Religion, Identity and Conflict

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PREFACE

There is an old Japanese phrase "Ichi-go ichi-e," attributed to the renowned tea master Rikyū, literary meaning "one time, one meeting" but also celebrating an inspiring experience of everlasting significance of a seemingly transient encounter. I believe the occasion from which this proceedings resulted is also one of these "Ichi-go ichi-e" moments.

This proceedings volume contains the papers presented at the postgraduate workshop in the Consortium for Asian and African Studies' first and inaugural international conference. This conference, entitled "Religion, Identity and Conflict," was held at Leiden University on 26–28 August 2009.

The Consortium for Asian and African Studies (CAAS) was initiated in March 2007 by five higher educational institutions worldwide that lead Asian and African studies, in order to strengthen collaboration in research and education activities. The member institutions are Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO, France), Leiden University (the Netherlands), Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of National University of Singapore (FASS-NUS, Singapore), School of Oriental and African Studies, London University (SOAS, UK), and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS, Japan).

One of the major objectives of the CAAS is to train researchers of the younger generation in the framework of international collaboration. This workshop, therefore, was essentially a venue for nurturing talented young researchers and also an opportunity for showcasing their research activities. The participants of the workshop represented the member institutions of the CAAS and other reputed institutions.

The workshop, held on the last day of the conference, was divided into four concurrent sessions. The four sessions were entitled: 1) Minorities, Diaspora and Religion, 2) Philosophy, Religion and Politics in the Early 20th Century, 3) Contemporary Religions and Nations, and 4) Religion and Identity in Literature. The themes of the sessions reflect our general concern about various religious issues which are all the more relevant in the current context of globalization. Each session was attended by distinguished discussants to clarify the significance of each presentation.

The papers presented in the first session were: Social Cohesion Policy and Education for Minority Ethnic Children in the UK: A Case Study of Turkish-Kurds' Community in London (Kusu Nakajima, TUFS), Ambivalent Marginality: Literary Activities of Indonesian Muslim Domestic Workers in Hong Kong (Shiho Sawai, TUFS), and Who Defines What: Living Hinduisms in Practice in India and its Diaspora (Priya Swamy, Leiden). The session was attended by Dr Guita Winkel (Leiden), Prof Tak-wing Ngo (Leiden and Erasmus University Rotterdam) as discussants.

The second session, with Prof Ab de Jong (Leiden) as a discussant, included: *Das Heilige* in Tensions between Practical and Scientific Theology (Chie Warashina, TUFS), The Politics of Meditation in Nishida Kitaro (Dermott Walsh, Leiden), and Christian Millenarianism and Nationalism in Prewar Japan: Nakada Jūji's Politics of Identity (Aike Rots, SOAS).

The papers presented in the third session were: Developments of Faith-based Movements during and after the February 28 Process in Turkey (Aya Kokaki, TUFS), Falun Gong Cultivation in Hong Kong, Taiwan and New York (Scott Dalby, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam), Conversion, Conflicts, and Contestation: Christianity and the Hmong in Vietnam (Tam Ngo, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam), and In Defense of Local Gods: Negotiation over Religious Space between the State and the Village, Central Vietnam (Edyta Roszko, Max Planck Institute, Halle). The discussants for this session were Prof Barend ter Haar (Leiden Institute for Area Studies, LIAS) and Dr Hennie van de Veere (LIAS).

Finally, the fourth session included: Power, Legitimization and Shinbutsu Shūgō (Enrico Giulia, Leiden), Han Yongun's Novelette *Death* (1924): A Korean Monk's Fictionalized Nation-Building Project in Question (Jung-Shim Lee, Leiden). The session was attended by Prof Ivo Smits (LIAS) and Dr Anne Castaing (INALCO) as discussants.

The names of the affiliations of the researchers were correct at the time of the planning. Some of the titles were changed before included in this volume for the sake of improvement. Unfortunately circumstances prevented three papers from being included in this proceedings. Nevertheless, this volume serves as a record of the fascinating exchange of minds, crossing the borders of countries and generations, which, I hope, will lead to another "Ichi-go ichi-e" in the near future.

I would like to thank all those who have made this workshop happen. I am particularly grateful to Dr Kiri Paramore, who made preparations for the workshop with utmost devotion. I also would like to express gratitude to all the discussants for their invaluable contribution. Finally acknowledgement must be made for the sponsorship of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS). The organization of the workshop and the publication of the proceedings would be impossible without the JSPS's financial assistance under the scheme of the International Training Program-Asia Africa (ITP-AA).

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Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo
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CONTENTS

Social Cohesion Policy and Education for Minority Ethnic Children in the UK: A Case Study of Turkish-Kurds' Community in London

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In the past half century, a number of western countries have been experiencing greater and significant social changes, so called ethnic/cultural diversity. In this context, Social Cohesion became a big issue for these culturally diverse societies. Britain is also confronted with the problem of unifying great diversity, as illustrated in 2001 by a series of urban disorders characteristically described as 'race riots'. After the disorders, the New Labour government laid out the concept of 'Community Cohesion' as an important pillar of their approach to race and community relations. It aimed to break down the ignorance and fear of each of the communities.

This paper contains a brief analysis of how community, diversity and unity have been conceptualized, what assumptions have underpinned current education policy in England and what have been its consequences for research in the field of ethnic minority education, especially in a Turkish-Kurd community in London. In the paper an analysis will focus upon ethnic identity, education and society. The objective will be to clarify some of the issues besetting the education of Turkish-Kurd children in "Multi-Cultural Britain".

Firstly, this paper starts with a conceptual review of the context of the 'Community Cohesion' policy. Secondly, it will be examined how a minority ethnic community involves with state education and how they evaluate the policy. Following questions are examined: 1) What is the 'Community Cohesion' policy especially in the education fields and how do each actor realise the policy? 2) What kind of problems could occur with Turkish-Kurd children's education and 'Community Cohesion'? 3) How do Turkish -Kurds describe themselves and evaluate the dominant 'community' or shared values in the British society? 4) And how is the policy evaluated by each actor; such as policy makers, policy providers, minority ethnic parents and other members of local communities?

What is "Community Cohesion"?

The conceptual background of Community Cohesion is based on the communitarian theory emerged in the late 20th century in North America. A communitarian theorist Putnam argues that social capital, such as shared value and sense of belonging, can be a solution to social exclusion in a diverse society. In his arguments, building a bridge amongst people with different backgrounds through fostering social capital makes cohesive society [Putnam 2000].

The major cause of the race riots in 2001 was attributed to ethnic communities living separate existences from one another without meaningful interaction. Consequently, mistrust and miscommunication were allowed to spread. Moreover, these "parallel lives" were not only geographic but cultural. Segregation was said to be compounded by different communities having different identities and beliefs. Based on this explanation, the solution was a proposal to increase interaction, integration, shared space, and shared values between each community.

The theory of 'parallel lives' was articulated most succinctly by Ted Cantle, the chair of the Community Cohesion Institute, who was commissioned by the New Labour government to conduct an investigation into the events of summer 2001. His response triggered a significant shift in the government policy, and the new concept called Community Cohesion was introduced as a transition from muticulturalism. A cohesive community has been described as the one which has a common vision and a sense of belonging to all communities, where diversity is appreciated and valued, where life opportunities are available to all and one where strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds [Local Government Association 2006: 5].

Community Cohesion and Education Act

Under the section 21(5) of the Education and Inspections Act 2006, all maintained schools are required to contribute to Community Cohesion from September 2007. Main contributions of the school are described as follows [Department for Children, Schools and Families: DCSF 2008: 8];

1. Helping pupils to learn to understand others, to value diversity whilst also promoting shared values, to promote awareness of human rights and to apply and defend them, and to develop the skills of participation and responsible action.
2. To ensure equal opportunities for all to succeed at the highest level possible, striving to remove barriers to access and participation in learning and wider activities and working to eliminate variations in outcomes for different groups.
3. To provide reasonable means for children, young people, their friends and families to

interact with people from different backgrounds and build positive relations: including links with different schools and communities and the provision of extended services with opportunities for pupils, families and the wider community to take part in activities and receive services which build positive interaction and achievement for all groups.

In addition, Ofsted commenced inspections from September 2008 to see if maintained schools promote Community Cohesion.

Community Cohesion and Social Cohesion

Vincent and Coles argued that in the context of education, Community Cohesion is the current stage of 'multi-cultural education', following on from Social Cohesion concept, and these two idealistic concepts are strongly connected [Vincent and Coles 2003: 6]. Many researcher, such as Green, Preston and Sebetes (2003) pointed out that the education has an important role in societal cohesion. Promoting Social Cohesion through education has been an important policy objective in many countries during the past decade.

But there is little clarity in policy discussions about what Social/Community Cohesion means and how education may affect it. It is said that Social Cohesion could be realized through the concepts of 'trust', 'security', 'social order' and 'tolerance' in western countries. Furthermore, there is a correlation between social capital and societal cohesion. It can be said that policies to increase Social Cohesion through education must pay more attention to the reduction of educational equality which currently exists [Green, Preston and Sebates 2003: 458-468].

These two concepts, Social Cohesion and Community Cohesion, are sometimes used interchangeably, however, Social Cohesion tends to be used in the more broadly context of general socioeconomic issues, whereas Community Cohesion has been emerged as a more specific term to describe a social tension which is based on identifiable communities defined by faith or ethnicity, a part of race relation policies of British Government [Cantle, 2008: 50-55].

Case of a Turkish-Kurd Community in London

The Kurdish community is a recently increasing ethnic group in Britain. They came to Britain in large numbers about 20 years ago, mostly from Turkey and Iraq, as a result of the suppression in the homeland. Kurdish people are also living in Iran and Syria, and people from those regions inhabit London as well. Each group of Kurds from different countries tends to settle in different areas of London, and many Kurds from Turkey living in northern parts of London. The research has been conducted in a Turkish- Kurds' community in

Haringey, London.

Research Procedure

The research took place from September 2008 to February 2009. Data sources were mostly from interviews with sixteen of Turkish-Kurd pupils, seven of Turkish-Kurd mothers, three staff members of a primary school, three staff members of supplementary school of Kurdish Community Center and two policy advisors from DCSF. These interviews focused on the current issues of Turkish-Kurd children's education in the area, and the Community Cohesion Policy.

Research Questions

1. What kind of conceptual relations are there between the Community Cohesion and multicultural education?
2. How is the policy implemented in the actual education fields? How do these actors realise the policy?
3. What attitudes and values about educational achievement are held by Turkish-Kurd children and their parents? What issues could occur in promoting Community Cohesion?
4. How do Turkish-Kurds describe and evaluate dominant 'community' or shared values in the British society?
5. How is the policy evaluated by each actor; such as policy makers, policy providers, minority ethnic parents and other members of local communities?

London Borough of Haringey

Haringey is a borough of Northern London. It is a very ethnically diverse area, and the eastern part of the borough classified as one of the most deprived area in the country. The size of the ethnic minority (*other than "White British") population in the borough, at the time of the 2005, was over 50 percent of the total population. Black Africans were the largest minority group (9.5 percent of the population), followed by Black Caribbean (9.2 percent), South Asians (6.7 percent) and people of mixed heritage formed 4.6 percent of the population.[1]

Case 1: A Primary School in the Area

The primary school is located in the eastern part of borough. There are about thirty minority ethnic communities in the borough, and Turkish-Kurd Community is one of the biggest communities in the area. The school is a community school and almost eighty percent of pupils have minority ethnic backgrounds, and more than forty different languages are spoken by pupils as their native language. It can be said that the school is in

the ethnically, linguistically and religiously diverse situation. The school also has a number of staff members with minority ethnical backgrounds, and they communicate well with pupils.

As of August 2008, Kurdish pupils were the second largest group (47 out of 393 pupils) following White Others (49), and followed by Black Caribbean (43), Somali (43), Turkish & Turkish Cypriot (34), White British (24) and so on.

Case 2: Kurdish Community Center in Haringey

The Kurdish Community Centre has been established in 1992 as a refugee charity organisation. In 1989 a large number of Kurds immigrated to the UK as a result of the intensified conflicts in their originated regions. After those events, a voluntary group has started to develop a kind of mutual aid organisation, which has been supported by the London Borough Grants Unit's. The organisation rapidly grew, and the Kurdish Community Centre has been registered as a charitable foundation in 1993. The KCC is also providing a sort of programmes to enhance its community. As part of its activities the KCC is running a supplementary school designed for Kurdish children as a result of its recognition that children from its community were increasingly falling behind at their daily schools compared to other children of their age groups, and achieving lower scores to their fullest potentials in the tests and exams. The school is funded by the support of the BBC Children in Need and the Haringey Community Chest. The supplementary school is currently held every Saturdays, 10 am to 3 pm, where the children are taken through an intense schedule of lessons and classes including English, Math, Science for key stages 1–4, and Kurdish Language. These courses have been designed for the children to concentrate on, to succeed in core subjects at their mainstream schools as well as to develop awareness and further their understanding of Kurdish culture and heritage and language skills

Major findings
(1) Educational Issues of Turkish-Kurd Children

Most of the interviewees agreed that education is important to secure a good job and better life, and all parents stress the value of education for their children. These aspirations are true of all parents regardless of their own educational backgrounds. However, at the moment, Turkish-Kurds is one of the targeted groups of DCSF, which are the lowest performing in academic achievement on the national test. Despite of parents' expectation and aspiration, the children from Turkish-Kurd community have some difficulties with academic achievement. No small Turkish-Kurd parents, who are the first generation of immigration, have some difficulties with English, and the children from these families could have some issues in use of academic language. In addition, the science teacher of Kurdish

supplementary school pointed out the lack of interest of mainstream school teachers in children's achievement is one of the biggest causes of their children's low performance in the state schools. She also mentioned that there is a lack of communication between the ethnic community and schools. There is no way to contact school, even if supplementary school teachers find out their children's problem. There are sort of miscommunication and mistrust between the ethnic community and state schools.

(2) Community Cohesion in the School and Society

The latest Ofsted inspection of the school has been conducted on 23 and 24 September 2009. According to the Inspection report, pupils have a very clear understanding how to be democratic, stay safe, and to contribute very well to their harmonious multi-cultural community. In other words, the school emphasises the importance of learning to work together, and to contribute to Community Cohesion. They have a multicultural policy in the school and promote a plenty of programmes not only for pupils but also for parents. However, one of the teaching staffs of the primary school pointed out that Turkish-Kurdish boys tend to stick together sometime and do not mix with other ethnic groups so much. Also a science teacher of KCC supplementary school mentioned that each ethnic group separates from others, throughout her experience in the school life. It can be said that such kind of self segregation of minority ethnic communities still exist in the society, and it is hard to find out the concept of Community Cohesion in the community level.

(3) A Significant Gap between the Host Society and the Minority Ethnic Community

There is a significant gap between the minority ethnic community and the host society. Some of the mothers and teachers of Kurdish Community Center pointed out that British schools lack discipline in general. When the children have behaviour problems, parents cannot punish them under the British law. Many of Turkish-Kurd parents feel that they cannot discipline their children enough. Teachers and schools tell their children about the children's rights but no one advises their parents of the parent's rights, and it is difficult for them to foster their child properly. In addition, some of the mothers also mentioned that British society recognises all Muslims belong to one solid "Muslim" faith and identity, and Kurdish people stated as one of these Muslim groups have the same belief and value. However, the Turkish-Kurds living in the UK mostly belong to the Alevi, which is a unique sect of Twelver Shi'a Islam, and its practices are unlike most of other Muslims. They feel a significant lack of attention to their backgrounds among the British society. There is a sort of miscommunication and misunderstanding between the minority ethnic group and the majority of "British" society, and it allows to spread self segregation of minority ethnic groups.

(4) Ethnic Identity

Turkish-Kurds can be contrasted with some other Muslim groups who have strong religious belief and faith. What characterised the Turkish-Kurds is their lesser affiliation to a religious identity. Certainly they are Muslim, but they stated themselves as not so religious people, and their society is secular one. They have strong ethnic identity as Kurdish, as one mother mentioned that keeping their ethnic identity is one of the most important things for their life even they are living in the UK. In other words, they do not identify themselves as 'British' at all. However, a large proportion of the pupils are the second generation, described themselves as 'British' as well as 'Kurdish'. They have been fostered in British maintained schools, therefore, they could attain social capitals through both their ethnic community and the British society.

(5) No More Multiculturalism but Community Cohesion?

The last finding is a significant change of the government policy towards race relations in the country. The policy advisor of DCSF, who is in charge of ethnic minority education, mentioned that after the events of 2001 no one uses the term of 'Multiculturalism' at least at the governmental level, but emphasises Community Cohesion at the moment. They considered that their efforts toward the Multiculturalism over the past few decades in the UK are no longer working. They are now working on to develop cohesive 'community' in which all members share a set of core values and a sense of belonging. Therefore, the current governmental interest is in 'narrowing gap' culturally, economically and socially amongst each ethnic group in the UK society. Also in the education field, they are trying to narrow a gap of achievement of each ethnic group by funding many academic support programmes, and by inspecting responses to Community Cohesion of all maintained schools and local authorities. The Cantle Report, 'Community Cohesion', provides a new formula of race relation policy of the government. The policy stated the current social disorders as cultural barriers, rather than institutional racism or deprivation. The Cantle Report attributed them to attitudes such as network, identity and culture, rather than to institutions such as inequality and power.

Summary of Findings

As I stated at the outset this paper has drawn on the initial findings from my work-in-progress research so my conclusion is limited at this stage. One of the points of this research is that ethnic community norm, value, and network need to be theorised by taking into account power relations between minority ethnic community and host community. Although adult members of the Turkish-Kurds' community have a high expectation for their children to have a quality of education, the children confront academic issues arising from

the social segregation, primarily among the generation of their parents, in the host community. There is a significant miscommunication and mistrust within the 'British' society. However, in contrast to adult Turkish-Kurds, their children tend to have plurality of identities as 'British' as well as 'Kurdish'. Their identities could change constantly and they are negotiated and re-negotiated depending upon where they are and who they are with. Each ethnic group would be engaged in communities of practice in British education system in which they identify themselves through a cultural awareness and understanding of each other's background. Education has been used as a means of self-empowerment for many minorities, but as this report revealed, there are a quite few hurdles to overcome. My further continuing research will investigate how to address these issues.

Endnote

1   Ethnic Group Theme Tables from London borough of Haringey Council Website: http://www.haringey.gov.uk/index/news_and_events/fact_file/statistics/census_statistics/ethnic_group_theme_tables.htm

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Ambivalent Marginality: Literary Activities of Muslim Indonesian Migrant Domestic Workers in Hong Kong[1]

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Over the past few years, more than ten books of literary works have been published by Indonesian female authors, who formerly worked in Hong Kong as migrant domestic workers.[2] These works include, among others, *My Employer Is Master of Spoons* by Denok K Rokhmatika (2005), *A Diary of Domestic Worker* by Rini Widyawati (2006), *A Woman in Concrete Jungle*, by Wina Karnie (2006), *A Twig of Sakura*, by Maria BoNiok (2007). These works were composed based on the authors' everyday life experiences as migrant domestic workers. Their stories contain rich descriptions of inter-ethnic interactions in their countries of destination. Thus, their works have attracted social attention, as the direct voices of the migrant workers have rarely appeared in Indonesian mass media, even though the media has frequently reported abuse cases against Indonesian migrant workers overseas in somewhat sensational manners. In this climate, recent publication of above literary works has certainly contributed to empowering the migrant women, as they have obtained the voice to tell their own stories through literature.

However, then a few questions arise: why is that Indonesian female domestic workers (IFDWs) particularly in Hong Kong are actively involved in literary publications amongst the large group of migrant workers to other countries, such as Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and the Middle East?[3] What are the specific local influences in Hong Kong society that have produced this unique phenomenon? Besides, what is the meaning of literary practice for them? What kind of satisfaction are they obtaining through their activities?

These enquiries become even more significant, when they are located in the context of Indonesian literature. Most notably, authorship of modern literature in Indonesia has been concentrated to urban male intellectuals for a long time. Considering this urban-elite orientation, the appearance of female migrant domestic worker authors who mostly come from villages with limited former education would be worth academic attention. In that sense, the appearance of IFDW literature can be seen as suggestive of expanding horizon of Indonesian literature, since these migrant female domestics emerged by cutting across geographical, economic and gendered boundaries set in the conventional state of the field.

As this emerging phenomenon has not yet been fully explored, it becomes an upcoming agenda to assess its literary impact.

Indeed, even though IFDW literature is still an under-attended issue within Indonesian literature, fair accumulation of analyses exist regarding female domestic workers within the framework of Asian Migration Studies. In particular, the notion of contradictory class mobility raised by Rachael Perrēnas seems to be relevant for the discussion here. Perrēnas has used this terminology in her discussion on Filipino migrant workers, to describe the double bind which Foreign Domestic Workers (FDWs) are situated (Perrēnas, 2001); on the one hand, FDWs have to accept far more stigmatized social status in their receiving country in terms of profession, nationality, ethnicity and religion, compared to their status in their country of origin. Yet on the other hand, they also experience positive outcome by their migration to a degree. This is certainly applicable to the case of IFDWs in Hong Kong: for instance, IFDWs in Hong Kong, although most of whom are Muslims that comprise almost 90% of the whole population in Indonesia,[4] suddenly become religious minority upon their arrival in Hong Kong, as the majority of the local population consists of non-Muslims.[5] In effect, in their host country, IFDWs become marginalized in a multiple senses, as female, migrant, domestic workers of religious minority.

However in contrast, they also obtain better financial capability in Hong Kong, as their salary level goes up significantly compared to the wage they are assumed to receive in their countries of origin. In this way, they need to build up new identities between contradicting images of, say, "a migrant domestic worker", which is almost always regarded as one of lowliest profession in many societies, and "a new rich", that is the status often aspired and admired in their home countries. Besides, other connotations such as promiscuity are often stamped to them, as the patriarchal culture prevalent both in their country of origin and migration regards the women who flee from their own domestic sphere as uncontrollable thus sexually deviant (Sim, 2007: 30–31).

In this situation, the identity formation of migrant domestic workers become highly destabilized, and between this fluid and contradict self-images, migrant domestic workers struggle to navigate to reshape their identities. Here, literary activities come into place, as a useful tool to navigate their subject positions in as much desirable state as possible. Therefore, literary activities are one of many social activities that migrant domestic workers are engaged outside their work, in order to make sense of who they are, within such contradictory social mobility and social milieus.

Taking these backgrounds into consideration, this study will attempt to interrogate the literary activities of IFDWs in Hong Kong, to investigate how literature as a social activity can serve for such navigation processes of their subjectivities. It will take an example of a readers'-and-writers' group of IFDWs in Hong Kong, as most authors of above publications

have been a member of this group.

Interestingly, this literary group is a Muslim group called Forum Lingkar Pena (Pen Circle Forum), which has developed in an impressive pace in Indonesia, since around the turning point of the last century. Accordingly, first, I will portray the processes how a group of IFDWs have got interested in reading and writing, to finally decide to form the overseas branch of this Muslims' literary group named Forum Lingkar Pena Hong Kong (Pen Circle Forum Hong Kong branch, FLP-HK). Second, I will delve into the subject navigation processes found in the text produced by the member of above readers'-and-writers' group. In doing so, I will attempt to elucidate the way how the member of this group articulate their way of coming to terms with contradictory class mobility (read: ambivalent marginality), within the mixture of freedom and constraints experienced in their migration.

Precarious identities of IFDWs: IFDWs in Hong Kong as "the elite"?

As mentioned earlier, IFDWs in Hong Kong have to come to terms with mutually antagonistic identities, such as low social status and relative high financial capability. However on the other hand, the geographical move caused by their migration allows them to realize an alternative state of being, by taking advantage of the gap between two social environments; for example, IFDWs manage to escape from failed marriage back home, enjoy "modern" lifestyles available in Hong Kong, which comprise urban anonymity, individual freedom and material culture (Sim, 2007). In this instance, migration allows IFDWs in Hong Kong to put a pose on undesirable realities at home and to obtain alternative identifications, which are otherwise unconceivable in their life in Indonesia. Thus, geographical change allows them to form multiple and temporary identification in the local context.

So, in such contradicting reality that Hong Kong society entails, IFDWs grope for who they are, by utilizing whatever resources available to them. In fact, these kinds of subject navigation processes become possible because of the local social climate in Hong Kong.

