

Chapter 3

From the Promulgation of "Imperial Rescript on Education" to around World War I

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Quasi-formula Interpretation of "Imperial Rescript on Education" and School Events

Inoue Kowashi, who was at the center of drafting both "Imperial Constitution" and "Imperial Rescript on Education" searched for the greatest common divisor of the peoples reverence for the Emperor from the lesson of the early Meiji period and found it in "history of cooperation between the Emperor and the people" (Namely, The "Virtue and Loyalty" Theory). There was a desire to avoid philosophical and religious conflicts over the position of the Emperor, and to avoid getting involved in them. Then, how was the Imperial Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education, which were created with such an intention, interpreted and applied after that?

Inoue Kowashi's thoughts on the Constitution and the Imperial Rescript on Education were as stated at the beginning, but it seems that he was not able to make the entire education administration fully aware of this. The previous chapter described that Inoue Tetsujirō and Inoue Kowashi had different opinions about the interpretation of "Kōso Kōsō"(ancestors of emperors) in the draft of the commentary of the Imperial Rescript on Education which Ministry of Education entrusted to Inoue Tetsujirō. In contrast to Tetsujirō's explanation that "Kōso = Amaterasu Ōmikami; Kōsō = Emperor Jinmu" (The "Deity's Descendant" Theory), Kowashi argued that when referring to establishment of Japan, it should be understood that "Kōso = Emperor Jinmu, Kōsō = Successive Emperors" (The "Virtue and Loyalty" Theory).

On this point, a commentary on the Imperial Rescript on Education(*Chyokugo Engi*) written by Inoue Tetsujirō in 1891 says as follows:

Long ago, Ninigi no mikoto fell to the earth by the command of Tenno Amaterasu Ōmikami. Among his virtuous descendants, Emperor Jinmu

appeared and subjugated his adversaries to unify Japan, set up a national government, ruled the people and built our country. Therefore, the enthronement of Emperor Jinmu is defined as the beginning of Japan. For more than 2550 years since Emperor Jinmus enthronement, the blood line of the Emperor has continued consistently and the country has been prospering more and more (underlined by the author).

The Imperial Rescript on Education" was based only on The "Virtue and Loyalty" Theory. However the commentary (*Chyokugo engi*), on the one hand, considered the establishment of Japan when Emperor Jinmu ascended the throne and, since then, the bloodline of the Emperor Jinmu has continued consistently, which based on The "Virtue and Loyalty" Theory. But, on the other, it also placed a description that Amaterasu Ōmikami was "Tenso" which was not used in the Imperial Rescript on Education. The description meant adoption of the "Deity's Descendant" Theory. Thus, there was a gap between the Imperial Rescript on Education and its commentary.

Chyokugo engi was published under the personal name of Inoue Tetsujirō. But it was originally commissioned by the Minister of Education. Moreover about this commentary Inoue Kowashi, who wrote the Imperial Rescript on Education, expressed his opinion and Yoshikawa Akimasa, who was the Minister of Education at the time of its issuance, wrote a recommendation in it. Thus it was treated as a quasi-official interpretation of the Imperial Rescript on Education, and it continued to be published.

However, it seems undoubtedly that at the time when Imperial Rescript on Education was issued, Inoue Kowashis ideas were mainly taken as the main stream in the Minister of Education, because, in "Outline of Elementary School Rules" (*Syōgakkō Kyōsoku Taikō*) established by the Ministry of Education in 1891, it was specified that the education of Japanese history should be started with the establishment of Japan and then the eternity of blood line of the Emperor, the success of successive Emperors, the achievements of loyal subjects and sages and the bravery of the people should be taught. In fact, it corresponded to "authorized textbooks"(Kentei Kyōkasho) in elementary school at that time, there was no mention of mythology in textbooks such as Brief History of the Empire (*Teikoku Syōreki*, Gakubunsha in Meiji 26) and Japanese history (*Nihon Rekishi*,

Kinkōdō; in Meiji 27) edited in accordance with " Outline of Elementary School Rules " and they explained that Emperor Jinmu was the ancestor of the Emperor.

