

BOOK REVIEW

RELIGION & SOCIETY IN MODERN JAPAN: Selected Readings. Edited by Mark R. Mullins, Shimazono Susumu, and Paul Swanson. Asian Humanities Press, Berkeley, 1993. pp. x + 310. ISBN 0 89581 936 8 (pbk.)

There have been many books written on the Japanese religious traditions, but aside from the classical *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Wm. Theodore de Bary, editor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958; Volumes I and II), there have been no books on "Selected Readings" produced primarily with the "undergraduate students in mind" (p. vii). Consequently, for those who teach in this area, not only is this book a welcomed addition to the collection but it brings to us a refreshing combination of contemporary Japanese and Western scholarship.

In the Preface (pp. vii-x), it is acknowledged that *Religion & Society in Modern Japan* is a selected anthology of readings which "is like a few meals at a colossal smorgasbord. The readings in each section are like picking a few selections from many possible topics and approaches—like choosing a salad here, an entrée there . . ." (pp. vii-viii) and thus the readings serve as "springboards for further inquiry" (p. viii).

The contents of the book are divided into four parts, each of which is introduced by one of the three editors as follows:

- Part 1, JAPANESE RELIGIOSITY, introduced by Paul Swanson;
- Part 2, RELIGION AND THE STATE, introduced by Mark Mullins;
- Part 3, TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, introduced by Paul Swanson; and
- Part 4, NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, introduced by Susumu Shimazono.

The readings that the editors have selected, fifteen in all, make up the respective chapters in each part. Although the editors give summary comments on the various readings that have been edited and abridged by them, the distinctive features of their respective introductions are that as well as highlighting the major points in the readings, the editors write their comments within a historical and thematic context. In acknowledging their contributors, the edi-

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tors have put the last names first in the case of Japanese scholars and the first names first in the case of the non-Japanese scholars, but in this review, I have put last names last in all cases (except in passages quoted from the book). Following their Introduction, a list of further suggested readings is given and this is augmented further by their Cumulative Bibliography (pp. 301–10) at the end of the book. The addition, in the margins, of the *kanji* and the Japanese *kana* of “only those that clarify the meaning of the text and would be helpful to those familiar with *kanji*” (p. viii) function as helpful aids to learning the major technical terms in Japanese and they certainly help to clarify the meaning within the text.

Part I, JAPANESE RELIGIOSITY, consists of Toshio Kuroda’s “Shinto in the History of Japanese Religions”; Hitoshi Miyake’s “Religious Rituals in Shugendo”; and Jan Swyngedouw’s “Religion in Contemporary Japanese Society.” This first section reveals that “in spite of all the talk about the ‘homogenous’ Japanese, there have always been a great variety of ways of being religious in Japan . . . and the current scene is also a mixture of diverse forms of religiosity that reflect both continuity and discontinuity with the past” (p. 3).

In his article “Shinto in the History of Japanese Religions” (pp. 7–30), Kuroda points out two categories of thinkers concerning Shinto. The first, the more common view, consists of “those who believe that Shinto has existed without interruption throughout Japanese history” and the second are “those who think that . . . throughout history there have always been Shinto-like beliefs and customs” (p. 7). He then goes on to argue that both are “not only an incorrect perception of the facts but also . . . one-sided interpretation of Japanese history and culture” (p. 9). In order to demonstrate “that before modern times Shinto did not exist as an independent religion” (p. 9) he extracts samples dealing with Shinto from Japanese history. He examines Shinto within the *Nihon Shoki* (pp. 10–13), the significance of Shinto deities in the ancient period (pp. 13–16), the meaning of the word *shintō* in medieval times (pp. 16–20), Shinto’s secular role (pp. 20–24), and the emergence of the concept of Shinto as an indigenous religion (pp. 24–27) in order to argue that:

1. the original meaning of the word [*shintō*] differs from how it is understood today;
2. the ceremonies of Ise Shrine, as well as those of the imperial court and the early provincial government, . . . said to have been forms of ‘pure Shinto’ . . . actually became one component of a unique system of Buddhism that emerged in Japan and were perceived as an extension of Buddhism;
3. the secularity [of Shinto] was permeated with Buddhist concepts and was

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itself religious in nature; [and]

4. Shinto came to mean the indigenous religion or faith of Japan and . . . came to be viewed as an independent religion" (p. 9).