Currently, there are 141,010 residents of Indonesian national in Hong Kong.[6] About 87% of them are migrant domestic workers, and more than 90% of this number is Muslims.[7] Most of IFDWs are categorized in relatively young age groups in their twenties and thirties.[8]

Their educational level varies from primary school to university education, but most of them are the graduates of High School or Junior High School.[9] This is relatively high compared to the educational standards of IFDWs to other countries.[10] In addition, the wage standard of Hong Kong (HK$3,580[11]) is higher than that of other recipient counties of IFDWs (Asian Migrant Centre et al. 2007: 2). This suggests that IFDWs in Hong Kong do not presumably consist of the poorest group in the country. Indeed, they are frequently referred as "the elite" amongst IFDWs to various destination countries, as this is a competitive

destination, for such advantageous working conditions.[12]

Nonetheless, such title does not mean that they are free from a number of obstacles, in the sense that poverty and unemployment have driven them to apply to work as a migrant worker, to support herself and her family with cash income. Yet further, even though poverty is often their reason to decide to migrate as a domestic worker, these women are charged for relocation fees by the recruitment agency. They are in most cases indebted HK$21,000 (approximately US$2500),[13] which is deducted by their monthly salary for seven months after start working in Hong Kong (Asian Migrant Centre et al, 2007: 28‑29). Therefore, even though they obtain much higher salary compared to Indonesian standards, they have to shoulder debt bondage for their migration.

Therefore, this "elites" are endowed with both advantage and limitation in Hong Kong. For example, they are entitled to the rights in line with the Hong Kong Employment Ordinance, as stated that the migrant workers have the right for a twenty-four hour rest day every week.[14] Their monthly minimum wage (Minimum Allowable Wage) is likewise regulated,[15] thus they can file a claim to the Hong Kong Labor Department, in case such their rights are violated.[16] In addition, their rights to form associations are secured in the same manner with the local workers by the Employment Ordinance.[17] Therefore, they are able to register their associations, or to organize labor unions, as is the case for the local workers. This suggests their privileged position in terms of rights protection, in contrast to means that unlike Indonesian migrant domestic workers in other destination countries, those in Hong Kong are secured the rights to have free time to spend every week, as well as to form associations and legalize them in Hong Kong society.

In addition to such right protection by the local authority, Indonesians empower themselves by its ever-increasing population (AMC, 2005: 131). As result of the ongoing growth in the number of Indonesians in Hong Kong, the number of Indonesians is almost taking over that of Filipino workers (AMC, 2005: 131). Thus, Indonesians hold considerable purchasing power with their disposable cash income in the local market (AMC, 2005: 133). This has created businesses targeting on them, and this enabled Indonesian associations to raise funds by providing various services for fellow Indonesians, such as selling cooked food, trading Muslim clothing, international calling cards or other consumer products. This is further intricate with quick and inexpensive mobile phone and internet services available in Hong Kong, that enables them to get connected easily to the people in Hong Kong as well as in Indonesia on their free time. At present, various social groups of IFDWs exist in Hong Kong, of which about 200 Indonesian associations are existing in the local society.[18] These groups are partly formal groups with fixed membership and written regulations, but others are simply temporary gathering of acquaintances based on some sorts of common backgrounds such as the village of origin or religion. These groups of IFDWs operate their

activities in the field of arts, education or religion, by having physical meetings on Sundays. The pockets of congregations of IFDWs are so populated on Sundays with these activity groups plus various Indonesian food vendors surrounding them.

Thus, although IFDWs come from relatively low socio-economic backgrounds, those in Hong Kong are categorized as a relatively-privileged group among IFDWs in general. Thanks to relatively-high wage, free time and rights for association secured, together with the benefit of the excellent local media-technological infrastructure and the local IFDW market, IFDWs empower themselves by taking advantage of these environments. Such lively social activism permitted them to express their identities by taking advantage of nuanced social positions, and FLP-HK is a part of such activism.

Development of FLP-HK

As earlier mentioned, there is currently a large market of Indonesians in Hong Kong. Among these businesses, one variation is local newspaper media in Indonesian language. Such newspaper and tabloid contains diverse practical information for Indonesians in Hong Kong, including information regarding employment agencies, news reports on public events relevant to them, and advertisement of general consumer goods. These papers are mostly distributed for free. There are currently about ten kinds of papers with varied thematic orientations (Bonari, 2007), such as those focusing on celebrity gossips, social and religious issues, or mixture of them.

It is a common knowledge in Indonesia that the local newspapers have literary section in its Sunday edition, which is open to anyone to contribute their own poetry or short stories to be published. In case a work gets published, the author will receive some money as honorarium. Such literary section has served as an easy and inexpensive space where people can read and/or publish literary works easily, when literary book publication was still costly thus books were not accessible for the general public. This suggests much more temporal style of literary consumption prevalent in Indonesia compared to the dominant notion of literature in the rest of the world, where people store books in the shelves and read them in closed room. Instead, people in Indonesia read literary works in a communal setting such as at home or in the food stalls, and then the paper may be used for wrap up food, before finally be disposed.

When a by-weekly newspaper called *Berita Indonesia* (*Indonesia News*; BI) started circulation in Hong Kong as one of pioneer in this field in 2001, it also had literary section. Yet at this point, very few literary compositions contributed by IFDWs have appeared in BI, as they were unable to pass the selection of the editor.[19] In fact, the editor of this newspaper preferred to publish IFDWs' works to increase readership in Hong Kong, but the works contributed by IFDWs were far below its standard of publication. Consequently, the editor

had no choice but take up the works written by Indonesians in Indonesia.[20]

Meanwhile, there are quite a few IFDWs who kept contributing their works to BI, despite the continuous rejection. Later on, the editor and about ten of such contributors started to gather routinely in the Hong Kong Central Library on Sundays, to have chats on literature. Over a cup of coffee, the editor shared IFDWs the tips how to write more efficiently, as well as lent them relevant books to read to improve their knowledge on writing, in the hope of getting the IFDWs to be able to write with satisfactory standard for publication.

In 2003, one of the members of this group of contributors, Endang Partiwi, has got the idea to start the FLP branch in Hong Kong with their friends.[21] Endang was active in an Indonesian Muslim Women's organization in Hong Kong where she was involved in monthly bulletin publication of the group. Then Endang has got to know FLP from an Indonesian literary magazine, and then come to hope to start a FLP branch in Hong Kong, where IFDWs can gather and learn how to learn to writer better. What's more, this is Muslim group so it would be also relevant to their religious identity, as the members must be able to learn how to be a better Muslim through their activities.

Then, Endang asked for support with her Sunday discussion group, and they were all excited by the idea; after corresponding with the people in FLP headquarter in Jakarta in seeking for agreement, FLP Hong Kong branch was established in Wan Chai Mosque on 15 February 2004 with 16 members based on above informal group.[22]

The following path for FLP Hong Kong (FLP-HK) members was by no means easy, as they had to face on very limited time, knowledge and finance for their group activities, but FLP-HK has expanded the membership despite such hardships. In 2008, the situation is much more supportive of the IFDWs engaging in literary activities. Endang Partiwi has returned to Indonesia in 2005 and the leader of the group replaced with a new member, and FLP-HK has just celebrated its 5th anniversary in February 2009.

Above discussions have indicated how the social surroundings in Hong Kong fueled the emergence of IFDW writers and FLP-HK. The rights secured for migrant domestic workers, the market of Indonesians and efficient media technological tools have supported the development of the local Indonesian newspapers. All these combination of factors have served as the domain for IFDWs to empower themselves to be able to author their own publications, and pushed forward to the appearance of a new category of literary practitioners in Indonesian literature, that has long been excluded from authorship. This long path of starting a readers'-and-writers' group itself embodies IFDW's process of achieving their remarkable navigation of subject position to become literary practitioners.

Subject navigations in their texts

This section will look at IFDW's negotiation processes of their subjectivities, as appeared

in the text produced within the activities of FLP-HK. Thus, it will attempt the textual level of subject navigation processes, by taking up their short stories.

It seems worth noting some of general characteristics in their short stories, as they have certain orientations in writing style. Firstly, their stories are most frequently told in the first person narrative. Accordingly, it is almost always "I" or "*Aku*" in Indonesian language that narrates the story as the protagonist. Besides, this protagonist is normally always an IFDW in Hong Kong. In that sense, it can be assumed that they are telling the stories very close to their own experiences, or those of the people around them. Secondly, from this kind of narrative, their stories can be positioned in between fiction and non-fiction. In fact, judging from them texts, it is extremely hard to tell whether their stories are a kind of journal of their real experiences, or it is fictive stories composed with the setting identical with the authors' background as an IFDW, although the members mention that they are writing fiction. Put another way, it can be seen as that they are taking advantage of such ambiguity in narration; by this kind of narrative strategy, the members can maximize their imagination to actualize the ideal state of themselves in the guise of fiction. Also, in case some readers regard their stories as a real episode thus problematize their truthfulness, they can assert that it is fiction. On the other hand, it is quite likely that many readers would get the impression that their stories are real experience, due to the narrative style just like their diary. Here, this ambiguity can be their narrative strategy in that the authors take advantage of blurring boundary between lived and composed reality.

Another characteristic of their works is that cultural conflicts between IFDWs and other parties are portrayed as a common theme in their stories. In this way, it can be interpreted that the authors are trying to re-examine and negotiate the meanings of such frictions with their own narration. Thus, the stories become their sites of actualization of an ideal sense of Self, that is free from any forcible intervention of more dominant parties, as is often the case of their everyday life. Since they are social minorities who are marginalized in Hong Kong society, these writings can be their attempts to subvert and re-interpret the dominant cultural codes in a more desirable way for them. In doing so, they pose a symbolic challenge to the dominant social codes, by making them visible through putting into language. Likewise, they try to objectify to observe themselves within the universe of their own stories.

To investigate such attempt, it will discuss the short story titled "*Headscarf in Hong Kong (Jilbab in Hong Kong)*", which was written by the former leader of FLP-HK, Wina Karnie. This story was published in the book of short-story collections by FLP-HK members in 2006. This is one of other 6 stories in the book.

In this story, the protagonist is IFDW in Hong Kong, named Ginasih. As a pious Muslim, Ginasih wants to wear her headscarf every day, instead of only for Sunday, her rest day. However, Ginasih's employer does not allow her to do that, so she suffers dilemma; she

truly feels an urge to carry out her obligation as a Muslim woman, and is unable to imagine any compromise in this regard. Yet on the other hand, Ginasih is afraid of getting her job contract interminated, if she insists on her principle and offends her employer. She also can't afford to lose her job, as she needs to support her family in Indonesia. Hence, she tries a tactic to make her employer willfully agree her to wear her headscarf every day, by catching the right moment of an incident occurred to her.

One day, she is scolded by her employer, because of having had her hair fallen off carelessly into the special dish that she prepared for her employer's dinner with some guests. Since this has happened for a few occasions previously, and her employer has already reminded her of becoming more careful in managing her hair in cooking, her employer gets angry of her repeating the same mistake. Her employer looks infuriated, and Ginasih is disgusted by her failure. She is also so scared of getting fired from her job because of her error.

Then, she gets an idea to resolve two problems at the same time; she goes to her employer and apologizes for her misbehavior, stating that she will promise never to make the same mistake again. Her employer is still angry of spoiled dinner, so responds grumpily, asking how she can trust Ginasih after seeing her making the same mistake many times. Then, Ginasih tells her employer that she has got the solution, that she will wear a shower cap all the time, to make sure to prevent her hair from falling off.

Her employer looks puzzled and responds to Ginasih, that perhaps people would think that she ran crazy if she goes out wearing a shower cap. Yet Ginasih replies firmly that it should be fine, as she will wear Muslim headscarf when going out for marketing, by showing her Muslim headscarf and fitting it to her head in front of her employer.

The employer remains silent for a while staring at her. Then, the employer turned into smile, came to understand her helper's intention. After all, the employer tolerated her wish to wear her headscarf.

> "My helper seems to look [even] more gentle and so sweet with the headscarf." The woman smiled with stroking Ginasih's head, "You funny face with the scarf"
> Ginasih could not stand jumping up and say "Yess...!" shouting in her mind. Her employer had even wider smile. (Karnie, 2005: 38, my translation)

Above story suggests how cultural tension occurs and finally resolves between Ginasih and her employer, thanks to Ginasih's witty effort. Ginasih is aware that her employer is not used to see Muslims' headscarves, let alone understand the value in it. Thus, as the marginalized party, Ginasih explains the meaning of headscarf by making it comprehensive to her employer's logic, namely: to protect food hygiene. IFDW does this maneuvering in

the hope that she would be able to wear her Muslim scarf later even inside the house, after her employer gets used to see her head covered by a "plastic scarf". By doing so, Ginasih successfully convinces her employer that Muslim's headscarf is not something harmful for her employer and thus, she saves her own religious value without forcing the other value to give in to hers. Also, the employer seems to realize her helper's effort and feels sympathy towards her, hence gives a degree of compromise. From this episode, the reader would see the power of the powerless manifested in Ginasih's struggle. She has to negotiate her religious identity from much disadvantaged position in relation to her employer as a Muslim migrant domestic worker. However, even so, she is by no means simply powerless. Instead, Ginasih certainly has the power to exercise toward more powerful party to obtain what she desires, with her own flexibility and creativity.

This is just one example of subject navigation processes appeared in the text of IFDWs. This story portrays the process how an IFDW attempts to actualize her ideal sense of Self as a Muslim woman. The protagonist is capable of finding the solution to attain her Muslim identity, which is indicative of her agency.

Indeed, this is not to say that such stories are identical with their real experiences and thus become legitimate proof of the subordination against IFDWs. It needs to be noted that the IFDW writers are composing fictive story, hence they cannot be counted as any strict reflection of their real lives. Having ensured that, it further raises the other question, namely: why does the author create this kind of imaginative story, that would be different from their reality? Then it could be perhaps asserted that it is because IFDWs actually find it extremely hard to have such a good understanding with her employer regarding their religion, therefore she tries to realize it in fiction. In that sense, the fact that these stories are fiction means that it would be the only site for them to tell the stories in their own cultural logic, so that this kind of imaginative subject navigation becomes meaningful for IFDWs. In this sense, their stories suggest both potentials and limitations of their agency, as well as their remarkable struggles in stretching their limited boundary of identification as much as possible by imagination.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to capture the moments of IFDWs' interpellation onto the subjectivities projected within their literary activities. In fact, these IFDWs' subject navigation processes are their struggle to imaginatively realize what and how they want to be in the context of their migration, which would not otherwise be possible to be obtained in their daily life as a migrant domestic worker of religious minority. We have witnessed the long-term development in which IFDWs try to make use of their given social environment to form a literary group for their collective empowerment.

Interestingly, the development of FLP-HK indicates that the members were not particularly oriented to Islam, at least at the time of starting their informal gathering. The members have begun to be focused on their religious identity as Muslim group after starting a FLP branch. In other words, the social specificities in Hong Kong in which Muslims are minority group hence IFDWs are vulnerable to various pressure on conducting their religious practices seem to have affected to their engagement of subject navigation processes; their literary attempts to actualize Muslim identification happened at least partly due to the marginalized position of Islam in Hong Kong society. It may have been further connected and interwoven with Muslim's literary movement of FLP in Indonesia, in creating social movement of FLP-HK in a unique context.

This suggests the complexity of the present state of social movement, which emerges by interconnecting different social developments in transnational manners. Besides, it seems an irony that their marginalized social position in multifarious manner has become the source and outcome of their empowerment, as the members are in a way reproducing their marginality through their activities. This is what Alberto Melucci defined as the paradox in the symbolic challenge in social movements. The practitioner of social movement attempts to represent the power relations to overturn the dominant cultural code to re-interpret it, but then s/he faces on the division between the representation and what is happening in reality. This presents the limitation of such subject-negotiation process, that does not guarantee any practical level of social change to improve their marginality. In this sense, the discussion of FLP-HK poses the other question, how such negotiation processes can further be connected to bring about a better state of social co-existence in the time of transnational domestic labor migration. This is a critical inquiry to further contest the meanings of arts in migration, with regard how such individual and collective imageries can possibly produce a social change in a transnational manner, in the time of globalizing flows of humans and human labor.

Endnotes

1   This paper was written based on the preliminary research conducted in Hong Kong from October 2008 to April 2009. The author would like to express gratitude towards the funding provided by International Training Program of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

2   Bonari Nabonenar mentions that there are 13 books of short stories, 2 poerty books as well as 2 of non-fiction (Bonari, 2007: 93–94).

3   Tambuhan argues that there are roughly 4-6 millions of Indonesian migrant workers all over the world (Tambuhan, 2007: 62).

4   The Population Reference Bureau mentions that Muslims consists of 88% of the whole population. http://www.prb.org/pdf04/Islam&FamilyPlanning.pdf

5   According to the Hong Kong Yearbook 2008, Muslims are numbered roughly as 220,000 (3%) in

the whole population of 6.9777 million. http://www.yearbook.gov.hk/2008/en/pdf/E-Facts.pdf

6   The Hong Kong Yearbook 2008, http://www.yearbook.gov.hk/2008/en/pdf/E-Facts.pdf

7   The Hong Kong Yearbook mentions the number of Foreign Domestic Helpers has reached 256,597, and 48% of it is Indonesians. http://www.yearbook.gov.hk/2008/en/pdf/E06.pdf

8   There are no official statistics available to prove this assumption, but many researches state this inclination. For example, see Sim (2007: 23–24). Also, Asian Migrant Centre's research sample of Indonesian FDWs in Hong Kong displays such orientation (AMC, 2001: 22–23). In this research, amongst 2,097 Indonesian respondents of this research, 97.53% fits into this category (AMC, 2007: 6).

9   Above AMC research shows that 87.53% of respondents are included into this group. (AMC, 2007: 6)

10   See Tambuhan, 2007.

11   See the Leaflet for Foreign Domestic Helpers on Rights and Protection under the Employment Ordinance (The Hong Kong Labor Department: 2009).

12   Interview with Eni Lestari, the chairperson of ATKI-HK (Asosiasi Tenega Kerja Indonesia in Hong Kong), on 12 Dec 2008.

13   This agency fees were agreed to reduce to HK$9,000 as the result of coordination between Indonesian FDWs' associations and the Indonesian Consulate in Hong Kong, later involving Indonesian Labor and Manpower Department as well as the Association of Employment Agencies in Hong Kong (APPIH), but in practice, many agencies are still charging HK$21,000 despite this agreement.

14   See the Leaflet for Foreign Domestic Helpers on Rights and Protection under the Employment Ordinance (The Hong Kong Labor Department: 2009).

15   Ibid.

16   See Practical guide for Employment of foreign domestic helpers- What foreign domestic helpers and their employers should know. (The Hong Kong Labor Department: 2009: 25) http://www.labour.gov.hk/eng/public/wcp/FDHguide.pdf

17   See A Concise Guide to the Employement Ordinance: Chapter 11 Protection against Anti-union Discrimination. http://www.labour.gov.hk/eng/public/ConciseGuide.htm

18   Interview with Nugroho Y. Aribhimo, the Consul for Public and Socio-Cultural Affairs, at the Indonesian Consulate in Hong Kong, on 23 Mar 2009.

19   Interview with Ida Permatasari, the editor of *Berita Indonesia*, on 17 Apr 2009.

20   Ibid.

21   See Sejarah berfirinya Forum Lingkar Pena Hong Kong (FLP-HK, 2007).

22   Ibid.

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Interrogating Duality: Towards an Advaitic Framework of Diasporic Hinduism

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This essay deals with the philosophical tenets of *Advaita Vedānta* (Skt. 'absolute non-dualism') as they crystallized in writings of Śankara (c. eighth century CE), who is considered by many to be one of the most important philosophers and theologians of Hinduism. His writings are commentaries on the *Vedas*, that are known collectively as *Upaniśads*, and deal chiefly with the nature of reality.

Largely based on a response to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's "Moving Devi—1997: The Non-Resident and the Expatriate", this study argues that diasporic Hinduism is not viewed as a lesser form of Hindu practice, as cultural and religious negotiations in the diaspora are framed by an advaitic unity across space and time. My work combines anthropological studies from North America[i] including a working definition of 'diaspora' put forth by Professor Judith M. Brown (2006), and philosophical enquiries from leading scholars of Indian non-dualism and Judith Butler (1990). By using fieldwork studies while also interrogating Spivak's use of the term '*dvaita*' (Skt. 'dual') to describe the philosophical structure of Hinduism, I sketch a theory with which to study the various forms of Hinduism present in the diaspora. My attempt to put forth a non-dual framework for the study of diasporic Hinduism is not to impart a false sense of cohesion to the tradition, but to understand how and why Hinduism can exist in a multiplicity of forms.

I divide my work into three main sections; the first is dedicated to philosophical inquiry into non-dualism in order to outline its major tenets. The second will focus specifically on Spivak's *dvaita* philosophy as she treats it in her essay, and the third will counter her arguments by introducing Judith M. Brown's definition of 'diaspora' as well as the field work studies of Corrine G. Dempsey (2006) and Vasudha Narayan (2006), in order to display the various ways in which Hindu diasporic religion actualizes advaitic principles through temple-based worship. In particular, the way advaitic philosophy dismantles ideas of spatio-temporal and individual difference will be highlighted.

I. A Brief Introduction to Advaitic Philosophy

To move away from dualism and discuss what I call the 'bare' philosophical context of

Hinduism, it is useful to employ Max Müller's term 'henotheism' coming from the Greek *heis theos* ('one god') rather than 'monotheism' or the popular label 'polytheism'.[ii] The prefix 'heno' is meant to describe one in *unity*[iii] rather than one in solitude, as in the case of 'mono'. This definition describes what is at work within the Hindu conceptions of a formless, abstract Ultimate Reality that can take on a multiplicity of forms; each one, whether gendered male or female, exists in *unity* as one expression of abstract divinity. It is only after Śankara that a philosophical account of deification crystallizes with the thought of theologian Rāmānuja (1017–1137 CE) and the school of *Viśiśtadvaita Vedānta* (Skt. 'qualified non-dualism').

Modern scholars of *Advaita Vedānta* have described the general structure of the early Upanishadic commentaries as centred on the illusory nature of the external world: "Whatever can be presented to us either externally or internally, to the mind or the senses forms part of the world which as a whole as well as every item in it is said to be false" (Brooks 80). According to A. J. Alston in *Śankara on the Absolute* (1980), Śankara focuses on the principle that: "The enlightened ones (*Buddhas*) taught the spiritual truth through resort to two standpoints, that of the surface truth [the world as we experience and cognize it]… and that of the final truth [the non-dual manifestation of divinity] …One cannot teach the supreme truth except on the basis of the surface truth" (Alston 1980, 26).

This implies, first, that surface truth structures our cognitive capacities and influences our individual hermeneutic and second, that liberation from the surface truth standpoint involves an individual's realization of their situation within two systems of truth. Most importantly, there is a fundamental *necessity* for one's situation within surface truth, in order to learn, or be taught the final, or ultimate, truth. Being situated in surface truth is an inevitability of the life cycle—for early Advaitins like Śankara it is an obstacle to overcome with cognitive action and in later vedantic philosophy it becomes just as liberating to remain within it than to overcome it.

The cognitive action that is required to liberate oneself from the surface truth standpoint is the recognition of the all-pervasiveness of Ultimate Reality. With cognitive action one can recognize and identity the self with Ultimate Reality, seeing that any separations or differences between phenomena are but *superimpositions*. This recognition as a path to liberation is considered efficacious without the aid of ritual[iv] or commitment to a deity: "Except the knowledge that arises…there is nothing to be done, either mentally or outwardly" (Loy 1988, 130). Acts of cognition are the very basis of knowledge in the Advaitic system: "Acts of cognition …are what is properly expressed by the word 'consciousness' and are the real meaning of the verbal root 'to know'" (Taber 1983, 50).

Surface truth is a situation brought into existence and sustained by our cognition of the material world, space and time, and ultimately our 'selves' as differentiated and

independent entities. To relate this to postmodern and contemporary existential philoso-phies, surface truth is exacerbated by the establishment of new and dynamic forms of belonging and institutions with which to identify,[v] many of them being the result of postcolonial politics, cosmopolitanism and transnationalism.

