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CONTENTS

Editor's notes

1. Wherever possible, quotations from the Scriptures of Tenrikyo—the Ofudesaki (*The Tip of the Writing Brush*), the Mikagura-uta (*The Songs for the Service*), and the Osashizu (*The Divine Directions*)—are taken from the latest editions of the official translations provided by Tenrikyo Church Headquarters. In cases where the author cites material from the Osashizu that is not contained in officially approved English-language sources such as *Selections from the Osashizu*, a trial translation prepared by the author or translator is used.

2.1. The Foundress of Tenrikyo, Miki Nakayama, is referred to by Tenrikyo followers as "Oyasama" and written as 教祖 in Japanese.

2.2. The Honseki (本席) or the Seki (席) refers to Izō Iburi, who delivered the Osashizu, the Divine Directions, and granted the Sazuke.

2.3. The one who governs Tenrikyo shall be the Shinbashira (真柱). The first Shinbashira was Shinnosuke Nakayama, the second Shinbashira Shōzen Nakayama, and the third Shinbashira Zenye Nakayama, who was succeeded in 1998 by Zenji Nakayama.

THE WORK OF NAKAJIMA HIDEO IN TENRIKYO STUDIES

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1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to review the works of Nakajima Hideo (1926 - 2011), a long-time faculty member of the Department of Religious Studies at Tenri University and a leader in Tenrikyo studies.[1]

After the start of the "Fukugen (復元 "Restoration")," under the leadership of Nakayama Shōzen, the Second Shinbashira (1905 ~ 1967), the book, *The Doctrine of Tenrikyo* was published based on the Scriptures. At the same time, the Tenri School of Foreign Language was re-organized as Tenri University based on the Tenri Language School, and a Department of Religious Studies was established within the university. It was here that Tenrikyo studies were taught. The main figures in this movement were Moroi Yoshinori (1914 ~ 1961) and Fukaya Tadamasa (1912 ~ 2007), and Nakajima Hideo was of the next generation. Until now, little has been done to look back on the history of Tenrikyo studies but looking back on the past is a necessary step in considering the future of Tenrikyo studies.[2]

In particular, although the *Moroi Yoshinori chosakushū* (諸井慶徳著作集 [The Collected Works of Moroi Yoshinori], 8 volumes) were published [3] and many works authored by Fukaya Tadamasa have also been published, [4] the works by Nakajima Hideo, one of which is the *Sōsetsu Tenrikyōgaku*. (総説天理教学 [A review of Tenrikyo studies], Tenri Yamato Bunka Kaigi), have not been published in a coherent form,[5] so it is difficult to get an overall picture of his work. Thus, it would be significant to summarize Nakajima Hideo's work in order to review the history of Tenrikyo studies.

Therefore, in this current paper, I would like to take up Nakajima Hideo's research on Tenrikyo studies, clarify his historical position in this

area, and summarize his writings on Tenrikyo studies.

2. History of Tenrikyo Studies

In reviewing Tenrikyo studies, it will be helpful to refer to Nakajima Hideo's article, "Kyōgaku kenkyū no rekishi (教学研究の歴史 [A history of Tenrikyo studies])" in the Arakitōryō [あらきとうりよう], No. 114, 1979, in the *Sōsetsu Tenrikyōgaku*). Based on this article, I would like to place Nakajima himself in the context of the history of Tenrikyo studies.

The history of Tenrikyo studies can be divided into the following seven periods:

(1) The Oyasama Period

The creation of the "Kōki-banashi (こふき話) memoirs."

(2) The Osashizu Period

The "Besseki daihon (別席台本 [manuscripts for the Besseki lectures])," the first Shinbashira's "Kōhon oyasama gyoden (稿本教祖様御伝 [Manuscript biography of Oyasama]," and Masaichi Moroi's "Michisugara gaihen (道すがら外編 [Oyasama's life: supplementary biography]" were published, and materials leading to the current *Kōhon Tenrikyō Kyōsoden* （稿本天理教教祖伝 [*The Life of Oyasama, Foundress of Tenrikyo, Manuscript Edition*]" were gathered and compiled into a manuscript. In addition, in the movement for the establishment of an independent Tenrikyo religion, the compilation of the teaching texts such as the *Meiji kyōten* (明治教典 [Doctrinal texts prepared for application to the government]) and the exegesis of "Mikagura-uta (みかぐらうた [*The Songs for the Service*])" were commissioned by Japanese classical scholars and Shinto scholars.

(3) The period of Tenrikyo independence (1908-1916)

The number of publications introducing both Oyasama's life and the Tenrikyo organization increased rapidly during this period. There were calls for the publication of the "Ofudesaki (おふでさき [*The Tip of the Writing Brush*])," and several private copies of the Ofudesaki were

published.

(4) The First Wave of Tenrikyo Studies: From the 30th to the 40th Anniversary of Oyasama (1916 - 1926)

Relatively open research by the intellectually-motivated younger generation began to emerge. The *Sansai* (三才) magazine was published by students studying in Tokyo, and the Rokutōkai (六踏会) was formed by the teachers and staff of the Bekka at the Tenrikyō-kō School (天理教 校別科) for the purpose of studying doctrines and historical facts. During this period, lectures on the Scriptures of Tenrikyo by Masuno Michioki, the principal of the Tenrikyō-kō School, attracted the young in particular, and the movement to "reconstruct the faith through the Scriptures" gained momentum. In addition, *Kyōgi oyobi shiryō shūseibu* (教義及史料集成 部 [The Department of Doctrine and Historical Materials]), a doctrinal research organization, was established within the Tenrikyo Church Headquarters. Even outside of the direct involvement of the Church Headquarters, doctrinal research was conducted by the Chishin Gakkai Association (知新学会), which was organized around a man named Takasaki Rinjō. In general, publishing activities related to Tenrikyo increased.

(5) The Second Wave Period of Tenrikyo Studies: From the 40th to the 50th Anniversary of Oyasama and the Centennial Celebration of Tenrikyo (1926 - 1937)

During this period research on the Scriptures and biographies of Oyasama was conducted mainly by the Department of Doctrine and Historical Materials. The Ofudesaki and Osashizu (おさしづ [The *Divine Directions*]) were published for the first time, and the "*Go-kyōsoden shijitsu-kōteibon, jō, chū, ge* (御教祖伝史実校訂本 上中下 [Historical revised edition of Oyasama's biography, Volumes I, II, III]" which could be called a collection of historical documents based upon which the current *The Life of Oyasama, Foundress of Tenrikyo, Manuscript Edition* was compiled. Along with the publication of the Ofudesaki and Osashizu, doctrinal workshops were held, and the course of doctrinal research was steadily paved. The systematic study of Ofudesaki was begun, including research by Nakayama Shōzen, the second Shinbashira. In addition, Iwai

Takahito's *Doroumi-kōki tsuki chūshaku* (泥海古記 附註釈 [*Doroumi-kōki, The story of humanity's creation, with notes*]) was published repeatedly and widely read.

(6) The "Subdued" Period: The End of World War II (1937 - 1945)

Due to the "Kakushin movement (革新 [Reformation])," the Ofudesaki and Osashizu were withdrawn, the *Shinshū Mikagura-uta* (新修御神楽歌) and the *Tenrikyo Doctrine Engi* (天理教教典衍義) were published, and "*Doroumi-kōki* (泥海古記 [The story of humanity's creation])" was banned.

(7) The "Restoration" period: Down to the present

The so-called *Fukugen-kyōten* (復元教典 [Restoration of Tenrikyo Doctrine]) was officially published in 1949, and the publication of the journal named *Fukugen* (復元 [Restoration]) containing mainly historical research, was started by the Department of Doctrine and Historical Materials (1946). The *Kōhon Tenrikyō kyōsoden* (稿本天理教教祖伝 [*The Life of Oyasa*], 1956) , the *Osashizu kaishūban zen 7 kan* (おさしづ改修版 全7巻 [Divine Directions,revised edition, 7 vols.], 1963 - 1966) the *Kōhon Tenrikyō kyōsoden itsuwahen,* (稿本天理教教祖伝逸話篇 [*Anecdotes of Oyasama, Foundress of Tenrikyo*],1976) were published. Research on the Scriptures, especially the Ofudesaki, which had been suppressed due to Reformation movement, was promoted by Nakayama Shōzen, Ueda Yoshinaru, and others. In addition, the establishment of the Department of Religious Studies at Tenri University secured the ground for Tenrikyo studies and an open research environment.

In this way, Tenrikyo studies has developed mainly through research on the biography of Oyasama and research on the Scriptures. In particular, since the establishment of the Department of Doctrine and Historical Materials in Taisho 14 (1925), research has been conducted systematically toward the publication of the Ofudesaki, the Osashizu, and *The Life of Oyasama, Foundress of Tenrikyo [Manuscript Edition*. After the "subdued" period (6) in the "restoration" period (7), there has been a new movement in the progress of doctrinal research. The publication of *The*

Doctrine of Tenrikyo based on the Scriptures and the establishment of the Department of Religious Studies at Tenri University gave new momentum to Tenrikyo studies in a new light.

The two leading figures in Tenrikyo studies in its new guise, centering on the Department of Religious Studies at Tenri University, were Moroi Yoshinori and Fukaya Tadamasa. They aimed to establish an academic field called "Tenrikyōgaku (Tenrikyo studies)," "Tenrikyō shingaku (Tenrikyo theology)," or "Tenrikyō kyōgigaku (study of Tenrikyo doctrine)" as a field that could be taught at Tenri University. At that time, it was not clear what to call this new field of study.

In 1950, in the first issue of the journal *Tenrikyo kyōgaku kenkyū* (天理教教学研究), Moroi Yoshinori, in his "Introduction to Tenrikyo Theology," noted that the word "theology" was applied scholastically to Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, and wrote, "Now we too may use this term and claim the concept of Tenrikyo theology." He declared the establishment of the discipline of "Tenrikyo theology" and announced the concept of its system. [6]

Four years later, Nakajima Hideo's article entitled, "Tenri kyōgaku-kōza (天理教学講座 [Lectures on Tenrikyo Studies], 1954)"(1) organized the following three names: *Tenrikyōgaku* (天理教学 ([Tenrikyo studies]), *Tenrikyō shingaku* (天理教神学 [Tenrikyo theology]), and *Tenrikyō kyōgaku* (天理教教学 [Tenrikyo doctrinal studies]). "'Tenrikyo studies,'" he wrote, "is, I think, an academic inquiry into the nature of Tenrikyo . . . 'Tenrikyo studies' refers to inquiries carried out in accordance with the premises and methods of scholarship in general. In contrast, the expression 'Tenrikyo doctrinal studies' is to be interpreted literally to mean an inquiry into the essence of Tenrikyo teaching ...... 'A study for the sake of faith,' which consists solely in trying to advocate the truth of the faith to the public, standing on the faith itself." [7]

He distinguished between 'Tenrikyo theology' and 'Tenrikyo doctrinal studies' as having 'the same academic content' and being equivalent to *theology*, and "Tenrikyo studies" as being equivalent to science, and stated that he himself used the term "Tenrikyo theology. [8]

Later, however, in his article "*Tenrikyō kyōgigaku no gainen to kadai* (天理教教義学の概念と課題 [Concepts and issues of the Study of Tenrikyo Doctrine])" (1963), he stated that he had previously referred to it as "theology," but that he would change it to unify it with the term "*kyōgaku* (教学)." In Nakajima Hideo's subsequent articles, the term "*Tenrikyō kyōgaku* (天理教教学)" or simply "*kyōgaku* (教学)" or "*kyōgaku kenkyū* (教学研究)" is used more often.

Thus, although the terms "Tenrikyo theology" and "Tenrikyo doctrinal studies" have been used since the "Restoration," the name of the journal "*Tenrikyō kyōgaku kenkyū* (天理教教学研究 [Tenrikyo Doctrinal Studies]" was changed to "*Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū* (天理教学研究 [Tenrikyo Studies]" from the second issue, [9] and the name of the study conceived as "Tenrikyo theology" was later converged with the name "*Tenri kyōgaku* (天理教学 [Tenrikyo studies])." What the first generation of the "Restoration" aimed to explore was the "logic of Tenrikyo" that exists consistently deep in every teaching of Tenrikyo, and to develop Tenrikyo studies as dialectics or apologetics in the systematization of the study of "Tenrikyo Studies." [10]

(7) During the "Restoration" period, the compilation of the *Anecdotes of the Life of Oyasama, Foundress of Tenrikyo* (1976) was completed, and this division of the history of Tenrikyo studies includes the "present" as well. Thus, Nakajima Hideo himself is also understood as being within this framework.

In the following, I would like to summarize Nakajima Hideo's works on Tenrikyo studies based on his historical position in Tenrikyo studies as mentioned above.

3. Nakajima Hideo's Work

The works of Nakajima Hideo (1951-1990) are summarized in the *Higashi tsūshin* (ひがし通信), No. 34, 1991, published by Higashi Kai (ひがしかい) in *Tenrikyōkō-honka kenkyūshitsu* (天理教校本科研究室). With reference to this, I would like to review his works in Tenrikyo studies in the form of a thematic enumeration. [11] In addition to his works on

Tenrikyo, Nakajima Hideo has written on the philosophy of religion, on the state of religions in Japan, and numerous book reviews and essays, but since the purpose of this paper is to consider them in the history of Tenrikyo studies, I will only include those that seem relevant to that aim.

Related to Tenrikyo Scriptures (*Genten* 原典 [original texts])

・ "Genten kenkyū no kiseki (Traces of the study of Tenrikyo Scriptures)" in the *Arakitōryō*, No. 177, 1994.

・ "Fukugen to genten no kōfu: nidai shinbashira-sama no gojiseki o otte (Fukugen and Spread of Tenrikyo Scriptures: After the works of the Second Shinbashira)" in *Arakitōryō* , No. 189, 1997.

a) Ofudesaki, Mikagura-uta

・ "Kana no oshie: Ofudesaki nyūmon (Teachings of "kana:" Introduction to the Ofudesaki)" (1) – (44), in *Tenri Jihō*, January 15 – December 24, 1989 (Nakajima Hideo, Kana no oshie: Ofudesaki, Tenrikyōkyōten nyūmon (*Teachings of "kana:" An introduction to the Ofudesaki and the Doctrine of Tenrikyo*), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 2006).

・ "Mikagura-uta no sekai o tazunete (Exploring the world of Mikagura-uta): tōron; Ishizaki Masao, Sawai Yoshinori, Nakajima Hideo and Hayasaka Masaaki (Discussion: Ishizaki Masao, Sawai Yoshinori, Nakajima Hideo and Hayasaka Masaaki)" (1) - (19), in *Michinotomo*, April, 1997 - December, 1998 (Dōyūsha hen, *Mikagura-uta no sekai o tazunete* (Dōyūsha ed., *Exploring the world of Mikagura-uta*, Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 2001).

b) Osashizu

・ Co-authored with Yamamoto Kunio, "'Osashizu' ni tsuite (On the Osashizu)" (1), "Osashizu kogi (Lectures on the Osashizu)" (1) – (13), "Osashizu kaishaku (Interpretation of the Osashizu)" (1) – (6) in the *Arakitōryō*, No. 29 ~No. 53, 1957 – 1963 (Nakajima Hideo and Yamamoto Kunio, *Osashizu Kenkyū, jō, chū, ge No 1, ge No 2* [Studies on the Osashizu, I/ II/ III, Vol. I–1, Vol. III–2], Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1961 – 1969. Later these were compiled into two volumes.)

- "Osashizu kenkyū no shomondai (Issues on the studies of the 'Osashizu')" in *Yamato bunka* (日本文化), No. 45, 1966.
- " 'Osashizu kenkyū' ni tsuite [On the study of the Osashizu]" in *Shiryō gakarihō* (史料掛報 [Report of archives section]), No. 227, 1976.
- Co-authored with Yamamoto Kunio, "Osashizu ni michisugara o ajiwau (To appreciate the significance of the life of Oyasama in the Osashizu) (1) – (33) in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), November 1976 – October 1979 (*Higashi tsūshin* [ひがし通信], No. 16, 1984).
- "Tenrikyō genten 'Osashizu' no ajiwai (Essence of the Osashizu, a scripture of Tenrikyo)" in *Tenchi* (天地), Vol 1, No. 1, 1978.
- "Osashizu ni miru sekaidasuke (The Salvation for the world taught in Osashizu)" in *Tenrikyōkō ronsō* (天理教校論叢), No. 20, 1983.
- "Osashizu ni miru sekaidasuke: mondō-hen (The salvation for the world taught in the Osashizu: questions and answers)" in *Higashi tsūshin* [ひがし通信], No. 14, 1983.
- Co-authored with Yamamoto Kunio, "Makoto to iu shian (With thoughts of sincerity)" (1) – (11) in the *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), February – December 1986 (Nakajima Hideo and Yamamoto Kunio, *Makoto to iu shian: yonjūkunichikan no shinjinmondō* [Forty-nine days of questions and answers between God and humans], Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1995.)