Hitoshi Miyake's "Religious Rituals in Shugendō" (pp. 31-38) is Swanson's translation of the "concluding summary of *Shugendō girei no kenkyū*" (p. 48, notes). Although the title is appended with the words "A Summary," the information given is quite extensive. It is probably one of the most informative articles in English on Shugendō rituals. Shugendō 修験道 is explained as:

a religious tradition, still alive today, that developed a specific religious structure when the beliefs and faith with regard to mountains in ancient Japan were influenced by foreign religious traditions such as Buddhism, Taoism, and shamanism. The core of this religious tradition consists of magico-religious activities performed . . . by *shugenja* or *yamabushi* 山伏, Shugendō practitioners who have acquired supernatural spiritual powers through the cultivation of various ascetic practices, mainly in the mountains (p. 31).

A short historical account of the Shugenja and the importance of Shugendō for the understanding of popular religion are discussed, and then the various categories of religious rituals that are related to the entire system of Shugendō religious rituals are elaborated. The categories given are:

1. Practices in the Mountains (*nyūbu shugyō* 入峰修行); 2. Consecration Ceremonies (*shōkanjō* 正灌頂); 3. Demonstration of Magico-spiritual Powers (*genjutsu* 験術); 4. Commemoration Rites (*kuyōhō* 供養法); 5. Participation in Festivals for the Kami, for the Sun, Moon, and Stars (*hi-tsuki-hoshi no matsuri* 日月星の祭り) and for Small Shrines (*shōshi no matsuri* 小祠の祭); 6. Fortune Telling and Divination (*bokusen* 卜占); 7. The Art of Obtaining Oracles Through Mediums (*fujutsu* 巫術); 8. Prayers of Possession (*yorigitō* 憑り祈禱); 9. Fire Ceremonies for Averting Misfortunes (*sokusai goma* 息災護摩); 10. Rituals Centered on Various Deities (*shosonbō* 諸尊法); 11. Incantations (*kaji* 加持); 12. Exorcism (*tsukimono otoshi, chōbuku* 調伏); and 13. Spells and Charms (*fuju* 符呪, *majinai* 呪い).

These categories (pp. 32-39) represent symbolic actions and the various devices used in the rituals are symbols that combine to form a symbolic system that reflects a certain religious world view and is revealed through the activities of the shugenja themselves.

The article then describes the structure of the Shugendō rituals outlined

above in terms of their motifs (pp. 39–43). They are then discussed in terms of their interrelationship within the total structure of Shugendō rituals (pp. 43–46). Finally, the religious world view of Shugendō and Shugendō rituals are discussed from the assumptions that “there are at least two realms of existence, that of the daily lives of human beings, and a separate, supernatural spiritual realm behind it, that controls the daily lives of human beings” (pp. 46–47). In his conclusion, he relates the three motifs of identification, manipulation, and exorcism with the structure of the universe, the syncretic pantheon of various buddhas, kami, deities, and so forth, and the fact that the shugenja can utilize their spiritual power to manipulate the deities, control evil spirits to exorcise or remove evil influences.

Jan Swyngedouw’s “Religion in Contemporary Japanese Society” (pp. 49–72) demonstrates the “difficult task to find one’s way through the maze of religiosity and nonreligiosity that typifies the Japanese” (p. 49). The methodology used is statistical and is based on surveys. Using the NHK survey of Japanese Religions (1981), Swyngedouw demonstrates that “for the Japanese . . . religion has always been primarily a matter of participation in religious rituals rather than a matter of holding firmly to specific beliefs” (p. 52). In the section “Religion and Japanese Companies” (pp. 55–60), Swyngedouw shows the relationship between religion and Japanese business enterprises in terms of three patterns. First he shows how Inari or the Fox Deity, a deity often related to finances, is worshipped seriously by companies such as the Mitsubishi Group, Hitachi, and Nippon Oil Co. (pp. 57–58). Secondly, he discusses how other companies, such as the soya sauce maker Kikkōman and Idemitsu Kōsan represent companies that venerate “deities personally venerated by the company’s founder or some other influential person” (p. 58). Finally, he explains the third pattern in which “kami worshipped at the company shrines have a special relationship to the type of work done” (p. 59). Here he takes up the examples of the Toyota Motor Company that worships the guardian deities, Kaneyama-hiko and Kaneyama-hime, the male and female “gods of iron.”