As for the reason why the descriptions in the textbooks were like this, Inoue Kowashi assumed the post of the Minister of Education in March 1893, which seems to have had a great impact. However, he resigned as the Minister of Education due to illness in August of the following year and died in March Meiji 28(1895). I presume that this had created an environment in which changes in textbook descriptions were allowed. As for the changes, entries such as "Amaterasu Ōmikami" "Three Sacred Treasures of the Emperor(*Sansyu no Jingi*)" and " The descent of the grandson of Amaterasu Ōmikami to the earth(*Tensonkōrin*)" were added before the description of Emperor Jinmu starting around 1899, and in the entries, it was explained that Amaterasu Ōmikami was the distant ancestor of the Emperor and Emperor Jinmu was the first human emperor(*Jinnō*) (The Narrative about the History of the Empire(*Teikoku Shidan*) Gakukai shishin sha, 1899. Japanese History for Elementary School (Syōgaku Kokushi) Hukyū sha, 1901, etc.).

It is said that the change in the description was caused by the discussion in the Imperial Diet after the Sino-Japanese War which called for strengthening of loyalty and patriotic education. And that this descriptive style was handed down in government-designated textbooks since 1904 (Kaigo Tokiomi 'History of History Education (*Rekishi Kyōiku no Rekishi*)', Tokyo University Press, pp. 92 - 95.) Under the influence of changes in the times, it seems that the 'Chokugo Engi's idea began to influence textbooks for elementary schools in the 30's of the Meiji period, and the prototype of government-designated textbooks based on The "Virtue and Loyalty" Theory and "Deity's Descendant" Theory was made.

In terms of cultivating reverence for the Emperor among students, more importance was placed on arousal through school events than on teaching in classes. School events held on national holidays were introduced in 1888 by the first Minister of Education, Mori Arinori, but became complicated after that. It was Inoue Kowashi, who assumed the post of Minister of Education in 1893, who organized and established the system of school events. As a result of the reform by Minister of Education Inoue, the basic form of school events was

established in "New Years Day (*Gantan*)" " National Foundation Day(*Kigensetsu*) " and " Emperors Birthday(*Tencyōsetsu*)" by holding "A salute to the Imperial couples portrait (*Goshinei*)" " Wish the couples eternal health " " Reading the Imperial Rescript on Education respectfully" "A principals speech" "Singing a song for the ceremony".

Education Minister Inoue's instructions about the purpose of the revision explained the significance of school events as follows:" Through them we unwittingly cultivate and develop among our people the virtues of loyalty and courage." Here too, the same kind of thinking that tried to avoid metaphysical arguments in the Imperial Rescript on Education appears in a different form. In other words, it was expected that school events would include a variety of reverence for the Emperor, which could lead to division of confrontation if they were to be consciously or theoretically expressed, and arouse them unconsciously.

With regard to school events, Satō Hideo, a professor at Nihon University, surmises that the word "*Goshinei*" was originally a Buddhist term and the salute for it was based on Buddhist sense, and that "Singing a song for the ceremony" might have been learned from the Christian liturgy by the first Minister of Education, Mori Arinori ('Contemporary Materials II 8: *Goshinei* and Imperial Rescript on Education I', Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, "Explanation"). If his reasoning is correct, it can be said that there was also consideration to arouse the spirit of reverence for the Emperor by embracing the people's diverse sense of religion. In other words, Inoue's idea of reverence for the Emperor was syncretic.

Various private commentaries on the Imperial Rescript on Education

After the publication of the Imperial Rescript on Education, commentaries from various standpoints were published privately. This may be the result of the self-restraint of the government. Some of them interpreted Inoue Kowashi's intention quite accurately, but on the other hand, many of them were based on myths. And commentaries on Buddhism and Christianity also appeared.

For example, Ōta Kyōson published a commentary called *The Imperial Rescript and Buddhism* (*Cyugo to Bukkyō*) in February 1894 and at the beginning of it, he says as follows: "It was not the first for Buddhism to seriously affect the nation and enshrine the principle of loyalty and filial piety when it was introduced into China and Japan. They were already included in the doctrine of Buddhism." (Nihon University Materials related to the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōdikucyokugo Kankei Shiryō*)⁹, ed. Nihon Daigaku Seishin Bunka Kenkyūjo · Nihon Daigaku Kyōiku Seido Kenkyūjo, p.373). It is said that the thought of reverence for the Emperor is inherent in Buddhism.