Sustained repetitions of certain behaviours, for example those of gendered identity (Butler 1990, 190, 199) aid in developing and regulating differentiated identities within the constraints of surface truth. It is from the splitting of humanity into biological and social categories that ideas become inextricably linked to each other and eventually cannot be defined as discrete entities in Śankara's philosophy: "No one has the apprehension 'this is the Body' and 'this is the Self' in such a form that 'Self' and 'Body' constitute perfectly separate ideas" (Alston 1980, 99). Much like Judith Butler's observation that: "Bodies cannot be said to have a signifiable existence prior to their mark of gender" (Butler 1990, 12), the advaitic position sees the conflation of differentiated categories (here of 'sex' and 'gender') as evidence of the illusory nature of a discrete and autonomous 'self.' Such identifications are borne only out of superimpositions of both what is familiar and what is unfamiliar onto the world. This binary separation between familiar and unfamiliar is particularly pronounced in attributes bestowed onto the 'Self', such as attributing 'I am dark' or 'I am *not* dark' to one's identity (Alston 1980, 99).

II. Presuppositions and Performance: The Problem with *Dvaita*

In sharp contrast to *advaita*, Spivak adopts a polytheistic-*dvaita* worldview to suit her own philosophical enquiry, but in doing so replaces the role of cognitive action with unconscious presupposition. She cites the popular goddesses Kali and Durga and their festivals in Bengal as indicative of the polytheistic structure of Hinduism: "I knew that the Durga who had been dismembered should be called 'Sati.' I knew that the ten-armed, familial, annual autumn image celebrated in the high holy days could not be called 'Sati'" (Spivak 2008, 185). She writes that assigning an individual identity to a multiplicity of incarnations is "taken for granted" (Spivak 2008, 185) by the *dvaita* episteme and by extension, practicing Hindus. While this break with the advaitic concept of ultimate reality may justify the mythological structure of Hinduism according to the gender, caste and general dispositions[vi] of deities, religious understanding becomes a series of performative acts that a practitioner 'knows' how to perform because of an unconscious cultural link to Hinduism established at birth. Spivak argues in her study of rural Bengali women that often, religious practice is 'repetitive theatricality' (Spivak 2008, 205), and not necessarily connected with a directed goal other than its performance (Spivak 2008, 205).

She qualifies this by comparing it to her own experience: She never identifies a painting of goddess Laxmi, even as it hangs on her wall in America, as a manifestation other than

Laxmi. There is no religious significance to this identification except the unconscious repetition of Hinduism and an understanding of the goddess's identity as discrete. This reinforces the role of presupposition in her *dvaita* episteme: Despite her own intersections with American culture, she, like the rural Bengali woman, was born to understand the Hindu pantheon as a series of polytheistic "ascents and descents" (Spivak 2008, 178) from heaven down to Earth. This coming up and going down of gods is in fact a coming up and going down of all phenomena: everything is separated in order to support a fundamental difference of identity among gods, and consequently among people. Those who are born into a Hindu family have the presuppositions necessary for practice, other simply do not. Whether Spivak is referring to Hinduism in a diaspora community or in a rural Bengali village, it is the cultural and religious property of the unconscious Hindu mind. The Hindu body sustains and repeats this identity through the unconscious performance of ritual, as seen in the case of the theatrical rural Bengali woman.

This problematic aspect of Spivak's *dvaita* philosophy is accompanied by a dismissive treatment of her experiences of attending pujas in America: "Women who might hold corporate posts…dress in costume and make elaborate preparations of food and flowers… the words [of prayers] are lost, the feast is best, saved for last" (Spivak 2008, 204). A Hinduism that interacts with a cultural setting outside of South Asia is therefore impossible for Spivak, as the relationship of devotee to diaspora Hinduism cannot be negotiated, only presupposed. Hindu practice in the diaspora is doomed to confound its practitioners, as being outside of South Asia and inside the North American professional lifestyle leaves Hinduism behind, according to her radically dvaitic spatio-temporal splittings.

The cultural implications of such a structure of Hinduism would maintain that its practice in the diaspora could only echo authentic Hinduism as practiced in South Asia. Therefore, the most efficacious rituals should be performed exactly how they are in South Asia with no deviation. Performing Hinduism as Spivak suggests would also require the temporary suspension of all other identities and one's present settings.

To show that existing diasporic Hinduism dismantles Spivak's dvaitic separations, I will now introduce the field studies of Judith M Brown, Corrine G. Dempsey and Vasudha Narayan. They perpetuate the philosophical structure of diasporic Hinduism practice in temples as fundamentally advaitics, particularly in its dismantling of spatio-temporal and individual difference.

III. Advaitic Principles at Work: Diasporic Hinduism as Non-Dual

Judith M. Brown traces the term "diaspora" to the Greek word 'to disperse' and writes that it takes on a much more hostile tone in English, where it came to denote displaced and persecuted minority communities (Brown 2006, 3–4). In contemporary scholarship however,

it came to broadly describe groups of people who have left their original homeland for prolonged periods of time *and maintain links with their homeland and a sense of its role in their present* [national] *identity* (Brown 2006, 4, emphasis mine). Diaspora communities are inextricably wrought with negotiations between other community members, themselves, and their geography that adapt to the demands of modern society and transnational life (Brown 2006, 93). Multiple sites of cultural formation play a part in diasporic identity and open up the realm of *hybridities* and overlaps (Brown 2006, 144–145) in identity formation where no one aspect of identity is thought to be essential.

Brown notes that Hindu temples have proliferated in the diaspora (Brown 2006, 103), not just as places of worship but as cultural centres in charge of educating the Hindu community: "It [the temple] is not just a centre for worship but enables enquiry, discussion, religious publications and the education of the young" (Brown 2006, 108). Day camps and discussion groups have established themselves in Britain, America and Canada in an attempt to educate younger generations of Hindus who have limited contact with South Asia (Brown 2006, 108). This opposes the idea of a 'presupposition' of Hinduism from birth that provides knowledge of Hindu practices and rituals, and shows that temple devotees do not consider being born a Hindu enough to develop religious sentiment in the diaspora. The idea of being 'born' a Hindu as a means to understanding religious practice is further destabilized in the example of Devi Parvati below.

In her study of a Hindu community in Rush, New York, Corrine G. Dempsey details the monetary and emotional labour that has gone into establishing temples in America that are considered as religiously efficacious as temples in India. There necessarily involves an expansion of the rigid structure of Indian temples, both architecturally and socially, in order to foster a more intimate relationship with devotees of all backgrounds (Dempsey 2006, 153, 124). For example, divisions between inauspiciousness and auspiciousness were rethought as a former barn became home to a statue of the Goddess Rajarajeswari, despite traditional prescriptions that state animals are necessarily considered polluting (Dempsey 2006, 158).

In order to illustrate the Rush temple's dynamic social makeup, Dempsey interviews a young woman named Devi Parvati, whose cultural background was removed from Hinduism (she was born into a Protestant family in New York), until she *chose* to practice Hinduism (Dempsey 2006, 155). The fact that people like Devi are welcomed into the temple shows an advaitic understanding of selfhood—to be born a Hindu is as much an illusion as to be born a dark-skinned man, or an American woman. There is no such differentiation between Hindu and non-Hindu selves, and this justifies the participation of all those who choose to do so. Rather than recreate a privileged relationship between priest and disciple, the temple's establisher, Aiya, allows rituals to be performed by anyone willing to

undertake them, including Devi herself: "The fact that the Rush temple works to cut through hierarchy...makes the sacred reassuringly accessible..." (Dempsey 2006, 125).

One of the most successful instances of consciously negotiated diasporic Hinduism can be found in Penn Hills, Pennsylvania. The Sri Venkateswara temple, consecrated in 1977, has become a site of pilgrimage for Hindus across North America and the subject of an in-depth field study for Vasudha Narayan.

As a self-authenticating measure, the temple, in its newsletters and bulletins boasts the similarities in sacred geography between the Venkateswara Tirupati Temple in Tirumala, Andhra Pradesh (the most financially lucrative and busiest temple site in India) and itself; the location of Penn Hills was strategically chosen because of its similarity to the seven hilled location of Tirupati (Narayan 2006, 234).

However, such conscious replications of Tirupati are not always a priority at the Penn Hills temple. In fact, rituals and prayers that are traditionally thought to be efficacious due to their 'correct' oral recitation are reworded to specifically address the temple's location outside of India: "Victory to Govinda, who lives in America" (Narayan 2006, 236). Rather than a dvaitic ascent and descent that separates humanity and divinity, diaspora and home, the Penn Hills temple foregrounds a fundamental unity of place and divinity in its prayers. The fact that the temple is outside of Tirumala does not present a problem for worship because the all pervasiveness of divinity is taken for granted, and prayers are adjusted to reflect it. Most importantly, Spivak's idea that 'words are lost' on diasporic practitioners is challenged here, as deliberate efforts to make relevant what is being said to the Hindu community in America is part of the prayer's ritual efficacy. The dynamic understanding of place that the prayer above reflects does not play into Spivak's separation of an authentic South Asian site of Hinduism and an echoing diaspora: The advaitic structure of divinity allows for hybridity to emerge in prayer recitations, where Hinduism does not belong to one exclusive cultural or geographical location.

Rather than repeat the actions of Hinduism as they would be carried out at Tirupati, the Penn Hills temple makes temporal adjustments between the Hindu and American secular calendar every week to suit the lives of devotees. The ritual washing of deities, *abhishekam*, traditionally performed Fridays in the early morning, has been moved to Sundays at nine (Narayan 2006, 235). This accommodates devotees who work, children who attend school and out of town practitioners who have to make a longer trip to participate in the weekend's worship.

By adjusting to the American 'nine-to-five' timetable, the temple situates itself temporally in American culture, much like it does spatially in the example above. The result is an overlap of the Hindu- and American-professional identities at the Penn Hills temple, contrary to Spivak's suggestion that women holding corporate posts must suspend any

other cultural engagements to engage with their Hindu identity. Spivak's difference between Hindu and professional identities that must follow separate schedules is shown to be illusory, where neither exist as stable categories except in the constraints of surface truth.

These very different examples of Hindu temples in North America are indebted to the principles of *advaita*, where the rigid notions of prayer or ritual that may have prevailed in South Asia are consciously abandoned or renegotiated without fears of corrupting religious efficacy. Because the concept of 'being a Hindu' as an *essential* identity is questioned, advaitic principles legitimize variations in the social and religious backgrounds of devotees. Priests and devotees alike see divinity as all pervasive, and in doing so dismantle the idea of a radically separate home and diaspora. Instead, the diaspora is a legitimate site of Hindu religious practice, embracing and negotiating sites of cultural overlap and hybridity.

Conclusion

The Advaitic perspective, by positing a fundamental unity across space and time, views radical differentiations as superimpositions. It therefore permits a dynamic and synthetic understanding of concepts such as 'diaspora' and 'home', where one need not be separate from the other. Religious practice can thus travel and cross religious and cultural borders, and often does so consciously in response to one's environment.

Based on the case studies above, one cannot discuss the Hindu diaspora without noting the dynamic negotiations that emerge from overlapping cultural contexts, and the fact that Spivak attempts to do so with her *dvaita* philosophy is my main point of criticism in her work. Her theory is a categorical mistake that falsely identifies Hindu diasporic religion with dualism, one that affects more than just her views on Hinduism. Ultimately, Spivak's dvaitic project fails because she neglects to explore the political and philosophical implications of a radically differentiated universe, especially in relation to postmodern and transnational aspects of belonging.

Endnotes

i   Using examples from one region is not a hasty move to reduce all diasporic Hindu activity to that of North America. It is my intention to set up field studies in the Netherlands, Canada and Japan in order to fully explore Hinduism's negotiations in various contexts. As this is a sketch for later fieldwork (and for the sake of brevity). I have chosen to use leading scholarship on North American Hinduism here to illustrate my theoretical framework.

ii Missionary and colonial commentators on Hinduism who demonized practices and rituals they observed as: "impure…idolatry" (Urban 1999, 128), favoured this definition. The monotheistic Abrahamic religions were shown to be superior as they avoided the cardinal offense of deifying

anyone or anything other than a solitary God figure.

iii   Dr Harry J Walker first presented the idea of henotheism as 'one in unity' to me in a seminar at the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University in May 2006.

iv   Śankara's own view was that the path of knowledge is the most accurate way to liberation, rather than ritual practice. It may seem contradictory to highlight this while trying to justify religious practice, but I do so without hesitation because I engage with *Advaita Vedānta* as a theoretical framework rather than as a soteriological path.

v   See Walter D. Mignolo (2000) for a meticulous discussion of the postmodern 'splitting' of identity in terms of race and nation.

vi   Here I refer to modes of behaviour, often separated into 'benevolent' and 'fierce'. While this differentiation is most often applied to Goddesses, behavioural traits also accompany mythological accounts of male deities—for example, Siva is considered to be a 'hot tempered' god, involved in transgressive and ascetic practices.

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Das Heilige in Tensions between Practical and Scientific Theology

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Rudolf Otto's *The idea of the holy* (*Das Heilige: Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*) was published in 1917 and has been translated into many different languages. Moreover, this book has been considered as the classic among religious studies (Religionswissenschaft) and there have been many researches on this work from both philosophical as well as theological points of view. However, when we look at the historical aspect of it, we come to know that the work is a result of Otto's reaction to the spiritual situation of the society of his period and putting it in the historical context could be a key to understand the spiritual situation in Germany at the turn of the century. Therefore, this presentation will be pursued through the method of sociology of knowledge. We take up Otto's criticism towards Kant's understanding of the holy in the book as a key to clarify the connection between his and the preceding arguments.

"Kant calls the will which remains unwaveringly obedient to the moral law from the motive of duty a 'holy' will; here clearly we have simply the *perfectly moral* will."[1]

This criticism could be more fruitfully understood when it is put in the context of the theological arguments in Germany at that time.

We first follow the theological arguments within Germany from the beginning of 19th century to the beginning of 20th century, such as those of Schleiermacher, the Ritschlian School, and Troeltsch. This will be done from the viewpoint of seeing these arguments as phenomena which will reveal tensions between scientific and practical theology.[2] In the end, Otto's *The idea of the holy* will be put in the context of these arguments, and then another aspect of this book will be shown.

Schleiermacher

We will begin looking at Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834)'s theological arguments.

In his book, *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*,[3] which he produced at an early age, he defines religion as intuition and feeling (Anschauung und Gefühl). Intuition of the universe is the essence of his concept of religion. He distinguised religion from metaphysics and morals, which would enable religion to keep its own individuality.

"Religion's essence is neither thinking nor acting, but intuition and feeling. It wishes to intuit the universe, wishes devoutly to overhear the universe's own manifestations and actions, longs to be grasped and filled by the universe's immediate influences in childlike passivity."[4]

Let us next refer to 'the sense of absolute dependence', which was presented as the essence of religion, or piety (Frömmigkeit) in *The Christian faith*,[5] another masterpiece that he produced in his late age.

'The sense of absolute dependence' is direct self-consciousness that self comes from the Absolute and it is regulated by the Absolute. Humans belong to the world as finite, and among those who are finite there exists relative feeling of liberty and dependence. Here we confront the question: "Where does the world come from?" Because it is not possible that humans create the world, the world itself and humans originate from the Absolute, he argues. The Absolute does not belong to the world and there would be no mutual working between it and humans. When they realize that the world including themselves is regulated by the Absolute, the feeling that occurs to humans is 'the sense of absolute dependence'.[6]

With such an understanding of religion, he criticized natural religion and rational religion, both of which put more importance on nature and reason than on revelation.[7]

With the notion of religion stated above, Schleiermacher tried to reconstruct dogmatics to renovate theology in a different direction from orthodoxy or enlightenment theology. He was at first skeptical about the independence of theology as science (Wissenschaft). However, he tried to establish characters of theology as science.[8] Here I would like to see his way of arguing scientific method for theology instead of discussing his whole program for dogmatics.

He insisted that dogmatics belonged to historical theology; it was thus historical and empirical. This was so revolutionary that it is called Copernican revolution in the history of theology. Until then, dogmas were norms of faith and faith was to approve dogmas intellectually. However, his realm of religion is the feeling and experience. Dogmas are not norms of faith but only products of experience.

As we have seen, Schleiermacher distinguished scientific cognition from religious one to protect the realm of "religion" by means of Kant's agnosticism. From whom did he have to protect the realm? It was from those who supported rational religion. "Schleiermacher's faith was the religious interpretation of the world and life as influences by the religious power proceeding from Jesus."[9] Thereafter, his tradition was passed over by theology of mediation. However, the theology of mediation "limited the variability of expression in dogmatics to a gentle oscillation of its statements around the biblical terminology, and to simply less precision about dogmatic statements."[10] "In the struggles around the middle of the century orthodoxy and the so-called theology of mediation were victorious within the

church, and liberal and speculative dogmatics was overcome."[11] And practical theology and scientific theology again became isolated from each other. In these circumstances, Strauss and Tübingen School gave scientific theology an immense influence. As a result, scientific theology became active. In this situation, the Ritschlian School appeared.

The Ritschlian School

As the Ritschlian School rose in the latter half of the 19th century, theology of mediation started to lose the presence. What distinguished the Ritschlian School from it was Kant's agnosticism. In 1840's materialism and positivism were in the mainstream. We will here go through the main characters of it from five aspects.

Firstly, it is the denial of metaphysics. Ritschl broke away from conventional theology, by adopting Kant's agnosticism. In the time of Schleiermacher, he tried to protect the realm of religion by differentiating religious cognition from rational one. Although Schleiermacher also adopted Kant's agnosticism, at that time it was presupposed that theology (experience) and philosophy (speculation) were assimilated. Compared to him, Ritschl had to be more radical. He tried to eliminate any pieces of metaphysics which could be found in Schleiermacher.

Secondly, it is criticism against mysticism. Ritschl argues that the origin of mysticism is found in the neo-platonic concept of God and this has been passed to Luther's *unio mystica* through mysticism in a monastery during medieval times. For Ritschl, who believes that Christian life is domination and liberty against this world, mysticism is nothing other than an escape from the world.

Thirdly, it is the value judgment.[12] Ritschl tried to find the difference between religious and rational cognition in the point if it captures the world as a whole or as a part.[13] Not only distinguishing by the object of recognition, he presented a way to distinguish by the function of subject, which is value judgment against rational judgment. However, these functions are not to be distinguished and every rational judgment is followed by value judgment, he argues. Moreover, in value judgment, he distinguished accompanied value judgment from independent one. And he introduced moral cognition and religious cognition as those which belong to independent value judgment. Religious cognition is conscious about only if it satisfies the demand of the feeling. Ritschl thus does not mention as objective cognition the essence and attribution of God, neither divinity of Christ.[14]

Fourthly, it is the emphasis on revelation in historical Christianity. Ritschl denies natural reason and God perception by conscience. He insisted God perception by revelation in Christ. It was Herrmann who treated this issue intensely. In terms of this point, we could see the difference between them.[15]

Finally, it is the practical-moral aspect. While Schleiermacher put emphasis on religious

feeling, Ritschl put emphasis on practical-moral aspect of Christianity. Contrast between spirit and nature is presupposed, human beings belong to nature and secure personal liberty against the natural world, and domination by spirit is their mission. The meaning of religion was understood as accomplishing this mission. This understanding could be observed in the emphasis on the Kingdom of God.[16]

As mentioned above, the Ritschlian School appeared in the situation, in which practical theology and scientific theology were isolated from each other. It "liked to appeal to Kant and to the emerging Neo-kantianism of the period which sharpened Kant's essentially critical attitude to the point of harshly denying all and every metaphysics",[17] but "all they took from Kant was the demotion of knowledge of nature to simply a science of phenomena, and the denial of metaphysics."[18] The difference between Schleiermacher and the Ritschlian School was "that the construction of theological ideas is attached not to religious experience being symbolized in the present subject, but fundamentally to the symbolic expression already given to his religious experience from Jesus."[19]

There were two streams in theology in the 19th century. "On the one side stands historical theology, [...] This has more and more cut loose of its metaphysical basis in panlogism and stripped off the practical and apologetic viewpoints of the church."[20] "On the other side stands the agnostic theology of mediation, strengthened by renewed recourse to Schleiermacher. That is, the dogmatics of the Ritschlian School which as a matter of principle aims to mediate and serve the church in a practical way."[21] These two streams could coexist "as long as history could presuppose as self-evident that the religious consciousness was perfected in Christianity and that Jesus' historical significance lay in his incorporating, and within his community continuing, the absolute ideal of religion."[22]

Related to the concept of "history", there arose two problems which had great influence on the whole theology. One was "historical critical uncertainty about our picture of Jesus",[23] and the other was that "its (Christian) origin but its whole subsequent development too seems equally woven into the total fabric of historical life".[24] Under these circumstances, the history of religion school (religionsgeschichtliche Schule) appeared.

The history of religion school

The history of religion school was formed in 1890's by young researchers in Göttingen.[25] It can be described to have succession from the Ritschlian School and also criticism to it. Otto was also a member of the history of religion school. Within the realm of biblical studies, expanding the horizon of history of religion, it put emphasis on relations between Christianity and non-Christianity, which was a new veer in biblical studies. Here, I would like to mention Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), who enthusiastically reflected on what influence the history of religion school could have not only in biblical studies but also in dogmatics.

First, Troeltsch accused Ritschl, regarding his approach as 'dogmatic agnosticism'. While the Ritschlian School put emphasis on agnosticism of Kant, Troeltsch did on Kant's criticism. According to him, Kant searched for *a priori* which enables experiences in ethics and aesthetic and religious realm. Troeltsch succeeded this stance from Kant, and presented it as a task to search for *a priori* in religious experience with a critical method.[26]

He next criticized especially Herrmann in terms of the unity between Kantianism and the sense of history.

"This is of course what Kant began to do. He therefore explained Christ too as an allegory of the Christian principle. Only by a remarkable piece of violence has he been made the patron of a faith in redemption that is not bothered with metaphysics and natural science but rests on the 'fact of Christ'."[27]

Thus, the sense of history existed already in Kantianism, and it is not at all necessary or even possible that the Ritschlian School brings it in, he argues. The concept of history which Herrmann tried to introduce, which was history as 'Geschichte', was the 'ancient' sense of history and breaks unity of the historical world.[28]

Although both dogmatic agnosticism and the emphasis on historical revelation were products of the quest for a possibility of a new dogmatics, Troeltsch dismissed them as mediating. It was historical science with the modern sense of history that could demolish dogmatics. He presented historical method as a new method for theology, which would replace the dogmatic method.[29]

These historical critics shake plausibility about everything and it is not possible any more to justify faith with an individual fact. Naturally, an influence of facts in the past on the present cannot be denied, however, it is not direct but indirect through a historical correlation. Therefore, any depiction and evaluation of all the occurrences must be set up from an overall correlation. The evaluation of Christianity also must be started from a global correlation including other religions, and the relativization becomes inevitable. And so called 'theology of the history of religion (religionsgeschichtliche Theologie)' was born.

Though Troeltsch criticized mediating theology of Schleiermacher and Ritschl, his real argument was to find a common starting point for both practical-mediating theology and scientific-historical theology.[30]

Thinking in a manner of the history of religion, Troeltsch points out, that there appear two directions of research, one of which is purely historical about Christianity, and the other is evaluation of validity of Christianity. Therefore, 'manifestation of the whole ideas (Gesamtanschauung), which is normatively Christian and religious, or so-called dogmatics,'[31] which would be the original of the history of religion school, can be formed.[32] He argued that it is his dogmatics that "means great relief and liberation for those who think in a modern way and lookout for religious confession of faith."[33]

Troeltsch tried to realize coexistence of scientific and practical theology. That was because that legitimacy of scientific theology had its roots in practical theology, and practical theology had to find a juncture between itself and scientific theology in order to protect itself from threat of the concept of history.[34]

For this purpose, he tried to overcome agnostic epistemology which had been adopted to mediate scientific and practical theology. After grasping the character of religious cognition and analyzing it critically, Troeltsch presented a plot for a new "scientific theology" by showing the common root of both scientific and practical theology, which was the quest for universal philosophy of religion.[35]

The Idea of the holy

Finally, let us put *The idea of the holy* in this theological situation.

In 1919, Karl Barth, who just had read *The idea of the holy*, wrote in a letter to his friend Eduard Thurneysen.