In discussing the structure of Japanese religiosity (pp. 60–67), he points out that the characteristics of Japanese religiosity are “limited to the very time the religious events are held,” are “evaluated primarily in a pragmatic or utilitarian way,” are connected “with the core of the traditional belief that the divine dignity of the nation lies at the basis of national unity and solidarity,” and are the “*musubi* or the power of becoming or growth that links all things together” and which is closely akin to the idea of *wa* 和 or harmony. However, the breaking down of the traditional binding force of *musubi* has brought forth the development of so-called new New Religions (*shin-shin-shukyō* 新新宗教) that address the question of “religion and social change.”

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Part 2, RELIGION AND THE STATE, consists of "Background Documents" that inform us of the "Meiji Constitution (1889), Article 28," the "Imperial Rescript on Education (1890)," the "Memorandum on State Shinto, 3 December 1945," the "Directive for the Disestablishment of State Shinto, 15 December 1945," the "Emperor's Imperial Rescript Denying his Divinity, 1 January 1946," and the "Constitution of Japan, Articles 20 and 89"; K. Peter Takayama's "The Revitalization of Japanese Civil Religion"; and Klaus Antoni's "Yasukuni-Jinja and Folk Religion." This Part 2 traces the relationship between religion and the state and discusses the renationalization of Yasukuni Shrine and the resurgence of civil religion.

The section on "Background Documents" consists of six excerpts from the actual documents that give the background "of the evolution of government policies toward religion since the Meiji Restoration" (p. 76). There is little to comment about them except that Mark Mullins's "Introduction" is lucid and illuminates how the six documents contribute to our understanding of that evolution.

The application of the six documents mentioned above can be seen in K. Peter Takayama's "The Revitalization of Japanese Civil Religion" (pp. 105–20), especially in regard to his discussions on the question of renationalizing Yasukuni Shrine (pp. 107–14) and on educational reform to remedy "Japan's inability to take aggressive national collective action" owing to which the Japanese have lost their sense of loyalty to the state. Takayama concludes by pointing out two aspects to this revitalization process in Japan's attempt to revitalize her civil religion. "First, the movement's principal organizers and participants are LDP members and government leaders who have been the political and economic elite of Japan for the last two-and-a-half decades. Second, whenever government leaders take up such national religio-political issues as the nationalization of Yasukuni Shrine and the moral education of children, other related issues inevitably emerge . . . issues closely associated with the framework of Japanese civil religion" (p. 118).

Klaus Antoni's "Yasukuni-Jinja and Folk Religion" (pp. 122–32) provides "historical background for understanding the religious dimensions of Yasukuni Shrine . . . [and] the religious rituals associated with Yasukuni and other *gokoku* 護國 shrines" (p. 79). In other words, these shrines were established to pacify *onryō* 怨靈 or *goryō* 御霊, that is, the "vengeful spirits of the dead" (p. 125), a cult that flourished as early as 863 (Heian period). He discusses the idea of "bad death" (pp. 126–28) or the premature or unnatural death of an individual. The idea that death was a form of pollution, of course dates back to the earlier Shinto mythology of Izanagi and Izanami. The violent death of warriors, and consequently the untimely death of soldiers, was foundational to the idea of vengeful spirits that were pacified in such shrines as the

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Yasukuni whose aim, among others, is to "serve to express the admiration of the entire people for those who sacrificed themselves for the sake of the country" and thus produce a "peaceful land (*yasukuni* 靖国) because the warriors as 'bad dead' are no longer a threat and danger to it" (p. 131).

Part 3, TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, consists of Ian Reader's "Buddhism as a Religion of Family"; David C. Lewis's "Religious Rites in a Japanese Factory"; Eiki Hoshino and Dōshō Takeda's "Mizuko Kuyō and Abortion in Contemporary Japan"; Fluer Wöss's "*Pokkuri*-Temples and Aging"; and Paula K. R. Arai's "Sōtō Zen Nuns in Modern Japan." Although there seems to be a decline in traditional and institutional religion, this section shows how the newer religious rituals that have resulted from the impact of industrialization and urbanization, nonetheless, are grounded in the traditional religions.