Ōta explained this reason as follows: "In human society, there is a difference between the high and the low, the poor, the rich. Buddhist doctrine holds that the reason lies in fate from a previous life. There is a cause to be for being born the Emperor of the four seas, the unique position. Every person who was born as a vassal must never violate the Emperors position and must be loyal to the Emperor." (p. 375). In other words, the emperor worship is explained by the idea of retributive justice in Buddhism.

There was also commentary on the Imperial Rescript on Education based on Christianity. In July 1893, Ishikawa Kisaburō belong Orthodox Church published a commentary on the Imperial Rescript on Education entitled *An explanation of the Imperial Rescript on Education based on the teachings of the Orthodox Church* (*Chokugo seikyō ge*) . In it, Ishikawa wrote about the grounds for the Emperors rule as follows :

Everything is based on the deep thought of God or the Creator. God created an unbroken imperial line for our country, and gave happiness and good fortune to all people. This is truly unparalleled in the world, and we have to admit that Gods grace is great. As described above, the imperial line of our country was established by a special arrangement of God. "Through me kings have their power, and rulers give right decisions. Through me chiefs have authority, and the noble ones are judging in righteousness." ("Proverbs" Chapter 8, Section 15-16) The people should remember the words of God, respect the founder of the nation with reverence, and serve their descendants as vassals (Materials related to the Imperial Rescript on Education Vol .4, p. 572.)

The omniscient and omnipotent God is the true ruler of the world: So it is Gods

will that has kept the imperial line in Japan: Therefore, those who believe in omniscient and omnipotent God naturally have to respect the Emperor. After saying this, Ishikawa explained the meaning of virtues in the Imperial Rescript on Education quoting the Bible's words one by one. And at the end, he wrote so much that ancestors of an emperor were the most obedient to the order of God or the Creator, and that since lessons they have taught us were in the Imperial Rescript on Education, those who does not respect and practice them are not Christians (p. 587).

In addition, Shigeno Yasutsugu, a historian of Japanese history, stated at a reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education held at Tokyo Imperial University "It would be almost certain to say that the gist of the Imperial Rescript on Education is based Confucianism." And for this reason he was criticized as follows in the magazine *Kokumin no Tomo* by Tokutomi Sohō who was an organ of *Minyu-sha*:

The words of the Imperial Rescript on Education are simple but have many meanings. Confucianists should also have the benefit of this, and the Buddhists should have the benefit of this, and the Christians should also have the benefit of this, and the Shintoist should have the benefit of this, so that all those who have a status of Japanese people should have the benefit of this. It is not necessarily limited to Confucianism, but it is necessary to adopt Confucianism as the policy of education." (November 13, 1890, *Kyōikucyokugo Kanpatsu Kankie Shiryōshū* vol.2,ed.Kokumin Seishin Bunka Kenkyūjo,p499)

In view of the fact that various commentaries were published, it can be said that the governments intention at the time was to "In the private sectors, if they keep the line of reverence for the Emperor, they are basically allowed free interpretation as to how to justify and recognise the reverence."

When the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued, two famous incidents occurred. The first was the lese majesty incident in which a Christian named Uchimura Kanzō refused to worship at the Emperors name and seal printed in the Imperial Rescript on Education "Gyomei Gyoji" (1891). The other was the incident in which historian Kume Kunitaka was denounced because of his article titled "Shinto is the ancient custom of deifying the heavens "Sai Ten" (1892). Citing these two cases, one could say that the government would not have been

so tolerant. They were actually suppressing ideas that they didn't like.

I will discuss these two cases in more detail in the second part of this book, so I will only say a few words here. At first glance, these incidents appear to be government control and suppression of ideas. However, it was the exasperated students, teachers, private Shintoists and scholars of Japanese classical literature who criticized them and forced them to resign, not the government. The government didn't just protect them. Even today there are occasional incidents in which a person in a public post is accused by private society of "inappropriate" and forced to resign. Even if the government protects them, it is not suppression by the government. It's the same as that.

The "Nation as Family" Theory became popular after the Sino-Japanese War

Here let us now look at the evolution of the national polity theory in Japanese society, moving away from the Imperial Rescript on Education and broadening our perspective. There is a convenient book for this case. It's *The History of the National Polity* published by the Bureau of Shrines of the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1921. This is a summary of various theories on the national polity from the *Edo* period to the *Taishō* period. Following the theories included in this collection, it can be read that from after the Sino-Japanese War until the end of the *Meiji* period, The "Nation as Family" Theory based on the "Kun nin dōso ron" that the emperor and the people had the same ancestor, became the dominant opinion in the press.

