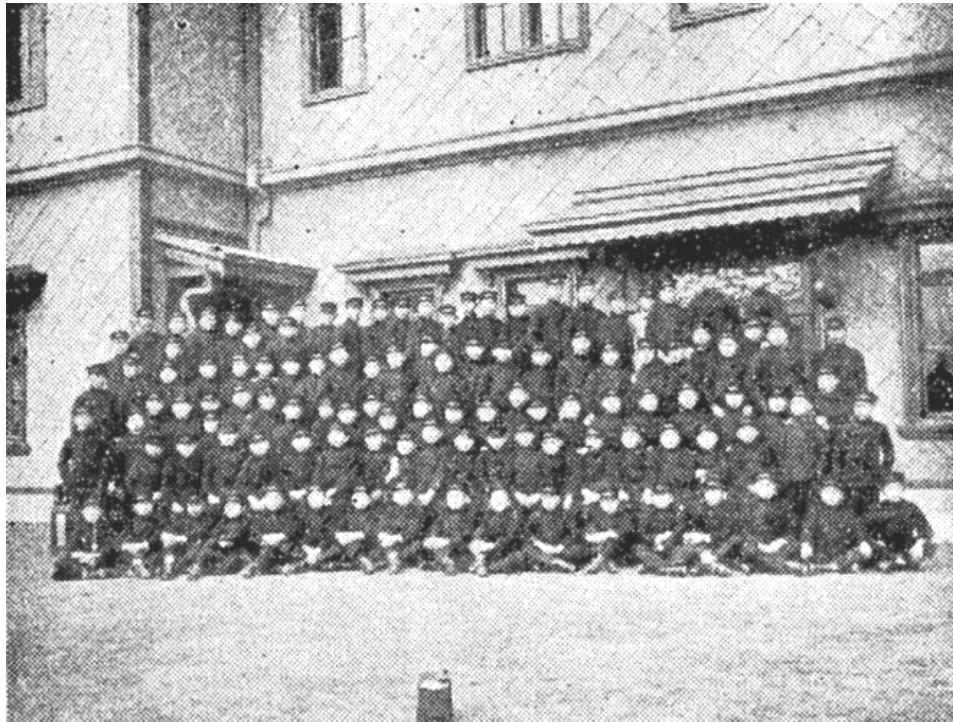


Fig 44 Mukō Chūgaku students in front of Nirakusō  
Source: *Daijō*, No. 10 (1954)

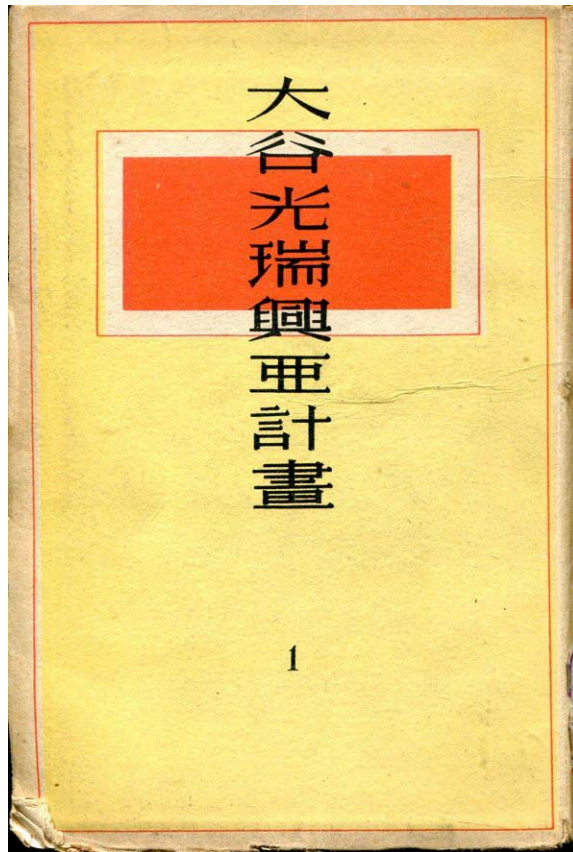


Fig. 45 Kōa Keikaku Vol.1 (The cover)  
Source: Ryukoku University Library



Fig. 46 Kōzui's "The Tokyo-Berlin Railway" Project map.  
 Source: Kōa Keikaku, Vol.6.



Fig. 47 Kōzui and his team with Colonel Miles at Kashgar  
(Sep. 1902)



Fig. 48 Caravan carrying artifacts found during excavations.