"This week I read Otto's *The idea of the holy* with considerable delight. The subject has a psychological orientation but points clearly across the border into the beyond with its moments of the "numinous" which is not to be rationally conceived since it is the "wholly other," the divine, in God. It opens the way for a basic surmounting of Ritschlianism. Ultimate insights at least begin to appear, though the subject does not quite get moving because of the retention of a theological spectator attitude which is not compatible with the high degree of understanding of the object."[36].

Here, the difference of the stance that both took for the theme in *The idea of the holy* becomes clear because of the different theological attitudes. Moreover, what I would like to emphasize is that Barth saw the book as opening the way for overcoming Ritschlianism.

In this book, Otto discusses the concept of 'the holy' as a prelude to present the concept 'numinose'. First, he argues that the element of category of 'the holy (das Heilige)' is 'the inexpressible' and 'the ineffable'.

"Now these statements would be untrue from the outset if 'the holy' were merely what is meant by the word, not only in common parlance, but in philosophical, and generally even in theological usage. The fact is we have come to use the words 'holy' as meaning 'completely good'; it is the absolute moral attribute, denoting the consummation of moral goodness."[37]

Otto argues that the common usage of the word 'holy (heilig)' is not precise because it includes what should be distinguished from morals. The nuance of the word 'holy (heilig)' of this period included much of morals. Otto then produced a term to research on what was distinguished from morals.

"In our inquiry into that element which is separated and peculiar to the idea of the holy

it will be useful, at least for the temporary purpose of the investigation, to invent a special term to stand for 'the holy' *minus* its moral factor or 'moment', and, as we can now add, minus its 'rational' aspect altogether."[38]

"By means of a special term we shall then better be able, first, to keep the meaning clearly apart and distinct, and second, to apprehend and classify connectedly whatever subordinate forms or stages of development it may show. For this purpose I adopt a word [...] '*numinous*'."[39]

Otto thus separated the moral usage from the word 'holy (heilig)' and gave the rest a term, 'the numinous (das Numinöse)'.

This would be understood well in the continuation of preceding theological arguments. What Otto tried to express with the word 'numinous' was what was dealt with as 'the unknown' by agnostic epistemology in preceding theological arguments and what was referred as 'moral principles' by Ritschlians. Otto tried to overcome the agnostic epistemology with the word 'numinous'.

The idea of the holy has been considered as the classic which transcends history. However, historically contextualizing it would be a key to get a perspective to analyse the spiritual situation at the turn of the century in Germany, in which plausibility of Christianity was disappearing and numerous world views started to appear. In this presentation, it emerged that we could see the work as a historical phenomenon by showing the continuation between his arguments and preceding ones.

Endnotes

1 Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige: Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen*. (München: C. H. Beck, 2004), S. 5.
   Rudolf Otto, John W. Harvey (Trans.) *The idea of the holy: an inquiry into the non-rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 5.

2 This viewpoint is borrowed from the work of Troeltsch. Ernst Troeltsch, "Rückblick auf ein halbes Jahrhundert der Theologischen Wissenschaft." *Gesammelte Schriften*. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922–1923 (1908)), Bd. 2, S. 193–226.

3 Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Über die Religion: Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*. (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1799)

4 Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Über die Religion: Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*. (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1799) Friedrich Schleiermacher, Richard Crouter (Trans. and Edit.) *On religion: speeches to its cultured despisers*. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996 (1988)), p. 22.

5 Friedrich Schleiermacher, Rolf Schöfer (Hrsg.) *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche (1821/22, 1830/31)*. (Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2003 (1821/22, 1830/31))

6   Schleiermacher, *Glaubenslehre*. Bd. 1, S. 33‒40

7   "The essence of natural religion actually consists wholly in the negation of everything positive
     and characteristic in religion and in the most violent polemic against it. Thus natural religion is
     also the worthy product of an age whose hobbyhorse was a lamentable generality and an empty
     sobriety, which more than everything else, works against true cultivation in all things." Friedrich
     Schleiermacher, Richard Crouter (Trans. and Edit.) *On religion: speeches to its cultured despisers*.
     (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996 (1988)), p. 110.

8   For details, see. Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums zum beruf
     einleitend der Vorlesungen*. (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1830 (1811))

9   Ernst Troeltsch, "Rückblick auf ein halbes Jahrhundert der Theologischen Wissenschaft."
     Gesammelte Schriften. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922‒1923 (1908)), Bd. 2, S. 193‒226.
     Ernst Troeltsch, Robert Mogan and Michael Pye(Trans. and edit.) "Half a century of theology: A
     review." in *Writings on theology and religion*. (London: Duckworth, 1977), p. 60.

10   *Ibid*., pp. 60‒61.

11   *Ibid*., p. 61.

12   Mackintosh called Theology of Ritschl 'the theology of moral values'. Hugh Ross Mackintosh,
     Types of modern Theology: Schleiermacher to Barth. (London: Nisbet, 1937), p. 138.

13   For details, see. Albrecht Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*. (Bonn:
     Adolph Marcus, 1888) III. 3. verbesserte Aufl.

14   Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre*. S. 195. "Das religiöse Erkennen bewegt sich in selbständigen
     Werthurtheilen, welche sich auf die Stellung des Menschen zur Welt beziehen, und Gefühle von
     Lust ode Unlust hervorrufen, in denen der Mensch entweder seine durch Gottes Hilfe bewirfte
     Herrschaft über die Welt geniesst, oder die Hilfe Gottes zu jenem Zweck schmerzlich entbehrt."

15   The Ritschl's image of Christ is based on testimonies by apostles of primitive Christianity and is
     inclined to put importance on the New Testament. Ritschl was skeptical about those who
     emphasized "religion of Jesus". Herman was also skeptical about them but he distinguished
     historical Christ from biblical Christ thoroughly.

16   He then presented his famous idea, an oval which has two focuses. He argues that Christianity
     is not a circle which has one center but an oval which has two focuses. This theory means that he
     captures Christianity from religious aspect and moral aspect. We could see that Ritschl's theology
     had strong moral orientation.

17   Ernst Troeltsch, "Half a century of theology.", p. 62.

18   *Ibid*., p. 62.

19   *Ibid*., p. 64.

20   *Ibid*., p. 66.

21   *Ibid*., p. 66.

22   *Ibid*., p. 67.

23   *Ibid*., p. 69.

24   *Ibid*., p. 71.

25 On one hand, Ritschlians were with a focus on dogmatics, on the other hand, history of religion school was a school in biblical studies, therefore, most of the exponents were biblical scholars.

26 In this sense, Troeltsch appreciated Schleiermacher, as he had tried it with Kantian critical method. (Ernst Troeltsch, "Half a century of theology.", pp. 79–81.) Troeltsch's reflections on philosophy of religion, especially ones on religious a priori were controversial when it was presented and the discussions interest us in terms of analyzing the intellectual situation of the time. However, in this presentation it might lead this discussion to different direction, so I would like to restrain myself from this topic.

27 Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung der Geschichtlichkeit Jesu für den Glauben.* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1911) Ernst Troeltsch, "The significance of the historical existence of Jesus for faith." in Ernst Troeltsch, Robert Mogan and Michael Pye (Trans. and edit.) *Writings on theology and religion.*, p. 199.

28 Ernst Troeltsch. "Half a century of theology." Though Troeltsch denies an inevitable relation between personality of Christ and Christian faith, he did not abandon personality of Christ. He admitted the social psychological relation between faith and the personality of Christ as a center of community and rituals. Ernst Troeltsch, "The significance of the historical existence of Jesus for faith.", p. 195.

29 He mentions three characters of historical method, critic, analogy, mutual-working or correlation. First, critic means that various traditions are to be destroyed and changed, because nothing more than judgment of probability is to be done with a historical method. Secondly, analogy means that identicalness of human beings is presupposed, as human being analogizes from routine experiences to criticize. Thirdly, correlation means that every historical event is not isolated but in a general correlation and recognizing this general correlation and the originality of the event is to be a task which historians must tackle. For details, see Ernst Troeltsch, "Über historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie," *Gesammelte Schriften.* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1900), Bd. 2, S. 729–753.

30 He argues on this issue in details. Ernst Troeltsch, "Dogmatik der 'religionsgeschichtlichen Schule'.", *Gesammelte Schriften.* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922–1923 (1913)), Bd. 2, S. 500–524.

31 *Ibid.*, S. 505.

32 He mentions four tasks for this. The first is to prove the strongest plausibility of Christianity by comparing with other religions. The second is the meaning of the essence of Christianity which acquired various factors and developed throughout the correlation of the history. And the third is description of the essence of Christianity, which Troeltsch categorized as dogmatics in a narrow sense. The fourth is that dogmatics itself is not science (Wissenschaft) but a kind of a confession of faith, which is a part of practical theology, although as a dogmatics it presupposes scientific knowledge and method.

33 Ernst Troeltsch, "Dogmatik der 'religionsgeschichtlichen Schule'.", S. 519.

34 On this, Troeltsch argues as follows. "The whole theory of agnosticism－recognizing that

religious knowledge exists in the symbolic and inadequate expression of religious experiences, and conforming to the modern world view and latching on to the forces of history—all that can only be obtained, grounded, and guided along the right lines by a general theory of religious knowledge. If dogmatics is to be a normative science and real knowledge instead of a lazy and in the worst sense practical compromise that weakens everything, then that can only be based upon a careful theory of this nature. It will then on the one side be able to make an internal valuation of everything in the tradition and at the same time carry on developing independently and freely harmonizing and fusing itself with modern knowledge." (Ernst Troeltsch, "Half a century of theology.", p. 78.)

35   On this, Troeltsch argues as follows. "Both problems, however, unite for the task of creating a general science of religion or philosophy of religion that does not aim to construct a knowledge of God by philosophical means but rather which investigates the religious consciousness critically and analytically to discover its general laws and graduations of value. [...] The possibility of such a philosophy of religion, the solution of its task in the sense of recognizing the prime validity of Christianity; that is the common presupposition shared by the purely scientific historical theology and by the practical mediating agnostic dogmatics." (Ernst Troeltsch, "Half a century of theology.", p. 79.)

36   Karl Barth/Eduard Thurneysen, James D. Smart (trans.) *Revolutionary Theology in the Making: Barth-Thurneysen correspondence, 1914–1925*. (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1964), p. 47.

37   Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige*., S. 5. Rudolf Otto, John W. Harvey (trans.) *The idea of the holy*., p. 5.

38   *Ibid*., S. 6, p. 6.

39   *Ibid*., S. 6, p. 7.

The Politics of Meditation in Nishida Kitaro

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Introduction

The 'Buddhistic' nature of the work of Japanese Philosopher Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945) is often seen as a key 'selling point' of his thought. Yet in his early work, Buddhism is no more prominent than a range of other intellectual traditions, including Confucianism, Christianity and a variety of European and American philosophical schools.

This essay will attempt to deal with two questions. Firstly, the evidence for a 'Buddhistic' interpretation of Nishida's early work and the interpretative problems which this reading poses. Secondly, I will highlight the key role which Neo-Confucian thought played in the development of Nishida's central concept of 'Pure experience' (*Junsui keiken*) and thus illustrate how acknowledging the Confucian influence on his early work can lead to new and exciting avenues of exploration, while simultaneously avoiding some of the pitfalls associated with the Buddhist orientated exposition of his thought.

1. 'Pure Experience' and the Politics of Meditation

If we analyze the evidence presented in favor of the Buddhist interpretation of Nishida, especially with reference to his early works, we will see that it is largely unconvincing from a philosophical perspective. This is particularly true of his first work, *An Inquiry into the Good*.[1], and its central concept of 'Pure Experience' (*junsui keiken*). It is generally considered that this work contains the seeds of Nishida's later philosophy, and is thus fundamental to how we come to interpret him.

Curiously, despite the dearth of studies by Buddhist scholars relating Nishida's work to Buddhism,[2] the truth of such claims continues to remain largely untested. The main evidence in favor of the Buddhist interpretation seems to be gleaned, not via philosophical analysis, but rather from Nishida's biography, specifically his early Zen training, which started in the 1890's and finished in approximately 1906. All references to Zen in his diaries cease after 1907. Nevertheless, the fact of his ceasing formal meditation is taken by some, remarkably, *as evidence of the depth of the Buddhist influence*. For example Nishitani's claim that Nishida's abandoning of Zen meditation in favor of philosophy was an example of the fact that he had thoroughly absorbed the insights of Zen into his philosophical system.[3] This

example serves to illustrate the precarious nature of attempts to extrapolate philosophical arguments from biographical material without a concurrent and thorough study of the nature of the concepts employed. 'Pure experience' thus mistakenly comes to be seen as a quasi-religious experience rather than as a philosophical concept/category.

Clearly, Nishida did not intend his thinking to be viewed as the philosophical expression of Zen. Nishitani suggests that Nishida acknowledged as much himself, as his philosophy would then simply be reduced to Zen and lose all significance in itself.[4] Moreover, those who interpret 'pure experience' as a 'Buddhistic' concept are faced with a dilemma; has Nishida actually had 'pure experience' or not? If the answer is 'Yes' then how did Nishida come to have this kind of experience and why does he not simply tell us how to reach that stage? Indeed, one may wonder as to why reading Nishida is any more beneficial than seeking out a monastery and practicing Zen oneself. The other horn of the dilemma, that Nishida has not had 'pure experience', puts him in the difficult position of positing an experience which illuminates reality but which he himself has never had.

While Nishida is doubtless a Buddhist who is interested broadly in religion, he insists on dealing with such topics from a philosophical perspective, as is shown by his insistence on avoiding the "enemy camp of mysticism".[5] Subsequent thinkers of the Kyoto school such as Nishitani Keiji (1900–90), and others on the fringes such as D. T. Suzuki (1870–1966) have however radically reinterpreted much of Nishida's thinking under the rubric of the concept of 'emptiness'. 'Emptiness' as used by both Nishitani and Suzuki was seen as a distinctly 'Eastern' concept, which could only be understood by experience.[6] This merging of Nishida's pure experience with the concept of 'emptiness' creates a philosophical hierarchy where only those with the required experience are qualified to argue. In order to justify such a culturally chauvinistic concept, both Nishitani and Suzuki sought to find justification for their view in Nishida, leading to a standpoint far removed from the philosophical pluralism envisaged by Nishida. The link with Zen is designed to accord Nishida a kind of 'uniquely Japanese' status, when in fact such a standpoint was contrary to his most basic philosophical views. This association of a uniquely Japanese 'Emptiness' with the work of Nishida has inadvertently lead critics to miss the value of Nishida's ethics; Moreover the association of 'emptiness' with a dangerous antinomianism has led to the categorization of Nishida as another advocate of Zen Nationalism.

It seems to me that Nishida's work has been unfairly simplified by both friend and foe alike. By looking carefully at how he utilizes the Confucian tradition we can see how Nishida was in fact interested in ethical questions in a manner not recognized by the Buddhistic interpretation of his thought.

2. Nishida and Confucianism: Correspondence and Early Writings

Buddhism was not thevonly influential intellectual current on the early Nishida, unsurprising given his historical positioning as a Meiji era (1868–1912) intellectual,[7] witness to a battle for supremacy between Buddhism, Confucianism and the influx of Western thinking which was characteristic of the times. Nishida could not help but be conflicted, and certainly his philosophy contains much that is 'mixed and matched' from the three traditions.[8]

This view is given further credence by Guanghui Wu,[9] and his study regarding the influence of the Ming era Neo-Confucian thinker Wang Yang-Ming[10] on the thought of the early Nishida. The numerous references to Wang in letters and diary entries uncovered by Wu points to two conclusions; the importance of Wang in Nishida's philosophical development, and especially the central role of the doctrine of the 'Unity of Knowledge and Action' (Chn. *chih hsing ho-i*, Jpn. *chigyōdōitsu*), a doctrine which suggests that one cannot maintain a purely theoretical knowledge, that in fact once one knows something, this knowledge will inevitably manifest itself in action. Several letters and diary entries bear witness to Wu's thesis, but perhaps even more compelling is the manner in which Nishida incorporated much of Wang's thinking in his early philosophy, culminating in the idea of 'Conduct' (*kōi*), which bears a striking resemblance to Wang's 'Unity of Knowledge and Action', in its emphasis on how ethics can only be understood as action.

The doctrine of the 'Unity of Knowledge and Action' is especially prominent in one of Nishida's early works, beginning with the last chapter of *Inquiry*, 'knowledge and Love' (*chi to ai*), which was appended to the main text despite being an earlier work. Within this short chapter we can find many of the seeds of the Confucian influence on Nishida's thought, themes which were later re-modeled and integrated into the main body of *Inquiry* itself.

In 'knowledge and Love' Nishida refers to Mencius 2A: 6, the famous story of the child falling into the well and the moral fact that any person witnessing such an act would attempt to save the child.[11] Interestingly, despite the importance of this story within the Confucian tradition, the editors of the English translation of *Inquiry*, Abe and Ives, fail to note the reference. Nishida references this story as follows: "To love therefore, is to intuit the other's feeling. When one saves a child who is about to fall into a pond, there is no room for the thought that the child is cute" (*Inquiry*, 174/ Jpn. 244).[12] In the Confucian tradition the story illustrates that the true nature of human beings, when un-obscured, is innately good. In Nishida however, the story serves a second purpose; It is an example of an ideal ethical act, the goal towards which we should strive. All the concepts which Nishida subsequently develops or employs in *Inquiry* are, in my opinion, designed to explicate in a philosophically satisfying manner why we act instinctively to save the child in danger. The individual who can 'act rightly without consideration', truly expressing the real self, is the individual who has achieved ethical perfection. This moment is what Nishida would later

term 'action-intuition' (*kōitekichokkan*).

In order to explain further his conception of the ideal ethical act Nishida adopts the idea that knowledge and love are somehow identical, a doctrine with clear 'Wangist' overtones. However, it seems that Nishida makes two, possibly three, different claims in the chapter. Firstly, that Knowledge and love are the 'same mental activity' (*dōitsu seishin sayō*);[13] Secondly, that knowledge and love are 'in essence' the same (*chi wa ai, ai wa chi de aru*).[14] The third possible interpretation is that knowledge is both a necessary and sufficient condition for love, and vice versa (*mono o shiru niwa kore o aisenebanarazu...*).[15] Nishida seems oblivious to the problems that such a confusion of categories may cause. His reference to knowledge and love as 'mental processes' is at odds with any attempt to say that they are the same 'in essence', as talk of 'essence' implies, by necessity, an object by which we can predicate an essence of; it is doubtful, although not impossible, that mental processes can count as such objects. Also, the second interpretation would suggest that knowledge and love are simply different labels for the same thing. If this is so, then the third interpretation, which requires knowledge and love to be different concepts in order to function as a 'necessary condition', would automatically be ruled out, thus making the three different senses of the 'unity of knowledge and love' mutually exclusive.

Nishida suggests that knowledge and love are the same mental activity because they both result in the forgetting of the self and the union of the self with the other. Mathematicians and artists are both examples of how his doctrine holds true, as they become absorbed in their work and thus forget the distinction between self and other, be that 'other' an individual or an object. When such examples are taken in conjunction with the story from Mencius, we can see that Nishida was aware of the moral relevance of dissolving such dichotomies.

Despite the flawed nature of this analysis－Nishida clearly confuses the result of an activity with the activity itself－we can still discern a common thread running from 'Knowledge and Love', with its emphasis on the union of self and other, to 'Conduct', the locus of moral behavior in the main body of *Inquiry*. Wang's contention that knowledge cannot be prior to action, that in fact we find moral truth in our own true nature rather than in what is external or theoretical is the same route which Nishida takes (*Inquiry*, 174/Jpn. 244), as he suggests that love cannot be the result of knowledge, and vice versa, as both are an expression of our true self. If we understand the true nature of knowledge and Love, then we will come to the understanding of what it is to forget the self. Nishida takes this as his basis for true moral action expressed in *Inquiry*.

3. From 'knowledge and Love' to *Inquiry*

Nishida's appreciation of Wang's doctrine of the unity of knowledge and action seems

much more nuanced in the body of *Inquiry*. In contrast to his attempt to simply 'transplant' the doctrine in 'Knowledge and Love', Nishida attempts to incorporate the doctrine into his system via the idea of 'will' (*ishi*), which, when combined with the idea of the unity of knowledge and action, becomes the fulcrum of his ethics.

For Nishida, the presence of the will is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for the achievement of 'Conduct', with sincerity, a value also much lauded in Confucian thought, also necessary (*Inquiry*, 133/Jpn. 190‒91), as Nishida says: "If the will is not sufficiently present, even if there are actions [*dōsa*], we cannot say there is Conduct [*Kōi*]." (*Inquiry*, 89/ Jpn. 129). For Nishida the presence of 'Will' determines the essential difference between 'action' and 'conduct'; 'acting morally' may simply be a case of luck, while living a moral life, implies step-by-step progress towards a larger goal. The fact that 'Will' is the truest expression of our original self (*Inquiry*, 91/Jpn.133) is the reason why its presence is the determining factor in distinguishing between acts that may appear from an external point of view as moral, from genuine cases of 'Conduct'. With this Nishida reaches an understanding that where there is 'Conduct', there is good in itself.

Having placed 'Will' at the centre of his scheme, Nishida now sets about combining it with Wang's 'Unity of Knowledge and Action'. Thus in Nishida, the construction 'Conduct' equals 'Willed action' must take account of a hidden premise; Wang's doctrine of the 'Unity of Knowledge and Action' (Chn. *chih hsing ho-i*/Jpn. *chigyōdōitsu*):

> A sufficient reason [*sōtō no riyuu*] is always concealed behind the will [*ishi*]. Even if this will is not perfect, the will always functions on the basis of a certain truth—that is, the will is established by thinking. In reverse, as in Wang Yang-ming's emphasis on the identity of knowledge and action [*chigyōdōitsu*], true knowledge [*shinjitsu no chishiki*] is always accompanied by the performance of the will [*ishi no jikkō*]. To think in a certain way but not to desire in the same way means that one does not yet truly know
>
> (*Inquiry*, 91/Jpn. 132)

Here Nishida, despite his emphasis on the will, does not want to claim that volition is the only essential aspect of moral life. He also aims to incorporate the rational, in an attempt to avoid the possibility of his emphasis on will being misconstrued as a kind of 'cloaked Intuitionism'. The 'Willing' involved in 'Conduct' is always conjoined with the idea that there are concurrent rational factors which need to be considered. When we truly know, then we in fact will act through the will, and it cannot be otherwise. If it is otherwise, then our knowledge is not true knowledge.

Nishida sees rationality as important, but is critical of theories of ethics that advocate rationality as sole arbiter of moral affairs. He sees such theories as abstract and overly

theoretical. For Nishida abstract 'ethical knowledge', or knowledge without consequent action, cannot exist. It is Wang's doctrine of the 'unity of knowledge and action' which allows Nishida to incorporate rationality into his ethical scheme without falling into abstraction,[16] Nishida thus excludes the possibility that one can claim to be in possession of knowledge of the good, unless one can demonstrate this knowledge through action. Thus the idea of the unity of knowledge and action, rules out, *prima facie*, both knowledge which does not have concurrent affects in action - hence making all 'abstract' rational theories defunct - and all arguments from the authenticity of personal experience alone, an argument which seems endemic to the Buddhist interpretation of Nishida philosophy. Pure experience as purely private cannot be countenanced in Nishida, there must be a manifestation in the public sphere as action.

The above is an outline of the importance of the unity of knowledge and action to the work of Nishida. It is my contention that in fact this idea must be added as an explicit presupposition to Nishida's ethics if it is to function properly as a philosophical framework. With this we can come to see how it is possible to re-assess the key idea of 'pure experience'.

4. 'Pure Experience' as a Moral Category

How does the above affect our understanding of the concept of 'pure experience'? Firstly, the possibility of viewing 'pure experience' as a normative ethical concept, which finds its embodiment in 'Conduct' (*koi*), has been almost entirely ignored in Nishida literature. Nishida however, at least sporadically, seems to hold that such a view is possible: "Pure Experience (*junsuikeiken*) is an animated state of maximum freedom, where there is no gap between the demands of the will (*ishi no yōkyū*) and their fulfillment (*jitsugen*)". (*Inquiry*, 8/Jpn. 21). 'Pure experience' can be viewed as an example of how we should aim to act, a type of 'ideal limit' to strive towards. Also the idea of 'Conduct' as the physical expression of the idea of 'pure experience' renders it a philosophical concept that is open to both public and philosophical scrutiny. Nishida focuses on what it is for humanity to express its inner goodness, and how this idea, combined with an assumption regarding the unity of knowledge and action, can in fact provide a base from which one can engage in 'inter-subjective' ethics; combining a soteriological sense of personal development with genuine reference to the role of the individual within the framework of the community. While the innate good we attempt to express via our action is distinctly internal, as is the process we follow in order to reach it, the resulting 'Conduct' is, in some sense a public, objective expression of an internal truth. With 'Conduct' as such a public act, the idea that there is some kind of experience that grants a privileged position from which to claim authenticity can be avoided.