Related to the Biography of Oyasama, Oyasama's Treatise

- "Shinkō no ronri: Tenrikyōkyōso 'hinagata' no michi ni motomete (Logic of faith: Seeking Oyasama's *hinagata*, the model of the way of life and faith)" in *Yamatobunka* (日本文化), No. 45, 1966.
- "Gojireki ni Manabu: miyaike-jiken ni miru shinkōteki satori to wa (Learning from the Divine Model: Faith enlightenment in the Miyaike incident)" in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 91, 1973.
- "Jiba-sadame no igi (The significance of identifying Jiba)" in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 101, 1974.
- "Hinagata kikō (Journey after *hinagata*, the life of Oyasama):

kyōdōtōgi; Ishizaki Masao, Nakajima Hideo, Hayasaka Masaaki and Sawai Yoshinori (Discussion: Ishizaki Masao, Nakajima Hideo, Hayasaka Masaaki and Sawai Yoshinori)” (1)~(21), in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), April, 1989 – December, 1990 (Dōyūsha hen, *Hinagata kikō* (Tenrikyō Dōyūsha ed., *Journey after hinagata, the life of Oyasama: The Oyasama Biographies in Detail* , Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1993).

・ “Oyasama zonmei no ri: Sekaitasuke no hikari wa amaneku (Truth of the ever-living Oyasama: The light of world salvation goes far and wide)” in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), December 1991.

・ “Oyasama o aogi-shitatte (Looking up to and adoring Oyasama)” in *Tenrikyōkō ronsō* (天理教校論叢), No. 31, 1996.

Related to the Study of Tenrikyo Doctrine

a) General Studies

・ “Tenrikyōgaku-kōza (Lectures on Tenrikyo Studies)” (1) – (4) in *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū* (天理教学研究), No. 9 – No.12, 1954 – 1956.

・ “Tenrikyō-kyōgigaku no gainen to kadai (Concepts and Issues of the Study of Tenrikyo Doctrine)” in *Tenrikyōkō ronsō* (天理教校論叢), No. 4, 1963.

・ “Kyōgaku kenkyū no rekishi [A history of Tenrikyo doctrinal studies]” in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 114, 1979.

・ “Tenrikyō kyōgigaku to wa? (What is the Study of Tenrikyo Doctrine?)” in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), November 1980.

・ “Kosei to garyū no hazamade: Garyū-shinkō ni ochiiranai tame no kyōgaku kenkyū no arikata (Between Individuality and Selfishness: How to conduct doctrinal research so as not to fall into selfish beliefs)” in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 128, 1982.

・ “‘Fukugen’ kankaku no keisei to dōkō (Formation and trends in the sense of restoration)” in *Tenridaigaku gakuhō* (天理大学学報 [Tenri University journal]), No. 151, 1986.

・ “Nidai Shinbashira to Tenrikyōgaku (The Second Shinbashira and Tenrikyo studies)” in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), June 1993.

b) View of God / View of Salvation

・ "Tenrikyōkyōri no konkan: shinkan to kyūsaikan (The basis of Tenrikyo doctrine: View of God, view of salvation)" in *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū bessatsu* (天理教学研究別冊), 1957.

・ "Tenrikyō keijiron (The Theory of Revelation in Tenrikyo)" in *Tenrikyōkō ronsō* (天理教校論叢), No. 5, 1964.

・ "Keiji shinkō to riseiteki shinnen, jō / ge (Revelation faith and rational belief, Vol. I & II)" in the *Tenri Jihō* (天理時報), 31 August and 7 September 1969 ("Shinkan to kyōsokan o meguru hitotsu no mondai: Keiji shinkō to riseiteki shinnen (An issue concerning the view of God and the view of Oyasama: Revelation faith and rational belief)" in *Koe* (こえ) No. 3, 1969.

・ "Tenrikyō no shinkan 1–3 (The Tenrikyō View of God 1–3)" in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), December 1980, January and March 1981.

・ "Tenrikyō no shinkan to kyūsaikan (Tenrikyō's View of God and view of salvation" in the *Tenrikyō: kyōrikara genkyōmade* (Tenrikyo: From teachings to the current situation), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1981.

・ "Tenrikyō no keijiron (The Theory of Revelation of Tenrikyo)" 1, 2, in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), April and June 1981.

・ "Tenrikyō kyūsaikan no kisokozō (Basic structure of the Tenrikyo view of salvation)" in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), July 1981.

・ "Isshinkyōka tashinkyōka (Monotheism or polytheism?)" in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), October 1992.

・ "Sekaikan: kono yo wa oyagami no messēji ni michite (Worldview - this world is full of messages from God the Parent)" in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), October 1993.

・ *Shiron Tenrikyō no shinkan, Tenrikyōgaku shiriizu 3* (Trial theory: Tenrikyo's view of God, Tenrikyo studies series 3), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1996.

・ "Shinkan o megutte (On the view of God)" in the *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū* (天理教学研究), No. 41, 2005.

c) Theories of Faith

- "Shinkō no toki (A time of faith)" in the *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū* (天理教学研究), No. 8, 1954.
- "Shinkō ni yoru ikikata no tenkan (Changing the way of life through faith)" in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 57, 1964.
- "Omichi to gakumon (Tenrikyo and learning)" in *Yōki* (陽気), April 1965.
- "Tasuke-ichijō no michi (the way of single-hearted salvation)" in *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū* (天理教学研究), No. 15, 1966.
- "Shinkō-seikatsu to kyōri (A life of faith and doctrine)" in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 89, 1972.
- "Shinkō to seikatsu (Life and faith)" in *Gendai shakai to Tenrikyō* (現代社会と天理教 Modern society and Tenrikyo), *Tenri daigaku shuppanbu*, 1973.
- "'Isamu' koto ga konpon no genri ('Courage' is the underlying principle)" in *Ji-ten* (G-TEN), No.18, 1987.
- *Gendai to Tenrikyō no shinkō* (現代と天理教の信仰 Modernity and the Tenrikyo faith), Tenri yorozu sōdan shobyōin-sewabu, 1988.
- "Rekishi ni manabu 'kami-ichijō: kami no manazashi o ou ikikata (Learning from history about 'kami ichijō (single-heartedness with God': a way of life following the eyes of God.)" in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 170, 1993.
- "Seimei no hōkōkankaku: ima Tenrikyō ga teigen suru mono (A sense for life: what Tenrikyo is now proposing)" in *Tenrikyōkō ronsō* (天理教校論叢), No. 28, 1994.

d) The Theory of Doctrine

- "'Kashimono / karimono' no kyōri (The doctrinal truth of 'a thing lent, a thing borrowed')" in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 24, 1956.
- "Motohajimari no sekai (The world of beginning)" in *Mukku Tenri ni-gō: ningen tanjō* (Mook Tenri No. II: The Birth of Humanity), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1978.
- "Taiken o toshite 'o-tsutome' o kangaeru (Considering the Service

through experience)" in *Mukku Tenri yon-gō: kagura tsutome* (Mook Tenri No. IV: The Kagura service), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1980.

・ "Shi soku denaoshi no ronri: Tenrikyō kyūsaikan no tokushitsu o motomete (The logic of death and re-emerging from death: In searching for the characteristics of the Tenrikyo view of salvation)" in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), August 1981.

・ " Toku ni tsuite (About virtue)" in *Yōki-sekai e no ayumi* (陽気世界 への歩み [Steps to a Joyful World]), *Tenrikyō dōwa suishin iinkai*, 1984.

・ "'Denaoshi' no ronri (The Logic of the doctrine of 'Passing away for rebirth')" in *Ji-ten* (G-TEN), No.6, 1986.

・ "Tenrikyō no shiseikan (Tenrikyo's view of life and death)" In *Tenridaigaku gakuhō bessatsu 2* (天理大学学報別冊 [Tenri University journal, supplement 2]), 1986.

・ "'Mikagura-uta' to 'moto no ri'(Mikagura-uta and Truth of Origin)" in *Ji-ten* (G-TEN), No. 36, 1988.

・ "Dame no oshie: oshie marugoto ga kyūkyoku no oshie (Ultimate teaching: The whole teaching is the ultimate teaching)" in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), October 1992.

・ "Moto no ri no hanashi o yomifukameru tame ni: terebi dendōdaigaku daiichi shiriizu tekisuto (To read and understand the story of the Truth of Origin: Televangelism University 1st series text)" in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), April 1996.

・ "'Fushi kara me ga deru' kō: fushi no kyōri to shinkō (The idea that 'from the knot sprouts a bud:' The teaching of a knot and faith)" in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 179, 1995.

・ "Seishi o tsuranuku ronri – denaoshi: Tenrikyō no seishikan-kō (Life-and-death logic, that is 'passing away for rebirth: Tenrikyo's view of life and death)" in *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū* (天理教学研究), No. 34, 1996.

Related to *the Doctrine of Tenrikyo*

・ Co-authored with Yamamoto Kunio, "Tenrikyō kyōten kōza (Lec-

tures on *the Doctrine of Tenrikyo*)" (1) – (20), in the *Arakitōryō* (あ
らきとうりよう), No. 66 – 87, 1967 – 1972. (Yamamoto Kunio
and Nakajima Hideo, Tenrikyō kyōten kōza (天理教教典講座 Lec-
tures on t*he Doctrine of Tenrikyo*, Tenrikyō seinenkai,1972.)

・"Kyōten 'moto no ri' o yomu (To read 'the Truth of Origin' in *the
Doctrine of Tenrikyo*)" in '*Moto no ri' ni manabu* (To learn 'the
Truth of Origin'), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1985.

・"Tenikyōkyōten o himotoku (To interpret *the Doctrine of Tenri-
kyo*)" in *Tenri Jihō*, January – December 1997 (Op. cit., Nakajima,
*Teachings like "kana:" Introduction to the Ofudesaki and the Doc-
trine of Tenrikyo*), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 2006).

Mission History / Church History

・"Honkyō fukyō no tokuisei (Peculiarities of the Tenrikyo mission)"
in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), June 1954.

・"Kyōkai towa?: sono rinen to genjitsu (What is a church?: Its ideal
and reality)" in *Arakitōryō* (あらきとうりよう), No. 90, 1973.

・" Tenrikyō no kigen to rekishi (Origin and history of Tenrikyo)" in
the *Higashi tsūshin* (ひがし通信), No. 4, 1980.

・*Haha hitori, umi o wataru: higashida naka to Amerika-fukyō*
(Mother alone, across the sea: Mrs Higashida Naka and her mis-
sionary work in the USA), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1986.

・"Kyōshi tenbyō: Tōron among Ishizaki Masao, Ihashi Fusakazu,
Nakajima Hideo and Hayasaka Masaaki (Illustrated history of Ten-
rikyo teaching: Discussion between Ishizaki Masao, Ihashi Fusato,
Nakajima Hideo and Hayasaka Masaaki)" in *Michinotomo* (みち
のとも), May 1992 – April 1994 (Dōyūsha ed., *Kyōshi tenbyō:
'Osashizu jidai' o tadoru* (Illustrated history of Tenrikyo teaching:
To follow 'the age of Osashizu' Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 2012).

・"Kyōso no michisugara ni miru shōchōsei: Fushinshi no ichi-
kyokumende (Symbolism in the path of Oyasama: In a phase of
the history of the construction of Church Headquarters)" in the
Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū (天理教学研究), No. 36, 1998.

In this way, there are many studies of the "Scriptures," especially the "Osashizu," as well as doctrinal studies. The study of the "Osashizu" conducted in collaboration with Yamamoto Kunio for a fairly long period of time can be said to be one of his lifeworks. It was almost a pioneering work in the interpretation and exegesis of the "Osashizu."

Among his doctrinal works, there are many general studies, studies on the view of God and salvation, and studies on the theory of faith. The general studies are those that ask the question, "What are Tenrikyo studies?" Characteristically, they are organized by connecting Tenrikyo doctrine or Tenrikyo theology as a discipline that developed after the "Restoration" with the history of doctrinal studies that had been conducted prior to that.

In Moroi Yoshinori's "Tenrikyō shingaku joshō (Introduction to Tenrikyo Theology)" (1950), in which the concept of a system of Tenrikyo theology was first presented, he wrote that the majority of the research in the three areas of historical, systematic, and practical theology "has only just begun, and its full achievements must be looked forward to in the future." [12]. On the other hand, Nakajima Hideo's "Tenriyōgaku kōza (Lectures on Tenrikyo Theology (1) ~ (4)" (1954 – 1956), while following the three-angle system of Moroi Yoshinori's "Tenrikyō shingaku joshō," organizes and lists the main issues of "historical theology," namely, original scripture studies, stories about the origin ("*koki banashi*"), and the biography of Oyasama. Also, he appends a list of the major studies that have been conducted on each of these topics.

For example, the study of the Ofudesaki, is organized as follows:

As introductory studies,

Nakayama Shōzen, *Ofudesaki ni arawaretaru oyagokoro* (Parental love manifested in the Ofudesaki) in the *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), June – November 1954.

Nakayama Shōzen, *Ofudesaki ni arawareta oyagokoro* (Parental love manifested in the Ofudesaki) Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1955.

Nakayama Shōzen, *Zoku hitokoto hanashi* (A single word, part 2), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1951.

As historical studies,

Uemura Fukutaro, "Ofudesaki saijiki (Ofudesaki Chronicles)" in *Michinotomo* (みちのとも), June ~ August 1931.

Ueda Yoshinaru, "Ofudesaki nenpyō (Ofudesaki chronology)" in *Fukugen* (復元), No.7, 1947.

Takemura Kikutaro, *Ofudesaki no tebiki* (Ofudesaki handbook), Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1953.

As bibliographical studies,

Tenrikyō Kyōgi oyobi shiryō shūseibu (Department of Doctrine and Historical Materials) ed., *Ofudesaki sakuin* (Ofudesaki index), 1928.

Nakayama Shōzen, "Ofudesaki yōji kō (Study of scripts in the Ofudesaki), in *Yamato bunka*, 5/6 merged issue, 1936.

Nakayama Shōzen, "Gesatsu 'Ofudesaki' no kenkyū (Study of 'outer volume of the Ofudesaki')" in the *Fukugen* (復元), No. 22 – 26, 1954 – 1955.

As linguistic research,

Morita Yoshioki, "'Ofudesaki' no koku gogakuteki kenkyū (A linguistic study of the Ofudesaki)" in the *Yamato bunka* (日本文化), No. 9, No.11, and No.15, 1937 – 1938.

Yoshida Kurō, " 'Ofudesaki' shūjikō: 'daiichigō' no kekkuhō (Rhetorical thoughts on the Ofudesaki: Conjunctive of the first volume of the Ofudesaki)" in *Yamato bunka* (日本文化), No. 13, 1938.

The doctrinal studies that have been envisioned since the "Restoration," including Moroi Yoshinori's "*Tenrikyō kyōgigaku shiron* (天理教教義学試論 [Trial theory of Tenrikyo dogmatics])" and Fukaya Tadamasa's "*Tenrikyō kyōgigaku josetsu* (天理教教義学序説 [An introduction to Tenrikyo dogmatics])," were specifically aimed at establishing doctrinal studies, and while following these, Nakajima positioned the accumulation of studies on the Scriptures and biography of Oyasama from before the "Restoration" as the premises for the Tenrikyo doctrinal studies. This made it possible to see the history of Tenrikyo doctrinal studies and its overall picture. Later, in the article, " Tenrikyō kyōgigaku no tankyū: Nakajima Hideo sensei ni kiku (天理教教義学の探究―中島秀夫先生に聞く [Exploration of Tenrikyo doctrinal studies: An interview with Prof. Nakajima Hideo])" (2009), he said, "At the time of application for the

founding of Tenri University, as the plan to establish the Department of Religious Studies was underway, the Ministry of Education asked us what and how we would teach, although we called it a course of Tenrikyo studies. I heard that there was a discussion within the Ministry of Education about whether or not Tenrikyo studies could be established, which was very unclear and could be described as disrespectful. I heard thus. So I studied it paying a great deal of attention." [13] The work to organize such history of doctrinal research was aimed at the development of the discipline of "Tenrikyo studies."

In Tenrikyo studies, which can be organized in this way, the fact that many of Professor Nakajima's works are concerned with the view of God and salvation and the theory of faith means that he was trying to deepen his understanding of God the Parent and, rooted in this understanding, to consider a faith-based view of things and the nature of faith in the modern age.

In addition, a list of Professor Nakajima's writings, including book reviews and doctrinal essays not listed here, shows that he has frequently written a series of articles or articles in some Tenrikyo magazines. In particular, his numerous book reviews are so wide-ranging and voluminous, that is to say, they alone can be considered one of his major achievements. [14] In any case, by continuously writing articles related to Tenrikyo studies in Tenrikyo-published magazines, he has played a major role in making "Tenrikyo studies" well known. Through these activities, it would be no exaggeration to state he has been a driving force in Tenrikyo studies.