Ian Reader's "Buddhism as a Religion of Family" (pp. 139–58) shifts the attention of many studies on Zen from the philosophical and theoretical aspects to Zen as "a living, broadbased religious structure that deals with, and caters to, the needs of a wider populace" (p. 139). Reader notes the importance, in Japanese religious practices, of the family as practiced by the household temple system (*danka-seido* 檀家制度) established during the Tokugawa (1600–1868) era. By sampling Sōtō Zen's use of family for structuring its religious beliefs and customs, Reader points out "the extent to which the idea of tradition as a cultural and religious principle is important in contemporary Japan" (p. 154).

David C. Lewis's "Religious Rites in a Japanese Factory" (pp. 157–70) is a report on his research project "conducted during two periods of anthropological fieldwork from 1981 to 1982 and 1983 to 1984" (p. 170, n. 1). It is based in part on the interviews that were conducted during the second period. He discusses the religious rites that revolve around the theme of *safety* (p. 157) and that are conducted by members of Nissen (pseudonym), a synthetic fiber factory. He indicates that the religious rites of this factory "fall into two principal categories . . . those that occur at traditionally fixed occasions . . . and those that are more specific to this . . . factory" (p. 159). Concerning the first category, he discusses 1) the New Year's Day visit to various Shrines by the three top managers; 2) the "New Year Safety prayers," done by department managers, higher executives, and members of the safety committee; 3) the *hatsu-uma sai*, an agricultural rite of prosperity that this company has transposed to the prayers of safety; 4) *Segaki* rite for feeding the souls of the "hungry ghosts;" and three others (pp. 157–62). The rites specific to Nissen are subdivided into those that are local version of common types of rites elsewhere (rites related to Shinto) and those that have been initiated at Nissen subsequent to the occurrence of specific disasters at the factory (rites related to Buddhism). Included

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in the first subdivision are rites such as 1) Festival for the God of the Mountain; 2) Ritual for opening the company's martial art halls in January; 3) prayers given to the fox god Inari, the patron of merchants, and others. In the second subdivision are rites related to 1) the fire god Fudō, after a fire broke out in one of the dormitories for single men; 2) a graveside service for one of the engineers, an Italian, who committed suicide during the building of the factory, and others (pp. 162–66). Lewis points out that the effectiveness of these rites is not dependent upon participation (p. 166) and on the basis of his data, he concludes 1) that *safety* as a theme is conspicuous in both religious and non-religious contexts in Japanese factory life; 2) that *secularization* hypotheses . . . break down in the light of this kind of data from Japan; and 3) that *scepticism* about the efficacy of the rites is . . . present (p. 170).

Eiki Hoshino and Dōshō Takeda's "Mizuko Kuyō and Abortion in Contemporary Japan" (pp. 171–90) deals with "memorials or offerings for aborted or stillborn children (*mizuko kuyō* 水子供養, p. 171). These writers first discuss the basis for *mizuko kuyō* as being connected closely with Japanese concern for the spirits of the dead. Even before the introduction of Buddhism into Japan, "the Japanese felt an intense aversion toward corpses or anything associated with death" (p. 173). With the introduction of Buddhism into Japan, it became affiliated with ancestral rites and it took on the role of doing the memorial services in general and in particular for not only the aborted or stillborn children but also for pets (*petto kuyō*, p. 177; also, pp. 187–90). The writers point out further that the Japanese have offered memorial services for even non-animate objects.

The statistical charts found on pages 179–81, indicate the recent trends of abortion according to total numbers per year, age group, and numbers per age group. By comparing the practice of *mizuko kuyō* in recent times with infanticide and abortions during the Edo period, the authors analyze six areas in which there are "differences in the circumstances of married women in traditional society and those in modern society where the basic unit is the nuclear family" (pp. 182–84). On the basis of their analysis they indicate two definite differences between the two societies—first in the social system and second in the concept of spirits with regard to children—and they show how these differences function as causes for the popularity of *mizuko kuyō*. In other words, *mizuko kuyō* provides "comfort from the feeling of indebtedness and anxiety that comes from fear of curse [i.e., spirits of *mizuko kuyō* who are not memorialized, hence are potentially dangerous]" (pp. 185–86).