Nishida provides a concrete example of the embodiment of 'pure experience' as

'Conduct', and it is the same for him as it is for Mencius.; an act of goodness which transcends objectivity and subjectivity, resulting in a selfless act to save a child in jeopardy. To act thus in any given situation, selflessly and with decisiveness, is what it means to have 'pure experience', and is the purpose of the philosophical life. This is the core of Nishida's ethics as expressed in *Inquiry*. However, this core has yet to be refined. In Nishida it is merely suggested, and we are left to wonder what further elaboration could have been possible. It is an attempt to formulate a genuine ethics of 'No-Self', which, despite its seemingly abstract and metaphysical underpinnings, remains rooted in practical action in the inter-subjective sphere. Nishida seemed to be on the way to transcending many of the problems that affect philosophical speculation concerning moral action, but subsequently veered off into more abstract planes in his subsequent work, leaving problems of ethics somewhat in the distance. Regardless, in the early Nishida, neither philosophizing about morals, or acting morally, is in any way a simple task.

Conclusion

It is to my mind a shame that Nishida did not continue to engage in a more explicit manner with the ethical traditions that held his attention in the early years by developing further the embryonic insights expressed in *Inquiry*. Nonetheless, I hope that my analysis will help to highlight that much of what appears 'Buddhist' in Nishida's philosophy is not necessarily so, and that such an interpretation can prove to be misleading, especially when evaluating the notion of 'pure experience' and how it impacts upon Nishida's ethics. It should also be clear that it is this loose association between Nishida and Buddhism, often asserted without proper philosophical analysis, which leads critics to regard Nishida's ethics as dangerously antinomian, an interpretation which loses much of its credibility when we see how Nishida engages with ethical problems in light of his use of the Confucian intellectual heritage.

Endnotes

1   See Nishida (1990), *An Inquiry Into the Good*, Yale University Press: New Haven/London, trans. Abe and Ives, henceforth referred to as *Inquiry*. For reference purposes I will also include page numbers for the Japanese version, *Zen no kenkyū*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten (2006).

2   For exceptions see Nakayama Enji (1979), *Bukkyō to Nishida—Tanabe tetsugaku*, Kyoto: Hyakkaen, and Takeda Ryūsei (1991), *Shinran jōdō shu to Nishida tetsugaku*, Kyoto; Nagata Bunshōdō.

3   Nishitani, (1991) *Nishida Kitaro*, California: Berkeley, p. 25

4   Nishitani (1991: 25) makes some interesting comments. "...he (Nishida) seems to have felt that his thought was philosophical through and through and not to be reduced to Zen and its traditional views. He would not have been happy to have his own novel originality accord with ancient Zen

such as it was". He then goes on to say, in a somewhat contradictory fashion: "At the same time I should think that he maintained to the last the conviction that his philosophy was an unfolding of Zen within himself, a new manifestation of the Zen spirit.... the spirit of Zen was surely alive in Nishida's philosophy, which he himself characterized as a radical realism or a radical positivism".

5   See *Intuition and Reflection in Self-Consciousness*, Preface to First Edition (p. xxiii). SUNY: New York, Trans. by Viglielmo, Yoshinori and O'Leary (1987).

6   See Prof. Maraldo's essay 'Questioning Nationalism Now and Then: A Critical Approach to Zen and the Kyoto School' in, Heisig and Maraldo (1994) (eds.) *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School and the Question of Nationalism*, University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu. For similar musings on D. T Suzuki, see Sharf's contribution, 'Whose Zen? Zen Nationalism Re-Visitied' in the same volume.

7   For further reading see Inoue Katsuhiro (2003) *Nishida tetsugaku ni okeru sōgakuteki rinrikan*, Rinrigaku Kenkyū, Vol. 33, pp. 60–75 and Mizuno Tomoharu, (2004), *Nishi Amane to Nishida Kitarō*, Nishida tetsugaku gakkai nenbō

8   For details of Nishida's early schooling see Yusa, Michiko (2002), *Zen and Philosophy: An Intellectual Biography of Nishida Kitarō*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. also Brownstein, Michael C (1987), 'From Kokugaku to Kokubungaku: Canon-Formation in The Meiji Period', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 47: 2, pp. 435–460, for an overview of educational reform in the period under consideration.

9   See Wu Guanghui, (2000), 'Nishida tetsugaku no tōyōteki seikaku (ōyōmeigaku jyuyō o chūshin ni)', *Nihon no tetsugaku*, No. 1: 11, pp. 76–89.)

10 Wang Yang-ming (1472–1529) Neo-Confucian thinker and author of *Instructions for Practical Living. See Instructions for Practical Living and other Neo=Confucian Writings by Wang Yang-ming*, translated by Chan Wing Tsit (1963), New York/London: Columbia University Press.

11 The passage can be found in *Mencius*, trans. D. C. Lau (1970), New York: Penguin p. 67

12 Interestingly Nishida uses the Japanese term for 'pond' (*ike*), rather than 'well'. This is not the only occasion where Nishida quotes loosely from the Confucian tradition, as noted by the editors in his rendering of a quote from Confucius on p. 135/Jpn. 193.

13 *Inquiry*, pp. 173/Jpn. 242. The translators use the phrase "to me however, they (knowledge and love) are fundamentally the same", despite the fact that the Japanese reads "....fundamentally the same mental activity" (*Honrai dōitsu no seishin sayō de aru*). The key phrase is *Seishin sayō* (精神 作用) which is left out by the translators. They appear to be unaware of the difference between these claims as presented.

14 *ibid*., 174/Jpn. 244

15 *ibid*, 174/Jpn. 243

16 Nishida seems to have Wang's theory in mind at more than one juncture in *Inquiry*, for example when he says: "Fundamentally, truth is singular. Intellectual truth and practical truth must be one and the same." (*Inquiry*, 37/Jpn. 59)

Christian Millenarianism and Nationalism in Prewar Japan: Nakada Jūji's Politics of Identity

Aike P. Rots

Religious narratives are powerful tools for the construction of collective and national identities.[1] Especially during periods of political turmoil and rapid social change, in which established identities and structures are challenged, people tend to turn to religion to comfort them and provide them with a sense of community. Hence, it is usually during such periods that millenarian[2] religious movements gain ground. Not only do they relate the experienced deterioration of the present to the utopian promise of a regenerated new world, they also provide people with strong collective identities by means of their exclusivist soteriologies, which distinguish the 'elected' communities from their Others. As such, they have profound political implications.

In modern times, millenarian movements often incorporate nationalist ideologies, by asserting the divinely ordained superiority of one nation vis-à-vis the outside world. The interpretation of the present condition as one of degeneration, which is contrasted to an idealised glorious past and a utopian future in which this glorious past is revitalised (the so-called 'triadic structure of nationalist rhetoric'[3]), is not only a feature of much nationalist mythmaking, but also closely resembles millenarian views of history. In millenarianism, the regeneration is usually perceived as a radical and irreversible transformation, which is providential and will come about as the result of divine intervention. It is not uncommon that human action is seen as a necessary step towards this final regeneration, and millenarian beliefs are regularly used to mobilise people to contribute to the creation of the new world—usually peacefully, but sometimes by means of violence. Millenarian ideas, then, are not just imaginary images of a perfect other world—they are religiously motivated utopias that are projected onto this very world and situation. In their belief in a divinely ordained, radical overturning of the present system, they have a profound political agenda, and as such they constitute a potential threat to the religious and political establishment.

In Japanese history, there have been several periods of socio-political uncertainty and change. During these periods, a number of religious movements came up that provided people with alternative worldviews, thus challenging the status quo. Examples include the Pure Land and Nichiren Buddhist schools during the Kamakura period (1185–1333),[4] and a

variety of religious movements during the Meiji and Taisho periods (1868–1912 and 1912–1926). In contrast to the medieval situation, in Meiji Japan much change and uncertainty were caused by the confrontation with and the increasing presence of a non-Japanese Other, 'the West', through the incorporation of a wide range of Western technologies and ideologies. Hence, it was during this period that the notion of the Japanese nation-state was invented, and the need for a clearly defined and demarcated national identity arose.[5] This gave rise to the emergence of a discourse on the defining characteristics of the Japanese nation and its culture, and its alleged moral and spiritual superiority vis-à-vis the West, which was to exercise profound influence on the Japanese self-image, and would come to be employed as an ideological justification for Japan's imperialist policies.[6]

Unsurprisingly, in this period, a number of religious movements came up that combined notions of Japan as the divine state and/or elected nation with millenarian expectations. This is the case for several of the so-called 'new religions' (*shinshūkyō* 新宗教 or *shinkōshūkyō* 新興宗教),[7] as well as for nationalist Buddhist scholars such as Tanaka Chigaku 田中智學 (1861–1939), who revitalised Nichiren's 日蓮 (1222–1282) millenarian ideas and advocated a reconciliation of Buddhism with national polity (*kokutai* 国体). Some other movements at the time adopted a Christian belief system and soteriology, which they tried to reconcile with their Japanese identity. These movements represent an interesting paradox: on the one hand, they had adopted a religious ideology and epistemology that was essentially at odds with mainstream Japanese worldviews,[8] but on the other, they made attempts to redefine both Christianity and Japaneseness in such a way that the two could be united into one ideological system. In order to succeed in this, several indigenisation strategies were employed.[9] One of these was the assertion that Christianity is originally a non-Western (that is, Jewish) religion, which had become corrupted by European influences—hence, the reconciliation of Japanese culture with Christianity was found in the rejection of Christianity as it was transmitted by Western missionaries, and the rediscovery (or reinvention) of an 'original Christianity'. Accordingly, in order to distinguish themselves from European Christians, some Japanese Christians chose to in stead identify themselves with the original Biblical people, traditionally Western Christianity's main Other: the Jews.

In this paper, I will discuss the ideas of the Japanese evangelist, theologian and missionary Nakada Jūji 中田重治 (1870–1939), who co-founded the Japanese Holiness Church and wrote extensively on a number of topics, including the relationship between the Japanese nation and the Jews. Nakada's ideas have received relatively little scholarly attention; thus far, no systematic study of his ideas and their historical relevance has been published.[10] However, the way in which Nakada combined an essentially universalistic Christian pre-millennial eschatology[11] and political and religious Zionism[12] with nationalist notions of Japanese uniqueness, and the way in which he came to employ his perception of

the divine bond between the Japanese and the Jewish people to legitimise Japan's militarism, is an interesting example of the use of religious ideology in nationalist mythmaking and identity politics, that deserves to be studied in more detail.

Nakada Jūji and the Holiness Church

Nakada Jūji grew up in the town of Hirosaki, present-day Aomori prefecture, where he was a member of the local Methodist church. When he was in his twenties, he moved to the United States, in order to study theology at the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. This institute was founded by Dwight Lyman Moody (1837–1899), one of the most influential nineteenth century American evangelists. Moody advocated a literal ('fundamentalist') interpretation of the Bible, the experience of sanctification or 'holiness' (the experience of being washed away from sins by the grace of Christ; thus, of being 'born again' spiritually), missionary activism and, significantly, a radical pre-millennial eschatology.[13] These ideas would strongly influence Nakada. Besides, it was here that he befriended Charles (1868–1924) and Letty Cowman (1870–1960), the missionaries who would later join him in Japan to help him found the Oriental Missionary Society (Tōyō Senkyōkai 東洋宣教会) in 1905. However, despite the initial similarities in belief systems, tensions between Nakada and his American partners soon grew. Finally, in 1917, Nakada founded his own independent denomination, which he called the Oriental Missionary Holiness Church (Tōyō Senkyōkai Hōrinesu Kyōkai 東洋宣教会ホーリネス教会).[14] He himself assumed the role of absolute, charismatic leader.[15] Between 1917 and 1932, membership of Nakada's branch of the Holiness Church increased from 1,500 to approximately 20,000, mainly lower-class blue-collar workers and immigrants from rural areas.[16]

Initially, Nakada's ideas were quite similar to those of his American contemporaries. He translated a number of prominent Evangelical works into Japanese, and he adopted their stress on the importance of sanctification, divine healing, missionary activism and a strong belief in the imminent Second Coming of Christ, which would precede His thousand-year reign on earth. Moreover, just like his intellectual predecessors, Nakada strongly supported the Jews and the Zionist case, as he considered the restoration of Israel to be a prerequisite for the Second Coming.[17] Yet, despite the American theological influences, in the course of the late 1920 s and early 1930 s Nakada's thought became increasingly nationalistic and anti-Western. In 1932, he delivered a series of six lectures on what he thought were Biblical prophecies concerning Japan; these lectures were published as *Seisho yori mitaru Nihon* 聖書より見たる日本 ('Japan seen from the Bible'),[18] which was translated into English as *Japan in the Bible*.[19] Shortly thereafter, he published the even more strongly millenarian *Kokumin e no keikoku* 国民への警告 ('Warning to the Nation'),[20] in which he repeated the conclusions of *Seisho yori mitaru Nihon*, predicted an apocalyptic final war, and stressed the urgency of

collective Japanese action. His ideas about the divine collective mission of the Japanese people no doubt reflected the *Zeitgeist*; however, they were at odds with basic Holiness soteriology, which held that salvation was only given to individuals, not to entire nations. Accordingly, this development in Nakada's thought met with much resistance within his own denomination, which culminated in the schism of 1936. From that moment, Nakada's branch of the Holiness Church was called Kiyome Kyōkai きよめ教会, whereas the branch of his contesters continued under the name Nihon Seikyōkai 日本聖教会.[21]

Apart from its internal struggles, the Holiness movement was threatened by the national authorities. Despite the generally nationalistic orientation of the Holiness church, Nakada categorically rejected all participation in Shinto rituals, which he considered idolatry. Accordingly, Nakada and his Holiness Church refused to accept the government's position that Shinto was not a religion, and did not want to participate in shrine worship (*jinja sanpai* 神社参拝).[22] In the course of the 1930s, the Japanese government became increasingly intolerant towards the religious movements it considered potentially subversive, and several religious movements were severely persecuted. In the early 1940s, more than a hundred Holiness pastors were arrested, and 273 churches were forced to close.[23] Nakada himself did not live to experience this grand-scale persecution, nor did he witness the apocalyptic world war he had prophesied: he died on 24 September 1939.[24]

Japan's origin and mission

In the course of his life, Nakada made several attempts to reconcile Christianity with his Japanese identity. He came to perceive nations as absolute primordial entities, which all had their particular part to play in God's divine plan. Even his soteriology became nationalistic, in the sense that he came to consider salvation as something given to entire nations, rather than individuals. Besides, in line with the nationalist discourse at the time, which was closely connected to notions of origins and 'race', Nakada was looking for an origin myth that would legitimise his identification of true Christianity with the Japanese nation. He wanted to lay claim to the 'empowering heritage'[25] of 'original' Christianity not only ideologically, but genealogically as well.[26]

It comes as no surprise, then, that Nakada was very interested in the common ancestry theories that had been developed by Saeki Yoshirō 佐伯好郎 (1871‒1965) and Oyabe Zen'ichirō 小矢部全一郎 (1867‒1941). These two scholars had re-appropriated the centuries-old European myth of the Lost Tribes of Israel[27] by suggesting that the Japanese were the descendants of God's chosen people―the original Jewish tribes―and, therefore, shared a common ancestry with the contemporary Jews.[28] Following their ideas, Nakada provided ample historical 'evidence' for the Jewish migration to Japan. For instance, he stressed the apparent similarities between Japanese and Jewish traditions, such as religious festivals and

shrine architecture, which he considered an unmistakable proof of the shared heritage.[29] However, Nakada went a step further. Combining the Japanese-Jewish common ancestry theories creatively with European myths of racial descent, he arrived at the conclusion that the Japanese were the only people in the world 'composed of' all different races: 'The Japanese people are made up of the three races of Shem, Ham and Japheth. That is, the Jews are descended from Shem, the Hittites of Ham, and the Ainu, who are of the white race, from Japheth. (...) There are no places like Japan, where these three races have mingled and created a whole new people.'[30] He based this thought on the paradigm, dominant in Europe at the time, that the three sons of Noah (Shem, Ham and Japheth) were the early ancestors of the world's 'three races', according to which, it was believed, all nations could be categorised. The myth of the unique genetic make-up of the Japanese people not only identified the Japanese with the Jews, thereby suggesting that they were among the descendents of God's chosen people; it also implicitly stated the racial superiority of the Japanese to the other nations of the world.

Ultimately, this origin myth was used as a simultaneously racial and theological justification for the claim that the Japanese people were given a special, God-given mission. Nakada believed that the Japanese nation had a crucial part to play in the End Time, and the preparation for the Second Coming of Christ. This belief was legitimated by his interpretation of a number of Biblical prophecies as referring to Japan. That is, Nakada actively employed quotations from the Bible to justify his own claims regarding Japan's superiority and divine election. He saw any Biblical references to the east and the rising sun as prophecies regarding Japan and its divine mission. Examples include the angel coming up from the east mentioned in Revelation 7: 1–4, the helper from the east mentioned in Isaiah 41: 2 and 41: 25, the rising of the sun mentioned in Psalms 50:1 and 113:3, the glory of God coming from the east mentioned in Ezekiel 43: 1–2, and so on.[31] Moreover, the 'unknown nation' that, according to Isaiah 55: 5, will come to the aid of Israel, is identified with Japan.[32]

First and foremost, Nakada stated, the divine responsibility of the Japanese people is to earnestly and collectively pray: for the soon arrival of Christ, for the Jewish people, and for the restoration of Israel. As this is the task given to the Japanese in particular (as, according to Nakada, the Bible prophesises), it is an important prerequisite for the Second Coming of Christ and the millennium, and, consequently, will bring about salvation for the entire world.[33] The reason that God had chosen the Japanese people to perform this task is that they were, Nakada believed, the only nation in the world that had never done any harm to His chosen people, the Jews.[34] As he stated firmly, the Japanese people were divinely elected to save the Jews from their persecutors, and support them in the creation of their own state.[35] Nakada's condemnation of Western anti-Semitism fits well with his attempts

to discredit the West and its corrupted interpretations of Christianity. Accordingly, it supports the binary opposition between, on the one hand, the nations of the East (including Japan, the Jews, and the other 'Asian' nations), and on the other, the morally degraded West, which is presented as responsible for the corruption of Christianity and the suffering of God's people. Basically, then, Nakada uses the Jews to legitimate his own nationalist agenda, in which the dominant Other were not so much the Jews, but the West. As they have long constituted 'the Other's main Other', the creation of this imagined alliance between the Jews and the Japanese ultimately is part of a strategy for the differentiation between East and West. Moreover, as the Jews have always carried the ambivalent label of being the 'chosen people' in the dominant European religious ideology, this identification also serves to create a divine justification for the moral, religious and racial superiority of the Japanese people.

Nakada believed that the divine mission of the Japanese people was not limited to harmlessly praying for the Jews, or donating money. As with other millenarian ideologies, despite the claim that the ultimate goal is world peace, violence plays an important part in his eschatology. Accordingly, he was not an opponent of military action, and he looked down upon Christian pacifism.[36] In fact, the increasing militarisation of Japan was wholeheartedly supported by Nakada—for he perceived the great war that was about to happen as providential, and as a requirement for the collapse of this world order and the establishment of a new. In concrete political terms: the British occupation of Palestine was interpreted by Nakada in the light of his radical East-West dichotomy, according to which the British are a morally corrupted colonial power occupying the Holy Land, and it is part of God's plan that the Japanese army 'saves' the Jews from this oppressor.[37] Thus, according to Nakada, the military, while not being aware of it, were in fact serving God.[38] Eventually, supported by the prayers of the nation, they would rescue the Jews from the Western powers—in name Christian, but actually representatives of the Antichrist—and help them establish the State of Israel. This, as Nakada believed, was the ultimate purpose of the imperialist ideology. Hence, despite his condemnation of the Western oppression of the Jews, he was strongly supportive of Japanese imperialism—including the occupation of other parts of Asia, which were not directly related to his eschatology (but, perhaps significantly, did constitute some of his favourite mission territories). Unsurprisingly then, according to Nakada's exegesis, even Japan's military rise and intervention was prophesied in the Bible: 'Isaiah 46 says "from the east I summon a bird of prey". This 'bird' refers to airplanes. The surprisingly powerful airplanes rising up from the country in the east will meet with the Antichrist and rescue the troubled nation [the Jews].'[39]

In sum, Nakada considered the imperial policy of annexing great parts of Asia as providential and just, as it would eventually lead to a final war between the East (ruled by

the divinely elected and protected Japanese nation) and the Western nations (representing the Antichrist), thus bringing about the rescue of the Jewish people. Eventually, then, Nakada's theological project—which had started off as an attempt to dissociate Christianity in Japan from western ideological power and make Christian soteriology and eschatology more compatible with Japanese tradition and identity—developed into a myth of differentiation between East and West, and a Christian-Zionist ideological legitimisation of Japanese militarism and imperialism. The Jews, it turns out, were not really the focus of Nakada's ideology—they were merely the passive object, subordinate to both the evil Other (the West) and the great rescuer (Japan). Thus, Nakada's identification with and apparent sympathy for the Jews—his alleged philo-Semitism—[40] ultimately is little more than a rhetorical device to make the association between a Christianity-derived eschatology, a radical condemnation of the Western Other, and a justification of Japan's imperialist behaviour. Considering this strongly apologetic appraisal of the imperialist regime, the serious persecution of the Holiness movement by this very regime (less than a decade after Nakada had written these texts) was, to say the least, quite ironic.

Endnotes

1   This paper is based on the research I conducted for my MA dissertation. For a more lengthy discussion of different aspects of Nakada's ideology, see Rots, 2008.

2   Millenarianism, or millennialism (in scholarly discourse, both words are used), can be defined as 'the belief that the end of this world is at hand and that in its wake will appear a New World, inexhaustibly fertile, harmonious, and just.' The term is derived from the word *millennium*, which is mentioned in the Book of Revelation to refer to the expected thousand-year reign of Christ after his Second Coming, but is now used to refer to any religious belief in the collapse of this world order and the subsequent establishment of a perfect new world. Schwartz, 2005, p. 6028.

3   Levinger and Lytle, 2001.

4   Cf. Dolce, 1992.

5   Cf. Morris-Suzuki, 1998.

6   Cf. Gluck, 1985.

7   Shimazono, 2004, pp. 131–163.

8   Cf. Clammer, 1997.

9   In my use of the word indigenisation, I follow Mark Mullins, who defined it as 'the process whereby foreign-born religions are transformed through contact with native religion and culture.' Mullins, 1998, p. 6.

10 Studies are few, and not very elaborate. The best introduction is given by Goodman and Miyazawa in their intriguing study of the Japanese fascination with and imagination of the Jews (Goodman and Miyazawa, 2000, pp. 47–58). Kubota also briefly discusses Nakada's ideas, while comparing them with the ideas of other Christian authors (Kubota, 2002). Ikegami and Mullins

give brief historical accounts of Nakada's life and of the Japanese Holiness movement (Ikegami, 2003, pp. 129–133; Mullins, 1994, pp. 272–275). Japanese secondary sources are equally limited; they include a biography of Nakada (Yoneda, 1959; summarised in Yoneda, 1973) and a discussion of the historical development of the Holiness movement and related groups (Ikegami, 2006).

11   In the Christian context, a distinction can be made between pre-millennialism (the belief that the Second Coming of Christ will precede the millennium, and, thus, will constitute a radical break with the past) and post-millennialism (the belief that the millennium will develop gradually, and culminate in the Second Coming). Given their belief in a radical break with the past, pre-millennialists usually have a stronger millenarian orientation than post-millennialists. Cf. Anderson, 2004, pp. 217–220.