4. Nakajima Hideo's Doctrinal Studies: Particularly in the Systematic Classification of Tenrikyo Doctrinal Studies

While a full-fledged study of Nakajima Hideo's work is a subject for the future, I would like to address one issue here. The issue here is the systematic classification of Tenrikyo doctrinal studies.

As mentioned above, Moroi Yoshinori's "Tenrikyō shingaku joshō (天

理教神学序章 [An introduction to Tenrikyo theology])" (1950) had a great impact on later studies of Tenrikyo in that it advocated the study of "Tenrikyo theology" and clearly laid out the path to be taken for the first time. Here, I would like to discuss how Nakajima Hideo embraced and developed this concept.

The "Introduction to Tenrikyo Theology" as conceived in Moroi Yoshinori's "Tenrikyō shingaku joshō (Introduction to Tenrikyo Theology)" is, roughly speaking, an inquiry into how God the Parent's revelation "should be brought to a general understanding through reason.

> It proceeds, first, from the perspective of the external determination of the doctrine of God the Parent itself; second, from the perspective of the investigation of the Logos as an implication of this doctrine; and third, from the perspective of the practical promotion of this doctrine.[15]

He says that we must deal with the issue from these three angles. The first is called "historical theology," the second "systematic theology," and the third "practical theology," and this is how the systematic framework of Tenrikyo studies was first presented.

Professor Nakajima has dealt with this systematic framework of Tenrikyo theology or Tenrikyo doctrine in three articles, as far as I have been able to discover. The first article to address this issue is "T*enrikyōgaku kōza* (1) (天理教学講座 (1) [Lecture on Tenrikyo Theology (1)])," 1954, published four years after Moroi Yoshinori's "Introduction to Tenrikyo Theology." In it, Professor Nakajima explains the subject matter of Tenrikyo theology as follows: ① "Historical theology," which deals with 'an overview of the scope of God the Parent's revelation of universal teachings' and the 'facts of the historical development of revelation,' ② "Systematic theology," which deals with 'the fundamental and central issues in theology, such as doctrines,' and ③ "Practical theology," which deals with 'the practical requirements of doctrine and the arrangement of concrete activities of faith.'[16]

The second time he deals with this issue is about ten years later in his article, "(Kyōgigaku kenkyū nōto) Tenrikyō kyōgigaku no gainen to kadai, 1963 ((教義学研究ノート) 天理教教義学の概念と課題 [(Notes on the Study of Dogmatics) Concepts and Issues of Tenrikyo Dogmatics])," 1963. There, the following four "areas encompassed by doctrinal studies" are listed, with Scripture studies added to the first. [17]

① Scripture studies: The task of exegesis and exegesis of the Scriptures.

② Historical Studies of doctrine: In the field of historical research, the task is to elucidate the biography of Oyasama, church history, doctrinal history, missionary history, etc.

③ Systematic studies of doctrine: The issue of understanding and asserting orthodox teachings in an organized manner, which is further divided into doctrinal studies, ethics, apologetics, etc.

④ Practical studies of doctrine: The study of matters directly related to religious practice, such as ecclesiology, preaching, evangelism, and dogma education.

In the third article, "Tenrikyō kyōgigaku to wa (天理教教義学とは [What is Tenrikyo Dogmatics?])," 1980, which deals with the system of doctrinal studies, he also divides the subjects of doctrinal studies into four categories: (1) Scripture and traditional studies, (2) historical studies of doctrine, (3) systematic studies of doctrine, and (4) practical studies of doctrine. [18]

In terms of lexicon, besides the change from "XX theology" to "XX studies of doctrine," "Scripture studies" has been added as the first category. What does this mean for the study of doctrinal studies? I would like to examine this more carefully.

For the time being, the difference in the systematics of doctrinal studies lies in the position of original scripture studies. Moroi Yoshinori's "Tenrikyō shingaku joshō (An introduction to Tenrikyo theology)," explains the historical theology as follows

(a) The extent to which the doctrines of God the Parent are taught, and (b) By what expressions are these being made as fact. [19]

Specifically, I will examine when the "original revelation (Uroffenbarung)" on which Tenrikyo theology should rely was revealed, and determine the definitive versions of such texts as "Ofudesaki," "Mikagura-uta," "Moto hajimari no ohanashi" ("koki-banashi" manuscript), "Osashizu," [20] and complete the description of the practical teachings ("hinagata no michi" ひながたの道 [Path of the Divine Model]) by Oyasama, and proceed with the interpretation of the words, matters, forms, and contents presented therein. This is said to be the task of "Scripture studies" and "biographies of Oyasama," and the primary task of historical theology. Furthermore, secondarily, "church history," "study of tradition," and "doctrinal history" are also considered to be included in this framework of historical theology.

As already noted, in Professor Nakajima's "Concepts and Tasks of Tenrikyo Dogmatics" of 1963 (Shōwa 38), "Scripture studies" is independent of "historical theology." There, "Scripture studies" and "historical theology" are explained as follows.

(1) Scripture studies; The task is to unravel and exegete the Scriptures (the Ofudesaki, Mikagura-uta, and Osashizu).
(2) Historical studies of doctrine: In the field of historical studies, the elucidation of the biography of Oyasama (the study of "hinagata" the subjects handled in this field include: church history, doctrinal history, missionary history, etc. [21]

Also, in Professor Nakajima's "What is Tenrikyo Dogmatics?" of 1980 (Shōwa 55), the same point is explained as follows.

1. A field that deals with the exegesis and interpretation of the Scriptures, "Ofudesaki," "Mikagura-uta," and "Osashizu," which are revelation books of God the Parent, as well as the confirmation and interpretation of what has been handed down as the words of Oyasama.

This field includes the study of Scriptures and traditions.

2. The area of historical study of the facts of the development of Tenrikyo, which includes the biography of Oyasama, church history, missionary history, and doctrinal history. It is also called the historical studies of doctrine. [22]

What is characteristic here is that in the systematic classification, the viewpoint of determining the scope of "original revelation," which was regarded as the main issue of historical theology, has almost disappeared. Indeed, although the Mikagura-uta was partially deleted from the *Shinshu Mikagura-uta* during the "Reformation" period, it was restored to the *Mikagura-uta* book in use today immediately after the war, and the Ofudesaki can also be said to have had its extensions organized through a bibliographical study by Nakayama Shōzen, the second Shinbashira.[23] The *Osashizu* was published from 1963 to 1966 as a seven-volume "renovated edition" with addenda to the eight-volume Osashizu that had been published until then. This was just around the time that Professor Nakajima's "Concepts and Issues in Tenrikyo Doctrinal Studies" was published. In view of this, the issue of determining the scope of the "original revelation (Uroffenbarung)" is no longer regarded as an urgent issue for doctrinal studies. However, in the systematic conception by Moroi Yoshinori in his "Introduction to Tenrikyo Theology" and in Nakajima Hideo's "Lectures on Tenrikyo Studies (1) ~ (4)," along with the three Scriptures, the so-called "kōi banashi" and Oyasama's "hinagata" were taken up as parts of the "original revelation," but their treatment came to be vague in his later articles.

In addition to the fact that the issue of determining the scope of the "original revelation" has been settled, the decision was made to make "Scripture studies" independent from "historical studies of doctrine" as the first subject of doctrinal research.   The fact that it is listed as an independent subject of the first doctrinal study is thought to reflect an intention to emphasize that "Scripture studies" is not fundamentally historical research and the importance of "Scripture studies" in doctrinal

research. This can be seen in the following words of Professor Nakajima in his article "Lectures on Tenrikyo Studies (2)," in which he discusses the issue of how to delimit the Ofudesaki in the course of organizing the "Ofudesaki" studies.

> This can only be done through rigorous research and investigation in line with the Ofudesaki itself, in consideration of the historical circumstances of the time, and based on a thorough faith. [24]

The phrases "in line with the Ofudesaki itself" and "from the standpoint of a thorough faith" express well the attitude toward the study of the Scriptures. The fact that doctrinal research is a scholarly endeavor grounded in faith is emphasized in many other articles. For example, it is said as follows.

> The Tenrikyo studies as the study of faith is carried out on the premise of faith in the truth and absoluteness of the revealed teachings. In other words, the studies are only possible when we accept what was revealed by Oyasama as the revelation of God the Parent. [25]

Therefore, an understanding based on a "thorough faith" is an understanding based on the belief that the Scriptures contain a world of unexplored teachings by God the Parent. Professor Nakajima notes that teaching and research conducted based on such faith requires "a fundamental attitude of being diligent and carrying out with truth."[26] While researching the Scriptures based on such beliefs requires historical research, it is essential to submerge yourself in the world of teachings that transcend history and understand the will of God the Parent.

The importance of such studies on the Scriptures can be seen from the following words, in which Professor Nakajima describes the "attitude toward doctrinal studies."

> Dogmatics seeks the fact of revelation as the fundamental premise of

its study . . . It must be an act of faith in itself, while being a rational pursuit. Therefore, it is not a monologue of reason, but a dialogue with God the Parent through the Scriptures. In other words, it is a humble submergence into the Scriptures and a rational acceptance of the teachings of God the Parent that are opened there....... "Reasoned acceptance" means to keep asking questions until the Scriptures answer us lively, until we can accept what has been revealed to us with joy.[27]

This understanding that academic work with the Scriptures is the fundamental premise of the Tenrikyo studies can be seen in the systematic classification of the doctrinal studies. This understanding is not merely Professor Nakajima's personal understanding but is also the standard systematic classification of the Tenrikyo doctrinal studies.[28]

5. Conclusion

As described above, we have reviewed Nakajima Hideo's work on Tenrikyo studies, especially his general studies in the development of Tenrikyo studies and his systematic classification of the doctrines, comparing them with the concept of "An introduction to Tenrikyo theology" by Moroi Yoshinori, the first generation of "Restoration," so to speak. In this way, it became clear that the Tenrikyo studies as an academic discipline, which was conceived after the establishment of the Department of Religious Studies at Tenri University, was organized in connection with the accumulation of doctrinal studies from before that time, and that the systematic classification of doctrinal studies was reorganized in relation to the changing circumstances of the Scriptures.

Finally, a more general characteristic of his doctrinal research for Tenrikyo studies is his conception of what a faith-based scholarly understanding is. In his several articles, the attitude of the scholarly study of teaching is emphasized as being humility, hard work, and truthfulness. In academics in general, it can be said that it is only natural for research ethics to conduct research diligently and with humility.

There is no academic reason for extra diligence and humility in the research, if the research procedures are followed properly. However, as a "study for the sake of faith" that seeks to understand the content of the teachings from the standpoint of faith, a thorough and humble inquiry into the teachings of God the Parent is considered an essential research attitude for Tenrikyo studies.

This conception of academic understanding grounded in faith is the foundation of the discipline of Tenrikyo studies and has strongly defined the character of Tenrikyo studies as a discipline.

Notes

(1) Nakajima Hideo was born in 1926 (Taishō 15) in Aichi Prefecture, Japan and died in 2011 (Heisei 23). He graduated from the second Tenri high School, studied at Jingū Imperial College (神宮皇學館大学 Jingū kōgakukan daigaku), and then transferred to Tōhoku University, the Faculty of Law and Letters, where he studied religious studies. He graduated in March 1949 and began teaching social studies at the first section of Tenri High School in April 1949. In 1950, he joined the Institute of Religious Culture (now the Oyasato Institute for the Study of Religion). In 1960, he became a lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies in the Faculty of Letters at Tenri University, and in 1961, he was promoted to assistant professor, and in 1968, to professor. (See Satō Kōji, "Mourning the Return of Prof. Nakajima Hideo," *Glocal Tenri*, Vol. 12, No. 9)

(2) On the occasion of the 50th anniversary or the 100th anniversary of the birth of Dr. Moroi Yoshinori, a symposium was held to review his achievements. "The 50th Anniversary of Professor Yoshinori Moroi's 50th Anniversary Public Symposium: Talking about Tenrikyo Doctrinal Studies" (held at Tenri University, November 26, 2011, in the *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū*, No. 44), "Dr. Moroi's Commemorative Symposium: Making the Most of Moroi Teachings in the Modern Age" (at Tenri University, November 25, 2015).

(3) These were published by Tenrikyō Dōyūsha from 1962 to 1973. The titles of the volumes are as follows. Volume 1: *Tenrikyō kyōgigaku shiron* (天理教教義学試論 [Tentative Essay on Tenrikyo Doctrinal Studies]), Volume 2: *Michi no sendatsu no kokoroe* (道の先達の心得・人間完成の道 [The Sentient Mind of the Path, The Way of Human Perfection]) , Volume 3: *Hinokishin josetsu tannō no kyōri* (ひのきしん叙説・たんのうの教理 [Hinokishin Narrative, The Doctrine of tannō]), Volume 4: *Tenrikyō no shinkan to ningenkan Yōkigurashi ron* (天理教の神観と人間観・陽気ぐらし論 [The Tenrikyo View of God and Man, The Joyous Life]), Volume 5: *Dame no oshie* (究極の教 [Ultimate teachings]), Volume 6: *Tenrikyō shingaku joshō* (天理教神学序章 [An introduction to Tenri-

kyo theology]), Volume 7: *Ningen kansei no michi toshite no Tenrikyō* (人間完成の道としての天理教 [Tenrikyo as the way of human perfection]), Volume 8: *Tenrikyō kōza* (天理教講座 Lectures on Tenrikyo)). This eight-volume collection is now out of print and has been replaced by *Moroi Yoshinori chosakushū* (諸井慶徳著作集 [The Collected Works of Moroi Yoshinori], Volumes 1 and 2).

(4)   For example, the *Tenrikyō Dōyūsha tosho mokuroku* (天理教道友社図書目録 [Tenrikyō Dōyūsha book catalog]), 2020, lists the following works as currently available: *Mikagura-uta kōgi* みかぐらうた講義 [Lectures on the Mikagura-uta]), *Kyōri kenkyū mijōsatoshi* (教理研究身上さとし [Instructions for illness]), *Kyōri kenkyū jijōsatoshi* (教理研究事情さとし [Instructions for troubles]), *Kaitei Tenrikyōten kōgi* (改訂天理教教典講義 [Revised Lectures on the doctrine of Tenrikyo]), *Kyōrikenkyū moto no ri* (教理研究元の理) [Lectures on the truth of origin]), *Tenrikyo: dame no oshie* (天理教 だめのおしえ [Tenrikyo: Ultimate teachings]), *Tenrikyō kyōgigaku josetsu* (天理教教義学序説 [An introduction to Tenrikyo dogmatics]), *Tenrikyō no konpon kyōri ni tsuite - Oyasama* (天理教の根本教義について・教祖 [On the fundamental doctrine of Tenrikyo: Oyasama]), *Tenrikyō kyōsoron josetsu* (天理教教祖論序説 [Introduction to the theory of the Tenrikyo Foundress]), *Tenrikyō kyōkaigaku josetsu* (天理教教会学序説 [Introduction to Tenrikyo church studies]), and *Tasuke-ichijō hirome-ichijō* (たすけ一条・ひろめ一条 [Only to save people and spread the teachings.])

(5)   *Tenrikyō Dōyūsha book catalog* lists five books: *Kana no oshie* (かなの教え), *Osashizu kenkyū* (おさしづ研究 co-authored), *Makoto to iu shikan* (誠という思案 co-authored), *Shiron Tenrikyo no shinkan*"(試論天理教の神観 , and *Haha hitori, umi o wataru* (母ひとり、海を渡る).

(6)   Moroi Yoshinori, "An introduction to Tenrikyo theology: Its outline and tasks," *Tenrikyō kyōgaku kenkyū*, Vol. 1, 1950 (quoted here from "The Works of Moroi Yoshinori," Vol. 6, Tenrikyō Dōyūsha, 1971, p. 5). Incidentally, in "An introduction to doctrinal studies (Part 1)" published in *Restoration* No. 9 in 1947, Moroi stated, "In this religion, after all, the term 'theology' is still premature" (The Collected Works of Moroi Yoshinori, Vol. 6, p. 15).

(7)   Nakajima Hideo, "Lectures on Tenrikyo studies (1)," *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū*, No. 9, 1954, pp. 146-147.

(8)   However, he also states, "Since the term itself is not yet fully matured, it is not necessary to limit "Tenrikyo studies" to what we have seen here" (Nakajima, "Lectures on Tenrikyo studies (1)," p. 147).

(9)   At the end of the preface to the first issue of the journal "*Tenrikyokyōgaku kenkyū*" (Studies on Tenrikyo doctrine), it is stated, "Therefore, we must strive to study Tenrikyo as a study of one's own faith, we will strengthen our beliefs, spread the word of God the Parent's deep calling, and strive toward the realization of a Joyous World" (p. 8), which already refers to Tenrikyo studies. In the editorial postscript to the second issue, it is reported that a meeting was held between the committee members and the authors of the first issue to review the first issue and discuss the next issue, and that the name of the journal was

decided to be "*Tenrkyōgaku kenkyū*" ("Tenrikyo studies").