Fluer Wōss's "*Pokkuri*-Temples and Aging" (pp. 191–202) is an interesting article on the rituals involved in one's approach to death. The central concern of most people is that they "desire . . . a peaceful death [and this] has given rise to special places where people pray to die in this way" (pp. 191–92). These

places are called *pokkuri-dera*, or temples, and “are found in every part of the country, the most popular . . . [being] concentrated in the Nara and Kyoto regions” (p. 192). The Zen temple, Kenryūzan Myotokuji 妙徳寺, was identified by NHK as one of the “fashionable” *pokkuri-dera* frequented by visitors to nearby hot springs who make a stopover to pray to Ususama Myōō for a healthy future (p. 193). The popularity of *pokkuri*-temples comes as a result of older people wishing not to become a burden or a nuisance to others. It is based upon the problem of aging in a society where there has been an “increase in . . . life expectancy . . . [and] a loss of traditional roles that once made old people feel wanted and needed” (p. 196). Women in particular number high in those who visit these temples, because they are more generally conscious of their state of health (p. 197), they wish not to burden their family (p. 198), they have a fear of solitude (pp. 197–98), and they seem to have a stronger religious commitment (pp. 199–200). Whether it be women or men, the reasons for their visits to such temples are also the same reasons for the increasing number of suicides among the older people. This article brings to the fore that the main tragedy among old people in Japan today is their loss of a meaningful role in family and society (p. 201).

Paula K. R. Arai's “Sōtō Zen Nuns in Modern Japan” (pp. 203–18) “focuses on the foremost Sōtō nunnery in Japan, Aichi Senmon Nisōdo” (p. 204). In terms of daily schedules and structure, these activities are structured, like the centres for Zen monks, around the various tasks that must be done to have the nunnery function and are close to the activities found in regular zendos so as to be “genuine living bearers of the Zen tradition” (p. 207). Because nunneries have fewer adherents, they often offer the nuns better training than their male counterparts. A nun's training consists of textual studies, but because they “do not have time, training, or inclination to analyze these texts philosophically, they understand the core of these texts with their bodies” (p. 209), an understanding that probably is closer to the true intention of Zen. Aside from the study of texts, there are other areas of study, such as the study of Chinese poetry (*kanshi* 漢詩), sermons on Buddhism (*howa* 法話), children's stories (*dōwa* 童話), sewing Buddhist garments (*saihō* 裁縫), work in general such as tilling, cleaning, cooking and so on (p. 209), and sutra copying (*shakyō* 写經) and of other cultural activities such as flower arrangement, calligraphy, tea ceremony that are meant to keep mind (*kokoro* 心) and body in harmony. Among the various activities and ceremonies are: *sesshin* 攝心 (intensive zazen sessions), *kaimyō* 戒名 (Dharma lineage ceremony), and *tokudo-shiki* 得度式 (initiation ceremony, where the person “shaves her head and dons the robes that will be a part of her life”) (p. 213). In spite of these very traditional events, this author has shown that the life of the nun has served “as a model for all women who seek liberation” (p. 216).

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Part 4, NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, consists of Anson Shupe's "Sōka Gakkai and the Slippery Slope from Militancy to Accommodation"; Richard Fox Young's "Magic and Morality in Modern Japanese Exorcistic Technologies"; Mark R. Mullins's "Christianity as a New Religion"; and Susumu Shimazono's "The Expansion of Japan's New Religions into Foreign Cultures."

Susumu Shimazono's introductory remarks to this section is a clear and lucid exposition on the historical context from which these new religious movements have arisen and from which they differ in characteristics. In terms of history, Shimazono points out four periods in the development of the new religious movements—i.e., 1) from the Edo period to the turn of the Meiji period, 2) from late Meiji through the Taishō, 3) around 1926 to mid 1970's during the Shōwa era, and 4) post 1970. The defining characteristic of new religions is that they are "this-worldly" oriented and consequently focus on 1) physical "healing" (*byōki naoshi* 病氣治し), 2) transformation of the world (*yo naoshi* 世治し), and 3) personal transformation (*kokoro naoshi* 心治し). Shimazono provides the reader with a valuable table on the "Statistics for Major New Religions" that includes information on organization name, founder, year, and number of members (p. 227).