12   Before 1948, Zionism was a heterogeneous ideology that 'sought to create a place where Jews could attain political independence and instigate a national renaissance of the Jewish people'; after the establishment of this place in the form of the modern State of Israel, it has come to mean 'a broad identification with Israel' (Shindler, 2007, pp. 4, 9). Despite their ambivalent position regarding Judaism, Christian Zionists have played (and continue to play) a significant role when it comes to political support for the State of Israel. See Ariel, 2002.

13   Goodman & Miyazawa, 2000, p. 49.

14   Yoneda, 1973, pp. 9–17.

15   Ikegami, 2003, p. 130. On charismatic leadership in indigenous Christian movements, see Mullins, 1998, pp. 43–47.

16   Ikegami, 2003, p. 132.

17   *Yudaya-jin no dokuritsu* [The independence of the Jews], *Nakada Jūji Zenshū* [hereafter referred to as *NJZ*], vol. 7, p. 478. However, Nakada's stance regarding the Jews was ambivalent. The persecution and suffering of the Jews is sad, he stated, and should be condemned; however, at the same time, he thought it was the result of their own sins, and part of God's plan to bring them back to the Holy Land. Cf. *Yudaya-jin mondai kōen* [Lecture on the Jewish problem], *NJZ*, vol. 6., p. 435; Ariel, 2002, p. 14.

18   *NJZ*, vol. 2, pp. 29–169.

19   Nakada, 1933.

20   *NJZ*, vol. 2, pp. 171–275.

21   Yoneda, 1973, pp. 23–24.

22   Cf. *Gunkyō to jinja sanpai* [Military education and shrine worship], *NJZ*, vol. 6, pp. 391–392; *Jinja wa shūkyō nari* [Shinto shrines are religious], *NJZ*, vol. 7, pp. 470–471.

23   Mullins, 1994, p. 271.

24   Yoneda, 1973, pp. 24–25.

25   Goodman and Miyazawa 2000, p. 63.

26   Following Anthony D. Smith's distinction between ideological and genealogical myths of ethnic descent. Smith, 1999, p. 71.

27 Cf. Parfitt, 2002.

28 *Nihon-Isuraeru-jin* [Japanese Israelites], *NJZ*, vol. 7, pp. 106–107.

29 *Seisho yori mitaru Nihon* [Japan seen from the Bible], *NJZ*, vol. 2., p. 71. For the entire list of 'proofs', see ibid., pp. 68–76; Nakada, 1933, pp. 34–45.

30 *Seisho yori mitaru Nihon* [Japan seen from the Bible], *NJZ*, vol. 2, p. 75.

31 For a whole list of quotations, see the appendix of *Seisho yori mitaru Nihon* [Japan seen from the Bible], *NJZ*, vol. 2, pp. 167–169; Nakada, 1933, pp. 133–135.

32 *Kokumin e no keikoku* [Warning to the nation], *NJZ*, vol. 2, pp. 184–195.

33 See for instance *Yudaya-jin mondai kōen* [Lecture on the Jewish problem], *NJZ*, vol. 6., pp. 430–441.

34 Hence Nakada's great concern for the spread of anti-Semitism in Japan at the time, which might seriously frustrate Japan's mission. See *Hi-Yudaya-jin undō ni madowasareru na* [Do not be deceived by the anti-Semitic movement], *NJZ*, vol. 7, pp. 270–271. On pre-war Japanese anti-Semitism, see Goodman and Miyazawa, 2000, pp. 76–105.

35 *Kokumin e no keikoku* [Warning to the Nation], *NJZ*, vol. 2, p. 190.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 190.

37 Needless to say, the Arab population of British Palestine (i.e., the vast majority) is remarkably absent from Nakada's scheme of events.

38 *Seisho yori mitaru Nihon* [Japan seen from the Bible], *NJZ*, vol. 2, p. 131.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 122–123.

40 Kubota, 2002.

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Political Influence of Religion-based Civic Movements in Turkey: The Case of Gülen Movement

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Introduction

This paper discusses the issue of political influence of a religion-based civic movement (*Hareket*) －the Gü len movement－in contemporary Turkey from the perspective of democratization since the 1990s.[1]

Since the Gü len movement has always triggered the dichotomized nature of Turkish society, they have attracted a great deal of attention from researchers, and there have been a huge number of studies on the Gü len movement from the various standpoints. Muhammed Çetin criticized the tendency of reductionist approaches toward studies on the Gülen movement for lacking perspective on the following two points: one was that explaining that the movement's developments since the 1980s were resulted from economic and political liberalization policies of Turgut Özal, the then prime minister of Turkey, was too general to elucidate the full range of their collective actions; the other was that the researchers' attentions have been more focused on the political dimension than on the cultural and social aspect of the movement.[2]

To the first point, this paper will take the position that it would be natural to be affected by the social and political situations of the period. Additionally, Gülen did not deny his relations with Özal. To the second point, I almost agree with Çetin's criticism of reductionist considerations of the Gülen movement. However, rather than criticizing emphasis on the political influence of the movement, one should recognize it as part of the movement's significance, including its positive and negative effects, in the broadest context of Turkish society.

The movement has also been subjected to doubts from the secular segment of the society (traditionally called as Kemalists or secularist elites) since Turkey has embraced secularism (*Laiklik*),[3] as a state principle. Although Fethullah Gülen (1938–),[4] who is an Islamic scholar and a spiritual leader of the Gülen movement, seems to try to keep a low profile in the public sphere, his remarks have been influential and highly visible in the context of secularism. Therefore, it is essential to examine his discourse and the movement in order to understand the dynamics of Islam as well as secularism in contemporary Turkey. In this paper, Fethullah Gülen's statements regarding democracy and their relationship with

politics and the activities of the movement will be considered in the social changes in the 1980s and 1990s in Turkey.

Social Changes after the 1980s in Turkey

In Turkish political history, almost every 10 years since 1960, the military has intervened in politics in diverse ways. A cliché, "to protect the secular state or secularism," has been an excuse for perpetrating coups for about 50 years. In reviewing related history, two major incidents triggered society to change in the 1980s and 1990s. One was the September 12, 1980 military coup that, according to the "Turkish-Islamic Synthesis" theory, reintroduced Islam as part of official ideology and was adopted as a means of countering communist movements by the military government. The ideology and implemented policies, such as introducing religious courses into compulsory education and building several mosques, caused Islamic resurgence to spread into society. After the civil government was recovered, then Prime Minister Özal promoted policies to liberalize the economy, which led to profound social transformation in the 1980s.

The other incident was the "February 28 process." The National Security Council (*Milli Güvenlik Kurulu, MGK*) issued 18 decisions to enforce secularism in the government on February 28, 1997, and consequently forced the government, then headed by Necmettin Erbakan's Welfare party (*Refah Partisi; RP*), so-called Islamist party, to step down. Then they took measures to crack down on "activities against secularism" and tighten control of religious matters in the public sphere, such as implementing an eight-year compulsory education system, which led to Imam-Hatip middle schools' closing and the admission numbers of students to Imam-Hatip high schools decrease. Moreover at that time, it became difficult to challenge secularism, as Erbakan's Welfare party and National Outlook Movement (*Milli Görüş Hareketi*) did. Then, there arose some drive to seek direction different from the sphere of political Islam. For instance, parting from Erbakan's Islamism, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his colleagues established the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi; AK Parti*) with the self-defining slogan of the "conservative-democratic" party.[5] In the 2000s, the point of controversy over secularism has shifted from the principle itself to the interpretation and concrete matters that it implies.[6] The significance and impact of the February 28 process continues to be discussed, but it has been mostly viewed as one of the critical turning points for Turkish society, especially by people in the religious and conservative segment, including the religion-based civic movements like the Gülen movement.

In parallel with the account of social transformation, let us briefly consider an outline of Fethullah Gülen and the movement.[7] Fethullah Gülen was born into a very religious family in a village near Erzurum, northeastern Anatolia, which historically has a state-centrist

tendency. In 1957, Gülen became familiar with the *Risale-i Nur Külliyatı*, a series of Qur'an commentaries by Said Nursi, a founder of the Nur movement, which preceded the Gülen movement. After officially appointed by the Presidency of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*) as a preacher in Edirne, Thrace, in 1959, he was transferred in 1966 in Izmir, the third largest city of Turkey. This Aegean region around Izmir became the starting point of their network of *dershane*, private housings for students, prior to the formal education network created by establishing and managing high schools and colleges. Since then, the Gülen movement has been active for more than 40 years, establishing schools and other institutions. Behind the development of the movement, however, Gülen himself suffered from several pressures from the state. Under martial law after the 1980 military coup, he was forced to resign the preacher's position in 1981 and was arrested in 1986 without clear allegations. In the 1980s, Gülen developed a close relationship with Turgut Özal who intended to use Gülen to counter more radical Islamist groups in Turkey. Under the auspices of Özal, the movement expanded their range of activities, benefiting from new opportunities in the education, publishing, and the media in the early 1990s.

While religion-based civic movements like the Gülen movement gained several grounds in Turkey during the 1990s, the institutions of the Gülen movement developed to meet the demands of the time. One of them is the Kimse Yok Mu Solidarity and Aid Association,[8] which were established in 2002 in the same name of the TV program for the purpose of rescuing victims of the Marmara earthquake that occurred in August, 1999 and since then mainly focused on disaster assistance activities.[9] Furthermore, the Journalists and Writers Foundation (*Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı; GYV*) was established in June, 1994, and named Gülen as an Honorary President.[10] In addition to activities such as publishing books and magazines, and providing financial and logistical support for needy students, they started to hold discussion forum, which was called "the Abant Platform" in 1998.[11]

In the meantime, one of the issues is its labeling. The Gülen movement is allegedly recognized as one of the most influential communities (*cemaatler*) in contemporary Turkey. However, "cemaat" is sometimes used in a negative sense because of its historical and ideological connotations, and labeling a group as cemaat may be taken as insulting or slandering. Moreover, since the assignment of a category depends on where one stands, it sometimes entails gaps between self-representation and others' perceptions of one's position. As for the Gülen movement, they do not call themselves a religious movement, let alone cemaat. They seem to share common perceptions and almost always claim to be a volunteering movement or "civil society movement," rather than self-identifying as a religious community.

Gülen's Discourse and the Activities of the Gülen Movement

As mentioned above, the February 28 process applied great pressure on the religious and conservative segment of society, causing the state to take stricter measures to control religious matters—controls the segment fiercely opposed. When it comes to Gülen, on the contrary, he severely accused the then prime minister Necmettin Erbakan's RP coalition government of whipping up anti-religious feelings among the secular segment, thus triggering this incident.[12] One of the reasons for his reaction was that Gülen has been deeply worried about Erbakan's attitudes and his ideology for a long time. Gülen has insisted at almost every opportunity that religion should not be used for any worldly matters. In light of this Gülen's mantra, it was obvious that Gülen criticized Erbakan's statements about political Islam, i.e., abuse of religion for specific political purposes.

Ironically, however, Gülen himself suffered a heavy blow from the February 28 process about two years after 1997. An incident, which was called the "cassette incident" generally and the "June storm" by Gülen, happened in June 1999, and an anti-Gülen campaign by the mainly secular media followed when a recorded cassette of Gülen's speech was broadcast on ATV, a Turkish television provider.[13] The broadcast suggested that Gülen intended to let his followers penetrate state institutes or bureaucracies and then transform the secular state regime into a religious regime from the inside. Gülen denied this alleged intention and insisted a series of criticisms and accusations against him were based on distortions.[14] As a result, however, the February 28 process forced him to become an exile, because he could not come back to Turkey from the US where he had stayed since receiving medical treatment there in March 1999. He was tried *absente reo* by prosecutor Nuh Mete Yüksel in 2000, and the trials continued until 2008.[15]

In addition, Gülen's discussions of the impact of the February 28 process contain two noteworthy points. The first is that, according to Gülen, one of the most grievous things for him was that the lawsuit against him was downgraded to only the "Fethullah Gülen trial," although he regarded it as a greater "struggle for a mindset in Turkey". It means he thought that not only was he on trial, but also the very values that an overwhelming majority of Turkish people embrace as a life style. On the contrary, most Turkish intellectuals took an indifferent attitude to his trial, which was also disappointing to him.[16] The second point is about Gülen's focus in his remarks on November 19, 2001, regarding the lawsuit against him. "All my prayers, all my worries are that people do well in finding and believing in God. I pray for it every day…. [On the contrary] The state, the government and politics are accusing me of trying to take control of Turkey. I don't want any worldly things at all. Even if people were to propose the Sultanate, I would not turn in that direction."[17]

Judging from the first remark, it seemed that Gülen understood that the issue put on his trial was some common values in Turkey, such as the role of religion in each person's life

and in society as a whole—far beyond the scope of one religious individual like himself. To look at it from the opposite perspective, it could be interpreted that Gülen recognized his discourse and the movement's influence on people and society were very much powerful. This remark proved Gülen's recognition of the movement's influential position in the society. With regard to this Gülen's remark on the movement's self-image, particularly the move-ment's expansionist inclinations, a remark of other member of the movement will be considered. Stating a personal opinion in advance, Yüksel A. Aslandoğan, a board member of the Gülen Institute in the US, stated in June, 2009, that they adopted "the overarching principle of reaching to everybody" in regard to the movement's attitude towards politics. He indicated that the goal of the movement is to reach out to everybody; therefore, they will never commit to a particular political party, which would exclude some people.[18] While it demonstrates that Gülen's way of thinking was reflected in and shared with the other member's reflections upon the movement, more importantly, it indicated that he, as a member of the movement, clearly recognized that the movement's influence could include political implications for people in the country.

Next, Gülen made it clear in his second remark that he did not care much about worldly matters, especially politics. He also stated he had no time to spare for enmity since Gülen felt growing frustration about his poor health and short lifetime.[19] He insisted that he was most concerned about ensuring people's practice of their religious faith. Even though it was pointed out that Gülen himself has had relatively close relationships with several politicians since the 1980s, Gülen has told its members not to be involved with politics. This discourse was repeated at various times, and it was the same after the process, too.

Then, as examined above, the movement entails influence on politics, and one of these influences on politics might be activities to achieve the democracy they hold as an ideal. Thus, Gülen's discourse with respect to democracy in interviews in the 2000s will be examined. In the beginning, Gülen mentioned that it was crucial to ensure freedom of thought and human rights such as living in accordance with one's beliefs. In this context, he said clearly, "democracy was adopted in Turkey and today it is a process with no return."[20] In describing the concrete meaning of democracy, he insisted there should be a democracy in which Islamic philosophies have a place, like a Christian democracy. Gülen described it as "humane democracy", too. It means, according to his explanation, that this kind of democracy should embrace all aspects of people and should be developed in such a form that all demands of people are fulfilled.[21] Regarding all demands of the people, Gülen stated that from a religious standpoint, democracy should secure the metaphysical aspects such as belief in the afterworld and eternal life, as well as physical aspects such as worldly life. The reason why Gülen stated like this was that he considered himself to consist not only of flesh but also of the spirit.[22]

Based on his explanation of "humane democracy," it can be understood that he thought democracy should be designed as a system that covers all the requirements of the people, without excluding individual religious beliefs and needs. Therefore, it would be apparent that Gülen found democracy valuable for defending freedom of religious belief and rights relating to religion. Thus, one can see that his preference was primarily for religion as protected by democracy in this sense. While this is the meaning of the concept of democracy Gülen defined from a religious perspective, the Gülen's opinion can be placed in the opposite direction of the secular segment of society that has tended to consider that democracy may be suppressed if the secularism they advocate is under threat.

In the meantime, the movement's activities, as an example, the Journalists and Writers Foundation (GYV) has come to approach exerting its ideological influence on politics through independent initiatives from the state in the 1990s. According to the GYV's brochure, they organized a preparatory symposium on Islam and Secularism on 14 June 1998, in response to the political tensions escalated between the secular segment and the RP's Islamism in Turkey, as well as globally pessimistic atmospheres of so-called "clash of civilizations".[23] A month later, they established the "Abant Platform" and started to provide several intellectuals and opinion leaders with a place to discuss critical issues in Turkey and the Muslim world, such as the relationships between Islam, democracy, and secularism, or a new constitution that would allow more individual freedom of thought and religious rights (See Appendix). These issues have been considered as "matters beyond debate" by the secular segment, especially military officers who try to maintain the Ataturk's principle intact, saying "the secularism principle in the constitution should not become a topic of discussion".[24] In light of the significance of these controversial topics, it's also noteworthy that GYV have invited not only academicians and journalists, but also some politicians, particularly from the ruling AK party. And some of these politicians actually participated.[25] Even if it is not sure whether or not its influence implies a religious agenda by this limited examination, organizing these meetings can be regarded as a form of exerting its influence on politics. Consequently, it seems that the Gülen movement has evaluated its power and resources and had an orientation of utilizing intellectual influence by way of the activities of GYV since the periods of the February 28 process in addition to the former activities.

Conclusion

This paper focused on the issue of political influence of the Gülen movement as a religion-based civic movement. For this purpose, on the basis of the social changes in the 1980s and 1990s in Turkey, Fethullah Gülen's statements regarding the relationship with politics and democracy, as a means of exerting its influence, were examined.

Analysis of Gülen's statements on the impact of the February 28 process revealed that Gülen understood his discourse and the movement's activities were so influential that the movement can have an impact on almost all people in the society. And Gülen's recognition of the movement's expansionist inclinations was openly shared with other member of the movement. Besides, it also revealed that although the event affected him, his views on priorities did not change; he remained primarily concerned about ensuring the people's religious faith and defending religion; at the same time, he gave little regard to worldly matters in his remarks. In this respect, one can interpret Gülen's statements as professing that he has no intention of changing his stance, but rather aims to transform society and politics into a form he considers more ideal. This is one of the reasons why Gülen is controversial in the Turkish context.

Then, through examinations of Gülen's statements on democracy, one can see that he described that "humane democracy" as embracing all aspects of people, including people's demands and requirements for freedom of one's belief and rights in religious matters. While it cannot be denied that religion-based civic movements can influence politics to some extent, this influence depends on each movement's choices about their methods of influencing political matters. For example, GYV has at present taken the position of exerting intellectual influence by providing opportunities for discussion in order to solve religion-related issues in Turkish society. However, I must say, Gülen's vision on the movement's influence on politics as well as the future of Turkish state was not very clear, because it was observed that Gülen's followers supported the AK party in an almost open way in the 2007 election.[26] This would remain an issue for continuing public attention from researchers as well as people in Turkey. Besides, a balance between religion-based civic movements and politics is likely to be changed depending on political and social circumstances. Therefore, it will be necessary to continue to pay attention to what path the Gülen movement takes since the February 28 process.

Appendix

Table: Agendas of Abant Platform

Time	Date	Place	Theme
1	16–19 July 1998	Abant/Bolu	Islam and Secularism
2	9–11 July 1999	Abant/Bolu	Religion, State and Society
3	21–23 July 2000	Abant/Bolu	Legal Democratic State
4	13–15 July 2001	Abant/Bolu	Pluralism and Societal Reconciliation
5	12–14 July 2002	Abant/Bolu	Globalization: Political, Economic and Cultural Dimensions
6	11–13 July 2003	Abant/Bolu	War and Democracy
7	20–21 April 2004	Washington D. C.	Islam, Democracy and Secularism: the Turkish Experience
8	3–4 December 2004	Brussels	Turkey's EU Membership Process: Culture, Identity, Religion
9	1–3 July 2005	Erzurum	On the Verge of A New Age: New Searches in Education
10	31 March–1 April 2006	Paris	Turkey-France Discussions: Republic, Cultural Pluralism and Europe
11	14–15 July 2006	Abant/Bolu	Global Politics and the Middle East
12	25–26 February 2007	Cairo	Islam, the West and Modernization
13	17–18 March 2007	Istanbul	Historic, Cultural, Folkloric and Contemporary Dimensions of Aleviism
14	13–14 April 2007	Istanbul	Turkish-French Conversations: Perceptions and Realities
15	16–17 November 2007	İzmit	A New Constitution
16	15–16 December 2007	Istanbul	Turkey, a Bridge between Civilizations in the EU Membership Process
17	4–6 July 2008	Abant/Bolu	The Kurdish Issue:Searching for Peace and a Future Together
18	15–16 Febraury 2009	Arbil	Searching for Peace and a Future Together
19	19–20 June 2009	Abant/Bolu	Democratization: Political Parties from Sept. 12 to the European Union

（Source: Website of The Journalists and Writers Foundation compiled by author）

Endnotes

1   A part of the research presented in this paper was financially supported by the JSPS International Training Program (ITP).

2   Muhammed Çetin, "Reductionist Approached to the Rise and Aims of the Gülen Movement", *Islam in the Age of Global Challenges: Alternative Perspectives of the Gülen Movement*, Washington, D. C., November 14–15, 2008.

3   In some literature, *Laiklik* was translated not as secularism but as laicism in light of its original source, *Laïcité* in French.

4   In terms of his year of birth, there are minor differences depending on the reference. With the details of his birth registration process being provided, the author adopted Mercan's explanation that he was born in 1938. See Faruk Mercan, *Fethullah Gülen* (İstanbul: Doğan Egmont Yayıncılık ve Yapımcılık Tic. A. Ş., 2008), pp. 34–35.

5   Yalçın Akdoğan, "Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi", Tanıl Bora (ed.), *İslamcılık: Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce 6* (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), pp. 625–626.

6   On this count, Kuru pointed out that the AKP and the Gülen movement had played an important role in transforming the concept of Laiklik in the late 1990s. See Ahmet T. Kuru, "Changing Perspectives on Islamism and Secularism in Turkey: The Gülen Movement and the AK Party", *International Conference on Muslim World in Transition: Contributions of the Gülen Movement*, London, October 25–27, 2007.

7   M. Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 179–205; Fethullah Gülen's website, *Hayat Kronolojisi*; http://tr.fgulen.com/content/category/25/107/128/

8   "Kimse Yok Mu" literally means "Isn't there anybody?". See Kimse Yok Mu's website. http://www.kimseyokmu.org.tr/default.aspx

9   Doğan Koç, "Generating an Understanding of Financial Resources in the Gulen Movement: 'Kimse Yok Mu' Solidarity and Aid Association", *Islam in the Age of Global Challenges: Alternative Perspectives of the Gülen Movement*, Washington, D. C., November 14–15, 2008.

10   The GYV is sometime called as public relations of the Gülen movement, but this allegation was denied by the member of the GYV in the author's interview in 2008.

11   This institution was followed by a few organizations within GYV such as the Intercultural Dialogue Platform (Kültürlerarası Diyalog Platformu; KADİP) and the Dialogue Eurasia Platform (Diyalog Avrasya Platformu; DA Platform). See the GYV's website: http://www.gyv.org.tr/

12   Gündem, op. cit., pp. 23–24.

13   Ibid., p. 123.

14   According to his remarks, the cassette seemed to have been secretly recorded in his open lecture that anybody could attend, and the contents were apparently modified. Ibid., pp. 60–61, 89–91; Akman, op. cit., pp. 49–50.

15   Consequently, he was acquitted in 2006. After the appeal to the higher court was rejected, trials on Gülen were concluded by the Supreme Court on 24 June 2008. Now, attention moves on to

whether or when Gülen will come back to Turkey. For instance, see Anonymous, "Savcı, Gülen'in davasının zamanaşımından düşmesini istedi", *Zaman*, April 7, 2008; Anonymous, "Fethullah Gülen dönüyor mu?", *Milliyet*, March 27, 2008.

16   Mercan, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–202.

17   Ibid., pp. 202–203.

18   Yüksel A. Aslandoğan, "The Gulen Movement", *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, Washington DC, (June 17, 2009), retrieved July 15, 2009, from http://csis.org/event/gulen-movement

19   Ibid., p. 203.

20   Gündem, op. cit., pp. 99–100.

21   Ibid., p. 102.

22   Ibid., pp. 102–103; Osman Özsoy, *Fethullah Gülen Hocaefendi ile ilk Canlı Yayında Gündem* (İstanbul: ALFA Basım Yayım Dağıtım,1998), pp. 27–28.

23   The Journalists and Writers Foundation, *The brochure of KADİM (Kültürler Arası Diyalog Merkezi, Dialogue Center for Intercultural Studies)*, İstanbul, pp. 6–7, and the author's interview in 2009.

24   As an example of these speeches by the senior officials of Turkish military, see Tolga Akinner, "Anayasa tartışmasına asker de girdi", *Radikal*, 25 September, 2007.