Below: A ruin near Yarkand.

Source: *Bunka Isan*, Vol.11 (2001)



Fig. 49 Tachibana Zuichō (1890- 1968)

Source: *Bunka Isan*

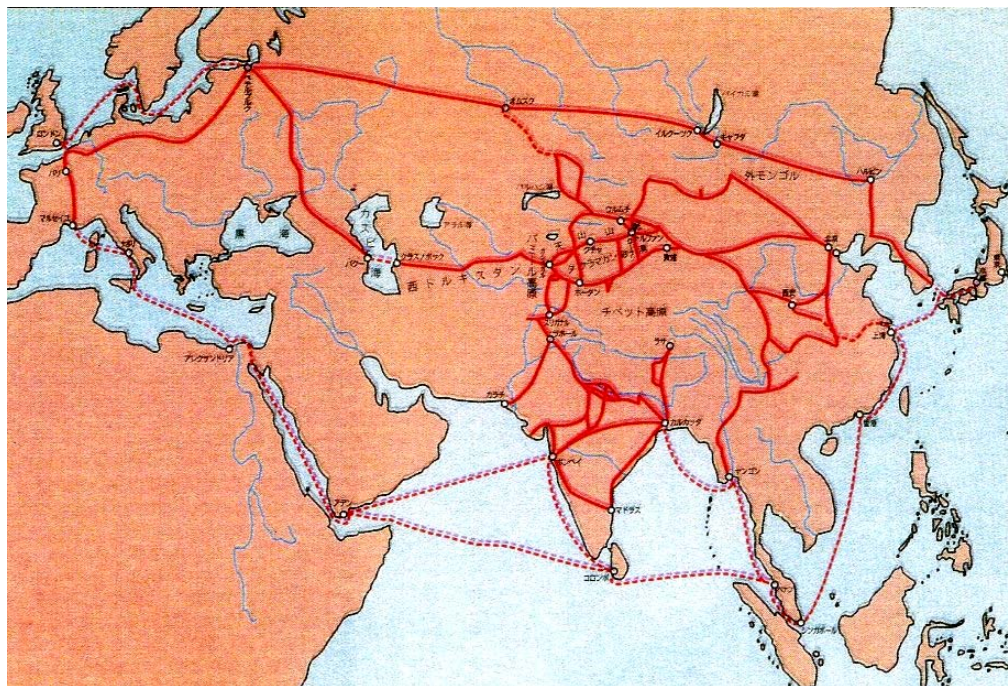


Fig. 50 The routes of the three Ōtani Expeditions  
 Source: *Kyōnyo Shōnin 50 Kainen Hoyō*

天寶十三載七月十四日弟子孔含光寫  
 无量壽觀經疏  
 此經云來還散心河濁更清性海無增戒行  
 月有虧盈 震世開如蓮花如靈空不著  
 水心清淨起於彼普禮无上尊  
 願以此功德普及於一切我等眾生皆共成佛道  
 願行無常 是生滅法 無常滅已 寂滅為樂  
 如來證涅槃 永斷無生死 若能至心聽 當覺此意  
 詩案斗腕既展朝清淨渴欲飲海滅樂當學少  
 安承食文身命精廉隨象等今日辰刻各  
 共行



Fig.51 Some pieces of the Ōtani Collection  
 Source: *Nihon no Bijutsu*, No. 434 (Jul.2002)