For example, Hozumi Yatsuka, a constitutional scholar famous for advocating imperial sovereignty, wrote in *National education and patriotism* published in 1897, "Our ancestor is, in fact, *Tenno* or Amaterasu Omikami. *Tenno* is the first ancestor of the people, and the Imperial family is the head family of the people." "The sovereignty of Japan was given by *Tenno*, the progenitor of the people, to her descendants. The Imperial family is the head family of the people because the Imperial line is the most correct and central lineage of the progenitor common to all Japanese people." (*History of the National Polity* pp 208 - 210).

In *National polity and new territories (Waga Kokutai to Shin Hanto)*, published

in a magazine *Taiyō* in the same year, Takayma Cyogyū also made the following argument (History of the National Polity pp. 221 – 222): The land of this empire was created and established by the ancestors of the emperor, and its people were descendants of the deities that came down from heaven, and since their ancestors, they had lived in this area and served the imperial family of one line. In other words, the Imperial family is the head family and the subjects are branch families. In the 2500 years since the country's founding, the family system has greatly expanded, but its original awareness has not changed. The characteristics of our national polity originate from the national consciousness that regards the relationship between the monarch and the people as a family. There is no end to the examples of The "Nation as Family" Theory in History of the National Polity, but it seems that the mainstream of the national polity theory until *Taishō* period was formed based on the above arguments.

In response to these trends, Inoue Tetsujirō, incorporated The "Nation as Family" Theory into his 1899 revision of a commentary on the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Chyokugo Engi*) by adding the following passage: The Japanese nation has established a family system since ancient times. The nation is an extension of the family, and the family is a miniature of the nation. (snip) An extension of filial piety towards parents directly becomes loyalty to the emperor. The filial piety towards parents and the loyalty to the emperor have different names, but are actually the same meaning. Therefore, this is called *Chūkō Ippon* (the loyalty and the filial piety is one). The principle of *Chūkō Ippon* is to ensure eternal prosperity for our nation (Materials related to the Imperial Rescript on Education Vol.1, p. 513)

Then, in the Meiji 40s, "high treason case" which socialists or anarchists were said to have attempted to assassinate Meiji Emperor, astonished the public. This prompted the Ministry of Education to strengthen moral education, and in December 1910, it entrusted Inoue Tetsujirō to give a lecture on national morality to teachers in charge of training teachers of public schools. In addition, he gave a lecture on national morality at a seminar for secondary school teachers in July 1911 also at the request of the Minister of Education, and based on the lecture, he published 'Outline of national morality (*Kokumin Dōtoku Gairon*)' in August 1912. "Chapter3 National Polity and National Morality" "Chapter7 Family System and Ancestor Worship" "Chapter8 Family System and Individualism" and "*Chūkō*

Ippon and National Morality” in this book, Inoue systematically explained the national polity theory and the national morality theory centering on the "Nation as Family" Theory.

This change in Inoue Tetsujirōs theory is important. This is because, after that, "National Morality" became a compulsory subject in high schools, public teacher training schools and other schools, and it always appeared in teacher qualification tests in the Ministry of Education, and in this flow, Inoues national morality theory was recognized as the highest authority in the educational world as the "official theory" of the government, Outline of National Morality was regarded as an essential reference book for the teacher qualification tests of secondary schools, and it came to be used nationwide as a textbook for the moral ethics courses of high schools and public teacher training schools (Inada Masatsugu Study on the process of establishing the Imperial Rescript on Education(Kyōiku Cyokugo Seiritsu Katei no Kenkyū),p. 387). In other words, through the Inoue Tetsujirōs book, the "Nation as Family" Theory became widespread in the educational world and promoted its mainstreaming. This situation continued until around the end of the *Taishō* period. In 1921, the introduction of the "Nation as Family" Theory in elementary school textbooks of moral training and Japanese history reflected this social situation.