25   For instance, Ali Babacan, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs is one of the most famous politicians in Turkey (the GYV's brochure, p. 24). However, even though these politicians gained some inspirations and information for their policy making from these meetings, they tended not to mention the name of the platform (the author's interview in 2009).

26   For instance, Ekrem Dumanlı, "Medya, kendi seçim karnesine de bakmalı", *Zamaıı*, July 23, 2007, Murat Yetkin, "Erdoğan'ın kriterleri", *Radikal*, April 5, 2008.

Power, Legitimization and Shinbutsu Shūgō
With an Analysis of the Miwa-ryū Sankō Hihō

Enrico Giulia

1. Introduction

In my M. A. thesis, I have recently investigated the extent of the influence of the *honji-suijaku* theory 本地垂迹説 (lit. "Original ground and manifest trace") in the combinatory Buddhist-Kami esoteric practice of Medieval Japan. In order to do this, I made a translation with critical analysis of the Secret Procedure of the Three Luminaries 三光秘法, a ritual manual belonging to the Ryōbu Shintō 両部神道 tradition, itself situated within the context of the *Miwa* 三輪 lineage. This ritual constitutes an example of *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合 ("fusion of *Kami* and Buddhas"), as well as of the functioning of the *honji-suijaku* theory. This latter is certainly a crucial point in determining the identity of combinatory rituals, and in reshaping modern ideas on concepts like "Shintō", "*Kami*" and "Japanese Buddhism". In this paper I give a brief summary of the results of my research, regarding the analysis, definition and role of combinatory rituals and honji suijaku theory in the Japanese Religious scenario.

2. Ryōbu Shintō, and *shinbutsu shūgō*

Shinbutsu shūgō and *honji-suijaku* thought are two of the central terms in the study of the assimilation of the worship of deities generally considered native to Japan into Buddhism. The term *shinbutsu shūgō* refers to a religious, political and social phenomenon. It was officially instituted in 698 AD, but made its concrete appearance at the end of the Nara period (710 to 794), with the conversion to Buddhism of several *Kami* throughout the country,[1] the founding of Buddhist temples associated with Shintō shrines called *jingūji* (神宮時, "parish temple") and of the *miyadera* (宮寺 perhaps "*Kami* temple"). It lasted until the occurrence of the process of separation of Buddha and *Kami* (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離) in 1868, when temples and shrines were separated by law for the first time.

Ryobu Shintō is the term referring to the esoteric rituals, doctrines and theories on Kami informed by Shingon esoteric Buddhism.[2] Mikkyō 密教 ("Esoteric Buddhism") rituals mainly deal with protection, purification, enlightenment and salvations of individuals or of the State through the practitioner's veneration of one or more deities, as well as through

visualization and mutual union with a Buddha or Buddhist deities. Ryōbu Shintō developed around the Ise Shrines in the framework of *shinbutsu shū gō* , between the end of the Heian period (794–1185 AD) and the Nanbokuchō era (1336–1392 AD). The esoteric theories of Ryobu Shintō associate *Ise's* inner shrine (Jp. *Naikū* 内宮) with the Buddha Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 (Skt. Mahāvairocana) of the Womb Realm (Skt. *garbhadhatu*, Jp. *Taizōkai* 胎蔵界), and the outer shrine (Jp. *Gekū* 外宮) of Ise with Dainichi of the Vajra realm (Skt. *vajradhatu*, Jp. *Kongōkai* 金剛界). The association made between the *Kami* and the deities of the dual *maṇḍala*[3] (Skt. "circle", Jp. *Mandara* 曼陀羅)[4] is one of the peculiar theories of Ryōbu Shintō and is intimately connected to the *honji-suijaku* theory.

Miwa-ryū Shintō was particularly effective in transmitting Ryōbu Shintō thought outside Ise. The Miwa-ryū developed at the Byōdō-ji 平等寺 and Ōgorinji 大御輪寺 parish temples of Ōmiwa Shrine 大神神宮 in Nara Prefecture. The three temples (including Jōgan-ji 浄願寺) of the Miwa-ryū were active for about six centuries, until they were dismantled between 1869 and 1870 in the process of separation of Buddha and *Kami*.[5]

Although the History of Miwa as a cultic centre can be traced back to prehistoric times,[6] Miwa and its deity became gradually forgotten by the imperial family in favour of Ise and its solar deity, probably also because of the expansion of Kōfukuji 興福時 during the Heian period, and were "rediscovered" and "reinvented" by Buddhist lineages during the 13th and 14th century.[7]

The doctrinal explanation behind the combinatory cults at Miwa can be found in the *Miwa Daimyōjin engi* 三輪大明神縁起 (1317), the first text of the Miwa-ryū Shintō. In this text the *honji suijaku* explanation of the common origins of Amaterasu, the deities enshrined at Ise, and Miwa Daimyōjin 大明神 is revealed: all of them are viewed as different manifestations of Dainichi Nyorai.

3. *Honji-suijaku* and *han-honji suijaku* theory

Honji-suijaku is a theory of assimilation which found practical application within the framework of the *shinbutsu shūgō*. The theory originated in the late Heian period (794–1185), and identified the *Kami* as traces or "expedient aspects" of the Buddha. Field studies have shown that a *honji-suijaku* combinatory deity was often not just a dual deity, but a complex, un-systemized and often arbitrary combination of various entities, such as Indian deities, Daoist saints, Japanese heroes, demons etc.

From the thirteenth century shinbutsu shūgō was criticized by some *Kami* oriented thinkers. Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼倶 (1435-1511), member of the Urabe 卜部 sacerdotal lineage, and head of the Yoshida Shrine 吉田神社, started a purist Shintō movement as a reaction to the combinatory teachings of Tendai, Shingon and Nichiren schools. He confuted the way the fusion between Buddha and *Kami* had been carried on until his time, arguing

that *shinbutsu shūgō* did not succeed in any assimilation. The reason was that, in his opinion, *honji suijaku* assigned a subservient status to the Japanese *Kami*.

Kanetomo's ideas were based largely on the *han-honji-suijaku* (反本地垂迹) theory. This latter was formulated by Jihen 慈遍, a Tendai monk who was most active between 1333 and 1340.[8] "*Han*" translates in the English "reverse", and the new theory was none other than the *honji suijaku* theory applied in the opposite way, with the *Kami* as source or origin, and the Buddhist pantheon as manifestations. Rather than establish a higher status for the Japanese Kami, the theory succeeded only in a "devaluation" of the Buddhist pantheon.

The very fact that this new *Kami*-oriented theory was emerging from the Tendai headquarters (Jihen studied at the head Tendai temple Enryakuji 延暦寺), initially appears somewhat contradictory. However, *honji suijaku* theory did not devalue the *Kami*. In fact, *Kami* were seen as equal to the Buddhas, since the theory was based on the theory of the *trikāya*, which regards origin and manifestation as equal constitutive parts of a threefold body. Thus Jihen's theory was just reversing the relation between *Kami* and Buddha explained in the *honji suijaku* theory, consequently without giving a higher status to the *Kami*. However, in my opinion the *han-honji suijaku* theory was attempting to rejuvenate the idea of Japan as the land of the *Kami*, who manifested themselves outside Japan in order to rescue all the sentient beings: a key concept that was assimilated by later thinkers who exploited religion for nationalist purposes.

4. The Secret Procedure of the Three Luminaries

The Miwa lineage's secret procedure of the three luminaries belongs to the Buddhist literary genre of the shidai (次第 "manuals"), in which practical instructions and liturgies for rituals are explained and passed on. As reported in the *Shinto Taikei*,[9] the *Miwa-ryū Sankō Hihō* was copied and published by Kanezawa Ryūkō, chief priest of the Genpian 玄賓庵 temple.[10] Information regarding the text is somewhat vague, and its origins, as well as its author, appear obscure. However, since the text belongs to the Miwa-ryū, it must have been written after the *Miwa Daimyōjin engi* (1317), in the 14th or 15th century. The lack of data regarding the text, coupled with its esoteric nature which kept it unpublished until recent times, renders further speculation regarding later origins somewhat fruitless.

The characteristic esoteric pattern of rituals *shidai* in esoteric Buddhism constitutes the main structure of the text, as can be observed comparing this *shidai* with the *Juhachidō Nenjū Kubi Shidai* (十八道 念誦頸次第, "The Basic Recitation Manual of Eighteen Rites") attributed to Kūkai.[11]

Throughout the manual there are practical instructions, and when they are too vague, there are additional explanations, probably added by later editors. There are also missing instructions and omitted information that the practitioner is presumed to already know, or

that must be transmitted in oral form by the *ajari*. Different types of language alternate continuously, varying from the language of the instructions, to the one of the comments, to the liturgies and the *mantra*[12] (*shingon* 真言 lit. "true word").

The text can be roughly divided into four parts and two halves.

5. First half of the ritual: introduction and *kaji*

The aim of the ritual, stated at the beginning of the first part, is to give concrete answers to all kind of requests, in particular for those who have health issues.

The practitioner has first to perform the Gate of Heaven *mudrā* (inshō 印章, "hand symbol"), and then to visualize the *torii* gate and the sanctuary of the Moon and the Sun where the deity resides. All the *mudrās*, being "modified" or not, are of Indian origins, and in this context are borrowed from the *Mikkyō* tradition. The *zukō*, or the act of rubbing and spreading the incense performed here, is also performed at the beginning of the *Juhachidō*. Also the *Jitō* bow, or full prostration, is commonly performed by Shingon monks, and the *unshu* respiration practice appears as a distinctly Buddhist feature.

The second part is divided into five "steps" (*jū* 重), again following the structure of the division in "classes" (*bu* 部) of the *Juhachidō*. These five parts are made out of a *mudrā* and of a short mystic formula (Skt. dhāraṇī)[13] that has to be chanted as an aid to the *kaji*, or the rite by which the practitioner reaches complete union and identification with the deity, and obtains the requested results. In these five mystic formulas we can find references to the five great divine kings (*Godai Shinō* 五大神王), the nine orifices (九竅, *kukyō*), the five organs (*gozō* 五臓), the sky and all the constellations, and to the three luminaries, which are the object of worship for the *kaji*. The five great divine kings are probably a "revised" term for the Five Wisdom Kings (五大明王, *Godai Myō-ō*) of the Womb Realm. The nine orifices are often mentioned in ancient Indian literature, as well as in Buddhist Tantra literature.[14] Last, the five organs are probably a revised term for the *gokon* 五根 (Skt. *pañcendriyāṇi*), the five organs of the senses of Buddhist literature.

The first of the five *mudrās* that have to be performed in this part is nameless. The other four are: 八府印 *hachifu-in*, 日輪印 *nichirin-in*, 月珠印 *getsushu-in*, 七星印 *shichishō-in*. *Mudrās* are usually meant to accompany *dhāraṇīs*. They are literary called "seals" because the gesture itself is considered a ritual seal that guarantees the absence of error and the efficacy of the mystic words.[15] The *mudrās* in this ritual are very rare. They differ from those that can be found in the *Juhachidō* both in name and in shape, although the *hachifu-in* is recognized by the author of the text as very similar to the eight petal lotus *mudrā*, which is quite common, especially in the tantric tradition. The *nichirin*, or Sun's disc, is the exterior of the Sun palace of Sūrya the Sun ruler, or Āditya (Jp. Nitten, 日天),[16] while the *getsushu*, or pearl Moon, is related to Candra, or Soma (Jp. Gatten 月天),[17] the ruler of the Moon.[18]

Nitten and Gatten are two of the twenty Devas, also identified with Brahmā and Indra. In the fourth part of the ritual there are two invocations to them. A third invocation to Monkokushō, the fourth star of the big dipper, could be grouped with the two to Nitten and Gatten, and it is directly connected with the fifth *mudrā* of this section, the *shichishō-in* (seven stars mudrā). These three *mudrās* and invocations are the most essential to this ritual, because they represent the very object of worship: the sunlight, the moonlight and the starlight.

6. Second half of the ritual: purification liturgies, *mantra and invocations*

The third part of the ritual begins with an explanation of the meaning of *sankō*, the "tree luminaries", or *sangen* 三元 "three origins", which are revealed to be the Sun, the Moon, and the stars. Then, there is a mudrā that has to be chanted three times, and three liturgies: the Cleaning purification, the Great purification of the six roots, and the Great purification of the Nakatomi.

The meaning of the Cleaning Purification is the following: once everything has been purified and the union (*kaji*) with the Deities of Heaven and Earth is reached, following that purity, everything else will come to be pure.

The incipit of the Great Purification of the Six Roots refers the words of Amaterasu Ōmikami, one of the most important *Kami*. Nonetheless, although terms like "pollutions" are very familiar to *Kami*-worshippers, her teaching here is clearly rooted in Buddhism. Any reference to Amaterasu or the deities (*Kami*) looks like an adaptation or a "patch" applied on a pre-existent Buddhist empowerment liturgy.

The third liturgy of the text is the *Nakatomi Harae kunge*,[19] a purification formula written in the twelfth century by a Buddhist monk who had direct contact with shrine priests, or was initiated himself to esoteric rituals on *Kami*. It gives a new esoteric interpretation of a number of Shintō myths, and explains the way the *Kami*, who are said to be helpful means of the Buddha (in particular of Dainichi, who is the central Buddha in this *harae*), can lead the people towards enlightenment, according to the esoteric schools[20].

The only liturgy in the text that seems to be free from direct Buddhist influence, is the threefold Great Purification, the only *norito* 祝詞 ("ritual Shintō prayer") in the ritual, a request of blessing and aid for purification.

The final part of the ritual begins with a list of invocations to the three Buddhas Amida (Skt. Amitābhaḥ), Shakamuni (Skt. Śākyamuni) and Yakushi (skt. Bhaiṣajyaguru). Here it is said that Miwa Myōjin, the deity of Miwa, is a trace of them. The following invocations are to be made while doing the *vajra-gasshō*, and are connected to the mudrās of the second part. After Nitten, Gatten and Monkokushō, also the divine three luminaries, Kakuyōshō-jin, and Manboushō-jin are invoked. Kakuyōshō is probably an appellation for the celestial orbs, or

the five planets of the days of the week, plus the Sun and the Moon. Manboushō-jin is an appellation for the myriad of stars. Then, three invocations to Fudō Myō-ō close the list of the "guardian deities". In the request that follows, Fudō Myō-ō is said to be Taigenson 大 元尊 (Skt. Āṭavaka), one of the sixteen luminous kings.[21] In this case it seems to be associated with Fudō Myō-ō as the deity "of the three luminaries" and main object of worship, although "the *yin yang* deities, the Moon and the Sun and the starlight, all the Deities and the Buddhas" are named in the following section. Last, there is an explanation of the miraculous power of the *kaji*, and of the knowledge of the true nature of all *dharmas*. Then, follows the chant of a set of *mantras* and invocations. The closing chanting is made up of a thanksgiving and final request to Taigenson-jin, the description of how to end the ritual and the final short dhāraṇī to chant.

The Fudō Myō-ō of the three luminaries *mantra* is the *mantra* associated to Fudō Myō-ō which is particularly prominent in the Shūgendō practice. Also invoked are the Eight Great Dragon Kings.

7. Final remarks on the text

Although the term Shintō used in the incipit of the text, which clearly states that it belongs to the Ryōbu-Shintō, is justified by the worshipping of the *Kami* Miwa Myōjin during the ritual, it is important to note that the texts consists mainly of elements drawn from Buddhism, with some additional Taoist and star worship elements present within the framework of the Buddhist practice. The term Ryōbu Shintō has probably been added by later editors, since it was first used in Yoshida Kanetomo's work *Yuiitsu shintō myōbō yōshū*, written at the end of the 15th century.

Shinbutsu shūgō is present almost everywhere in the text, starting from the *Kami* worship in the framework of a Buddhist (Shingon) ritual pattern, to the various substitutions and modifications made to it and explained above. Honji suijaku theory can be found scattered throughout the text, in particular, in the *Nakatomi Harae Kunge*, where there is a certain amount of doctrinal amalgamation.[22] Nonetheless, it is never crucial to the existence of the ritual itself and there is almost no evidence of *Kami* worship.

Although it is, along with Fudō Myō-ō, the central object of worship of the ritual, the worship of the Sun disc, Moon disc is not a prerogative of this ritual. It can also be found within the worship of the Heavenly realm, and as a part of a certain trend around rituals designed to influence the power of stars, which emerged during the Insei period (AD 1086– 1192).[23]

Conclusion

During the 14th and 15th century, when the *Sankō Hihō* was probably written, there were

a multitude of texts presenting *shinbutsu shūgō* features similar to those shown in this article. Doctrinal explanations were probably needed at some point justify this phenomenon, as well as the worship of *Kami* within Buddhist context, and the use of liturgies peculiar to *Kami*-worship (especially *norito*) during Buddhist rituals.[24] The *honji-suijaku* theory is one such doctrinal explanation.

Being the source of explanations of an already present and functioning, spontaneous and often uncontrollable mixture of elements from different religious backgrounds, *honji suijaku* theory, which was formulated centuries after the beginning of the *shinbutsu shūgō*, did not aid the process of amalgamation of Buddhism and *Kami* worship (although, in some cases, it contributed to a certain extent on the ritual side) but rather served to justify it. Thus it was the need for a doctrinal explanation, or the doctrinal explanation itself which pointed out the different origins of the elements and eventually brought about the *han-honji* suijaku theory. This latter was the outbreak of the process of progressive division and differentiation of *Kami* and Buddhas, as well as of their cultic systems, started by the ideas brought about by the honji-suijaku thought. I suggest that it was because of the appearance of these doctrinal explanations, that two systems became formally distinguished, and eventually came to be divided in the following centuries.

I argue that the spontaneous rise of combinatory rituals, fuelled by the pursuit of power and legitimization from below, or through the ideas of the monks and priests,[25] and from above, through the control of a ruling class in need of consolidating the Japanese identity and the intellectual and religious autonomy, determined a rapid change in the Japanese religious scenario. In this view, the *honji-suijaku* theory provided the doctrinal explanation needed to justify the existence of a religious system incorporating both foreign and local deities and religious practices. *Shinbutsu shūgō* could thus be seen as a process that was partly carried on by one or more political agendas, starting from the official adoption of Buddhism as the Japanese State Religion by the Japanese Tennō Suiko (推古 554–628).

However, Japanese Religions and its history cannot be reduced to a history of political power over religious practice and doctrine. I would rather say that Japanese Religions are the product of the fragile balance between the spontaneous rise of cults and the genuine worship of *Buddhas* as *Kami* by the Japanese people on one side, and the political agenda of both the nobles and part of the monks who struggled for legitimization and religious power, on the other side. To what extent *shinbutsu shūgō*, intended as a system of reciprocal influence between Religion and the Japanese State, was necessary to ensure the survival of *Kami* worship and the political support and power of its lineages, is a possible avenue of future research.

Endnotes

1   YOSHIE 1996, p. 12.

2   Satoshi Itō argues that the influence of Tendai doctrines on Ryōbu Shintō is stronger than that of Shingon. See "Ryōbu Shintō", the online Encyclopedia of Shintō.

3   The *Ryōkai Mandala* (両界曼荼羅, "two world *maṇḍala*") is composed of the *Taizōkai mandala* and *Kongōkai mandala*. The first is based on descriptions found in the Mahāvairocana Sutra, the latter is based on Vajrasekhara Sutra. See also and KANAOKA 1969, ABE 1999.

4   A diagram that symbolically represent the Universe, used in Hindu and Buddhist Tantrism during the performance of rites and as an instrument of meditation.

5   ANTONI 1995.

6   Idem, p. 140.

7   ANDREEVA 2006, p. 349, 352.

8   Further details on the Online Encyclopedia of Shintō.

9   ST, Shingon Shintō vol II (下), p. 20-21.

10 Located in the city of Sakurai, Nara prefecture.

11 See MIYATA 1932.

12 A sacred syllable, word, or verse that is considered to possess spiritual efficacy.

13 A type of ritual speech similar to a mantrā.

14 See WAYMAN, p. 140.

15 SAUNDERS 1960 p. 8.

16 SH 1997 p. 155, 156.

17 SJT, p. 117.

18 SH 1997 p. 156.

19 Mark Teeuwen and Hendrik Van der Veere have already made an exhaustive study on this formula. See TEEUWEN & VEERE, H., van der 1998.

20 Idem, p. 87-88.

21 SH 1997, p. 85.

22 TEEUWEN & VAN DER VEERE 1998, p. 87-88.

23 RAMBELLI and Teeuwen 2003, p. 131, 133-134 .

24 See also TEEUWEN and VAN DER VEERE 1998, p. 60.

25 Although most of the high monks and priests had blood ties with the ruling class.

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Han Yongun's Novel *Death*:
Questioning a Monk's Nation-building Project

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1. Introduction

This paper will explore how a Korean monk Han Yongun produced Confucian-inspired nation-building ideas in his novel *Death* (Chugŭm, 1924). Han Yongun (韓龍雲, 1879–1944) is Korea's most recognized and renowned Buddhist, nationalist and poet active during the colonial period. In today's Korea in which colonial history becomes, as Yonson Ahn (2008) calls, a "site of contestation"[1] and a controversial issue "as it is deeply entangled with contemporary political tensions"[2] inside and outside the country, this historical person plays an important role specially in the process of de-colonization, re-nationalisation, and globalization. He is assumed as one of a very few colonial intellectuals who demonstrated a pure form of nationalism characterized by anti-Japanese resistance, non-compromising and non-collaborative attitudes toward the colonial authorities. It is popularly believed that his nationalism could remain just and undaunted thanks to its grounding in profound Buddhist philosophy. His literary products are often high evaluated on account of its intimacy with his lofty Buddhism and ardent national spirit.

Was Han Yongun in actuality such a faultless national hero? Is there nothing we can critically think about? Was his idea of nationalism just inherent or original without external influence? Was his Buddhism subservient to the national ideals and goals without any problem? As scholars such as Seungsook Moon (1998) suggest, a vision of nationalism is no such thing as a settled homogenous whole but a process "to build a unified and independent community, distinguished from others...depending upon who produces the ideas about a nation and how to build it."[3] Recently, some scholars have begun to critically examine how Han's nationalism was formed and developed, in particular, under the strong influence of a Chinese thinker Liang Qichao, disproving its attribute of originality.[4] In line with their critical approaches, I will argue that Han's literary texts, in particular this unexplored posthumous novel *Death*, present a more detailed and nuanced picture of his vision for nation-building. Upon a closer look at the politicized love triangle of this novel, I will refute the conventional view of his Buddhist nationalism and put into light Confucian-inspired gender politics and nation-building. The Confucian language and the cultural currents of

free love 自由戀愛 prevalent in the early 1920s Korea chosen by the writer will inform us the complex and hybrid characteristics of Korean identity building unsettled between resistance and assimilation, colonized and colonizer, and modernity and tradition.

2. A novel portraying free love in colonial Korea

The novel deals with a love triangle involving Yŏngok and her two suitors, Chongch'ŏl and Sŏngyŏl. The heroine Yŏngok is a woman who has grown up in a traditional family in Seoul but who receives a modern education at school. The female student Yŏngok is obsessively chased by Sŏng'yŏl. He is a rich married man and highly-educated intellectual working as the chief-editor of the Kyŏngsŏng newspaper company. Using his sweet-talk and money, he tries to seduce her but fails. Yŏngok is in love with Chongch'ŏl. He is also a highly-educated person. He attends Posŏng college but has to withdraw due to financial hardships. Hearing about the relationship of Yŏngok and Chongch'ŏl, Sŏng'yŏl feels jealous and spreads a false rumor about her in his newspaper. Chongch'ŏl feels it is unfair and unjust. He comes to throw a bomb into the newspaper company but surrenders voluntarily to the police. The case is solved and Yŏngok and Chongch'ŏl get married. But the lovestruck Sŏngyŏl does not leave them alone. He bribes an acquaintance to bring the groom to America for study and kill him there. Nobody knows it was murder except the heroine. She entices Sŏngyŏl to the Han River and poisons him in revenge for her deceased husband. Then she commits suicide by jumping into the river.

