

on meditation. She evidently had a gentle and winning approach and was able to combine the promise of authenticity of experience with the ability to communicate well in English. This activity therefore became a regular feature of her life, not only in the context of various other Buddhist societies, for example in Birmingham and Wolverhampton, but also in that of the interfaith organizations that were springing up in Britain at the time.

This book is of interest as the fully documented biography of a fascinating and talented woman who assisted, in her own time and her own ways, in the globalization of Buddhism. It will also be a resource for those who are interested in the story of the western reception of Buddhism. Through it we read a part of that story from the inside, though less as a reception and more from the perspective of giving. This comes through because the writer seems to have empathized very well with the way in which his mother, as a Thai Buddhist, experienced and responded to the Englishness of the new surroundings, which she made her own, and upon which she made a delicate yet distinct impact.

Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan's Unending Postwar. By Akiko Takenaka. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015. 296 pages. Hardcover: ISBN 978-0-8248-4678-7.

TAKASHI YOSHIDA

Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan's Unending Postwar examines three components of "Yasukuni": Yasukuni the belief, Yasukuni the site, and Yasukuni the issue. The book consists of six main chapters, an introduction, and an epilogue.

Chapter 1, "Mobilizing Death: Developing the Myth of Yasukuni," traces the development of Yasukuni belief from the late Tokugawa period to the early Meiji period. In 1859 Maki Izumi (1813–1864), a disciple of Aizawa Seishisai (an anti-bakufu loyalist in the Mito domain and the author of *Shinron* [New Thesis]), advocated in his *Kei gusetsu* (An Opinion on Important Matters and Trends of the Time) the dedication of shrines to loyalists like Kusunoki Masashige, who fought for Emperor Godaigo in the early fourteenth century, in order to inspire Tokugawa-period imperial loyalists (p. 31). In 1862 the Chōshū leaders succeeded in gaining Emperor Kōmei's endorsement of pardoning anti-bakufu loyalists who lost their lives for imperial causes. The year 1862 saw

the first ritual ceremony that honored the loyalists from various domains who died for the emperor. From 1864 on, ritual services for the war dead in Chōshū began to be conducted in the Shinto style. The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 was a civil war that prompted the new government to enshrine the war dead and so to expand the existing Tokyo Shōkonsha (later known as Yasukuni Shrine), which had been founded in 1869.

Chapter 2, “Institutionalizing Joy: Turning War into Spectacle at Yasukuni Shrine,” discusses Yasukuni as a historical site from its founding to the first decade of the twentieth century. Takenaka argues that, in the beginning, very few Japanese saw the shrine as a site honoring those who died for the Japanese state. Rather, she argues, in the shrine’s early decades, to many Japanese citizens it was merely a site of entertainment where visitors could enjoy western-style horse races, circuses, and freak shows. The turning points occurred during the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Victories in the two wars contributed to the transformation of the shrine from a site of entertainment to a site of mourning, pride, and memorialization, especially among the residents of Tokyo.

Chapter 3, “Networks of Grief and Pride: Yasukuni Shrine in Regional Japan,” analyzes the dissemination of Yasukuni belief from Tokyo to more distant areas. Takenaka explores the gradual institutionalization of regional rituals for the war dead through conscription practices, funerals, victory celebrations, and school rituals (pp. 74–75). In particular, the author refers to the memoir written by Ubukata Toshirō (1882–1969), a journalist who spent his youth in Numata (Gunma Prefecture), approximately one hundred miles to the north of Tokyo. Takenaka also explores the origin of the term *eirei* (honorable spirit), a convenient word for attracting popular support for Japan’s war efforts as the term emphasizes the noble and honorable sacrifices of the servicemen. The term first appeared in the *Kokumin shinpō* (Citizens’ Daily) on May 3, 1907 in the context of the discussion of Yasukuni Shrine and its memorialization of the martyrs of the Russo-Japanese War (p. 91).

Chapter 4, “Institutionalizing Grief: Yasukuni Shrine and Total War,” examines cultural practices associated with death during the Asia Pacific War (1931–1945). The author discusses the “construction of emotional readiness on the home front: readiness to send a loved one off to war with the understanding that he most likely will not come back; readiness to accept loss with pride and gratitude” (p. 94). The chapter details the fate of Kurokawa Umekichi, a twenty-year-old private from Kanagawa, who died from his war wounds in 1934. Takenaka stresses the role of death-related practices such as cremation and memorialization at the battle front, the reception and

memorialization of soldiers' ashes back in Japan, and the media coverage of these ceremonies, which was significant for letting the bereaved families convince themselves that the deaths of their fathers and brothers were honorable, and that they should feel pride rather than sorrow. She argues that such institutionalization of grief was well established during the war.