Anson Shupe's "Sōka Gakkai and the Slippery Slope from Militancy to Accommodation" (pp. 231–38) "examines the process of religio-political accommodation in post-World War II Japan, using the Sōka Gakkai movement as the case in point" (p. 231). Shupe gives a historical survey on how the Sōka Gakkai developed from Nichiren Shōshū through the activities of Makiguchi and Toda (pp. 231–33) and the way that it influenced the political scene through its members joining the Kōmeitō party (pp. 233–35). Shupe concludes by showing how movements like the Sōka Gakkai/Kōmeitō have had to compromise to the extent of "diverting the movement from its ultimate goals" (p. 237) which are to increase "public respectability, influence . . . legislative bodies, better relationships with . . . mass media, and cooperation with other power groups" (p. 237).

Richard Fox Young's "Magic and Morality in Modern Japanese Exorcistic Technologies" (pp. 239–56) is a study of Mahikari 真光, a new New Religion (*shin-shin-shukyō* 新新宗教). Young "is not concerned with establishing whether or not spirits exist as a scientific fact, but rather," he is interested in exploring "the logic of, and the meaning derived from, the beliefs of individuals who have joined New Religions that regard their reality as indisputable" (p. 240). This article responds not only to those who query the reasons for the revival of spirit-beliefs but as well as to those who may have thought that spirit-beliefs are not compatible with modernity and consequently, not capable of enhancing the meaning of life.

Young discusses how the breaking down of social cohesion with the onset of

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modernization became the impetus for the need to restore the communal support and solidarity or the rural social order within the changed context of the city (p. 241). He discusses the historical and religious basis for how spirit-belief, such as those found in the exorcist ritual of Mahikari, has been both preserved and transformed in modern society (pp. 240–252) so that “it dovetails neatly with the demands of urban life and even reinforces the values of industrial society . . . [through] the innovation in *tekhnē*, skill, that sets as its objective the manipulation of means to exert control over the hidden spirits . . .” (p. 244).

The institutional history of Mahikari begins with the advent of Ōmoto (The Great Foundation), a divinity believed to have “returned to this world after aeons of enforced exile . . .” (p. 244). The foundress of Ōmoto, Nao Deguchi (1837–1918), saw the evidence of the world’s need of renewal, but this emphasis was muted by her successor Onisaburō Deguchi (1871–1948) who affirmed modernization and found proof that the impending world catastrophe was owing to an upsurge in cases of spirit possession (p. 244). “The origin of Mahikari dates to 1959 when its founder, Okada Kōtama [1901–1974], . . . was awakened from his sleep . . . and inspired with a revelation from the Reverend-Parent Origin-Lord True-Light Great God . . . Su-God, as his elegant name is abbreviated, . . . [who] announced to Okada that he would no longer tolerate a world maladministered by inferior deities of yin-like attributes. The priority of Su-God . . . is to cleanse the world of evil spirits . . . and to purge the human body of defilement . . . that result in illness and unnatural death” (pp. 244–45). Through the process of purging the body of defilements, known as Mahikari technique (*mahikari no waza* 真光の業) or simply *okiyome* お浄め or purification, the Mahikari sees itself as the agent for renewing, not discontinuing, the established religions (pp. 244–55). Even the “Christmas tune, ‘Jingle Bells,’—with a play on its phonetic characters in Japanese: *jin* (God), *guru* (or *kuru*; coming), *beru* (bell)—. . . has become a metaphor of Mahikari’s overseas missionary expansion” and it has been especially effective in “Francophone nations of black Africa and Caribbean, where a colonial syndrome is still prevalent” (p. 254). These aspects of the New Religions in Japan not only challenges the view that these movements are premodern and outdated but also make one confront “. . . the possibility that spirit-belief is not only a match for modernized Japan but also for modernizing Africa” (p. 256).

