

## SUMMARIES

### Yamazaki Ansai's Concept of "Mean" (*Chū*)

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*Keywords:* Yamazaki Ansai, Zhuxi school of Neo-Confucianism, Suika Shinto, concept of "mean" (*chū*), Shin-Ju myōkei [神儒妙契]

*Chū* (mean) is key concept in Confucianism in general, and is also a basic concept in the Zhuxi school of Neo-Confucianism. Edo-period scholar of Zhuxi school Confucianism, Yamazaki Ansai (1618–82) took a particular interest in this concept and pursued an understanding of its deeper meaning. As a scholar also of Shinto, he believed *chū* was also an aspect of the "way" (*michi*) in Japan's indigenous religion of Shinto.

In this paper, comparing Yamazaki's ideas about *chū* with those of Zhuxi, I examine from within his thought on the relationship between his understanding of Zhuxi school Neo-Confucianism and his interpretation of Shinto. Here, when referring to the character 中 as a concept in the Zhuxi school of Neo-Confucianism, I use the "*chū*" reading and when discussing the concept in Shinto I use "*naka*," the Japanese reading of the character. We may conclude that in Yamazaki Ansai's thought, the concept of 中 straddles the meanings of both *chū* and *naka*.

**The Establishment of Jōdo Shin Buddhist Practice on Marriage:  
Edo Period Punishment of Clerical Marriage and Biographical Accounts**

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*Keywords:* Shinran's "marriage," *Shinran-den*, *Shinranden-e*, *Godenshō*, marriage practice, Jōdo Shin school, harsh punishment of clerical marriage

It has long been said that founder of the Jōdo Shin school of Buddhism Shinran (1173–1262) was married, even though Shinran's "marriage" is not mentioned in any statements by the priest himself during his lifetime, as depicted in the pictorial accounts (*Shinranden-e*), nor does it appear in the biographical *Godenshō*. This paper focuses on biographies of Shinran written in the Edo period that state clearly that he was married.

In the Edo period the Tokugawa bakufu harshly punished members of the Buddhist clergy for relations with women, but marriage was permitted among the clergy of the Jōdo Shin school because it was a practice with a long tradition. Based on an analysis of the accounts in the biographies compiled or published in the Edo period, this paper attempts to explain how the practice of marriage was established in Jōdo Shin. It focuses specifically on mentions of Shinran's "marriage" (*saitai* 妻帯), reasons for the marriage, Shinran's reaction to marriage, and descriptions of the practice.

Descriptions of Shinran's marriage, despite the scarcity of pre-Edo manuscripts telling of his marriage, became established in almost all the biographies published in the Edo period. Through these descriptions, his marriage is explained not as a violation of Buddhist vows, but otherwise justified in order to avoid placing the responsibility on Shinran himself.

The accounts also show that the Jōdo Shin practice of clerical marriage was not directly linked to the founder's marriage even if he had indeed married. The accounts in the biographies published during the Edo period increasingly emphasize the distinction of Jōdo Shin from other schools in terms of the practice of marriage, which they trace to the "marriage of the founder."

The fixing of the image of Shinran as a married priest and the relating of episodes about the origins of clerical marriage in the Edo period played an important part in the establishment of the practice of marriage in the Jōdo Shin school.

**13 Towers of *Chūreitō* (Memorials for the War Dead)  
in China Constructed by the Japanese Army**

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*Keywords:* charnel house, memorial for the war dead, Russo-Japanese War, Manchurian Incident, Japanese-Chinese War, Asia-Pacific War, structure of a total war, peace overtures toward China

Following the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), the Japanese army built five *nōkotsushi* (charnel house) in the southern part of Northeast China (hereafter “Manchuria”) to house the ashes of their war dead. The army constructed five more memorials for the war dead in the central and western parts of Manchuria in order to accommodate the remains of Japanese who died in the Manchurian Incident (1931) and the establishment and administration of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo. For those who died in the second Japanese-Chinese War beginning in 1937, the army constructed three more such memorials in Beijing, Shanghai, and Zhangjiakou.

The memorials were in most cases very large, tower-shaped structures, and their common purpose was the accommodation of the remains of those who died in the fighting. The ways the towers were built were different, however, and so were the roles they were expected to play.