Chapter 5, "Who Has the Right to Mourn? Politics of Enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine," discusses the three components of Yasukuni in the postwar period and, in particular, explores the recent lawsuits filed by Okinawan, Taiwanese, and Korean bereaved families who demanded that the shrine remove the names of their loved ones from its register. The chapter reveals that almost all of the fallen of the Asia Pacific War enshrined at Yasukuni were added after the war (p. 138). While the shrine found many fewer zealous followers in the postwar years, it continued to host memorialization rituals for the war dead and receive patronage from politicians and organizations such as the Japan League for the Welfare of War-Bereaved Families. As a result of the shrine becoming a private religious institution (after the end of the war), it has the legal right to act on the grounds of its religious beliefs, including the enshrinement of the war dead, even when the bereaved families request it not to do so.

Chapter 6, "Mobilizing Memories: Postmemorial Conservatism at Yasukuni Today," examines various efforts of the shrine to attract attention and support from younger generations. As the wartime generations are dying and sources of income for the shrine are decreasing, it is essential for the shrine to construct a new definition of Yasukuni belief for the younger generation. The chapter details the recent exhibits at Yasukuni Shrine's war museum, the Yūshūkan. The film *To Carry on the Spirit of the War Dead*, which was featured at the museum four times a day, for example, stressed that the honorable sacrifices of the war dead made Japan's postwar prosperity possible and urged the younger generation to honor the noble spirits of the deceased, as citizens used to do prior to Japan's defeat. It continues to present the shrine's version of the history of imperial Japan, namely that the empire stood up against western imperialism to liberate the rest of Asia.

Without any doubt Takenaka's monograph contributes to scholarship on Yasukuni outside Japan, as fewer studies on the topic have been available on the subject than in Japan. The author introduces numerous studies in Japanese on Yasukuni, including those by Takahashi Tetsuya, Akazawa Shirō, and Ōe Shinobu. Her work not only examines the shrine itself, but also traces the origins of Yasukuni worship and the Yasukuni issue from the

late Tokugawa period to the present. The book illuminates how the culture of war prevailed during the Pacific War, during which the shrine enjoyed its heyday. In the postwar period, in contrast, the book underscores the struggle that the shrine has been going through to revive its popularity and prestige among the populace.

While the book has strengths, it also has some weaknesses. One of them is the author's relative unfamiliarity of the historiography of "victimizer consciousness" (*kagaisha ishiki*). Takenaka is correct that many Japanese have examined the Pacific War from the viewpoint of a victim (p. 191). Nonetheless, those who challenged "victim consciousness" (*higaisha ishiki*) existed even during the war. Leftists such as Kaji Wataru (1903–1982) and Nosaka Sanzō (1892–1993) led captured Japanese servicemen during the war to engage in antiwar propaganda activities in China. Members of the Association of Returnees from China urged the Japanese public to realize the inhumanity of the war immediately after they were repatriated in the 1950s. Throughout the postwar years, progressive historians, journalists, critics, teachers, and peace activists have reminded their fellow Japanese of the aggression and atrocities committed by imperial Japan and its forces in Asia and the Pacific.

To be fair to Takenaka, she acknowledges that "there is not one collective Japanese memory of the Asia-Pacific War [and that] there is not a single correct way to remember the Asia-Pacific War" (p. 146). Moreover, her book examines "counter" narratives and memories that challenged Yasukuni worship and memorialization. Nonetheless, judging from the tone of her study, Takenaka seems to assume that victim consciousness has always prevailed in every segment of postwar Japanese society. As a scholar who specializes in World War II and memory in postwar Japan, I would argue that such an assumption does not accurately reflect postwar Japanese society. As I underscored in my *The Making of the "Rape of Nanking"* and *From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace*,¹ by the early 1990s accounts that highlighted Japan's aggression and atrocities flourished in many history textbooks, museum exhibits, scholarly monographs, and mass media reports in Japan. Plenty of progressive narratives that highlighted Japan's wartime atrocities, aggression, and colonialism provoked revisionists, including those who support Yasukuni belief, to challenge what they considered a "masochistic view of history."

¹ Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the "Rape of Nanking"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Takashi Yoshida, *From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace: War and Peace Museums in Japan, China, and South Korea* (Portland: MerwinAsia, 2014).