Mark R. Mullins’s “Christianity as a New Religion” (pp. 257–72) makes “reference to Christianity as a New Religion . . . not because it is a foreign-born religion” but because the idea of “‘newness’ is related primarily to the fact that indigenous Christian movements broke away from the mission churches and resemble New Religions” (p. 257) and thus can be adopted to the

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typologies of Japanese New Religions although not without difficulties.

The basic orientation of a Christian religious body in Japan tends to be either "foreign oriented" or "native oriented" (p. 258-60) and they gain their legitimacy by claiming "to be 'uniquely legitimate,' thus denying the legitimacy claims of other groups or 'collegially legitimate,' thus accepting the claims of other groups" (p. 260). This development, seen in the power struggles in the identification of Christianity with the West, gave rise to a tension between those who maintained their national culture (i.e., foreign missionaries) and those into whose culture the religions were transplanted. "The anti-Western social climate, growing nationalism, and dissatisfaction of Japanese Christians with Western missionaries are important precipitating factors that illuminate . . . the break with Western mission churches and the creation of viable alternative forms" (p. 264). The newer Christian developments generally needed a strong charismatic leader but recent studies draw attention to the category of a "minor founder" (p. 265). These founders or leaders "at the very least claim to have direct access to the sacred and to have an independent basis of religious authority" (p. 266). Even if these new movements in Christianity are "criticized by mission churches or dominant orthodoxy, in one form or another, each regards itself in continuity with the Christian religion or, at the very least, more fully expressing the teachings and intention of Jesus" (p. 268). What Mullins's research points to is that in the future there need to be an inventory and documentation of indigenous Christian movements, more followup studies on current statistics, a study of growth and decline patterns, and an investigation into the role and significance of indigenous Christian movements for the larger Japanese society (pp. 268-71).

Susumu Shimazono's "The Expansion of Japan's New Religions into Foreign Cultures" (pp. 273-300) gives a succinct but informative framework by which one can understand the circumstances, both internal and external, that led to the expansion of the New Religious Movements of Japan that increased from the 1960s onward. Shimazono takes his stand on the characteristics (outlined above and quoted by other authors throughout this book) that he had established. He focuses his attention on Brazil (pp. 275-76 and 277-79) where Seichō-no-ie had the greatest influence; on United States of America (pp. 276 and 279-80) where Nichiren Shōshū Sōka Gakkai had succeeded in gaining a large gathering; and on Asia (pp. 276-78 and 280-81), where, especially in Korea, Tenri-kyō and Sekai Kyūsei-kyō, especially in Thailand, have made remarkable growth.

The movement of the New Religions into foreign cultures was made possible by the fundamental belief system that the new religions have and by the cultural, economical, and political conditions of the country that receive them (pp. 282-88). Industrialization brought changes that opened the doors for new

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religions to move into Brazil and Korea, but for the move into the United States of America, and to a lesser degree into Canada, it was the basic belief of the new religious movements that "each member of the human race has dignity as a human being, but existence involves suffering, and for this very reason human beings are in need of salvation" (p. 282) that gave the North Americans "a pragmatic value system, a congenial community, and an alternative to the individualistic, rationalistic Western civilization" (p. 287).

Shimazono discusses "the features of expanding new religions and their appeal" (pp. 289-94). Here he deliberates on the role of magical practice (pp. 289-90), on the practical life ethics (pp. 290-91), on the use of easily comprehensible literature as a tool for propagation (pp. 291-92), and on a positive approach to religious pluralism. Just as we have found in the discussion on the Christian developments in Japan, groups of believers of the new religious movements have deviated from the regulation of the central body (pp. 294-96), and to substantiate this, Shimazono points to such examples as the Ōmoto followers in Brazil, the Tenri-kyō in Taiwan, and the recent discord in the Sōka Gakkai overseas organization in the USA.

In reviewing the contents of fifteen articles that constitute this book, one can realize the depth and the breadth that is required to approach such a topic as "Religion & Society in Modern Japan." Through the cooperative ventures of the editors and contributors, a reader through the aid of this book can gain a greater appreciation of what Japanese society and religion can provide. This book is a must for all introductory courses on Japanese religions, because of the clarity and the straightforward presentation of an immense amount of information. It should appear on all required reading lists for courses on comparative religions and on Japanese religions even at the graduate level.

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