After the end of the Asia-Pacific War, the thirteen memorials were destroyed, and none of them remain. This study seeks to show what the memorials looked like and the roles they played based on a study of documents, recalled accounts, and observations of their ruins.

## The Nongae Memorial: Japanese Enshrinement of a Korean Heroine

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*Keywords:* Nongae, Keyamura Rokusuke, Japanese invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi, Korean expedition, ghost marriage

The purpose of this study is to examine a Korea-Japan conflict arising from the enshrinement by a Kyushu man on his own private land of the famed sixteenth-century *kisaeng* of Jinju named Nongae in the twentieth-century. He brought some soil from Namgang River—the river to which she thrown herself with the enemy general—and stone from her native to build the shrine.

Nongae is known not only as a famous *kisaeng* of Korea's trained entertainer class, but the object of worship in folk belief and a highly respected patriotic heroine. The establishment and destruction of the Kyushu shrine Hōjuin, where Nongae, a Korean national heroine, was enshrined, is symbolic of the conflict between particularistic views of the spirit in Korea and Japan. Even though the shrine was initially built for the high-minded purposes of reconciliation, tolerance, and peace, it was controversial from the outset. The project regarded the legend of Nongae as a real historical incident and the memorial was erected out of sympathy for the Japanese General Keyamura Rokusuke and Nongae. Japanese and Koreans jointly performed memorial services for the Korean and Japanese victims of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea.

For the Japanese who erected the shrine, the project may have been an expression of the spirit of charity based on the Buddhist principle of *onshin byōdō* (treating hate and love alike). At the Kyushu shrine, folk belief had been in the process of transforming Nongae into a deity of marital harmony and prosperity for one's posterity. But Koreans saw the edifice from a totally different perspective. They viewed the memorial as portraying a heroine who buried herself with the enemy, and as an issue of the separation of the spirit from the body. Koreans believe that the spirit should stay in the body. For them, it involved not only an infringement on their prerogatives of ownership and right to enshrine Nongae's memory, but also a kind of forced "marriage" of Nongae, who may already have had a husband, to the enemy commander. Such treatment represented a grave ethnic insult from the Korean point of view.

As a result, the controversy over the enshrinement became a diplomatic issue. The South Korean government sought the return to Korea of the private assets relating to Nongae, and Nongae's picture and tombstone were returned to South Korea. In addition, it was agreed that joint memorial services would not be held. Nongae's Korean descendants, however, refused to have her become a deity in Japan, instantly terminating that transformation. The Hōjuin memorial has since been neglected and remains a symbol of the conflict between Korea and Japan.

## A Cultural History of *Chikan*: The Change of the Meanings and Notations

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*Keywords:* *chikan*, groper, women-only trains, sexual deviance, gender, sex crime, sexual harassment, molester, Japanese culture, modernization

The behavior of men who touch others with sexual intent on Japan's crowded trains, commonly referred to as *chikan* (gropers), is a continuing social problem. Some especially crowded commuter trains even run "women-only" cars as a countermeasure. Nevertheless, there is little research on *chikan*, especially from the cultural point of view. This paper considers the changes that have taken place in the meaning and the way the word is written. The original meaning of *chikan* was "foolish man," and it was not used otherwise. Among the few works on the subject, the prevailing view is that the shift in the current meaning of "groper" occurred after the turn of the twentieth century. This study sets forth the semantic and orthographic changes in use of the word *chikan* that took place over time as defined in dictionaries and shown in fiction and magazine and newspaper articles since the latter part of the Meiji era (1868–1912).

The analysis here shows that the meaning of the word gradually acquired a sexual connotation from around 1900 and, in the 1930s, it was used in the contemporary sense of "groper." The word *chikan* can be found in articles and works of fiction frequently from the 1950s onward.

Concerning the reading of the characters with which *chikan* is written 痴漢, during the period when the original meaning of foolish man was predominant, instances in documents with accompanying *rubi* show that it was often read *shiremono*. As the usage of the word changed to indicate the meaning of "sexually foolish man," the characters came to be read in their *on*-readings and *chikan* became standard.

The word was commonly written using the Chinese characters until the middle of the 1990s, but as seen on posters, signs, and notices in public areas, it is now most often written in katakana. This paper cites specific examples and sources for the various points made concerning its semantic and orthographic changes of *chikan*.