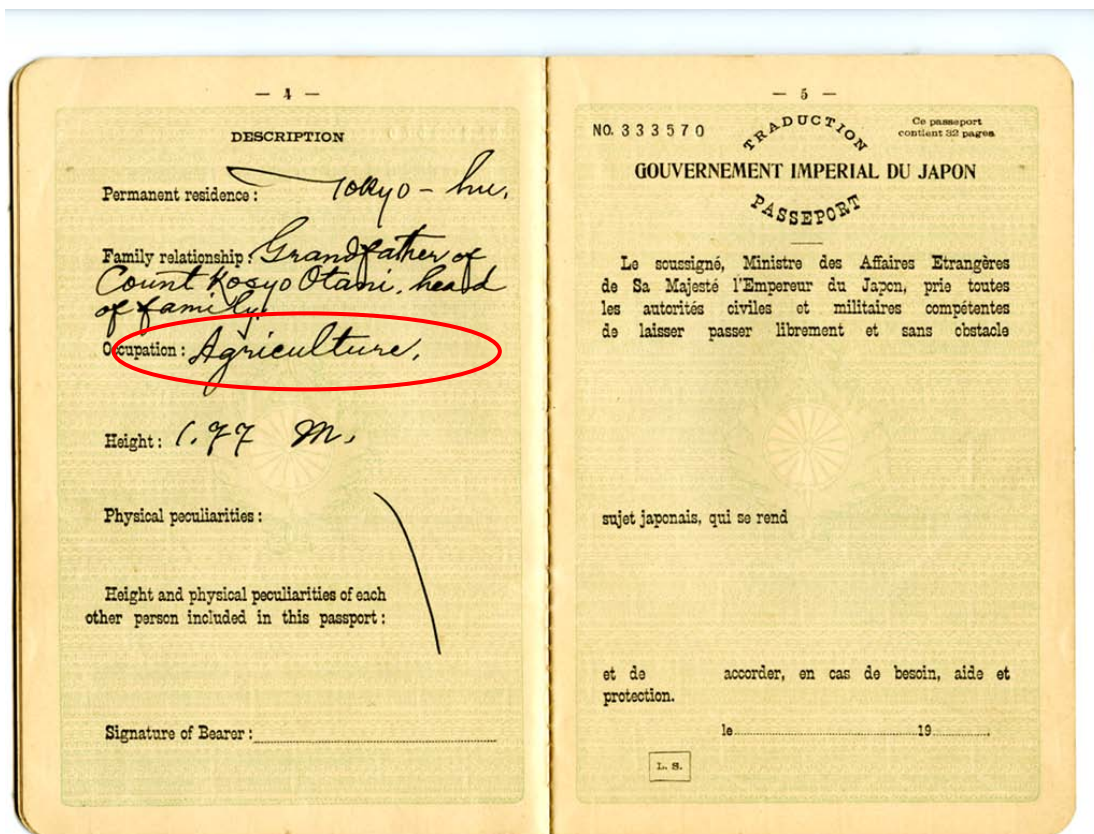


Fig. 52 Ōtani Kōzui's passport.