Emergence of the Emperor as Absolut God “Arahitogami” Theory- by Katō Genchi

From 1907 to the *Taisho* period, while the "Nation as Family" Theory became mainstream, the ideas consistent with the Emperor as Absolut God “*Arahitogami*” Theory of the Showa period began to appear. In my view, the first vanguard was Katō Genchi, born in Asakusa, Tokyo, the eldest son of a temple of the *Takada* school of *Jōdo Shinshū* (True Pure Land Sect), who studied religious study at Tokyo Imperial University and since 1921 has taken part in Shinto courses as an assistant professor. Stimulated by the emergence of foreigners to study Shinto after the Russo-Japanese War, he began to study Shinto, and published the results with a title of The Principle of Our National Polity (*Waga Kokutai Shisō no Hongi*) in 1912.

In this book, he refers to a paper titled "Invention of A New Religion" which

was published in 1911 by Basil Hall Chamberlain, an emeritus professor of Tokyo Imperial University and a researcher of Japan, and he states the following about his motive for writing the book: "Because foreign researchers do not fully understand the truth about Japan, misunderstandings may spread, so it is necessary for the Japanese themselves to tell foreign countries about Japan as it is." In the thesis that Katō regarded as a problem, Chamberlain argued that Japanese worship of the Emperor was nothing more than a new religion that was created after the 1880s by the government which feared that national patriotism would be lost by the prevalence of Europeanism (Tōyō bunko Nihon Jibutsuhi 1 published by Heibonsya).

Katō criticized Chamberlain's argument by pointing out the long history of the worship of the emperor and explaining the significance of the worship from a point of view of religious study, but in it, some arguments which had not been seen in previous advocates appeared. While tentatively accepting the traditional theory that "All Japanese are descendants of Kami" "the emperor is a descendant of a supreme Kami", Katō advocated distinguishing between the Emperor as a "Deity's Descendant" Theory and the Emperor as "Arahitogami" Theory as follows: The successive emperors can be said, from one side, to be the descendants of Kami (*Shinin*), but from the other side, because they are called as Akitsukami or *Arahitogami*, they are not descendants who are one level lower than Kami but Kami itself (Waga Kokutai Shisō no Hongi p p. 59-60). He further argued as follows: Since ancient times, emperors have been called "*Shison*" "*Syujō*" and "*Kamigoichinin*."; From this, it was clear that emperors were same position as God in the Bible (p.61); In Japan, we subjects are absolutely obedient to the emperor but In the West, they are historically required to obey God absolutely.

This was the appearance of the Emperor as an "Absolute God" theory. He calls the worship of the emperor in Japanese as "Tennōkyō" and suggests a corresponding scheme as follows: In the West, it is God, and in Japan, it is the Emperor; in the West, it is a religious faith and in Japan, it is *Chūkō Ippon* (the loyalty and the filial piety is one); in the West, Christianity and in Japan, Tennōkyō" (p.185).

Since then, Katō spread this idea throughout Japan through many his books. One of the organizations strongly influenced by him was the Army. In 1906, he

became a part-time professor of English at Military Academy, and in the following year became a professor at Military Academy (In 1906, he became a part-time lecturer at Tokyo Imperial University and in 1920, when a Shinto course was established at Tokyo Imperial University, he became an assistant professor of the course. But he was a professor at Military Academy and concurrently served at the Tokyo Imperial University. In 1933, he retired from both his posts). It was in the tenth lectures given at the Military Academy that the overall picture of his "State Shinto" theory, which will be dealt with in the second part of this book, was told for the first time (The lecture was compiled in East-West thought comparison research(*Tōzai Shisō Hikaku Kenkyū*) published in 12, 1924. It is said that the book was well received not only at the Military Academy but also at the public teacher training schools [Reprint Introduction of *Tōzai Shisō Hikaku Kenkyū*] .)

Not only in Japan, he also published books in English to promote his theory overseas. In particular, his argument had a great influence on Americans views on the Emperor and Shinto during the World War II. This is because D.C. Holtom, who was one of Americas sharpest critics of Shinto and is said to have formed a popular American view of Shinto, was strongly influenced by Katō (Katō presents Holtom with "A STUDY OF SHINTO, The Religion of the Japanese Nation" published in the first year of the *Syōwa* period, 1926). Holtom introduced Katō as a person who "is best known as a commentator on the revival of modern Shinto" in his book *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism* (1943), and quoted Katō's theory as follows: In Japan, Emperors have held the position of Heaven(*Ten*) in the Chinese thought and the position of God in the Jewish faith since ancient times; Emperors have been called "Akitsukami" (a visible God), "Arahitokami" (a living God) and "Aramikami" (a God incarnat)." (*Nihon to Tennō to Shinto* translated by Fukazawa Cyōtarō, p.21).