In short, Yasukuni Shrine advocates for the revisionist version of the history of imperial Japan. Indeed, its Yūshūkan war museum is a treasure house for critics to examine how the shrine and its revisionist allies attempt to whitewash Japan's war crimes. Takenaka mentions in her epilogue the Yasukuni Shrine tour organized by the Group to Walk the War Ruins of Tokyo. She stresses that "the tour posits the Japanese people as victims of their wartime state" (p. 194). While Takenaka does not seem to be aware of it, the Center for Research and Documentation on Japan's War Responsibility, established in 1993, has also been organizing a tour of Yasukuni Shrine with Professor Yoshida Yutaka of Hitotsubashi University, a renowned scholar of modern Japanese history, every year. The center covers a wide range of Japan's war crimes, and its journal *The Report on Japan's War Responsibility* has published numerous scholarly articles on the subject. The center's tour of Yasukuni does not provide a simple black-and-white narrative of the shrine such as the ones in which Takenaka participated. One of the problems of this book is that the author at times makes gross generalizations based on a few limited sources.

If readers are familiar with Ōe Shinobu's *Yasukuni jinja* (Iwanami Shoten, 1981), Tsubouchi Yūzō's *Yasukuni* (Shinchōsha, 1999), Akazawa Shirō's *Yasukuni jinja* (Iwanami Shoten, 2005), Takahashi Tetsuya's *Yasukuni mondai* (Chikuma Shobō, 2005), and Tanaka Nobumasa's *Yasukuni no sengoshi* (Iwanami Shoten, 2002), Takenaka's monograph would probably remind them of these studies. For example, in her discussion of "Yasukuni the site," her argument that Yasukuni Shrine was a place to experience modernity is the exact argument that Tsubouchi Yūzō stressed in his book, although she does not make any reference to Tsubouchi. Similarly, her discussion of "Yasukuni the belief" would probably remind these readers of Takahashi's work, while the examination of "Yasukuni the issue" may prompt them to think of Akazawa's monograph. While Takenaka's volume introduces many other sources in different languages and additional details that go beyond the existing Japanese books on Yasukuni, I find her analysis of the three main strands not particularly unique.

I assume that many non-Japan specialists whose Japanese fluency is minimal will read this study. Such readers may find the book not very user-friendly, however, because its bibliography does not translate Japanese titles. Most of these Japanese book titles are not translated in the main text or end-notes, either. Sometimes book titles can suggest the nature of their scholarship, as Takenaka's sources include non-scholarly accounts that use rather

provocative titles such as *Jubaku no kingendaishi* (Cursed Modern and Contemporary Japanese History; Tokuma Shoten, 1999) by Fujioka Nobukatsu.

With these weaknesses in mind, *Yasukuni Shrine* is nevertheless a welcome addition to the scholarship on the history and memory of World War II.

Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism: A Textual Study of the Yogas of Nāropa and Mahāmudrā Meditation in the Medieval Tradition of Dags po. By Ulrich Timme Kragh. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the ICPBS, 2015. 708 pages. Paperback: ISBN 978-4-9062-6772-9.

ALEXANDER K. SMITH

Ulrich Timme Kragh's *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism* represents a monumental effort to engage with the legacy of Gampopa Sonam Rinchen (sGam po pa bsod nams rin chen [1079–1153]), one of the most influential historical figures in the development of the bKa' brgyud school of Tibetan Buddhism. While Kragh makes use of an impressive range of hagiographical materials, the book's main focus is *The Manifold Sayings of Dagpo* (*Dags po'i bka' 'bum*), a large, multi-authored collection of texts attributed to Gampopa and his immediate disciples. As non-Tibetan audiences have traditionally associated Gampopa with his more widely known scholastic treatise on the Mahayana, the *Jewel Ornament of Liberation* (*Dam chos yid bzhin gyi nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyun*), Kragh's work provides a refreshing perspective on Gampopa's life and doctrinal contributions. The book is not without problems, however, foremost of which is, in my opinion, the highly theoretical methodology that dictates the organization of much of the author's translated material. I will return to this issue below.

One of Kragh's goals, as articulated in the book's lengthy "Theoretical Preamble," is to present Gampopa as an innovative authorial figure who differs from the traditional scholastic image of a Mahayana author. With this in mind, Kragh chooses a series of *Mahāmudrā* passages from *The Manifold Sayings* as the subject for his first two chapters. In order to put these passages in context, in chapter 1, the author provides a thorough introduction to *Mahāmudrā* thought. In chapter 2, the author shifts his focus to Gampopa's particular approach to *Mahāmudrā*. Comparing sections of *The Manifold Sayings* to textual materials that emerge later with the so-called Tibetan Mahayanization of *Mahāmudrā*, Kragh argues that *Mahāmudrā* texts attributed to Gampopa demonstrate a high degree of doctrinal heterogeneity,