Source: Nimoto Shōe

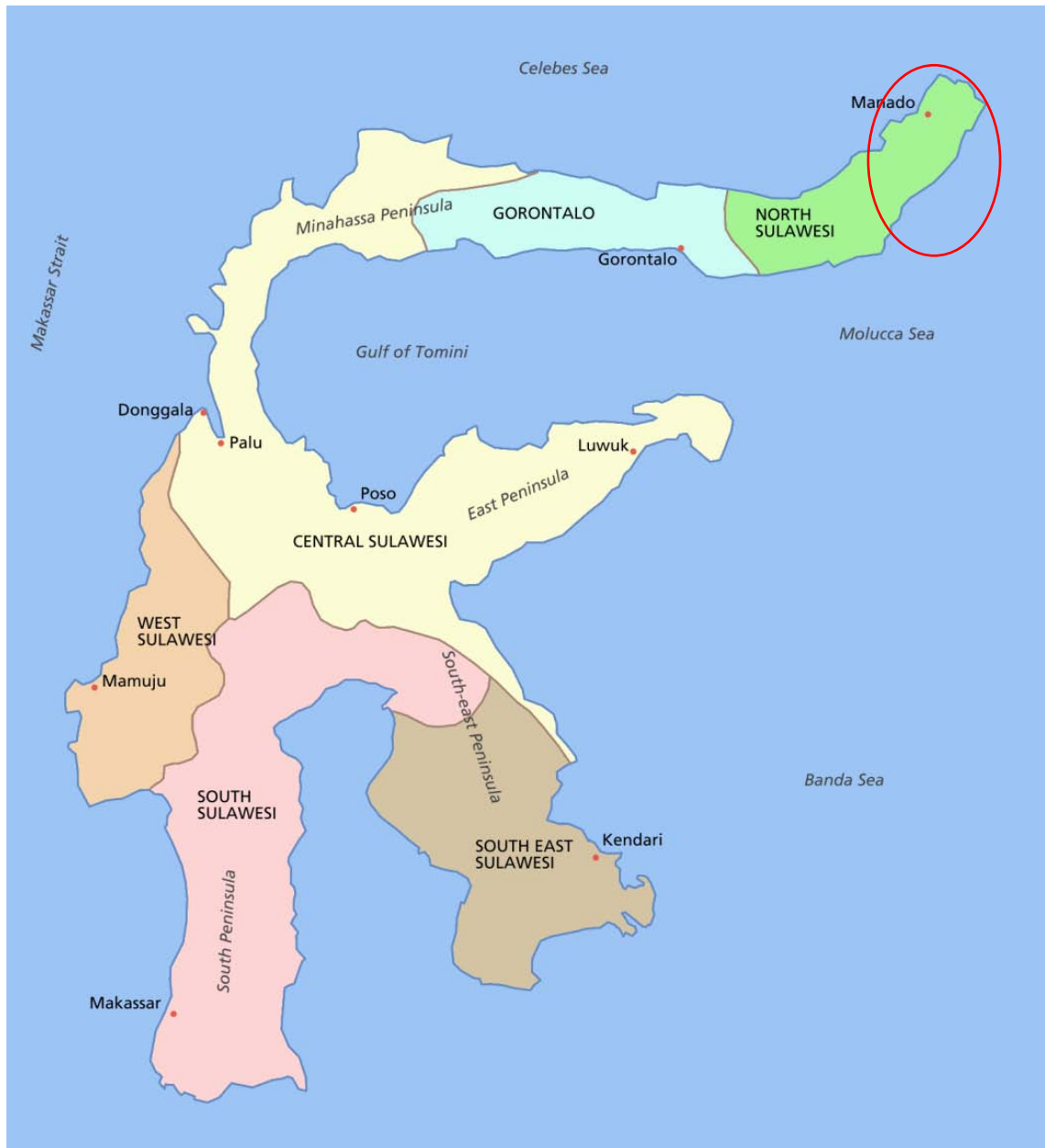


Fig. 53 Celebes [Sulawesi] Island, Indonesia. The location of the Nongan coffee and palm plantation is circled.



Fig. 54 Scenes from the farm in Java and the Villa *Kansuisansō*.