This fictional story takes free love and marriage as its background. *Yŏnae* 戀愛 was a newly translated Western import that reached colonial Korea through Japan or China. As Kwŏn Podŏrae (2003/2004, 2005 and 2006/2007) has sketched several times, the first use of these Chinese characters appeared as a translation of 'love' in a English-Chinese dictionary complied by a missionary W. H. Medhurst and issued in the mid 19th century China.[5] However, it was the mid-Meiji Japan (ca. 1880) in which the notion of *ren'ai* 戀愛 became widely spread and used as an indicator of romantic love between man and woman and caused a debate about the concept whether it is moral, whether it is compatible with the state ideology, whether it is valuable in comparison with *ai* 愛 as a general sense of love.[6] In Korea, there had been vernacular and Sino-Korean terms of *sarang* and *ae* 愛 but its original meaning was 'to think' and to refer a broad sense of love in various relationships. Still, until 1900s, these terms were not frequently verbalized.[7] It was from the early 1920s in the wake of the March First Movement (1919) when notions of romance such as *yŏnae*, *ae*, *sarang*, *romaensŭ*, and *labŭ* were cried among young people and put into practice as the hottest cultural trend in colonial Korean society. This historical atmosphere is mirrored in the romance between Yŏngok and Chongchŏ'l and Sŏngyŏl's passion for the heroine. First, Yŏngok and Chongchŏ'l are freed from traditional customs of early and arranged marriages

and experience free choice in love and marriage. Traditionally, men and women were married off when they reached the age of twelve or thirteen. Their parents arranged the marriage and the spouses had no choice. The 'old' customs were now replaced by 'new' practices of modern education and 'marriage based upon love.' Yŏngok receives modern education instead of marrying at an early age. Her marriage is not arranged by her parents. She loves, dates, chooses her own partner, and marries him. Chongch'ŏl is chosen by her free will.

Sŏngyŏl's passion presents a fuller picture of colonial Korean society in free love. *Yŏnae* (free love) did not only attract unmarried females and males. About half of the male suitors New Women (新女性) encountered were married men. They were married at an early age to a woman arranged by their parents. They, too, looked for ardent romance outside their (loveless) marriages. The passion of Sŏngyŏl reveals this side of the free love trend. He is a married man with a wife and two children. Yet, he begs for love from the heroine arguing: "Love (*yŏnae*) is sacred. Love does not discriminate, does it? Is it a problem whether you are single or married?"[8] Similarly, he insists on the 'sanctity of love (*yŏnae-ŭi sinsŏng*).' Love transcends all restraints and boundaries. No legal and moral obligation such as marriage can obstruct the greatness of love. He writes romantic poems and uses phrases such as: 'A flame of love (*sarang*) burning within my heart,' 'chastity is fluid,' and 'absolute freedom of love (*yŏnae*).' Every single word that Sŏngyŏl spells out actually corresponds to catchwords of the contemporary free love trend.

For example, 'flame of love' was the very title of a best-selling book (Sarang-ŭi pulkkot, 1923) at that time. 'Chastity is fluid' was what a pioneering New Woman Kim Iryŏp (金一葉, 1896-1971) had claimed from 1921 on while publishing sensational essays in 1924 and 1927.[9] Her idea of fluid chastity is as follows: chastity is not a compulsive moral imperative toward a lover but passion itself and instinctive feeling. If love cools down, chastity disappears, too. If lovers forget the past entirely and are able to devote one's pure love to a new lover, they are the very ones who possess unwaning chastity. As such, chastity is claimed as something in a state of flux and renewable. It is not seen as a solid material which is once broken and then becomes unrepairable. The existing view that a woman who has a past [of love affairs] is tainted and worn-out is denounced as a false view. Sŏngyŏl who argues that chastity is not only present in the first marriage but is present in every love, because chastity means 'unchangeable love for a man'[10] represents the New Women and their revolutionary views of the new free love trend.

3. Free love under the rubric of decadence

Seeing Han's fictionalization of the contemporary love fever, one might think that the writer sympathized with the trend of love for love's sake (*yŏnae chisangjuŭi*) led by the New

Women. However, his view of the social phenomenon of free love is neither affirmative nor multi-layered. He makes an authoritarian voice condemning the social currents. One of the decisive proofs of this is his description of Sŏngyŏl. As we have discussed before, Sŏngyŏl advocates love for love's sake, the sanctity of love, absolute freedom of love, and the New Woman's revolutionary view on female chastity. Such an advocate of love is denounced by the writer as nothing but a decadent and evil person throughout. He frequents pleasure quarters and has seduced a considerable number of female students. Yŏngok is nothing but a new prey for his sexual satisfaction. The writer exposes his claim on the 'sanctity of love' as a mere disguise to hide his base desires and an excuse to ruin the heroine's clean mind and body. Yŏngok sharply articulates the writer's verdict: "Sŏngyŏl is a dirty man. He tried to seduce me in various ways and finally seeks favor with money. Such behavior proves that his feeling is passing lust, not true love. He uses such abject tricks on women to receive love. This disregards a woman's personality and shows his poor moral character. He is in a word despicable."[11] Sŏngyŏl is also described as evil in other ways. Obsessed by lust and jealousy, he tries to harm Yŏngok's privacy and to remove his rival Chongch'ŏl. By condemning Sŏngyŏl, the writer expresses strong disapproval of the free love trend.

Han's strongest criticism of free love concerns the social fact that under the influence of free love many highly-educated women happen to become mistresses or concubines of married men. They were called *yŏhaksaeng ch'ŏp* (student concubine) or later, *che-i puin* (the second wife). Throughout the whole novel, the writer does not stop condemning this decadent tendency of free love and depicting how such women are ridiculous, aberrant, shallow and self-indulgent. Using the voice of the heroine's traditionally virtuous mother, Han Yongun shows abhorrence of the degenerated female students.[12] They are supposed to rise in rank by help of modern education but are degraded to one of the lowest statuses like concubines. They are equated to *kisaeng* or prostitutes, women who sell their bodies for money. Han Yongun finds the reason for the concubinage of female students in the women's own moral degeneration. Female students in the novel except the heroine indulge in free love and only chase money (material prosperity), appearance (beauty), and vanity. As a consequence, they are seduced by a rich married man like Sŏngyŏl and become a mistress or concubine of men like him.

Free love actually implies a set of ideas and behavioral patterns. As many studies on New Women figure out, it is related to the struggle for women's liberation, revision of evil Confucian customs, the consumption of modernity, individual self-realization, completion of revolution, and more. Decadence may be part of this intricate complex of notions and actions. So, it is an oversimplification to say the social trend only under the rubric of decadence. Furthermore, many social agents such as New Women, old-fashioned women, intellectuals, newspaper companies, their readers, modern girls and boys, their parents,

nationalists, socialists, missionary schools, and colonial authorities were all involved in the issue and raised their voices. However, the writer Han Yongun neglected the diverse voices and experiences. He only dictated his own conservative view on womanhood. The concubinage of female students is also a question of complexity and thus cannot be reduced to women's personal moral degeneration. It is in particular associated with the confrontation between the modern practice of free love and the still practiced traditional custom of early marriage. Han's understanding of free love is not sufficient to explain all these individual experiences. His view failed to represent diverse social groups and classes.

4. Reinvention of the Confucian virtue of chastity

   Han Yongun was no exceptional writer who used a fictional story to condemn free love for its decadent tendencies. Most of Korean male intellectuals shared the same view. They all saw that female students were ill with vanity. Their free love practices turned out to be concubinage and prostitution. Those women are doomed to be abandoned by men. Through serialized columns and novels, the male authors spread such masculine and patriarchal discourses and even groundless rumors.[13] What is more important is that the colonized male Koreans such as Han Yongun reproduced gender politics and nation-building of Meiji Japan and reworked it to create Korean national identity and to counteract the imposing formation of colonial identity and relationship.

   As Dina Lowy (2007) sums up, Meiji Japan devoted itself to achieve modernization as a strong tool to construct a strong nation-state. For that goal, the government reinvented Shinto and Confucian ideology which stressed hierarchical structure and social order. Its feminine ideal of 'good wife, wise mother' was an intrinsic part of this process. Ironically, Meiji women had to be 'traditional,' Confucian-inspired, submissive, self-sacrificing mothers (and wives) to modernize their nation. The non-traditional Japanese New Women who violated feminine norms were considered dangerous, threatening, and corrupted by Western ideas of love and individualism.[14] The early Meiji version of gendered nation-building was maintained by Korean male nationalists during the 1920 s and 1930 s ironically in which Japan already entered the new period of Taisho Democracy (1905–1932) and the Meiji social order and system became the objects of criticism.

   In this novel, Han Yongun creates a notion of Confucian femininity and a hierarchical view of womanhood which the colonial master used in Meiji era and still in colonial Korea while feminizing its colony. He reinvented Confucian injunctions of chastity (*chŏngjo*), decency (*chohaeng*), and fidelity from tradition and emphasized them as the ideal conduct of a woman living in the 1920s. This Confucian language aims to redeem young people (in particular, women) from decadence and to restore the forgotten national body and mind. Chastity may be the most oppressive requirements imposed on women in the Korean

traditional society. How can such a concept free women from decadence and make them happy?

Han Yognun directly and repeatedly articulates in the novel how female chastity determines the happiness of women.[15] He first makes it clear that this chastity is not the same as the old understanding of the concept. If the old concept refers to morals imposed on women or men's egoistic wish to control women's sexuality, the new chastity is something good for women themselves. According to him, women cannot be fully happy with economic and political emancipation. What they need is love from a man. Men only give pure and undying love in exchange for women's 'pure chastity.' Unchaste women never receive love in all its beauty nor true happiness. Such loose women are doomed to fall victim to men's base desires and to end their lives in misery. He conclusively states that the unhappiness of nine out of ten women (even around the world) is ultimately caused by their lack of chastity. Therefore, women in 1920s colonial Korea are required to practice chaste love rather than free love.

His reconceptualization of chastity sounds plausible on the one hand but one the other hand, evokes some unavoidable questions. First of all, love (sarang) he thinks is not mutual the exchange of love on an equal footing. It is something that men 'give' to women and women 'receive' from men. A hierarchical structuring takes place in romance. Women are described as passive receivers. The heroine Yŏngok, who is designed to deliver the author's message even thinks "It is a woman's duty and honor to serve a man as her husband who has a high moral character."[16] Her perception of love is nothing but the old sense of chastity to control women's sexuality. Secondly, Han asserts that women cannot be fully happy without love given from men and that chastity is the only way to happiness. But in fact, many women became unhappy not due to a lack of chastity but due to a social bias which regards unchaste women as no better than 'prostitutes.' Socialist women, in particular, suggested a totally opposite approach to women's happiness. They did not look for happiness in love. They saw that the economic independence of women would bring a more fundamental change to their lives. For example, Hŏ Chŏngsuk (許貞淑, 1908–1991) announced: "Husbands are not the masters of wives. Wives are not their possession, either. Women have the right to decide for themselves. Sexual life is an instinct of human beings. Nothing is wrong with taking another man in the absence of the husband."[17] If Han maintained that chastity determined women's lives, socialist women insisted that women should determine what chastity meant to them.

The true reason Han Yongun thinks why female chastity is important is its relevance to the (Korean) nation rather than to women's issue itself. In the novel, he shows how chastity determines the success or failure of the national undertaking through a comparison of unchaste and chaste women. The incident which makes those women part of national

security is the death of the heroine's father. Mr. Ch'oe (the heroine's father) is a scholar of the Confucian classics and became a liaison man who was domestically active on behalf of Korean revolutionary groups (*Chosŏn hyŏngmyŏngdang*) in Shanghai. People frequently gathered at his home and did their best to keep the network a secret. However, the secret gets out and their work fails. The loose tongue of an unchaste woman causes the failure. This woman is his second wife Chŏnjujip who the writer describes as a typical woman with no sense of fidelity.[18] She was originally a *kisaeng* (female entertainer) from Chŏnju and became a concubine of five different men. Her lack of female propriety and fidelity is given as the crucial factor in ruining the national undertaking. This unchaste woman confessed everything without hesitation when she was questioned by the police and in this way threatened the (Korean) nation.

It is no coincidence that Yŏngok, a chaste woman, demonstrates a strong determination to keep the secret. She is aware of that the prevention of disclosure is not only important for her father's destiny. It is a crucial matter for 'the entire Korean nation.'[19] As mentioned before, she does not divulge the secret. The episode is an opportunity to test how she internalized what she learned and heard from her father and other teachers. It becomes her first undertaking for the nation, in other words, her 'first step towards the world (society)' and her 'first step to cultivate the future' of the (Korean) nation.[20] The Confucian virtue of chastity likewise becomes politicized to defend the integrity of the nation, which one might call the 'national spirit.' As Theodore Jun Woo (2008)'s remark on gender politics suggests, Han as one of the male Korean nationalists tactically incorporated gender into sociopolitical movements such as nation-building and despite attempts to 'modernize' the Korean body, somehow reinforced traditional patriarchal hierarchies and gender roles.[21]

5. From love for love's sake to love for the sake of nation

Han Yongun saw love and marriage as a mechanism to construct and reproduce the nation rather than individual life course. Such a gendered vision of nation-building comes to regulate and control the female body and to define the boundaries of female sexuality, reproductive health and role of women.[22] It is as expressed in the novel: "Today's female students are mothers who step forward as keepers of the future, in other words, mothers of a future society. Numerous gentlemen and heroes who are required to construct the future Korean society will be brought into life by them and will receive home education from them...Can a man with incomplete education build a complete society? Who would contribute to Korean society in the future and who would on the contrary take the blame for an incomplete construction of future Korean society? Besides, as long as personal indulgence is concerned, it is absolutely impossible that one can receive love from several persons...That female students fall into disrepute is more than a mere misfortune for the person and for

society."[23] Likewise, Han emphasized that the body of female students cannot be their own nor a mere sexual body for romance and pleasure. Their bodies conceive, raise and sustain members of the (Korean) nation who will construct future Korean society. Chaste love and marriage form the way to create the identity of the pure nation.

Love void of chastity can be designated as 'anti-national' behavior and can ruin the sacred project of nation-building. The false rumor that Yŏngok is not a chaste woman but has an affair spread by the rejected suitor Sŏngyŏl was not merely a personal insult but a 'national' insult. Therefore, it was not an overreaction that Chongch'ŏl threw a bomb into a newspaper company building. The action was actually a national movement to punish the insulter of national body and spirit. Chongch'ŏl makes the point clear in his remarks at court: "I intend to eliminate such a [bad] newspaper company on behalf of my beloved woman and the Korean people."[24] He reemphasizes the fact that he does not feel remorse about his act because it was a righteous deed undertaken "for the sake of my beloved and of society."[25] Sŏngyŏl, who harasses a woman and spreads false rumors about her chastity, is surprisingly condemned in the name of the nation, Korean people, and society. His sexual harassment is thus anti-nationalist in the context of the nation-building project in which the heroine's chaste love is to generate and reproduce the purity of Korean nation.

The love between Yŏngok and Chongch'ŏl is ultimately a national project to transform 'love for love's sake' into 'love for the sake of the nation.' For that, Han tries to distinguish their love from the love currently popular in society. Their love is described as pure, spiritual and everlasting, whereas the worldly love pervading colonial society is defined as impure, physical, idle and transient. Their love is an expression of will whereas secular love is emotion. Their love is not a natural feeling or personal intimacy. It is clearly not love for love's sake. It is a politicized love to put a brake on 'love for love's sake' and to lead the Koreans to the national level of 'love for the nation's sake.'

Chongch'ol's attempt to study in America is a crucial incident which indicates how romance gives way to the love for the nation (minjogae) and how a woman's sacrifice of love and marriage support the plan to build a new Korea. After half a year of marriage, Chongch'ŏl is given a chance to study in Chicago with the help of a hometown friend. As we know, it is a trap Sŏngyŏl set to catch him. Chŏngchŏl's intended study in America is not intended to realize his personal ambitions. Rather, it is to be competent for administering the nation someday in the future, when Korea will be free from colonial domination.[26] Han informs us that America is a country which makes the future of Korea visible. It is a country of freedom, in other words, a 'liberated land.' In order to realize that goal, Chongch'ŏl wants to acquire the cheerful disposition of Americans rather than their knowledge, the spirit of America rather than their technology. Yŏngok does not want to be an obstacle but a co-worker who sacrifices herself (her love) like a traditional woman for her

husband and for the future plans for national self-administration (minjok kyŏngyŏng).[27] It is because the love they practice is not *yŏnae* any more but 'love for the nation's sake.'

However, Korean attempts at nation-building were constantly interfered with by colonialism. If the Koreans struggled to build a 'unified and independent community and a national identity, the colonial power seduced and enforced them to have a different identity of the colonized. Such political experience is often mediated by gender relation-ships. In a colonial relationship, the colonizer is symbolized as masculine whereas the colonized as a weak woman. The feminized Koreans are exposed to temptation or danger of becoming subservient to 'another male,' the Japanese colonizer.[28] Such political interference is metaphorized into the triangle relationship in which Sŏngyŏl with a strong background in connection with Japan (Waseda University and the colonial governmental newspaper Kyŏngsŏng sinmunsa) constantly disturbs the two loving man and woman. The female body (Yŏngok) which represents the national body in this novel is exposed to his desire but when his temptation was failed, he took a more aggressive way to assault her with a false rumor. Finally, he removes her husband (sovereignty) to coercively possess her. Instead of subjugation to a new man, the faithful wife punishes the murder. She is faithful to her husband but at the same time loyal to her nation. She entices Sŏng'yŏl to the Han River and lets him drink poisoned wine. In a similar way that her husband was murdered, she takes revenge for him and punishes the national offender severely in the name of the nation. In this way, Han Yongun shows a political struggle that colonial Korea had to face undergoing nation-building without country. Yet, his vision of nationalism aims at national liberation but deprives its own people like women of their freedom. It not only translates the colonizer's early nation building effort but its aggression and oppression.

6. Conclusion

So far, I have examined how Han Yongun created nation-building ideas in his novel by evoking the image of the chaste and self-sacrificial woman from traditional Confucian society and romanticizing the love as the political loyalty to the nation. This close examination of his nation-building efforts has refuted the popular assumption that Buddhism of this Buddhist monk served as an ideological and theoretical basis for his nationalism. As I have shown, he made New Women and their ideas of the free love trend as a target for criticism. To critically approach the cultural trend and construct the politics of nation-building, he reinvented the Confucian tradition and reinforced gender roles and traditional femininity. Before we evaluate his national effort as a triumph of nationalism, there are some questions that still need to be answered.

The first question is why Han did not make use of Buddhism to support his nation building ideas. A critical insight in Buddhism into passion, sexual desire, material craving

and worldly affairs could have helped him criticize free love and prevent sexual indulgence. However, he did not and could not because he disapproved of such conventional Buddhist views. He was a revolutionary Buddhist thinker who stood for the marriage of monks and their contribution to reproductive roles and dared to amend the long tradition of Korean Buddhism. So, he probably noticed a dilemma that he should go back to the conventional view of Buddhism in order to criticize women's sexual liberation and love fever. Han Yongun's national efforts cannot be a mere expression of patriotic nationalism aiming to overcome colonialism. His claims on traditional femininity, female chastity, female sacrifice and subordination to men are, as Chungmoo Choi (1998) suggests, the product of the masculine imaginary which he comes to share with imperial/colonial authorities. His nation-building in this respect is not anti-colonial but "complicit with the colonizer in disdaining Korean women."[29] It may not overlooked how his national efforts create another form of oppressive and controlling power over individuals and women in place of giving them freedom.

Endnotes

1   Yonson Ahn. "Introduction: De-nationalising and Re-nationalising the Past" in *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia*. Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 2008, p. 11.

2   Yonson Ahn. "The Colonial Past in Post-colonial South Korea: Colonialism, Modernity and Gender" in Ibid., p. 157.

3   Seungsook Moon (Mun Sŭngsuk). "Begetting the Nation: The Androcentric Discourse of National History and Tradition in South Korea" in *Dangerous Women: Gender & Korean Nationalism*. Edited by Elain H. Kim and Chungmoo Choi. London: Routledge, 1998, p. 33.

4   Ku Moryŏng. "Manhae's Ideas of Liberty and Equality" in *Maehaehak yŏn'gu* (Manhae Studies). Vol. 2. Inje: Manhae haksulwŏn, 2006. pp. 36–62; Pae Pyŏngsam. "A Critical approach to Han Yong-un's social thoughts and his practices" in Ibid. Vol. 3., 2007. pp. 7–33; Yi Sŏni. "A Study on Manhae's modern recognition focused on the concept of 'Civilization' and 'Nation'" in Ibid., pp. 34–51.

5   Kwŏn Podŏrae. *Yŏnae-ŭi shidae: 1920-nyŏndae ch'oban-ŭi munhwa-wa yuhaeng* (The age of love: a cultural trend of early 1920s Korea). Seoul: Hyŏnshil munhwa yŏn'gu, 2003/2004. A brief summary was republished as an English article entitled "The Paradoxical Structure of Modern "Love" in Korea: Yeonae and Its Possibilities" in *Korea journal* (Autumn 2005) and as a Korean article in *Kŭndae-rŭl tashi ilnŭnda* (The re-reading of modernity in Korea). Vol. 2, Seoul: Yŏksa pip'yŏngsa (2006/2007).

6   Leith Morton. "The concept of romantic love in the *Taiyō* magazine 1895–1905" in *Japan Review*. Vol. 8, 1997, pp. 81–86.

7   Kwŏn Podŏrae. Ibid.

8   *Han Yongun chŏnjip* 6 (韓龍雲全集, Collected works of Han Yongun) Seoul: Pulgyo munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 2006, p. 321.

9   She wrote "Uri-ŭi isang" (Our ideals) in the first edition of *Punyŏjigwang* (婦女之光, April 1924) and wrote "Na-ŭi chŏngjo ron" (My view of chastity) in *Chosŏn ilbo* (朝鮮日報, January 1927). As Inoue Katsue 井上和枝 points out, the content of both essays is similar. Kim had insisted on the point while she founded the woman's magazine *Sin yŏja* around 1921. See Inoue Katsue 井上和枝. "Chosŏn sin yŏsŏng-ŭi yŏnaegwan-gwa kyŏrhongwan-ŭi pyŏnhyŏk" In *Sin yŏsŏng*, edited by Mun Okp'yo, Seoul: Ch'ŏngnyŏnsa, 2003, pp. 172-174.

10 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* 6, p. 321.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., p. 297.

13 For a detailed study, see Kim Yunsŭn. "Ttodarŭn sin yŭsŭng" (Another New Women) in *Han'guk-ŭi singminji kŭndae-wa kŭndae konggan* (Colonial modernity in Korea and modern space). Ed. T'ae Hyesuk. Seoul: Yŭiyŭn, 2004, pp. 198-206.

14 Dina Lowy. *The Japanese "New Women": Images of Gender and Modernity*. New Brunswick, Jew jersey, and London: Rutgers UP, 2007.

15 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* 6, p. 308.

16 Ibid., p. 319.

17 About socialist women's view or practice of love and marriage, see Pak Yongok, "Sin yŏsŏng-e taehan sahoe-jŏk suyong-gwa pip'an" in *Sin yŏsŏng* (2003), pp. 68-79; Song Yŏnok, "Chosŏn sin yŏsŏng-ŭi naesyŏn ŏllijŭm-gwa chendŏ" in *Sin yŏsŏng* (2003), pp. 98-103; Yi Ch'ol, Kyŏngsŏng-ŭl twi hŭndŭn 11-kaji yŏnae sakŏn, Seoul: Tasan ch'odang, 2008, pp. 239-332.

18 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* 6, pp. 307-308.

19 Ibid., p. 313

20 Ibid.

21 Theodore Jun Yoo, *The politics of gender in colonial Korea*, University of California press, 2008, p. 191. For a more detailed sketch of women and 1920s colonial society, see Chapter 6.

22 Sheila Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building in Korea: A Genealogy of Patriotism*, Armonk, NY and London, M. E. Sharpe, 2003, p. xii; Theodore Jun Yoo (2008), p. 191.

23 *Han Yongun chŏnjip* 6, p. 328.

24 Ibid., p. 334.

25 Ibid., p. 335.

26 Ibid., p. 346.

27 Ibid., p. 337.

28 There are many studies which deal with the gendered vision of colonial relationship. As examples, T. M. Luhrmann. "Introduction" in *The good Parsi*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996; Ashis Nandy. *The intimate enemy: Loss and recovery of self under colonialism*, Oxford UP, 1989; also, Sheila Miyoshi Jager's work above.

29 Chungmoo Choi. "Nationalism and Construction of Gender in Korea" in *Dangerous women:*

Gender and Korean nationalism, p. 16.