In April 1944, the American magazine *Fortune* published the results of a survey conducted with the American people, asking that "What do you think the Emperor means to the Japanese people?" According to the survey, 44 percent of those polled "an absolute God", 18 percent "a nominal decoration" and 16 percent "a dictator" (*Road to the end of the war* [*Syūsen e no Michi*], ed. Japan Policy Research Center [Nihon Seisaku Kenkyū Sentā], p. 5).

In the second part, we will discuss the influence of Holtom's writings not only

in the United States but also in Japan after the defeat in World War II. Perhaps Katō might have thought as follows: Even in the case of the western faith in God, there are various factors which, according to science, should raise suspicion, such as the virgin conception of Maria. Nevertheless, they do not deny the existence of God and maintain their loyalty to God. Therefore, if we explain that to the Japanese, an emperor is like God to the Westerners, it would be difficult for Westerners to criticize Japanese loyalty to the emperor by using rationalism.

If that is the case, he seems to have been wrong. The Westerners did not think of their own irrationality and refrained from criticizing Japanese, but rather, they seemed to have a sense of aversion mixed with surprise that the Japanese were an absurd race that identified a human with an absolute God. Katō is one of the forgotten scholars of today in Japan, but I cannot help but feel solemn about the importance of learning when I think of the great influence that his assertion had on the Japanese army and Japan-U.S. relations.

“The Emperors Only One God” Theory by Ueshugi Shinkichi

The Emperor as Absolut God “*Arahitogami*” Theorist that should be watched next is Ueshugi Shinkichi, a professor of constitution at Tokyo Imperial University. Uesugi responded to his colleague, Kakei Katsuhiko, who published Great meaning of Ancient Shinto(Koshintō Taigi) in October 1912, in which he developed a theory of Shinto polytheism, by writing "Outline of the Imperial Way: Reading Koshintō taigi (Koudō Gaisetsu:Koshintō Taigi wo Yomu)" (Shigaku-Zasshi Vol. 27 No.1, January 1913). This was the first time Uesugi publicly announced the Emperor as Absolut God "Arahitogami" theory of him.

In order to make the difference between Uesugi and Kakeis claims clear, I will introduce Kakeis discussion, which was criticized by Uesugi, as follows: Koshinto is a polytheistic religion. According to the idea of Koshinto, not only Kami which existed in the age of Kami, but also those human beings who made great achievements and had high virtue, become Kami. Further all the dead become Kami. Not only that, the Emperor is a Kami even for those who are living as human beings. This is called Arahitogami. Therefore, the Kami of Shinto is not a God with absolute exclusionism, but is allowed to share the range of each one, and even with Amaterasu Ōmikami she is not the only one God but has merely

the authority to combine Kami." (Koshintō Taigi p. 102)

In response to the argument of Kakei, Uesugi refuted it as follows: There must be a central true Kami to which all Kami absolutely obey. If all things are Kami, *Kodō* (The way of Emperor Worship) or Koshinto cannot be established. Although there are various kinds of Kami, if the so-called Koshinto is a religion, only the Emperor is conceptually a Kami. The bloodline of the Emperor has continued unbroken, but there is only one who is called as *Kami Goichinin* (a person who is the only person in the top rank) in a generation. Therefore, it must be said that there is no Kami but the Absolute Supreme Emperor. I said that the essence of *Kodō* is to follow the Emperor absolutely. I accept *Kodō* as a religion because the Emperor is the only one Kami. If we think that all people in the age of Kami are Kami, and all people with achievements or virtues are Kami, then *Kodō* cannot be established. ("Koudō Gaisetsu " pp.71-72)

He goes on to say: It is not enough to submit to the Emperor based on the idea of ancestor worship as the head of a family; He is a Arahitogami; Being an emperor, we Japanese obey; We worship and obey because we believe that we should obey; Faith has no reason (p.57). In other words, he criticized the "Nation as Family" Theory as insufficient.