Source: <http://tankenka.up.seesaa.net/image/alb11-26.jpg>



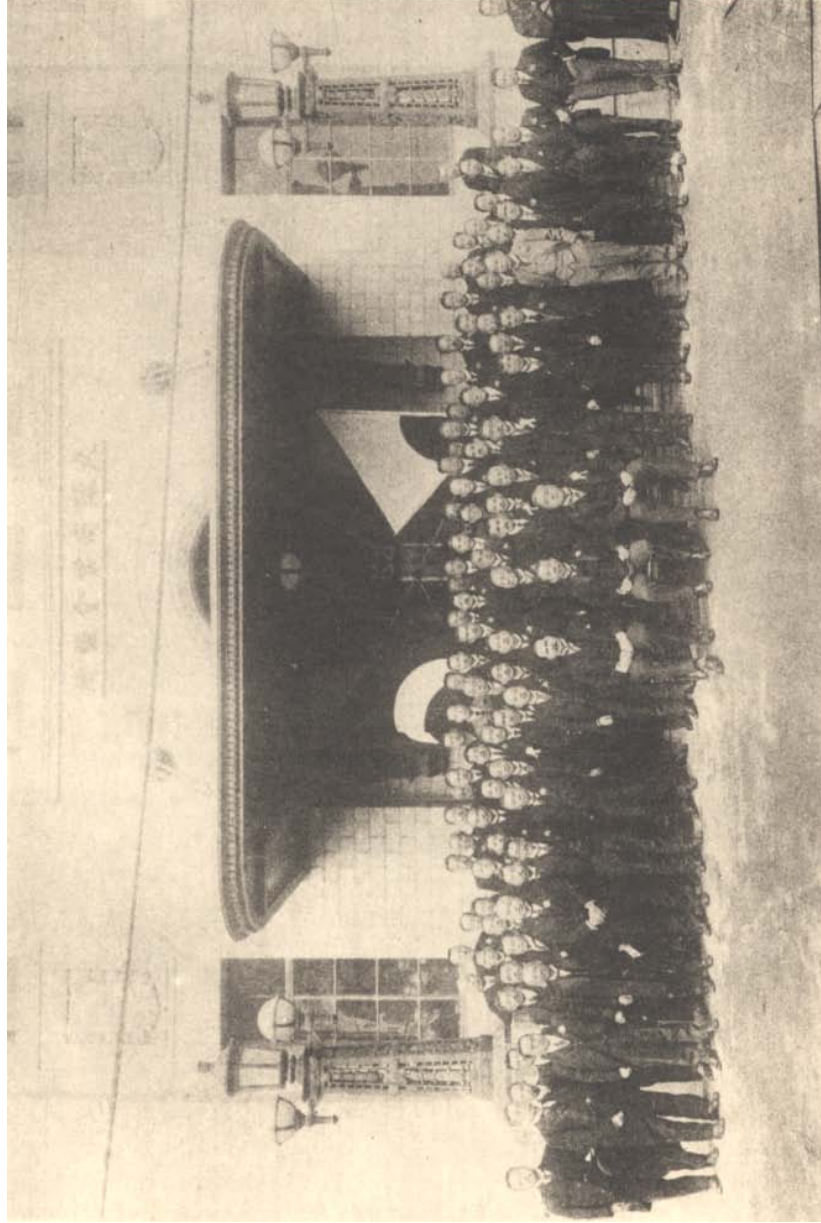


Fig. 56 Kōzui at the opening of Osaka Japanese-Turkish Trade Association.(Front row, right, sitting: Ōtani Kōzui, Inahata Katsutarō, Deputy Ambassador Hulusi Fuad.

Source: Servet-i Fünun, 19 Jun.1926

邦人の注目すべき

トルコの農産業

パリにて 大谷 光 瑞

本文は五月三十日附でパリから本紙下村事務に宛て送られた大谷光瑞氏の書翰である

邦政府御視察隊を御覧。久しく御編書に打過ぎ候。千高に御覧。先月二十一日コンスタンチノールを發しアナトリア内地旅行を致候。またアンゴラに行きアンゴラもアナトリアまで往復しアンゴラもコンスタンチノールに歸り約二週間に亘り旅行を終り申候。アナトリアの高原は一般の地形は歐洲に類似候。共山岳は森かに廣大にて平野に極稀候。なれども人烟稀少にして概々牛馬の放牧に用ひ却て光景内塵日に近き點有之候。温度は中々高く乾燥も強く農作物の上よりすれば



歐洲より較上位にて感受られ候。特にアナトリアの平原はアナトリアの平原も種々の谷間に一丁下地や江の平原も遙色有之。有名なる棉花の産地にして將來十分の耕

作を遂げば巨額の産出を見る事ミ存候。この平原は海面に僅かに五十メートルにすぎず。氣候は乾燥にして台地を距り比較致すべく甘藷すら生熟し種類も十分に行はれ而も降雨も中等位にてや。乾燥するも灌溉にて水を補はせ却て降雨過多より農作物の結果は富からんミ存候。

邦人の棉花栽培地にしては海軍無比の地に御覧。平原の殆ど全部はトルコ皇族の私有地なれ共農産物作せらる。はその三分の一にも及ばず。將來の發展を待つが如き状況にてトルコ皇族も大地主なれども急劇を遂げに農産物には巨額の資金を要するを以て放棄して使田放棄候。第三の大地主にも面會致候。彼等は邦人の出資を希望し共同經營にて是を經營中候。將來の邦人の投資地にしては絶好の物ミ存候。日本内地にて小作農なして棉花の栽培

トルコの農産地と

資本投下の方向

パリにて 大谷 光 瑞

一般の農作物は麥を主とし棉花に次ぎ。米は到る所産出の聞る地は薄出し得べし。トコロ政府はイラリア豫防のため聯合を設け特殊の設備をなするものは栽培を許さず。しかれ共適當の方法を講

る現状にありては地主は速かにかくの如き地に投資移住する方雙方の便利ならんミ存候。アナトリアの高原も灌溉の利ある所は十分冬季耕作行はるべく候。トルコに限りて地中海沿岸一帯は夏季は冬に十一月より三月まで。乾燥季は六月より九月までなれ共夏季は乾燥にて固く

無灌漑の地は特殊農作物に非ざれば栽培困難に御覧。尤も灌溉法を名づくる特別の技術を用ふれば必ずしも不可能にあらざれどもかくの如きは廣大なる未墾地の獲得せる地において甚だ困難にしてしかも灌漑を要する灌溉法を用ふる事ありや。灌溉の利ある土地も非常なる大面積を要する。まにて灌溉設備。斯の如き地點は少許の資本を投せば若干町歩を灌溉すべく耕作にも好適なりミ存候。

灌溉面にて排水可良の地は果樹に好適にして現在にても村落のある地方は葡萄栽培。その諸島も良好にして他日邦人の果實園業を行ふには甚だ好有影の地に御覧。決して米國カーフォルニアのみが果實の産地には無之候。果實は葡萄。蘋果。櫻桃の類にて温暖の地は無花果。柑類も同様に宜之。既にカーフォルニアに習得し得べくトルコ人の低廉なる勢力を利用してはカーフォルニアを模倣するも亦困難に非らざる存候。人米は