(10) See Katsumi Shimada, "Tenrikyo Studies as Dialectic," Tenrikyo Studies, No. 42, 2006, and "The Creation and Development of Tenrikyo Studies: On the Significance of Religious Studies as a Mediation," in *Tenrkyōgaku kenkyū*, No. 43, 2009.

(11) For subsequent articles, I referred to the "Tenrikyō kankei zasshikiji mokuroku (天理教関係雑誌記事目録 [List of Articles in Tenrikyo-Related Journals])" in the *Tenrikyōkō ronsō* published by the Tenrikyōkō honka kenkyūshitsu.

(12) Op. cit., Moroi Yoshinori, "An introduction to Tenrikyo theology" (*Moroi Yoshinori chosakushū*, Vol. 6, p. 13).

(13) Department of Religious Studies ed., "Exploration of Tenrikyo doctrinal studies: Interview with Nakajima Hideo," *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū*, No. 43, 2009, p. 4.

(14) A group of book reviews that appeared in "*Michinotomo*" and other publications under the titles, "Book Introduction," "Book View," "Book Prospect," "Book Guide," "New Book Guide," "New Book Introduction," "New Book," and "Book Review" were later compiled into one volume as the *Tosho tenbō* (図書展望 [Book Prospect]), *Higashi tsūshin supplementary volume 1*," Higashi Kai, 1979. The number of books reviewed here amounted to 134.

(15) Op. cit., Moroi Yoshinori, "An introduction to Tenrikyo theology" (*Moroi Yoshinori chosakushū*, Vol. 6, p. 6).

(16) Op. cit., Nakajima Hideo, "Lectures on Tenrikyo studies (1)," p. 151.

(17) Nakajima Hideo, "(Notes on the study of dogmatics) Concepts and issues in Tenrikyo dogmatics," *Tenrikyōkō ronsō*, No. 4, 1963, p. 121.

(18) Nakajima Hideo, "What are Tenrikyo Dogmatics?" in *Michinotomo*, November 1980.

(19) Op. cit., Moroi, Yoshinori, "Tenrikyo theology: An introduction" (the T*enrikyōkō ronsō*, Vol. 6, p. 6).

(20) Moroi Yoshinori calls the "Ofudesaki" and "Mikagura-uta" "Ur-texts." This translates literally as "original and classic." From this expression, it is clear that he regards these two scriptures as more fundamental to Tenrikyo theology than the "Kokibanashi" and "Osashizu."

(21) Op. cit., Nakajima Hideo, "(Notes on the study of teaching) Concepts and issues in Tenrikyo dogmatics," p. 122.

(22) Op. cit., Hideo Nakajima, "What are Tenrikyo Dogmatics?" p. 26.

(23) Nakayama Shōzen, "Gesatsu 'Ofudesaki' no kenkyū", *Restoration*, No. 23 – 26, "Ofudesaki yōgo kō," *Yamato Bunka*, No. 5 and 6, etc.

(24) Nakajima Hideo, "Tenrikyōgaku kōza (2)," *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū*, No. 10, 1955, p. 54.

(25) Op. cit., "Exploration of Tenrikyo doctrinal studies: Interview with Prof. Nakajima Hideo," in the *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū*, p. 12. In the context of research on the biography of Oyasama, he wrote, "I dare say here that faith is an attitude of accepting everything with utmost modesty. It is to live strongly in the new life

that naturally arises in the midst of it. If this is the case, the more one devotes oneself to faith, the more one humbly seeks the true form of Oyasama. (Nakajima Hideo, "Tenrikyo Lectures (4)," *Tenrikyōgaku kenkyū*, No. 12, 1956, p. 115).

(26) Op. cit., Nakajima Hideo, "Lectures on Tenrikyo studies (1)," p. 150.

(27) Op. cit., Nakajima Hideo, "(Notes on the study of teaching) concepts and issues in Tenrikyo doctrinal studies," p. 126.

(28) Oyasato Institute for the Study of Religion ed., *Tenrikyō jiten daisanpan* (天理教事典 第三版 [Tenrikyo Encyclopedia, Third Edition], Tenri University Press, 2018. See the entries "天理教学(Tenrikyōgaku)," and "天理教学研究(*Tenrikyō gaku kenkyū*.)"

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RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TENRIKYO HAWAIIAN MISSION IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD

Takayuki ONOUE

Introduction

This paper focuses on the re-establishment of the Tenrikyo Hawaiian mission, one of Japan's new religions, in the postwar period. Japanese nationals started immigrating to Hawaii in considerable numbers in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Their main purpose of immigration was temporary residency in order to find labor. As they prolonged their stay, however, they came to settle in and gradually established their own immigrant communities. In the process, their desire to engage in Japanese religious activities increased, which led to their involvement in religious practices and activities of traditional Japanese religions such as Buddhism and Shinto. Buddhism and Shinto played a significant role for the Japanese immigrants to establish their immigrant communities and maintain their ethnic identity and culture. In the 1920s, Japan's new religions including Konkokyo and Tenrikyo also began their missionary activities. The new religions contributed to the religious culture among the immigrant communities through their activities such as faith healing, an area in which the traditional religious groups were not actively involved.

According to Norihito Takahashi, research on Japanese religions in Hawaii are roughly divided into two fields: research on religions or socio-religions and research on migration or ethnicity.[1] The leading studies in the first field include those based on local research between 1977 and 1981 conducted by a group of Japanese scholars including Keiichi Yanagawa and Kiyomi Moritaka.[2] Their research covered various Buddhist and Shinto groups as well as the new religions., The members of this group later published their respective results.[3] A number of studies on Japanese traditional and new religions have also been

conducted from the perspectives of Japanese immigrant communities in recent years.[4] In the studies on migration and ethnicity, some scholars discussed the missionary strategies of Japanese religions organizations among the Japanese immigrant communities and the postwar situations in the communities as well.[5] At the same time other scholars discussed the relationships between history or social movements and religious groups in the Japanese immigrant communities.[6] The studies on Japanese new religions in the first field, however, have been few in numbers,[7] partly because the religious groups were a minority compared to Buddhist sects which were considered the mainstream religion in the Japanese immigrant communities. In the field of migration and ethnicity, many researchers focused on the prewar period when new religions started their activities among the Japanese immigrant communities.

Tenrikyo is one group among the new religious groups which has played a considerable role in religious culture in Japanese immigrant communities in Hawaii since the group's introduction in the 1930s. In addition, the period in the 1950s when Japanese immigrant communities were recovering from the aftermath of the war was the period when Tenrikyo's missionary system became firmly re-established in Hawaii, which evolved into the current activities. It was also the period when various dynamic changes occurred in the Japanese immigrant communities in Hawaii. Japanese Americans became more integrated into the local American society and a generational shift occurred from Issei, the first generation of the Japanese immigrants, to Nisei, the second generation, while Japanese culture underwent a revival at the same time. The period generated a lot of signs indicating the increasing influence of Japanese community and culture on the current society in Hawaii. Thus, this current paper presents a view of the growth of the Tenrikyo mission in Hawaii while at the same time contributing to the research on Japanese religions in Hawaii from the perspective of both religious studies and migration studies.

This paper first overviews Tenrikyo's overseas missions in general and then clarifies its Hawaii mission in the periods between the 1930s when

Tenrikyo started missionary activities and the 1950s when the systematic mission was firmly established. Then, it presents some characteristics in the revival of the Tenrikyo's mission in postwar Hawaii, referring to social changes there including the integration into the mainstream society by Japanese as well as the continuity with traditional ethnic culture,[8] and considers how Tenrikyo attained the re-establishment of its mission in difficult, tough conditions during the aftermath of the war.

1. A Brief History of Tenrikyo's Mission in Hawaii until the 1950s

An organized Tenrikyo mission to Hawaii became active after 1929 when the first church was established in Honolulu and Tenrikyo became one of mainstream religious groups in the Japanese immigrant communities before the war broke out. During the war some Tenrikyo head minsters and missionaries were arrested as alien enemies, transferred to the continental United States, and detained there in internment camps. After the war they returned to Hawaii and engaged in the restoration of their churches. Once the Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters of Hawaii was established in Honolulu in 1954, missionary activities spread throughout the Hawaiian islands, thus resulting in the firm establishment of the mission system in Hawaii. This chapter briefly presents a Tenrikyo history in Hawaii from the beginning of the missionary activities to the re-establishment in the postwar period.

1-1. The Prewar Tenrikyo's North American Mission

One of Tenrikyo's main goals is for believers to attain the Joyous Life, which is "a state of the world where all of us human beings respect and help one another in our lives."[9] Thus, it can be said that this main Tenrikyo tenet contained the intention to establish an overseas mission from the beginning. Tenrikyo has a long history to promote overseas mission actively from the period of the organization's inception. In the 1890s Tenrikyo attained a tremendous growth inside Japan. The Meiji

Government, however, felt concern for the rapid increase in membership numbers and as a result, in 1896 the Home Ministry announced Directive No.12, which was "Secret Instructions" to strictly restrict Tenrikyo's activities. Tenrikyo came to face a severe situation in its missionary activities. This presented an alternate opportunity to seek to become an independent Shinto sect and another impetus for Tenrikyo missionaries, particularly young people, to perform missionary activities outside the country.

Tenrikyo first started overseas missions in Asia in the 1890s and missionary facilities were established one after another in Asian countries. The Japanese government's immigration policy, particularly to Manchuria, and Japan's expansion into East Asia were considered to contribute to Tenrikyo's overseas mission in Asia.[10] More systematic overseas missions started around 1926 in celebration of Oyasama's fortieth Anniversary. At that time the Tenrikyo Church Headquarters announced its policy to put more energy in overseas missions. It set up the Tenri Foreign Language Institute (what is now Tenri University) in 1925 to nurture overseas missionaries and the Overseas Department in 1927, a new section within the Church Headquarters, to decide rules and regulations for the overseas missions.

Various Buddhist and Shinto groups started their activities in Hawaii in the late nineteenth century, while Tenrikyo began its organized mission in the 1930s, a few decades later.[11] Although there were Tenrikyo missionaries and followers who immigrated earlier and conducted individual missionary activities, howevr, these immigrants became more active after the Tenrikyo Honolulu Church was established in 1929 as the first Tenrikyo church in Hawaii. From that date nearly twenty missionaries were dispatched one after another until 1936, which led to the expansion of various missionary activities.[12]

Shōzen Nakayama, the Second Shinbashira, administrative and spiritual leader of Tenrikyo, visited the United States to attend the international religious convention held in Chicago in 1933. He visited various states and regions both in Hawaii and in the continental United

States. His visit became a momentum of the North American Tenrikyo mission, resulting in the establishment of the Mission Headquarters in America in Los Angeles in 1934 as an organization in charge of North America. Tenrikyo America Seishin-kai, (Association of Sincere Hearts), was formed in the same year as a Tenrikyo network throughout North America. The Hawaiian Chapter of the Seishin-kai was also set up in 1935 and approximately two hundred people gathered at its opening ceremony held in Honolulu on July 28th of the same year.[13]

According to a survey conducted by the Mission Headquarters in America in 1938, the number of followers including children was 3,431 in the continental United States, 2,294 in Hawaii, and 91 in Canada respectively.[14] According to "a Church List in North America"[15] compiled by the headquarters in 1941, the number of churches was 37 in the continental United States, 16 in Hawaii, and one in Canada respectively. Thus, before the Pacific War broke out, Tenrikyo is considered to have become one of the mainstream religious groups among the Japanese immigrant communities in North America.[16]

1-2. During the War

The population in Hawaii was 414,991 in 1939 before the Pacific War broke out. Among them, Issei (first generation Japanese) numbered 35,681, while the number of Nisei (second generation Japanese) reached 119,361.[17] The combined numbers of Japanese and Japanese Americans consisted of approximately 37 percent of the total population. On December 7, 1941 the Japanese military attacked Pearl Harbor and the war between the U.S. and Japan broke out. On that day many leaders in the Japanese immigrant communities were arrested. Some of them were transferred and interned in the continental United States. Among other Japanese religions, members of Shinto were also badly persecuted. Japanese shrines including Kato Jinja, Itsukushima Jinga, and Izumo Taisha in Hawaii had their properties confiscated and their missionaries were totally banned from undertaking any activities.[18]

Tenrikyo head ministers and missionaries in Hawaii were also arrested and interned. The number totaled fourteen people in the end.[19] Among them one missionary was arrested a year and a half after the war broke out, while other head ministers were not arrested because of respective reasons such as being very aged or living in a less risky area. One missionary was forbidden by the army to leave the island during the war, which he had temporarily visited for his missionary work.[20] Formerly, the missionaries had been respected by Japanese immigrants as religious leaders. After they were arrested, however, they were suddenly perceived as "war criminals" and treated badly, which must have inflicted them with huge mental damage and humiliation.[21]

Unlike in the continental United States, a total forced removal and placement in concentration camps was not undertaken in Hawaii. Although Japanese and Japanese American were under restrictions in Hawaii, the Japanese immigrant communities still continued in place. Family members of arrested missionaries were forced to lead their lives under the severe gaze of not only government authorities but also fellow Japanese as a family of internees. One wife of an arrested head minister was fired from a department store where she had worked after her husband was arrested and the landlord said to her, "I do not want to rent my house to a person who was arrested by the FBI," and she and her family had to leave the property used as their church.[22] Another wife of a missionary could not make a living after her husband was arrested so she went to the continental United States with her children and entered the internment camp where her husband was interned.[23]

On the other hand, some head minsters and missionaries who were not arrested continued their Tenrikyo activities such as monthly services, albeit on a smaller scale. A head minister in Lanai Island recalled the days, "The residence and the church were separate. Since nobody watches over us because it is very rural, we perform the service with offerings. Some followers came to worship. Even though it was in the midst of war it was not so difficult for us."[24]

1-3. The Postwar Recovery

After the war ended the missionaries interned in the continental United States returned to Hawaii one after another. They started the restoration of the churches with their family members and followers who remained there. However an anti-Shinto restoration movement surfaced in Hawaii partly because of the influence of Shinto Shirei, or the Shinto Directive, by General Headquarters. Thus, the various Shinto groups faced very tough situations. Takakazu Maeda, who researched the history of Shinto in Hawaii from the perspective of the Japanese immigrant communities, referred in a newspaper article on March 21, 1946 about the anti-Shinto restoration movement. The article reported that an authority presented a proposal that twenty-eight shrines, most of which were Tenrikyo, which had not been disbanded yet, should be disbanded and not permited to be restored.[25] Maeda also noted that each Shinto group spent more than a decade to clear people's misunderstanding of them as "Kokka Shinto, or State Shinto" and restart their activities. Then, he concluded that during the decade they should have implemented a restoration, but in reality they were forced to put most of their efforts in reforming the organization and dealing with public criticism.[26] Tenrikyo was also considered to have had a strong connection with State Shinto as a sect of sectarian Shinto so that their postwar situation was similar to other Shinto groups.