In the same paper, Uesugi also writes: The ancient Japanese belief was that if one believed in the emperor absolutely and united with his spirit, one would be able to relieve the oppression and anxiety of the individual beyond the limit. However, before he went to Germany to study, he had this to say; A monarch, being a human being, can do evil and violate the law; The security for that is constitutional system(Teikoku Kenpō [The Imperial Constitution] p. 327 , 1905). It is an interesting question why he was faced with this kind of ideological transformation, but this discussion is somewhat off track, so if you are interested, read my book *Kindai Seikyō Kankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū* [A Basic Study of Modern Political and Religious Relations in Japan (Tokyo:Taimeidō,1997,pp.216-279).

By the way, from 1872 to 1913, Uesugi, who claimed that "the Emperor has sovereignty," had a controversy with his colleague, Professor Minobe Tatsukichi of the Imperial University of Tokyo, who believed that "the State has sovereignty," on the magazine "Taiyō(The Sun)". The majority of the academic and journalistic

community supported Minobe. However, the Army supported Uesugi, and in December 1913, it invited him to become a professor at the Army College, and opened a course on "Constitutional Law". Thereafter, his doctrine came to occupy a place in the Army's orthodox constitutional theory (Asano Kazuo "The Influence of Uesugi Shinkichis Theory of National Polity on Army Officers, Chūbu Zyoshi Tanki Daigaku Kiyō , No.17).

After criticized by Uesugi, Kakei developed the theory very close to "The Emperors Only One God" Theory in *Zoku Koshinto Daigi* published in April, 1915, as follows: 1. In Koshinto, Kami is the only absolute Life and another is its expression. That great Life, that is to say, the great living is only Ame no Minakanushi no Kami, and its expression is self-expressing-kami, that is, 8 million kami" (p.692); 2. There is the relation between self-expressing-kami who govern and those who are governed from the beginning: 3. The Kami who rules everything is Musuhi no Kami but it does not appear in this world, so as a Kami who appears in this world, the highest Kami who is one with Musuhi no Kami is Amaterasuohomikami: 4. This real world is ruled by Arahitogami, Akitsumikami, or the Emperor as an entity united with Amaterasuohomikami (p.695); The Emperor controls not only Japan but also the whole human world. The Emperor is the organizer of the universe, united with Musuhi no Kami and Amaterasuohomikami (pp.750-751).

Proposal of the "Hakkō-ichiu" Theory by Tanaka Chigaku

Finally, we will discuss the emergence of the "Hakkō-ichiu" theory, which has been described as "Arahitogami" in the set. The direct origin, that is, the person who claimed that the thought of "global unification" was included in the imperial edict of first Emperor Jinmu published in 'Nihonshyoki', leads to Tanaka Chigaku, a lay Nichiren sect of Japanese Buddhism who was active from the late *Meiji* period to the early *Showa* period.

Tanaka Chigaku began to think that "Nichiren Syōnin(a founder of Nichiren sect) views the Emperor as an extension of Amaterasuōmikami, so believers of Nichiren sect must try to ensure that the Emperors virtue and Japanese politics are consistent." after the Seinan Civil War(1877). And from around the time of the Sino-Japanese War, he called the Emperor "Kuon Jitsujō Sanshinsokuitsu

Tensyō Nyorai(a unifying existence of Kami, Buddha and human)" "Honpō Shinpu no Keisyō Ketsumyakusōjō no Seitai(a holy body that embodies the essence of the teachings of the Nichiren sect)" or "Enpu Daiichi Kaidan Myōdo Dainipponteikoku Tenrinseiō (a most sacred king who is an incarnation of Buddha in Great Japanese Empire).

In November 1903, just before the Russo-Japanese War, he visited the grave of Emperor Jinmu (*Unebi Goryō*) leading members of the *Rissyōankokukai* (a group that leads Japan to a peaceful country based on the correct teachings of the Nichiren sect), which he had organized, and gave a lecture beside the grave titled "Founding of Japan by the ancestor of the emperor and the great teaching of Nichiren sect (*Kōso no Kenkoku to Honge no Taikyō*)". This lecture was published under the title of Unification of the World by the will of Heaven(*Sekai Tōitsu no Tengen*) in April of the following year, in which he took up the part written as "[Ymato] must be suitable place to realize the will of Kami in Heaven and unify the country" in Emperor Jinmu's "Imperial Decree for the Eastern Expedition" and declared that this statement was the "grand ideal of moral unity of the world" and the executor of this ideal was the Emperor of Japan. He also preached that Nichiren Shonin, a founder of the Nichiren sect, was the leader who recognized this Emperors vocation.