せば絶対に禁止せんとはこれなく支那政府の米の輸出禁止は全盤との趣きを異にして不可能には無之候。シヤム、タイ、カンチンなどの熱帯米と異なり温帯米のこもゆゑ本邦の米種を以てせ

Fig.57 "The Japanese must pay attention to the agriculture and industry of Turkey". Kōzui from Paris. (Osaka Asahi Shimbun, 20 Jul. 1926)

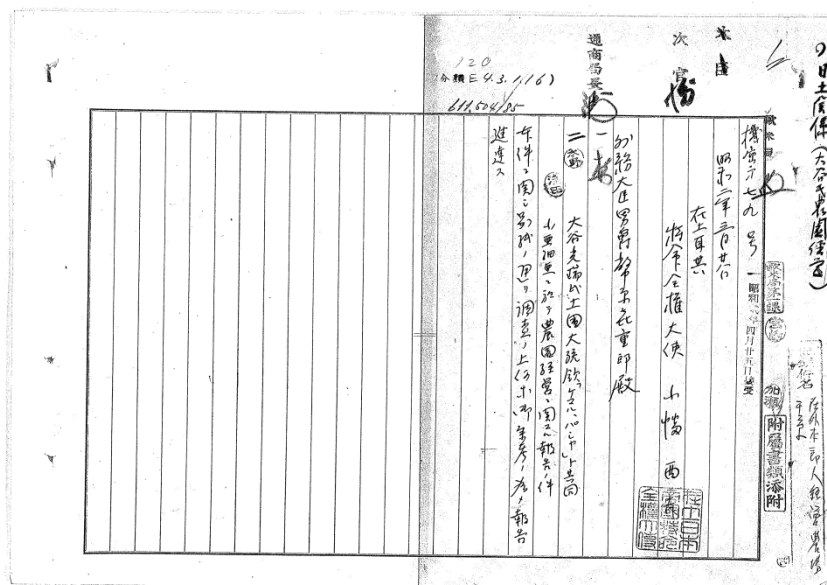


Fig. 58 (a) Japanese Embassy correspondence giving the details of Kōzui's partnership with President Mustafa Kemal in Ankara Gazi Farm.

Source: Japan Center for Asian Historical Records

[www.jacar.go.jp](http://www.jacar.go.jp)





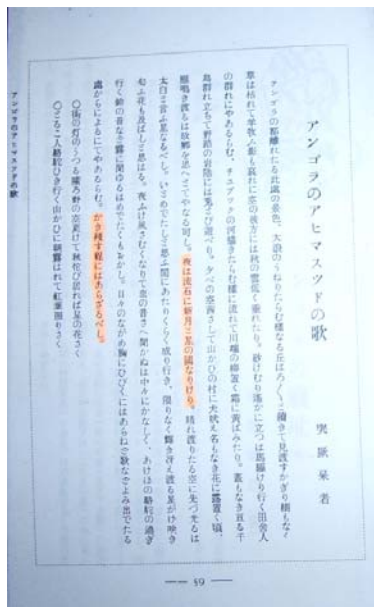
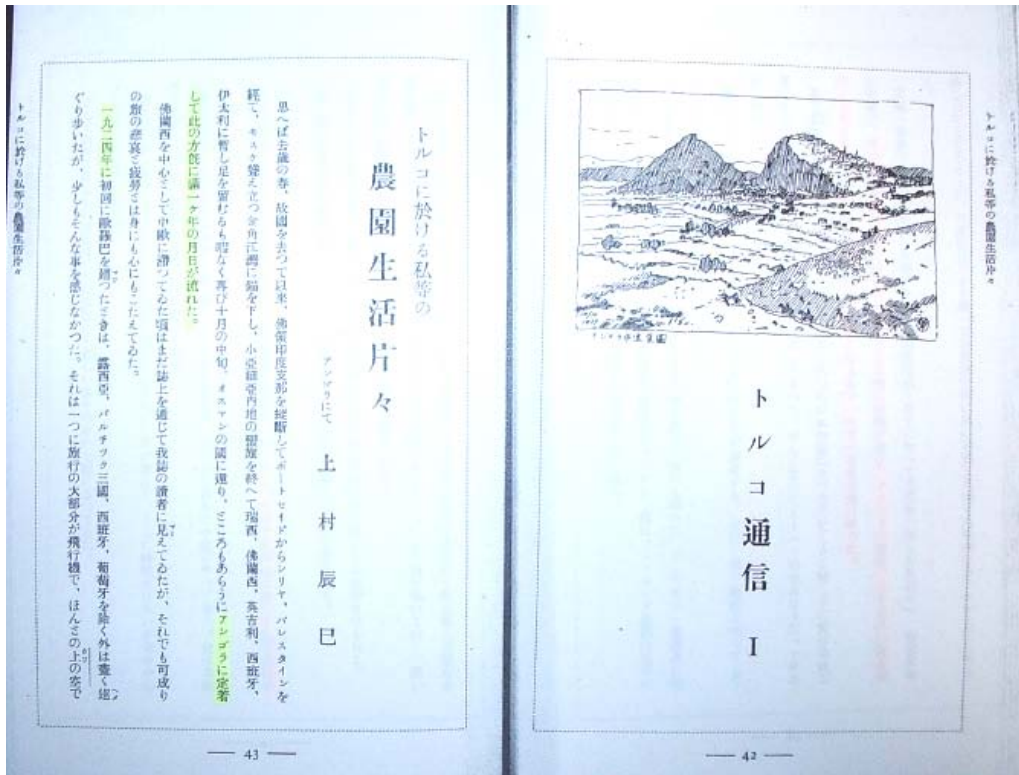