Although these criticisms and pressures against Shinto existed, the U.S. authorities however permitted the restart of their activities in the end of 1946, since these activities were protected in American society under the Freedom of Religion Act.[27] Tenrikyo churches and missionaries in many Asian countries were forced to leave those countries during the war and the restoration or reentry of missionaries was impossible for a while. In comparison, although Japanese missionary activities were not possible in the continental United States and Hawaii during the war, most churches continued to exist so that head ministers and missionaries who returned after the war could restore the churches and restart their mission activities. It can be said that this points to the "resilience of the established social

base provided by the Japanese immigrant community."[28] Over time, in addition to the restoration of the churches that had existed in the prewar era, two churches were newly established in Hawaii in 1950.[29]

Just before the San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed, Shōzen Nakayama conducted his first postwar overseas visit in 1951 to Brazil, Hawaii, and the continental United States. The visit played a significant role in making the groundwork for the postwar overseas missions. The Overseas Department, Church Headquarters was forced to stop its work activities during the war, but it was reorganized in 1952. Since that year the Department continued steady efforts for promoting overseas missions through arranging missions in America and Brazil which were restarted after the war. The Department has also conducted research to promote overseas missions, searched for the future directions, translated teaching publications into various foreign languages, and compiled pamphlets for missionary activities.[30] In order to promote the nurturing of children of ministers and followers abroad, the Tenrikyo Church Headquarters in Japan set up a Japanese language course, Senka Nihongo-ka, in Tenri University in 1958 to teach the second-generation of Japanese descendants and foreign students Japanese language and the basic teachings of Tenrikyo.[31]

With the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, international exchanges started, and the cross-cultural movements of people and culture increased. Voices from local missionaries became more reflected in the policies of overseas missions in the Tenrikyo Church Headquarters in Japan. Mission Headquarters were also established in Brazil in 1951 and in Hawaii in 1954 and the bishops in charge of the headquarters often temporarily returned to Japan. On their visits they discussed with the Church Headquarters staff in charge of overseas missions the overseas situation and the future perspectives in each region and they actively exchanged information and various opinions about mission objectives.[32]

1-4. The Establishment of Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters of Hawaii

As mentioned above, Tenrikyo set up an American mission headquarters in Los Angeles in 1934 and Hawaii was under its supervision. Although Hawaii was a territory of the U.S., its location in the Pacific Ocean places it at a distance from the continental United States. It also has its own uniqueness in various aspects such as the multiethnic backgrounds of inhabitants and customs different from the other continental states. Therefore, missionaries and followers in Hawaii felt some inconveniences concerning communications and instructions on missionary activities and they desired to set up a mission headquarters in Hawaii at the first available opportunity.[33]

Shōzen Nakayama's visit to Hawaii in 1951 led to the establishment of the Hawaiian mission headquarters in Honolulu in 1954. Each time Shōzen visited Hawaii, he respectfully made visits to the Japanese Consulate, Japanese newspaper companies and he met with important persons in each region. His visits were often covered by the local media,[34] which was considered to play an important role in removing the prejudices against Tenrikyo because it was still an unknown new religion for some people, and to propagate Tenrikyo to those who were unfamiliar with its existence in Hawaii. The first bishop, Morikuni Inoue, actively visited each island of Hawaii to promote missionary activities. The headquarters also started to publish a newsletter, *Origins*, to inform people about events and activities in the diocese as well as exchange various information among the followers.[35]

A total of 35 churches were established in Hawaii between 1929 when the first church was established, and the 1950s when the Mission Headquarters of Hawaii was set up in the postwar period.[36] In 1956 a second-generation Nisei, who was a child of the Issei head minister, took over a church as the second head. The mission in Hawaii was promoted more systematically by various people including missionaries and followers who had settled in as immigrants in the prewar period, those who newly embraced the faith, and missionaries who arrived there on a

missionary visa status. With the establishment of the Hawaiian mission headquarters, the mission developed throughout all areas of the Hawaiian islands and a foundation was firmly established for the mission in Hawaii.

1-5. Human Network Within the Immigrant Communities and Strong Ties with Japan

In the prewar period, many Japanese immigrated to Hawaii from Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto Prefectures.[37] One of the reasons why the Buddhist Honpa Honganji sect became the largest religious group among the Japanese immigrant communities can be attributed to many of its followers coming from these geographic areas.[38] This similarity was observed in other Buddhist groups and Shinto sects in Hawaii. Tenrikyo missionaries in Hawaii also had such networks with immigrants from these areas so that they developed their activities through the regional networks or blood network.[39] Yoshinori Kashihara from Tokushima, who engaged in missionary work in 1931, recalled about the situation of those days:

> Those who I targeted for my missionary work were those from Yamaguchi Prefecture and Hiroshima Prefecture. That is because Mr. Mikuni, at whose house I stayed, came from Hiroshima, and Mr. Hironaga, who accompanied me, was from Yamaguchi Prefecture. When followers gathered, whatever they talked about was about Yamaguchi or Hiroshima. In Japan I had visited there for missionary work and knew the situation there so that I pretended that I came from Hiroshima or from Yamaguchi.[40]

Missionaries provided the immigrants with a place where they could gather together so that they could find opportunities to get to know other Japanese immigrants. After the mission headquarters was established in the continental United States and its subsequent Hawaii Chapter was also set up, a lecture meeting started to be held regularly on each island of Hawaii as part of promoting the mission. For example, in a movie

meeting, which was held in Maui Island in 1936, "Japanese living on this island, who have less opportunities to watch Japanese movies, were crowded in a venue in front of a lecture hall decorated with lanterns before the event started, and they attentively watched movie events and activities about Jiba and their home country."[41] It seems that the event had a great appeal to Japanese living far away from Japan.

The residency and life of the Japanese immigrants in Hawaii in the prewar period had been greatly influenced by the relations between Japan and America and it was the same for Japanese religions in Hawaii because their foundation were in the immigrant community. This is shown by the fact that church head ministers were arrested and interned immediately after the war broke out as mentioned above. Even after the war, the bilateral relation and the situation in Japan had a great influence on Tenrikyo's activities in Hawaii. With the influence of the Shinto Directive announced in Japan after the war an anti-Shinto campaign surfaced in Hawaii. Each Shinto group was under the watchful eyes of people and the government and Tenrikyo followers faced a similar situation.

The importance of U.S.-Japan ties could also be observed in comments by Susumu Yoshida, who served as the third bishop of the Mission Headquarters in America as well as the Mission Headquarters of Hawaii. Concerning the religious situation among the immigrant communities in the continental United States Yoshida mentioned that the Nishi Honganji sect was the mainstream among Buddhist groups because many immigrants came from regions in Japan where the Nishi Honganji sect was dominant and it was indispensable in America where the mission was based on a human network to promote the missionary activities in Japan. He also stated, "it is natural to follow the faith that family and relatives embrace in Japan. Therefore, I would like you to know that the missionary activities in Japan have a direct connection with missionary work in the U.S."[42] This situation is the same in Hawaii. Human networks based on the same hometown in Japan and the tendency of religious conditions in Hawaii to reflect those in Japan were considered to have continued even after the war.

In the prewar period, as the Japanese Government increased its imperialist tendencies, Tenrikyo was forced to adjust to that policy and modify its own teachings and rituals that were perceived as being against it. However, immediately after the war ended, Tenrikyo proclaimed a movement toward "restoration (*fukugen*)" aiming to create a restoration back to the original teachings. It subsequently clarified its stance as an independent religious group different from Shinto.[43] Shōzen Nakayama strongly appealed to the local followers in Brazil, Hawaii, and the continental United States about the spirit of "restoration (*fukugen*)" and missionaries tried to restore the mission with this spirit in mind.

2. Adjustment to Social Changes in Hawaii and the Re-establishment of the Hawaiian Mission

The Pacific War caused the cessation of almost all Tenrikyo missionary activities in Hawaii. Soon after the war was over, Tenrikyo tried to restart its mission, but faced various difficulties in a fashion similar to other Japanese religious groups. This chapter presents how Tenrikyo re-established its mission in Hawaii, focusing on postwar social changes such as the generational shift, the continuity of ethnic culture, and its re-definition as a universal religion.

2-1. Postwar Changes in Hawaiian Society

Once the war between Japan and America started, restrictive laws were enacted in Hawaii and people came under the control of the military force. As the construction of military facilities progressed, the construction industry rapidly developed and the economy in Hawaii was greatly developed so that laborers benefited from the wartime booming economy. In addition, many military people and laborers came from the continental United States, resulting in the enlargement of various businesses. Accordingly, a huge change could be observed in the population component in the Hawaiian Islands. A Hawaiian society with

sugar-cane plantation as the center was significantly shifted.[44]

This changing situation had a great impact on the Japanese immigrant communities. Japanese religious groups, which were based on the immigrant communities, had to deal with the social changes. In the prewar period, Japanese religions came to Hawaii following the Japanese laborers and consisted of an ethnic religious market within the Japanese immigrant communities. This was an ethnic community, which was a sub-category in Hawaiian society.[45] However, as Japanese communities enlarged their connection with the outer society through social changes in Hawaii which had started in the postwar period, the boundaries between Hawaiian society and the immigrant communities began to dissolve so that opportunities increased for each of the Japanese religious groups to enter into the religious markets in the greater society more easily. This was different than the closed ethnic religious market in the prewar period.[46]

Tenrikyo developed activities dealing with these social changes. The Mission Headquarters of Hawaii, which was set up in 1954, defined its roles to support each church located in the Hawaiian Islands and provide missionaries with support to convey the teachings in local language to local people. It appears as though they tried to horizontally melt into local society.[47] The Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, both of which were set up respectively when the Mission Headquarters was established, promoted various activities including the followers' children's education. The mass media was actively utilized in order to propagate and contribute to the local society. For example, sermons created by Tenrikyo Doyusha Publishing Company in Japan, were broadcast from local radio stations from September 1, 1957.[48]

2-2. Generational Shift

From the wartime into the postwar period, a generational shift from Issei to Nisei increased among Japanese immigrant communities. In particular, the achievements attained by the the 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Infantry Regiment composed of almost entirely Nisei

(second generation Japanese American soldiers) fighting on the side of America during the war changed the perception of Japanese Americans in American society and Nisei gained a presence in political and social fields in Hawaii. Noriko Shimada has pointed to a milestone change which occured in 1958, which could be considered as an indication of the generational shift among Hawaiian Japanese Americans. This change was when the Nisei generation took over leadership in the Hawaiian economics at the end of the 1950s.[49]

In addition, as the "Americanization" of immigrants accelerated and the general Hawaiian society enjoyed the wartime high economic growth, a generational shift occurred in Japanese homes that produced changes in Japanese traditional customs and values. According to Shimada, paternal authority in homes became weaker and the relationship between parent and child, or husband and wife within homes became equalized and modernized as well. A loosening of ethical and moral restrictions increased children's misbehavior and contributed to an increase in the number of extramarital children. She also mentioned, as the process of economic expansion spread, women and children in the cities started to go out for work and they came to earn larger amounts of money, which was unimaginable before the war, thus enabling them to lead independent lifestyles.[50]

During wartime, almost all of the Tenrikyo missionaries arrested and interned were Issei and approximately half of them were aged between thirty or forty. Most of their children had not yet reached an adult age.[51] Therefore, Issei missionaries kept playing a central role in Tenrikyo activities for the time being immediate after the war. In the end of the 1950s, however, for the first time a Nisei became a church head minister.[52] Thus, some changes were also observed the same as in the larger Japanese immigrant communities. The first bishop Morikuni Inoue reported that when he delivered his sermon in Japanese at the monthly service, Nisei followers left because they could not understand the Japanese language.[53]

Responding to this situation, the Women's Association and the Young

Men's Association opened Sunday School for children in 1955 at the Mission Headquarters in order to promote missionary activities among Nisei children. The first day attracted 92 children from various churches. [54] In May of the same year a picnic was conducted at Alamoana Beach in Honolulu and approximately 400 people including school students and their parents gathered. [55] In 1958 a Judo School was also opened for the purpose of nurturing the physical growth, manners, and religious faith of children through Judo so that local communities will feel familiarity to Tenrikyo as a religious group. [56] In addition, the monthly service sermons started to be delivered in both Japanese and English at the Mission Headquarters and a faith experience speech convention by Nisei children was conducted in English. A program to aid students to study abroad in Japan was also instituted. As mentioned above, the Senka Nihongo-ka was set up in Tenri University in 1958. Some students from Hawaii entered the course to learn Japanese language. [57]

2-3. Continuity of Japanese Ethnic Culture

One of the biggest changes in Japanese immigrant communities after the war was the "Americanization," or integration into the mainstream culture of the host society. On the other hand, because of the high ratio of Japanese Americans in the total population in Hawaii and the background environment of a historically multi-cultural society, the ethnic culture and identity in the Japanese immigrant communities had been relatively easy to maintain. [58] This tendency continued even after the war. Regarding the continuity of Japanese culture by Japanese Americans in Hawaii under such conditions, Shimada stated that they tried to maintain their ethnic culture while resisting to become Americanized or adjust to the mainstream culture. And she also argued that previous studies emphasized the influence of the war on the changes in the immigrant communities and tended to overlook the cultural continuity and persistant existence of a strong cultural pride and value system of the Japanese Americans. [59] In essence, Japanese culture and customs which were restricted during

the war, immediately revived after the war. Japanese restaurants were reopened, Japanese movies and songs gained popularity, and Japanese business and commerce associations were also reorganized. Each of the Buddhist and Shinto grousp was restored while Japanese language schools were also restarted.[60]

Tenrikyo activities also displayed these tendencies. Kazue Yama, wife of the Kalihi church head minister, which was first established after the war, was a teacher of a Japanese language school before the war. Upon request by Japanese neighbors she opened a Japanese language school in 1948 and contributed to Japanese education for Nisei and Sansei (second and third generation Japanese Americans) among the Japanese immigrants.[61] Gagaku, a traditional Japanese court music form, is performed in Tenrikyo's ritual ceremonies, consequently some Tenrikyo ministers and followers are proficient in Gagaku performance. Thus, a Gagaku performance by the Mission Headquarters staff was broadcast at Kona TV station in 1955 for the fist time in Honolulu, which was an introduction of Japanese culture and traditional music to Hawaiian society. In 1958 also a Gagaku concert was performed by Tenrikyo three times in public.[62]

The Tenrikyo Church Headquarters in Japan also tried to utilize Japanese culture in the promotion of its overseas mission. As the relationship between Japan and the U.S. gradually improved, the Church Headquarters started to regularly send Japanese books and publications to the Mission Headquarters in the continental United States and Hawaii, which was an attempt to introduce Japanese culture to America in the promotion of Japan-U.S. friendship. In 1954 the "Hinomoto Bunko" library was established at the Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in Los Angeles and 20,000 books they held were open to the public to borrow as an effort to introduce Japanese culture.[63] In the same year, the Japanese Culture Research Institute was established within the Mission Headquarters of Hawaii for the purpose of introducing Japanese culture to Americans in Hawaii.[64]

2-4. Ethnic Religion and Universal Religion

Whether a Japanese religious group remains as Japanese ethnic religion or goes beyond Japanese borders to become a universal teaching for all of humankind is one important factor when considering a religion's nature and characteristics. Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines had considerable effects on the continuity of ethnic culture and the establishment of a Japanese immigrant identity in immigrant communities in the prewar period. According to Yotaro Miyamoto, new religious groups such as Konkokyo and Tenrikyo added their religious identity on top of a "Japanese" identity that had been already formed and developed among the immigrant communities.[65] Traditional Japanese religions had a strong connection with Japanese nationalism. The new religions also had a strong tie with Japan and they were greatly influenced by the social situation in Japan. When Japanese immigrants, who were placed in a racial discriminatory situation in Hawaii, enhanced their tie with Japanese nationalism in Hawaii, both traditional and new religions became a driving force for this nationalism.[66] After the war, they also responded to the Japanese cultural revival movements among the immigrant communities and contributed to the continuity of immigrant identity as Japanese.

At the same time, however, as the Issei started to acclimate to the new land, they sought for a way of adjusting to the local society while maintaining their Japanese nationalistic spirit. In the continental United States in the prewar period, Buddhist groups adapted to Americanization from the perspectives of "dealing with the appearance of the Nisei" and "having American people recognize Buddhism as a religion on the same level as Christianity."[67] This was similar to the Buddhist Honganji Temple in Hawaii.[68] Thus, Buddhist groups, stressed the universal aspect of their religion, proclaiming the teachings as a world religion, and promoted the missionary activities in English, and adjusted to the mainstream culture in Hawaii in their rituals and organizations. On the other hand, Shinto was limited in its efforts to universalize and

consequently it was difficult to change its image as a Japanese ethnic religion in Hawaii.[69]

As mentioned above, after the war ended the Tenrikyo Church Headquarters in Japan proclaimed "restoration (*fukugen*)" or a returning to the original teachings which proclaimed "world salvation." Tenrikyo made it clear that it was independent from Shinto and missionaries in Hawaii tried to restore their mission under this policy. Tenrikyo tried to go beyond a framework as an ethnic religion and sought to be accepted as a universal religion in the American society where the freedom of religion is guaranteed. This stance was observed in what Shōzen Nakayama stated at the dinner reception with the mayor of Hawaii in 1951, "We proceed with our teachings and have to contribute to a democratic world peace beyond nationality."[70] The Mission Headquarters of Hawaii established three years later implemented this through their various mission activities as mentioned in this paper.

Conclusion

This paper has focused on Tenrikyo, one of the Japanese new religions, on which relatively little research has been conducted among the Japanese religions in Hawaii. An attempt was made to clarify the historical development between the prewar and immediate postwar period. This paper has discussed how Tenrikyo church leaders have adjusted to the social changes among the immigrant communities in Hawaii after the war in order to re-establish Tenrikyo missionary activities.

Tenrikyo's organized mission in Hawaii started in the late 1920s, following Japanese immigrants, and developed among the immigrant communities, similar to other mainstream Japanese religious groups. As the Japanese immigrant communities experienced Americanization, a generational shift, and the revival of Japanese culture after the war, it became indispensable for Tenrikyo to adjust to these changes. Tenrikyo leaders also tried to eliminate its negative image as a State Shinto sect and implement the teachings of universal salvation in order for it to

be accepted not only by the immigrant communities but also by the general public in Hawaii as a universal religion. At the same time, in its missionary activities, Tenrikyo in Hawaii has kept a strong connection with the Tenrikyo Church Headquarters and respective churches throughout Japan. Thus, its inherent transnational nature is considered to be a characteristics of the Tenrikyo mission in Hawaii since the beginning of the mission in the prewar period.