Later he came to say in the text of "Foundation of Japan by Emperor Jinmu" (*Koku chū Shinbun* March 11, 1913) that the word "Hakkō wo Ooite Ie to Nasan (掩八紘而為宇, I intend to unify all the regions in all directions to build a nation like a family as if I tie the strings of the crown together.)" in the text of Emperor Jinmu "Imperial Decree for Construction of Kashihara Palace" was the symbol of the unity of the world by the Emperor. And he replaces these six Chinese characters with the four Chinese character idioms of "Hakkō Ichiu(八紘一宇)". As movements such as Kokuchūkai (the National Pillar Society) organized by Tanaka Chigaku spread throughout Japan, the term "Hakkō Ichiu(八紘一宇)" came to be used by many people as a simple expression of the idea of "unification of the world by the Japanese emperor."

Takei Katsuhiko, although not using the term "Hakkō Ichiu," wrote the following in his *Koshintō Taigi*; Since Shinto should be practiced throughout the world and is only practiced in Japan as an opportunity to do so, we must expand the

Japanese system and make the world system similar to that of Japan(pp.308-309). Kakehi also wrote the following in the *Zoku Koshintō Taigi*; In fact, Japan is not a country for Japanese, but a country for the world. It is the Japan that should be expanded into the great universe as an expression of the heaven (*Takama no Hara*)" (p.751).

According to Satomi Kishio, Chigaku's third son, it was Chigaku who advocated the phrases "Kokutai-Yōgo(Protection of National Polity)," "Han-Kokutai-Shisō(Anti-National Polity Ideology)," and "Nihon-Kokutai-Gaku(Japanese National Polity Study," which were popularized in the *Showa* era, and it is said that his ideas had a great impact on the military personnel especially (Tanaka Chigaku no Kokutai Kaiken(Tanaka Chigaku's Awakening to the National Polity) . In particular, Ishihara Kanji, who was led to Nichirenism by Chigaku, predicted the final world war based on Nichiren's prediction that the great struggle would occur at the end of the era of struggle and the results of his own research into military history, and planned the Manchurian Incident to prepare for it. In April 1932, the month following the founding of Manchukuo (Manchurian State), Chigaku presented Ishihara, who had returned to Japan as a triumphant general, with the "Dainihon-Koku-Yōgo-no-Honzon(A Buddha Statue to Protect the Great Nation of Japan) " (Nishiyama Shigeru"Japanese Modernity and Buddhism," in *Gekkan Augama*, No. 107, January 1990).

In this way, the existence of monotheistic Buddhist beliefs can be seen and hidden in the background of the absolute worship in the emperor as Katō Genchi or Tanaka Chigaku. Katō, Tanaka and Ueshugi Shinkichi all share a commonality in that they all influenced the military personnel. Both Katō and Ueshugi were sidelined at the Imperial University of Tokyo, but they became mainstream figures in the army circles.

There is an anecdote that illustrates how their influence later grew. In 1935, when Minobe Tatsukichi's theory that the emperor is an organ of the state was being criticized in the Imperial Diet, Honjō Shigeru, the chief of soldiers assisting the emperor(*Jijū Bukan*) told Emperor Syōwa that "In the army, the Emperor is believed to be *Arahitigami*, and it would be extremely difficult to educate and lead the army if the Emperor was treated like a human being in terms of Minobe's theory(*Meiji Hyakunenshi sōsyō* 13, Honjō Shigeru Nisshi,

Tokyo:Hara Syobō, February 1965, p.74). In response to Honjō's statement, Emperor Showa said, "I am physically no different from you, except when it comes to my position. Therefore, it is a nuisance, both mentally and physically, for you to attempt to make me immobile in order to eliminate the Minobe theory (aforementioned book, p.203):" The Article 4 of the Constitution stipulates that the Emperor shall be the Head of State, which means that the Emperor is an organ of the State (aforementioned book,p.204)." However, this statement by Honjō only expresses the state of the military's thinking in 1935. At the time of the beginning of *Taishō*, the ideas of Katō, Tanaka and Uesugi were just a minority opinion that was beginning to influence the army. And the army still remained within the framework of the Imperial Instruction for Soldiers (*Gunjin Cyokuyu*, 1882), which stated that " Military personnel should not be influenced by public opinion and should not interfere in politics."