Fig. 59 A letter sent from Ankara to Daijō in Shanghai by Uemura Tatsumi. “Our farm life in Turkey”.  
Below: Letter of Tokketsu Hoshu (Inoue Kōen)



Fig. 60 Kōzui in Bursa with Memduh Gökçen.  
(January 1929)  
Source: Ōtani Kinenkan

## Bursada kumaş fabri- kası dün açıldı

Bursa 4 (Hu. Mu.) — İnşaattı ikmel edilen Japon dokoma fabri-  
kasının kışat resmi bugün İstan-  
buldan gelen davetiler huzuriyle  
icra edildi. Türk ve Japon bayrak-  
larile tezyin edilen fabrika binası  
kâmilten gezildi.

Fabrikanın mensucat imal eden  
tezgâhları, etil ve boya daireleri  
kâmilten elektrikle mücehhezdir.

Yalnız fabrikada Japon işleri-  
ne Bursa ipeklerinin kullanılıp  
kullanılmıyacağı mektum tutul-  
maktadır. İstanbul meb'usu Kava-  
lahı Hüseyin Beyin nutkuna cevap  
veren fabrika müdürü "Japon gü-  
neşinin, Türk topraklarını da ten-  
vir edeceğine işaret ediyordu.

Davetilere bir ziyafet verilmiş  
ve Japon sefiri bu yeni müessesese-  
den sitayişle bahseden bir nutuk  
söylemiştir.

Davetiler Mudanyadan hususi  
vapurla İstanbula avdet etmişlerdir.  
Resmi kışatta meb'uslardan Refet  
(Bursa), Hamdi (Konya), Hüseyin  
(İstanbul), Şelik Lütfi, Seni (Bur-  
sa) Beyler, Japon Sefiri ve konso-  
osu, milli kıyafetlerle bir çok Ja-  
pon talebe hazır bulunmuşlardır.

Fig. 61 "Fabric Factory Opened Yesterday in  
Bursa" (Cumhuriyet, 5 Aug. 1929)



Fig. 62 Ōtani Kōzui Inscription at Kushimoto Ertuğrul Memorial.  
Source: Author



Fig. 63 *İstanbul Nihon Shōhinkan* (Musée Commercial of Japan in Istanbul) and its logomark.  
 Source: *Nichi-Do Bōeki Kyōkai 'Konsutanchinōpuru Nihon Shōhinkan Kaihō'*