Hawaii is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society and various Japanese religious groups contribute to this nature. Tenrikyo, one new religion of Japan, has held a minority status in Hawaiian society. Yet Tenrikyo started its mission before the war and continued its activities after the war down to the present. Thus, studying the history and characteristics of Tenrikyo can contribute to deepening of our understanding of Japanese religious and cultural diversity in Hawaii. This paper mainly focused on the Tenrikyo mission until the 1950s when the missionary system was re-established, which laid the foundation for Tenrikyo believer's current activities in Hawaii. The religious group's movements and current situation needs to be further researched.

Author's note:

This paper is based on the article, "Senzen kara sengo fukkō ki no hawai nikkei imin shakai ni okeru Tenrikyō dendō ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu [A Study on Tenrikyo Mission in Hawaiian Japanese Immigrant Society during the Prewar to Postwar Reconstruction Period]," *Annual Bulletin of Oyasato Research Institute for the Study of Religion*, (No. 24, 2017, 25-46) and has been heavily modified for this present journal.

Notes
(1) Norihito Takahashi, "*Imin, shūkyō, kokoku: kin gendai Hawaii ni okeru nikkei shūkyō no keiken* [Immigrants, Religion, Home country: Experiences of Japanese Religion in Modern Hawaii]," (Hābesutosha, 2014), 11-12.
(2) Keiichi Yanagawa, Kiyomi Morioka ed., "*Hawaii nikkei shūkyō no tenkai to genkyō: Hawaii nikkeijin shūkyō chōsa chūkan hōkoku* [Development and

Current Situation of Japanese Religions in Hawaii: Progress report of the Research of Japanese people's religion in Hawaii]," (Tōkyō daigaku shūkyō-gaku kenkyūshitsu, 1979), Keiichi Yanagawa, Kiyomi Morioka ed., "*Hawaii nikkeijin shakai to nikkei shūkyō: Hawaii nikkeijin shūkyō chōsa hōkokusho* [Japanese society in Hawaii and Japanese religion: A report of a research on Japanese people's religion in Hawaii]," (daigaku shūkyō-gaku kenkyūshitsu, 1981).

(3)   They include Nobutaka Inoue, *Umi o watatta nihon shūkyō: Imin shakai no uchi to soto* [Japanese religions that have crossed the seas] (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1985) and Hirochika Nakamaki, *Nihon shūkyō to nikkei shūkyō no kenkyū: Nihon, Amerika, Buraziru* [Studies on Japanese religions: Japan, America, and Brazil] (Tokyo: Tōsui shobō, 1989). Inoue analyzed Japanese religions in the immigrant communities in North America while Nakamaki researched Japanese religions in North America and Brasil.

(4)   Studies on Japanese traditional religions include Takakazu Maeda, *Hawai no jinjashi* [A History of Shrines in Hawaii], (Taimeidō, 1999) and Tomoe Moriya, *Amerika bukkyō no tanjō: nijusseiki shotō ni okeru nikkei shūkyō no bunka henyō* [The Birth of American Buddhism: The Acculturation of Japanese American Religion in the Early Twentieth Century], (Gendai Shiryō Shuppan, 2001). Those on Japanese new religions include Norihito Takahashi, 2014, op.cit., Kiyoji Konko, "Nikkei konkōkyō shinja no yokuryū to sono shosō: issei shinbōsha no taiken o chūshin to shite [Internment and experiences of Japanese Konkokyo followers]," *Konkōkyō Kyōgaku* [Journal of the Konkokyo Research Institute] no.39 (1999), and Yotaro Miyamoto, "Hawai ni okeru nikkei shin shūkyō no genjō to kadai: konkōkyō o jirei to shite [Now and the Future of Japanese New Religions in Hawaii: The Case of Konkokyo]," *Bungaku ronshū* 61-2 (2011). Studies on Tenrikyo in Hawaii include Norihto Takahashi, "Nikkei imin shakai to nikkei shin shūkyō: hawai no Tenrikyo no baai [The Japanese Immigrant Community and a Japanese New Religion: the Case of Tenrikyo in Hawaii]," *Hitotsubashi kenkyū* [Hitotsubashi journal of social sciences] 33 (1) (2008-04), 47-60, Norihito Tahakashi, "Hawaii no nikkei shūkyō ni okeru shinkō keishō: Tenrikyo no kyōkaichō wo jirei ni [Inherence of Faith in a Japa-nese New Religion in Hawai'i: A Case Study of Tenrikyo Churches]", *Shūkyō to shakai* [Religion and Society] vol.14, (2008), 23-43, and Takayuki Onoue, *Tenrikyō hokubei dendō to nikkei imin: ibunka tekiō to toransunashonaru na shiten kara mita rekishi to tenkai* [Tenrikyo North America Mission and Japa-nese Immigrants: History and Development in Cross-cultural Adaptation and Transnational Perspective], (Tenri daigaku fuzoku Oyasato kenkyūsho [Tenri University's Oyasato Institute for the Study of Religion], 2021).

(5)   See Chie Honda, "Kirisutokyō shakai ni okeru nihon shūkyō no fukyō sutorate jī to tekiō [The Strategies and Adaptation of Japanese Religion in a Christian So-ciety]," *Nenpō shakai-gaku ronshū* [The Annual Review of Sociology] 7 (1994), 73-84, Noriko Shimada, *Sensō to imin no shakaishi: Hawai Nikkei Amerikajin*

no Taiheiyō Sensō [Social history of war and immigrants: Japanese Americans in Hawaii and Pacific war], (Gendai Shiryō Shuppan, 2004).

(6) See Ronald Takaki, *Pau hana: plantation life and labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945*, (Temple University Press, 1991).

(7) Yotaro Miyamoto, op. cit., 32.

(8) Noriko Shimada, op. cit., 8. Shimada discusses about the continuity of ethnic culture led by the first generation Issei in the Japanese communities, which had not been fully researched in previous studies.

(9) "The Joyous Life." Tenrikyo Official Website, https://www.tenrikyo.or.jp/eng/word/word5/ (accessed December 4, 2022).

(10) Akihiro Yamakura, "Zaibei Tenrikyō fukyōshi senji yokuryū toransunashonaru na bunmyaku: manshū, nihon, Amerika [Transnational context of Tenrikyo missionaries in America in the wartime internment: Manchuria, Japan, the United States]'," in *Amerikasu no Tenrikyō: nanboku Amerika ni okeru dendō no shosō to tenbo⁻* [Tenrikyo in the Americas: the development of the mission in South and North America] ed. by Tenri daigaku fuzoku Oyasato kenkyūsho [Tenri University's Oyasato Institute for the Study of Religion], (Tenrikyo Oyasato kenkyūsho, 2011), 16-22.

(11) According to Nobutaka Inoue, Japanese religions which conducted missionary activities in America can be categorized into three groups, namely the traditional religions such as Buddhism and Shinto which started their mission in the late nineteenth century, new religions such as Konkokyo who started its mission in the early twentieth century, and other new religions who started after the war. Tenrikyo was in the second group. Inoue, 1985, op. cit., 3 and 23.

(12) The author quoted from "The decade of the American mission and visa," Tenrikyo Amerika dendōchō ed., *Tenrikyo Beikoku fukyō jūnen shi* [Ten years of the Tenrikyo American mission] (L.A. CA: Tenrikyo Amerika dendōchō, 1938), 37-44.

(13) Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America, *50 Years of the Path: A History of the Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1934−1984* (L.A., CA: Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America, 1984) 9-13, Tenrikyo Hawaii Dendōchō ed., *Tenrikyo Hawai dendō shi* [A History of the Tenrikyo Mission in Hawaii] (Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō, 1957), 26-28, Toshiharu Morii, *Tenrikyō no kaigai dendō 'sekai dasuke'−Sono dendō to tenkai* [Tenrikyo overseas mission 'world salvation'−Its mission and development] (Tokyo: Zenponsha, 2008), 500.

(14) Tenrikyō Amerika Seishin-kai, *America* no. 19, 1938, 2.

(15) From a collection in Tenri University Sankōkan Museum.

(16) Zaibei Nihonjin Kai ed., *Zaibei nihonjin shi (2) fukkoku ban* [A History of Japanese Americans, Vol. II, reprinted edition] (Tokyo: PMC shuppan, 1984), 455-456, Ryūkichi Kihara ed., *Hawai Nihonjin shi* [History of the Japanese in

Hawaii], (Bunseisha, 1935), 224.

(17) "Hawai Nihonjin imin shi kankō iinkai hen," *Hawai Nihonjin imin shi* [A history of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii], (Honolulu: Hawai Nikkeijin Rengō Kyōkai, 1964), 311-312.

(18) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed, 1957, op. cit., 121.

(19) Akihiro Yamakura. "The United States-Japanese War and Tenrikyo Ministers in America," *Issei Buddhism in the Americas* (Asian-American Experience) edited by Duncan Ryuken Williams and Tomoe Moriya, (University of Illinois Press, 2010), 152.

(20) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., *Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō gojū nen shi: kannai kyōkai shi hen* [Fifty years of the Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters of Hawaii: history of churches in Hawaii] (Tenrikyo Hawaii Dendōchō, 2006), 148-149, Yonekuni Saitō, "Tandoku fukyō no kawai tō de [missionary activities on Kauai Island]," *Makoto* the December issue (1991), 21.

(21) Teruaki Iida, *Hawai dendō no akebono: Ueno Sakujirō to Tsushi* [The dawn of the Hawaii mission: Sakujirō Ueno and Tsushi] (Tenrikyo Doyusha, 1984), 83.

(22) Helen Honda, "Yokuryū jidai to kazoku no koto ni tsuite (2) [Internment days and my family (2)]," *Kaigai Fukyō Dendōbu ho¯* [Overseas Mission Department Newsletter] no. 396 (1998), 12, Yoshinobu Nakao, "Hawai ni okeru shoki no fukyō zenpan ni tsuite (4) [Overviews on the Hawaii mission in its early stages]," *Tenrikyo Kaigaibu hō* [Overseas Department Newsletter] no. 437 (2001), 15.

(23) Yamakura, ibid (17) 153.

(24) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., *kannai kyōkai shi hen*, 2006, 50, 129, and 275.

(25) Takakazu Maeda, op. cit., 38-39.

(26) Ibid., 41.

(27) Noriko Shimada, op. cit., 178. The missionaries restarted mission activities after confirming the governmental authority. See Itsu Mikuni, "Hawai no michi ni gojū nen [Fifty years on the path in Hawaii]," *Michi-no-Dai* 21 (1961.1), 49.

(28) *Japanese New Religions in the Age of Mass Media*, (Tokyo: Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University, 2017), 130.

(29) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., 1957, op. cit., 124.

(30) Toshiharu Morii, op. cit., 747.

(31) Tenri daigaku fuzoku Oyasato kenkyūsho [Tenri University's Oyasato Institute for the Study of Religion] ed., *Tenrikyo jiten daisanpan* [Tenrikyo Encyclopedia the third edition] Tenri daigaku shuppanbu, 2018), 668.

(32) See "Kaigai no michi no ayumi o kataru: Hokubei, Burajiru, Hawai, dendōchōchō [Talks on the Footsteps Taken Abroad: Bishops of North Ameica, Brazil and Hawaii], *Tenri Jihō* (October, 31 1954), 5 and"Kaigai dendō arekore: genchi hakujin ni kuikomu [Incidentals of overseas missions: approaching the local people], *Tenri Jihō* (February 5, 1956) 4. These articles carried discussion among bishops of the Continental United States, Hawaii, and Brazil.

(33) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., *Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō gojū nen shi:*

dendōchō shi hen [Fifty years of the Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters of Hawaii: History of the Mission Headquarters of Hawaii] (Tenrikyo Hawaii Dendōchō, 2006) 182.

(34) "Kangei zeme no shinbashira: hawai shichō to bansankai [Big welcome dinner party for the Shinbashira and the Hawaii mayor], *Tenri Jihō* (August 26, 1951), 2.

(35) Ibid, 105.

(36) Tenrikyō Omotetōryōshitsu Chōsaka ed., *Dai 27 kai Tenrikyō tōkei nenkan* [The 27th statistical yearbook of Tenrikyo] (Tenrikyō Kyōkai Honbu, 1959), 119.

(37) "Hawai Nihonjin imin shi kankō iinkai hen," op. cit., 313.

(38) Keiichi Yanagawa, Kiyomi Morioka, op. cit., 8.

(39) Takahashi named this development as "dōkyō nettowāku gata tenkai [development of network by people from within the same village] and stated that many Japanese religious groups developed in their early stages in this style. See Norihito Takahashi, 2014, op. cit., 195-196.

(40) Yoshinori Kashihara, *Tokai etsuzan*: *shūi shu* [Cross the mountains and seas] (Tenrikyō Myōdō Daikyōkai, 1988), 149.

(41) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., 1957, op. cit., 71.

(42) "Yoshida shi ni kiku achira no hanashi, fukyō no kiso jidai, hoshii shinkō teki shigeki [Mr. Yoshida's story about over there, the age of foundation, the desire for faithful encouragement], *Tenri Jihō* (September 25, 1949), 2.

(43) Tenri daigaku fuzoku Oyasato kenkyūsho [Tenri University's Oyasato Institute for the Study of Religion] ed., *Kaitei Tenrikyo jiten* [Tenrikyo Encyclopedia revised edition] Tenrikyo Doyusha, 1997), 790.

(44) Noriko Shimada, op. cit., 2.

(45) Norihito Takahashi, 2014, op. cit., 248.

(46) Ibid., 250.

(47) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., 1957, op. cit., 190-228.

(48) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., *dendōchō shi hen*, op. cit., 115.

(49) Noriko Shimada, op. cit., 252-257.

(50) Ibid., 11-12.

(51) "Fukyōshi oyobi kazoku no taiho jōkyō chōsa nōto [Research note on arrest of missionaries and family members], a collection of notes in Tenri University affiliated Sankokan Museum.

(52) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., 1957, op. cit., 47.

(53) "Kaigai no michi no ayumi o kataru: hokubei, burajiru, hawai, dendōchōchō [Talks on the Footsteps Taken Abroad: Bishops of North Ameica, Brazil and Hawaii], *Tenri Jihō* (October, 31 1954), 5.

(54) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., *dendōchō shi hen*, op. cit., 105.

(55) "Hawai yon hyakumei no pikunikku sandē sukūru no yoikotachi [The 400 well-behaved Sunday School children at a Hawaiin picnic], *Tenri Jihō* (June 12, 1955), 1.

(56) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., *dendōchō shi hen*, op. cit., 584.

(57)Masaki Yamaoka, "Tenrikyo ni okeru nihongo kyōiku no kokusai teki hatten ni

tsuite [On the Global Development of a Japanese Language Teaching in Tenri-kyo].” *Soka daigaku hikaku bunka kenkyū* [Soka University studies in comparative culture] 15, January 1997, 117.

(58) Chie Honda, op. cit., 73.

(59) Noriko Shimada, op. cit., 7-8.

(60) Ibid., 14-15. Shimada presented three reasons for the “revival of Japanese culture”: The social changes were temporary, the changes were a result of an ongoing process from the prewar era, and Hawaiian society became more tolerant of foreign cultures in the postwar era.

(61) Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., 1957, op. cit., 125-126.

(62) “Hatsu no terebi nioigake: hawai dendōchō gagakubu hōsō [First TV Nioigake: Hawaii Dendōchō Gagaku Club Broadcast],” *Tenri Jihoˉ* (May 8, 1955), 1, Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., *dendōchō shi hen*, op. cit., 679-680.

(63) This was considered as a noteworthy event. See Dojun Ochi ed., *Nanka shū nihonjin shi: kō hen* [History of Japanese in the State of South California Part II] (Nanka nikkei jin shōgyō kaigisho, 1957), 515-4-515.

(64) “Bei haku kokumin kara ōkina kitai, Hokubei, Hawai, Burajiru ni nihon bunka kenkyūsho hiraku [Great expectations from people in America and Brazil, Japanese cultural research institutes open in North America, Hawaii, and Brasil],” *Tenri Jihō* (July 25, 1954), 1. Yet in Hawaii practical activities started after the Tenri Bunka Bunko Library was opened in 1980. See Tenrikyo Hawaii dendōchō ed., *dendōchō shi hen*, op. cit., 697.

(65) Yotaro Miyamoto, op. cit., 34.

(66) Ibid., 40.

(67) Nobutaka Inoue, op. cit., 40-41.

(68) Chie Honda, op. cit., 82.

(69) Noriko Shimada, op. cit., 189.

(70) “Kangei zeme no shinbashira: Hawai shichō to bansankai,” op. cit. Masanobu Nakayama, Church Headquarters executive staff, stated after returning from an overseas visit, “I have full confidence that Tenrikyo teachings will be accepted as universal anywhere in the world.” See “Kaigai no tabi o oete, uchitōryō no miyage banashi [Report upon return from overseas, travel stories of the leadership party],” *Tenri Jihoˉ* (September 13, 1953).

FOSTER FAMILIES AND RELIGIOUS RITUALS WITHIN SECULARISM
SEEN THROUGH INTERVIEWS WITH A TENRIKYO FOSTER FAMILY

Kōji FUKAYA

1. Setting agendas

In Tenrikyo, the Foster Parent Association (now the Tenrikyo Federation for Foster Parents) was established in 1981 and, as of 2016, comprises 553 members and 453 registered foster parents, which are said to account for about 5% of all registered foster parents in Japan.[1] However, Tenrikyo foster care activities, which are very extensive, are not well known due to the lack of social recognition of the activities themselves. With the exception of the recent study by Yoichiro Kuwahata, there is still little significant research on foster parenting based on academic methods.[2] Therefore, as Kuwahata has established, and is utilized in this paper as well, the primary question is "What is happening now in Tenrikyo's foster families?" However, while asking that significant question, the analytical perspective of this paper differs from that of Kuwahata.

In his 2020 paper, Kuwahata shows how Tenrikyo foster parents are motivated and how they negotiate with the government over their foster children, focusing on the way Tenrikyo foster parents use religious concepts (concepts based on Tenrikyo teachings), and also aligned the distinctive consciousness of Tenrikyo foster parents within a "religious context," following Ai Ando's framework of "family context" and "welfare context."[3] These insights are significant as they characterize the motivations and attitudes of Tenrikyo foster parents with religious backgrounds, and the use of Ando's framework enables him to compare with other foster parents.

On the other hand, it could be pointed out that Kuwahata has a strong

view of "religion = meaning" and that religion is only emphasized as a source of how Tenrikyo foster parents are motivated towards foster care activities and how they understand events that take place in their activities, while the physical and behavioral level of religion is missing from his analytical perspective.

For example, in another paper, Kuwahata discusses situations in which Tenrikyo foster parents actively or cautiously use religious concepts,[4] and the "active/cautious" distinction that Kuwahata uses in his paper seems to correspond to the "*belief/practice*" dimension in religious studies, respectively.[5] That is, concepts such as "dust of mind," "divine blessings," and "*innen* (causality)" are explained as being actively used in the emotional and internal (*belief*) aspects of foster parents to sublimate negative feelings toward their foster children and to allow fatalistic acceptance of the situations, while in the case of the worship practice (*practice*), the "service," he explains that "religious color is removed from it."[6]

However, does not such an explanation, paradoxically, imply that the analyst is limiting "religion" to the *belief* aspect? In other words, when it comes to the "service," it cannot be said that "the religious color is removed" unless the dimension of the *practice*, apart from how it is interpreted, is analyzed in terms of physical and behavioral practices. Rather, as will be discussed below, in Tenrikyo foster families, the question of how to explain the "service" to whom and the question of how it is to be practiced by whom are mixed together, and it is thus possible for the religiosity to develop in a dimension of *practice*, which cannot be reduced only to the "internal" dimension.

To begin with, Kuwahata's study juxtaposes "religious context" to Ando's framework of "family context" and "welfare context," but by adopting such a framework, it can be said that the "religious/secular" dichotomy has been fixedly introduced. For example, Kuwahata mentions the concept of "church family" as a symbol of "religious context." Since the term "church family" is used to describe the solidarity of a certain group, rather than terms such as "church members," it is clear that family

values are embedded in it, and therefore "church family" is a mixed concept of religious and family values. In light of this, when the "church family" is seen only as a symbol of the "religious context" (while at the same time constructing the "family as secular"), the mixed reality of "religion" and "secular" as indicated by the comprehensive concept of Tenrikyo foster parents may be overlooked.[7]

However, it must first be confirmed that the foster care system is one of the social care measures in accordance with the principles of religious freedom and separation of church and state. In other words, the foster care system itself is already established in the context of secularism, regardless of whether or not the analyst adopts a "religious/secular" framework. Therefore, the question of "religion" and "secular" in foster care activities is a question that is asked in a dynamic field where the "religious/secular" framework works strongly as a premise.

In this paper, based on this awareness of these problems, I will revise the question "What is happening now in Tenrikyo's foster families?" into the question "How do Tenrikyo foster families develop their senses of 'family' and 'self' while making 'religion' a theme in the secular context of the foster care?" In doing so, as we have seen above, I would like to focus on the ritual practice of "service," which is considered to be an ideal material for this study, and see how the people involved think and behave in relation to it.

2. Participants of the study and the method of the study

The study participants are the members of a foster family who have been engaged in foster care for two generations in a Tenrikyo church in the Kansai region. Currently, they parents operate a group home and have welcomed more than 30 foster children so far. The research was commissioned with kinship-based snowball sampling, and the research methods used were participant observation and interviews.

First, I interviewed a young second-generation foster parent (male foster parent A [hereafter FP-A], in his 40s) in October 2019 and spoke

with him intermittently thereafter. Based on these interactions, I visited this foster family in March 2021 and conducted a participant observation, interviewing a first-generation foster parent (male foster parent B [hereafter FP-B], in his 70s) and a former foster child (female foster child C [hereafter FC-C], in her 20s), respectively. Interviews were semi-structured interviews lasting one to two hours per person. FP-B and FP-A are father and son. The father passed the position of church head minister to his son, and at the same time, the foster care also continued into the next generation. FC-C first came to FP-B and his wife at the age of four, and even after the completion of the time period [i.e., she reached the legal age of maturity], she has continued to frequently visited her foster home where FP-A and his wife became the main caregivers. She was in her mid-twenties at the time of the interview and her foster family regarded her as a family member and vice versa.

The method used to analyze the qualitative data was the Steps for Coding and Theorization (SCAT), a coding and theorization analysis method developed by Takashi Otani.[8] The SCAT generates "storylines" and "theoretical descriptions" through four coding steps: (1) words of interest in the text, (2) paraphrases of words in the text, (3) extra-textual concepts that explain the words, and (4) themes/constitutive concepts. The SCAT methodology has the function of forcing reflection on the validity of the analysis, since the analysis process is visualized and remains explicit, and it is also considered suitable for the analysis of relatively small qualitative data.

For the analysis, a verbatim stipend was created from the interview data, proper nouns were anonymized, textual data on the "service" was extracted for analysis, and the data was analyzed by the SCAT methodology. Then, the constructs generated by the data analysis were examined and discussed, while taking into account the similarities in their contents.

3. Ethical considerations

The purpose of the study, the purpose of the use of personal information and confidentiality, data management methods, and the possibility of discontinuing the interview during the interview were explained to the study participants in writing and orally prior to the interviews, and interviews were conducted after obtaining their signatures on the consent forms. For the interviews with a foster child, a former foster child who had reached the age of adulthood was selected.

4. Analysis and discussion

4.1 About the "service" on which a participant observation was performed

The service is a ritual practice in Tenrikyo. In a local Tenrikyo church, a room or hall called sanctuary has an "upper dais" apart from the worship area. In the upper dais, there are usually three shrines, namely, a shrine for God the Parent (center), a shrine for Oyasama (right), and a shrine for the Mitama-sama (left). On the upper dais, the musical instruments such as the wooden clappers and the large drum, which are used during the service, are placed in order along with *enza* (round shape mats). Morning and evening services are performed at Tenrikyo churches. The following is a description of the evening service procedure, including how the foster children interacted, in accordance with participant observation of the church concerned.

First, at the appointed time in the evening, the performers on duty go up to the upper dais and take their seats in front of the musical instruments. On that particular day, the head minister (foster parent) and four foster children were on duty. All five of them—two foster children on each side of the head minister who was in the middle—went onto the upper dais together. The rest of the people in the church were seated in the worship area below.

Then, after the five performers took their seats on the upper dais,

everyone at the service—including those seated in the worship area—clapped four times together to pay respects to God the Parent. After 20 to 30 seconds, they began singing the Mikagura-uta, the Songs for the Service. While the performers on the upper dais played the musical instruments, those in the worship area performed the hand dance in harmony with the music. The hand dance here refers to particular hand gestures with specific movements. Because this part of the service is performed while being seated, it is called the seated service. After the seated service, they all paid their respects to Oyasama and the Mitama-sama. The five performers then stepped down from the upper dais.

Subsequently, the service dance of the Twelve Songs was performed in the worship area. Generally speaking, at a Tenrikyo church, the followers belonging to that church come together once a month to perform the monthly service. In the monthly service, the musical instruments such as the bamboo flute, the small drum, the *koto*, and the *shamisen* are employed in addition to the wooden clappers and the large drum. Also, the seated service and the entire Twelve Songs are performed at the monthly service. At this church, during the morning and evening services, as well, the Twelve Songs were performed in a similar fashion as the monthly service, except that only one song for the day—not the entire Twelve Songs—is performed. During the service dance of a song from the Twelve Songs, the foster children performed the different musical instruments including the *koto,* the *shamisen*, the bamboo flute, and the small drum.

Finally, pieces of paper with lyrics of the Tenrikyo Boys and Girls Association song were distributed and everyone sang the song. Then, they formed a circle with the foster parent (head minister) at its center to exchange greetings such as "Thank you for the day." The whole procedure—from the appointed time to the end of greeting exchanges—took about 25 minutes.

Now, in observing how the service is performed, it can be seen that foster children are basically active participants in the service. Foster children also go up to the upper dais to worship, and they play the

musical instruments and perform the service dance. In addition to the foster children, there were also other children in the church who were not yet in school, and I was impressed by the way the foster children often took care of those children who would not sit still during the service.

However, the above-described situation was during the evening service, and there was no foster children present during the morning service. Since the morning service is held early in the morning, they are perhaps given consideration in ensuring that they have enough time to sleep and prepare for school.

In the following interviews, the term "Service Performance General Meeting" is used. This refers to the annual meeting held jointly with children of other Tenrikyo churches, and it includes the service performance by those children under the age of 15 (so-called Boys and Girls Association members). It is similar in form to the monthly service, which comprises the seated service and the Twelve Songs are performed. From the interviews, it can be inferred that, for the children, it is like a once-a-year gala.

Next, I would like to look at how this kind of ritual is spoken and practiced by the persons concerned. The constructs generated by the SCAT are indicated by brackets [ ], and the specific narratives of the interviewees are italicized. Note that the following section titles correspond to the higher-level concepts generated from the constituent concepts.

4.2 Building a personal relationship of trust

First, in Tenrikyo foster families, there exists [personal trust building as a prerequisite for ritual participation]. For example, FP-A recalls one foster child's reluctance to perform the service when he was in junior high school and says: "*He did not sit properly during the services. But then he would get into all kinds of trouble, and he would tell me all kinds of things each time he was in trouble.*" The main axis of foster care activities is establishing a relationship of trust between foster parents and their foster children. The following discussion will focus on the service,

but it should be noted at the outset that the various factors that emerge are based on the personal relationship between the foster parents and the foster child on an individual basis.

4.3 Explaining the ritual and proactive participation in it

How, then, is the service explained by foster parents? First, we can see that the rituals are thematized as "rituals as a form of expressing gratitude" and "rituals as a requirement for family building." For instance, FP-A says: "*We are not blood related, but we are all family. God brought us together and we became a family. And because God always protects us every day, we give thanks to God. Yes, that is what the service means to us*."

Here, [the existence of God who brings people without blood ties together as a family] is manifested as the object of "expressing gratitude," corresponding to the two elements of "expressing gratitude" and "family building."

Foster parents who have [a religious faith that is inherent in their foster care activities] will [encourage their foster children to proactively participate in the rituals] while trying to [ascertain when the time is right to convey the teachings]. It can be said that for the people concerned, at the beginning of their relationship, neither the words "to be a family" nor "to give thanks to God" have their own definite outlines. Rituals are practiced physically and behaviorally by the persons concerned, prior to their full signification.

For example, FP-B says:

Since we also had our own children besides the foster children, we felt that it would be discriminatory to ask them to stay out here [outside the sanctuary] alone. When you come to church, you perform the service together in the church. I told them that I would not wake them up in the morning, but that we would do the evening service together, and that this is how we would do it, and they didn't mind. So, we continued in this way. Therefore, we did not force them

to do so. For example, if a foster child went to a fishmonger, he or she would at least help their foster parents with the business. When you go to church, performing the service is part of the flow of church life. We are not talking about whether or not we did this for a specific reason. We just do these things together in the Tenrikyo church.

4.4 Rhythm of life centered on rituals

Turning to the aspect of the acquisition of rituals by foster children, we can see that [the customary transmission of the ritual by two generations of foster parents] and [the transmission of ritual gestures among foster children in a structured setting centered on rituals] are taking place. For example, FC-C, when asked who taught her the service, replied as follows:

Let's see, for the cymbals and the wooden clappers, it was my [foster] father. My [foster] grandfather taught me the small drum. My [foster] grandmother showed me how to play the koto while my [foster] mother taught me the shamisen and the kokyu. And I had no choice but to learn how to do the service dance by watching others and actually doing it myself. If you are in an environment where you can learn naturally, you will be able to do it.

This foster family has been active in foster care for two generations and is unique because foster children have been continuously present since the first generation, multiple foster parents are present, and certain senior/junior relationships exist among the foster children. In addition, they have time for the morning and evening services, which are followed by a 15-minute practice session of the service dance and the musical instruments, and they also conduct a monthly service on a regular basis, indicating that the family is being built within a rhythm of life centered on rituals.

4.5 Skill acquisition aspect in the ritual

In the context of foster children's mastery of rituals, when [improving

skills and fostering contributory membership through active assignment to roles in the ritual] are taking place, a [sense of accomplishment and increased motivation in ritual participation] may occur through [trainings from authority figures]. Such a "sense of accomplishment," "increased motivation," and "fostering membership" are similar to those that occur in group activities such as sports and musical ensembles. In particular, both foster parents and foster children said that this aspect of the program is made more prominent by the goal set for the annual Service Performance General Meeting. For example, FC-C says:

> *The significant part was, . . . I mean . . . attending the Service Performance General Meeting. By the time I was in the fifth or the sixth grade, I was already able to perform the hand dance of any songs or play any musical instruments. Because I was able to do just about anything, I was like 'you can assign me to any roles in the service.' I was really happy that I was able to fill in any roles.*

Then, as the foster children acquire the skills of the service, they may be entrusted with [a quasi-leadership position in transferring skills to prepare others for the ritual stage]. Although partly it depends on the personal character of FC-C, [continuous exploration into elemental skills based on a solution-oriented character] may become [conversational thematization context with the foster parents regarding rituals]. She also says that she still occasionally asks her foster parents about the hand movements of the service.

This skill acquisition aspect of the ritual can be used as one of the indicators of external changes in foster children in foster care activities, since it can [visualize the changes in foster children's skill acquisition] and [confirm a sense of accomplishment through mastering the skills]. In addition, many Tenrikyo churches have fife and drum corps activities, and it is confirmed that the skills of playing musical instruments in the fife and drum corps are also useful, especially in developing the skills for the musical instruments of the service, that is to say, [the transition of the

skills from fife and drum to religious rituals].

4.6 What is nurtured through the rituals

What is nurtured in foster children through this practice of the service? Interviews with FC-C confirmed [improved self-esteem due to the approval from her foster parents] and [improved self-esteem due to the awareness of skill proficiency]. For example, FC-C noted:

> *Because I perform the large drum quite often these days, the other day, FP-A told me, 'the way you beat the drum, the sound of the drum echoes all the way to the back side of the drum.' That made me very happy. I was happy that he thought so, because I don't play with such thoughts in my mind. I thought that the people who were listening to me heard it that way.*

Over time, [the cultivation of an attitude of "expressing gratitude" through rituals] and [the basic positive evaluation of the rhythm of life centered on the rituals of "expressing gratitude"] may occur. In this foster family, the evening service is held after dinner, and looking back on the time when she lived alone, FC-C reported the following:

> *I would come home to [the church] to do some errands, perform the service, and then return to my apartment. I could have just eaten dinner and gone home before the evening service, but I felt it is not right in my mind. I thought that since I had come home [to the church], I would want to perform the service and return home.*

The following narrative also shows [a conflict in which private time is taken up by the public rituals of the family]. This is because the foster home can be a "real" home for her and a [foster home where the ritual is conducted] at the same time. She also notes:

> *When I lived alone and came home [to the church], I would think, 'Oh, if I lived alone, I would do this at this time,' but now that I am back*

at home, I have the same time as everyone else to get ready for the evening service, but I have that time to express my gratitude for the day, etc. I think it is good for me to have that rhythm back.

Thus, it is confirmed that [the internal and external necessity of ritual performance for the foster child] can be formed.