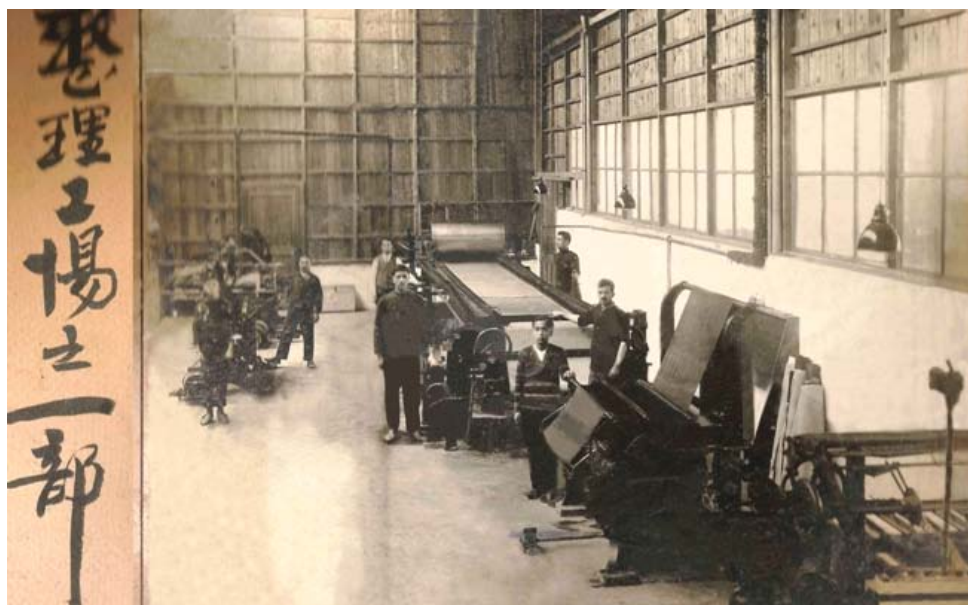


Fig. 64 Turkish and Japanese workers of the Bursa Factory (14 Jan.1931).

Source: Şükûfe Gökçen Archive

BUREAU CENTRAL DES ENTREPRISES  
DU COMTE K. OTANI EN TURQUIE

GALATA, ASSURAZIONI GENERALI HAN  
4<sup>e</sup> ETAGE, N° 85  
STAMBOUL  
TELEPHONE: PERA 2068

STAMBOUL 14 Mayıs 1930

ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: BELLEDER-STAMBOUL  
CODE: BENTLEY'S

Türk Japon Dokuma Fabrikası  
Müdürlüğüne.

Efendim.

3 Mayıs 1930 tarihine kadar cereyan eden idarei şahsiyem zamanında İbrahim Ahmet Ve Fantasi Mensucat müesseseselerinden kabul ettiğim fakat henüz teslim edemediğim siparişleri şahsen vermek mecburiyetindeyim. Halbuki 3 Mayıs 1930 tarihli muvakkat itilafnameye mücibince fabrikanın idaresi yeni şekile girmiştir. Bu şekile göre bu siparişlerin fabrika nazarsı kabul bittabi kabil olmayacağından bugün ittihaz eylediğimiz karara tevfiaken işbu sipariş mektubumu takdim ediyorum.

Siparişimin yekünü 50 gramlık krep jorjet ve filâfil olmak üzere e karar mezkûrede muharrer 4970 metreden ibarettir. Bu kumaşların için lazım gelecek olan 340 kilo ipek tarafımdan fabrikaya teslim edilecek ve masarafi imaliye olarak her metresi için 130 kuruştan 6461 lira fabrikaya tarafımdan tediye olacak ve buna mukabil kumaşların fa turası mezkûr müesseselere şahsen tarafımdan verilecek ve bedelini bittabi tarafımdan tahsil deilecektir. bilvesile teyidi ihtiramata ederim efendim.

*T. Kamimura*

Fig 65 Letter by Kamimura [Uemura] Tatsumi to the Turkish-Japanese Weaving Factory (14 May 1930)  
Source: Şükûfe Gökçen Archive

# TÜRK-JAPON DOKUMA FABRİKASI

Bursa Cumhuriyet caddesi

Telegraf adresi: Tuja

Bursa 25/2/1932.

Türk-Japon Dokuma fabrikasi şürekasından İbrahim Paşa Oğulları namma hareket eden Hüseyin Bey ve Sukufe hanın namma hareket eden Hamdi Sami Beylerin ğine şürekadan kont Utani namma bilve kale kendi namma bilsale hareket eden M. Tatsumi Kamimura -nın rizasi olmaksızın ve iddiasına muhalif olarak fabrikayı feshi israri ile bizleri vazifeden terk etmeye mecbur bırakmışlardır binaenaleyh bundan dolayı zuhur edecek bilumun maddi ve manevi zarar ve ziyan ve me'suliyetin tamamen Hüseyin Bey ve Hamdi Beylere ait olduğunu beyan ederiz.

25/2/1932

Türk-Japon Dokuma Fabrikası

Japon memuru namma

Mütehasşis.

*Tatsumi Kamimura*

Fig. 66 Letter by Kamimura [Uemura] Tatsumi on the closure of the factory.

Source: Şükûfe Gökçen Archive



Fig. 67 Memduh Gökçen (Center) and the Ōtani Students who lived and worked in Turkey.

Source: Şükûfe Gökçen Archive

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