4.7 An example of response to the secularism

In foster care activities, not only foster parents but also staff from the Child Guidance Center, foster care support workers, and other people in various capacities are involved in the care of foster children. In particular, the position of the administration can be seen as embodying secularism, and Tenrikyo foster parents are sometimes asked [to explain the ritual as a response to secularism] regarding the service. For example, FP-B recounts the following experience of having the staff members of the Child Guidance Center observe the service when they came to observe his foster care activities (*Instruction* in the interview is the title of a Tenrikyo reading material). He says:

The children performed the service, and then copies of "Instruction" were handed out to the staff members, too, and everyone read "Instruction" together. After the service, as he went home, one of the staff members remarked that he had witnessed a good thing. He did not tell us to stop doing it. On the contrary, he was quite impressed that the children turned around and said, 'Good evening, everyone, and thank you for another day,' and he even said that it is good to perform the service in such a family-church setting.

On that occasion, the Child Guidance Center staff probably confirmed that the foster children had developed a sense of discipline and acted with a sense of solidarity at the time of the service. In other words, the presentation of [the ritual practice of foster children as a guarantee of foster care activities] may result in the [confirmation of the acquisition of norms and solidarity through the ritual of foster children by the

administration].

4.8 Norms of the ritual and the deviation from the family

As we have seen above, the implementation of the service in Tenrikyo foster care activities is closely related to the construction of the family, but it also implies [an overlap between the family norms and the norms of the ritual]. For example, as in the words of FP-B quoted earlier, there is an aspect of discrimination in not allowing foster children to participate in the service while their own children participate. On the other hand, however, if "becoming a family" is equivalent to "participating in the service," those who refuse to participate in the rituals on the basis of religious freedom would become "non-family members." In other words, although the ritual of the service is closely linked to the construction of the family, both forcing people to participate in it and refusing them to do so would unduly shake up the family building process. Thus, with regard to the [acceptance and participation in the rituals passed down by the family], it can be said that [combination of forced faith and deviation from the family] is present in [secularism as a background].

Therefore, a [buffer zone from the norms of the ritual] is needed in everyday life. For example, FP-A says: "Whether or not to join the morning service is up to the children. So, some of them get up and join in, while others wait on the staircase landing, wondering if the service is done yet." It is clear that a place like the "staircase landing" in this quote must be physically and psychologically secured, and that [various lifestyles and their tolerance] are required as [the flip side of the overlap between the family norms and the norms of the ritual].

One of the major issues in Tenrikyo foster care activities is how to ensure that, even if foster children do not participate in the service at all, they are still a "family."

5. Conclusion and future issues

In this paper, I have examined the question "How do members of a

Tenrikyo foster family develop their senses of 'family' and 'self' while making 'religion' a theme in the secular context of the foster care?" Based on participant observation of a Tenrikyo foster family and interviews with foster parents and a foster child, I have discussed this issue, focusing in particular on the service.

In summary, the Tenrikyo foster parents explain the service to their foster children and encourage them to first participate in the service physically prior to giving them the full meaning of the service, while building a personalized relationship of trust with them. In the rhythm of life centered on the service, foster children gain a sense of "accomplishment" and "membership" while gaining proficiency in the skills of the service, as well as a sense of "gratitude to God" and other benefits that are cultivated through the service. Eventually, the internal and external necessity of performing the service emerges for the foster children, and a certain public nature emerges in the foster family as a place to perform the ritual. The discipline and the solidarity that one acquires through the service can also be a response to secularism.

On the other hand, the norms of the service overlap with the family norms, and deviation from the service comes to indicate a deviation from the family. Therefore, daily life requires a buffer zone between the normative and cohesive nature of the service and the family, as well as tolerance for the diverse lifestyles exhibited by foster children. The fundamental question of whether children who do not participate in the service are not family arises on a daily basis, forcing those involved to constantly reconsider the service, faith, and family.

Now, seen in this way, it can be seen that the family is not simply secular in the context of the secularism of the foster care system, nor is the service simply religious. It is possible to conceive of a family centered on "expressing gratitude to God," and it is confirmed that the service has a skill acquisition aspect that is common to sports and other performing arts.

In this paper, focusing on the Tenrikyo service, we discussed how both coercing foster children to participate in the service and conversely

refusing them to participate can shake up the family building process. However, it can also be considered in reverse. That is, the pros and cons of forced participation or non-participation apply to the family itself, and it can be said that forcing the family to participate or not participate shakes up the construction of the service. As with the service, becoming a family is not something that can be forced upon an individual. In a sense, to become a family may also require physical and behavioral trainings. In this sense, "family" and "service" are thought to be generated synchronously, overlapping and diverging, while requesting something external to each other.

In addition, I would like to confirm that in a dynamic field where secularism is strong, it is religion rather than secularism that tends to be transformed.[9] For example, there were narratives about the service such as [rituals as a form of expressing gratitude] and [rituals as a requirement for family building], but whether such narratives themselves are appropriate as narratives about the service, or in other words, as narratives about religion, is an issue for foster parents who have [a religious faith that is inherent in their foster care activities]. Foster care activities are based on secularism, and responses to secularism at various levels are imperative. However, I also fear that the normalization of such a narrative toward secularism (even if only for the sake of the religion's survival) will transform the language of religion that is inherent in the Tenrikyo foster parents. If the existence of foster children is the result of a secularist society, we should consider the possibility that such a narrative could be a discourse of resistance to secularism and thereby becoming a foundation for nurturing foster children.

In this paper, we have only discussed one case in which the trust between foster parents and foster children was developed relatively well. Generalization of qualitative research requires the accumulation of case studies, and it is a future task to take up various cases that may differ from those in this paper. However, when requesting to interview foster children, the first ethical consideration is to seek cooperation from former foster children who have reached the age of adulthood, which is almost

inevitably a case in which a trusting relationship with the foster parents has been successfully established. Such methodological limitations are also an issue when taking the qualitative approach of interview analysis.

Table 1: Storylines of FP-A

FP-A, who was asked by the interviewer about [the foster children's participation in rituals and its place in their daily lives] and [the degree of freedom of participation in rituals in the foster children's daily lives], while dealing with [religious freedom and secularism as the background of foster care activities] and [the construction of age-appropriate individual relationships], conveys to his foster children [rituals as a form of expressing gratitude] and [rituals as a requirement for family building]. However, there is [an overlap between the family norms and the norms of the ritual], indicating that there is [a buffer zone from the norms of the ritual]. When asked by the interviewer about [the pros and cons of the functionalist explanation of ritual as a requirement for family building], FP-A talked about [the existence of God who brings people without blood ties together as a family] and [rituals as "expressing gratitude" to God] and [the transmission of ritual gestures among foster children in a structured setting centered on rituals]. About [responses to deviant children by foster children], he shows [the flip side of the overlap between the family norms and the norms of the ritual] and [various lifestyles and their tolerance]. With regard to [the foster children's acceptance of the rituals], he said that [improving skills and fostering contributory membership through active assignment to roles in the ritual] and [sense of accomplishment and increased motivation in ritual participation] through [trainings from authority figures]. With regard to [participants who are routinely reluctant to participate in rituals], he talked about [active participation in rituals] through [aesthetic evaluation of physical skills], and cited [personal trust building as a prerequisite for ritual participation] was cited as [a factor in changing attitudes toward rituals].

Table 2: Storylines of FP-B

When asked by the interviewer about his memories of thematizing rituals with his foster children, FP-B spoke of the [acceptance and participation in the rituals passed down by the family], showing [a combination of forced faith and deviation from the family] in [secularism as a background]. He revealed [a religious faith that is inherent in their foster care activities] and spoke of [the synchronization of biological and foster children] and [the encouragement of foster children's proactive participation in the rituals] while being [precautionary about the timing of the transmission of the teachings]. When [explaining ritual as a response to secularism], FP-B presented [the ritual practice of foster children as a guarantee of foster care activities] and spoke of the [confirmation of the acquisition of norms and solidarity through the ritual of foster children by the administration] that occurred.

Table 3: Storylines of FC-C

FC-C, who was prompted by the interviewer to [reflect on the persons who gave her instructions regarding the rituals], spoke of having received [the customary transmission of the ritual by a second-generation foster parent]. When asked about her [participation in the transmission of rituals as instructor], she described her experience in [a quasi-leadership position in transferring skills to prepare others for the ritual stage]. [Conversational thematization context with foster parents regarding rituals] included [continuous exploration of elemental skills based on a solution-oriented disposition] and received [prompts for reflection on internal changes resulting from ritual mastery] from interviewers, and showed [improved self-esteem due to the approval from her foster parents] and [improved self-esteem due to the awareness of proficiency]. When [prompted to reflect on the internal changes in the current foster children from her perspective as a former foster child], she talked about [the transition of the skills from fife and drum to rituals] and the [visualization of the changes in foster children's skill acquisition] and the [confirmation of a sense of accomplishment through mastering the skills]. When asked about

[the existence of any negative reactions to Tenrikyo], she cited [a conflict in which private time is taken up by the public rituals of the family], but based on [the cultivation of an attitude of "expressing gratitude" through rituals], she mentioned [her basic positive evaluation of the rhythm of life centered on the rituals of "expressing gratitude"]. Regarding "the relationship between rituals and her new lifestyle independent of her foster family," she spoke of "the foster family as a place for her to perform the rituals" and "the internal and external necessity of performing rituals for foster children."

Notes

(1)   Tenrikyō satooya renmei, ed., *Satooya* [Foster Parents], no. 50 (2016): 41. Yoichirō Kuwahata, "Shukyōteki bunmyaku ni okareru satooya yōiku: Tenrikyō satooya eno intabyūchosa o motoni [Foster Care in a Religious Context: Based on Interviews with Tenrikyo Foster Parents]," in *Fukushi shakaigaku kenkyū*, no. 17 (2020): 112. [hereafter, Kuwahata 2020]

(2)   Major academic research regarding Tenrikyo foster parents includes: Saburō Yagi, "Shakaiteki yōgo ni okeru Tenrikyō satooya no igi [Significance of Tenrikyo Foster Parents in Social Foster Care]," in Tenri daigaku oyasato kenkyūsho nenpō, no. 17 (2010); Juri Kaneko, "Sosharu kyapitaru toshite no Tenrikyō satooya katsudō no kanōsei [The Potential of Tenrikyo Foster Care Activities as Social Capital]," in Kea toshite no shūkyō [Religions as Care] (Akashishoten: 2013); and Yoichirō Kuwahata, "Tenrikyō satooya katsudōni kansuru yobiteki kōsatsu [A Preliminary Study of Tenrikyo Foster Care Activities]," in Ibunka kenkyū, no. 13 (2019).

(3)   Kuwahata 2020.

(4)   Yoichirō Kuwahata, "Tenrikyō satooya ni okeru shinkō to kyori [Distance from Faith in Tenrikyo Foster Care]," in Yamaguchi chiikishakai kenkyū, no. 17 (2019). [hereafter, Kuwahata 2019].

(5)   For example, see Junichi Isomae, Kindai nihon no shūkyō gensetsu to sono keifu: shūkyō, kokka, Shintō [Religious Discourse in Modern Japan and its Genealogy: Religion, State, and Shinto] (Iwanami shoten: 2003). In this book, "*belief*" is regarded as "conceptualized system of beliefs" and "*practice*" as "non-verbal, conventional behavior" (p. 35).

(6)   Kuwahata 2019.

(7)   The analytical perspective of this paper owes much to the insights of anthropologist and religious scholar Talal Asad, who states, for example, that "different kinds of practices and discourses are inherent in the place where religious representations acquire their own identity and truth" (Talal Asad,

Shūkyō no keifu [Genealogies of Religion] (Iwanami shoten: 1993/2004), p. 58).

(8) Cf. Takashi Otani, Shitsuteki kenkyū no kangaekata: Kenkyū hōhōron kara SCAT ni yoru bunseki made [Concept of Qualitative Research: From Research Methodology to SCAT Analysis] (Nagoya daigaku shuppankai: 2019).

(9) For example, Hirofumi Takada discusses the violence of the boundary between "liberal democracy" and "religion" in the form of summarizing Talal Asad's argument. Hirofumi Takada, "Saishin sareru sezoku to shūkyō: Talal Asad no posuto sezoku shugi ron [Secular and Religion Revisited: Talal Asad's Theory of Post-Secularism]," Musashino daigaku seiji keizai kenkyūsho nenpō, vol. 7 (2013).

Book review

MICHAEL PYE, *RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE JAPANS*
Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2022. 400 pages.
ISBN 978-3-17-002834-0 (hardback)

This book, published in German, is an academic work on the history of religions in Japan. There are many books in Japanese on the theme of Japanese religious history, but few written in foreign languages. Thus, this reviewer is sure that the publication of this book should be welcomed by German reading-scholars of religious studies throughout the world. The author is historian of religions Michael Pye (1939 --), a professor emeritus of Marburg University in Germany. He is very familiar with Japanese religious traditions and has maintained close relationships with scholars of religious studies of Japanese universities, including Tenri University, for many years. Earlier major books by the same author include *Skilful Means*: *A Concept in Mahayana Buddhism* (1978; 2003), *Strategies in the Study of Religions* (2013), *Japanese Buddhist Pilgrimage* (2015), and *Exploring Shinto* (2020).

The present work, *Religionsgeschichte Japans*, consists of twelve chapters dealing chronologically with Japanese religious history, which contain the insights and interpretations of Japanese religious traditions from the author's viewpoint of religious studies. Readers will find a brief overview of the contents by chapter below, which suggests how persuasively the author argues the historical development of Japanese religious traditions on the basis of his understanding of the facts. Here is an English translation of the table of contents:

Table of Contents

9.1   State ideology and civil religion

9.2   Ideology and education

9.3   Buddhism and modernity

9.4   Christian missions and churches

9.5   New religious communities and the diversity of religions

10.   **Japans Religions in the Post-war Period** (*Japans Religionen in der Nachkriegszeit*)

10.1 Religions and the new freedom

10.2 Innovative religious communities

10.3 Japanese religions overseas

10.4 Yasukuni Shrine and other issues

10.5 Two accession ceremonies

11.   **Japanese Religions Today** (*Japans religiöse Gegenwart*)

11.1 Key features of contemporary religion

11.2 Diversity of religions in the Heisei Era

11.3 Primal religion in everyday life in contemporary Japan

11.4 Conclusion

12.   **Appendices** (*Anhang*)

12.1 Bibliography

12.2 Table of maps and figures

12.3 Glossary

12.4 Index

As readers may easily observe, this book presents a new and comprehensive description of Japanese religious history. This kind of work on the history of Japanese religion has not been published in a European language for an extended period of time. For an overall view, there were such well-known older works including *History of Japanese Religions* (1930) by Anesaki Masaharu and *Japanische Religionsgeschichte* (in English, History of Japanese Religions, 1935)

by Wilhelm Gundert. Then, about thirty years later, Joseph M. Kitagawa published his influential work, *Religion in Japanese History* (1966), taking into account significant changes after World War II. Although that book is still valuable as a treatise for the understanding of Japanese religion, it was published half a century ago. Thus, at present, in order to understand the history of Japanese religion from a contemporary viewpoint of religious studies, historians of religions need a new comprehensive overview which incorporates more recent academic research. Faced with such a situation, it is significant that historian of religions Michael Pye, who is very knowledgeable about Japanese religious traditions, has published this important work.

The most striking feature of the book is that he argues the development of Japanese religion across a wide range of layers, from the doctrinal level of religion to that of religious customs in everyday life that may not often be regarded as "truly" religious. There are almost no books in Japanese that cover Japanese religion from the dimension of religious doctrines to that of religious practices in everyday life, as this book does. As is well known among historians of religions, the concept of "religion" (*shūkyō*) was constructed as a term imported from the West in the early Meiji period. In order to describe the development of Japanese religion, the author interprets the concept of "religion" in a broader sense as a term that encompasses such diverse matters as Shintō, Buddhism, and civil religion. Thus, the remarkable point of the book is that the author clarifies the characteristics of religious components such as thought, faith, and custom in the history of Japanese religion on the basis of his understanding of the multi-layered structure of Japanese religion. At the same time, the "chronological overview" of Japanese religion (1.7) is useful for readers to, in brief, diachronically recognize its entire history.

While paying regard to the diversity and complexity of Japanese religion, it is very difficult for one to develop a precisely analogous analysis for each period. Therefore, in order to accurately describe the history of Japanese religion, on the basis of his careful investigation of various religious facts, the author sought to demonstrate not only the

complications of the chronological development of Japanese religion, but also the religious diversity existing at any one period which shifted according to the historical circumstances. In short, there is no doubt that this book is a very significant attempt to answer the question, "What is Japanese religion?"

From the contemporary perspectives of religious studies, this book will contribute to the development of the structural understanding of Japanese religion. It is therefore highly recommended for readers who are interested in Japanese religion and culture as well as in theoretical aspects of the study of religion. This reviewer hears from the author that he is preparing an English version, so that the book will be able to reach a wider readership in the foreseeable future. Readers with a keen interest in this area of research will look forward with great anticipation, as well, to the English publication of this important contribution to the history of Japanese religions.

Reviewed by Yoshitsugu Sawai, Professor Emeritus of Tenri University.

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