change. This essay gives fresh insight into this period of transition for Japanese women.

The chapters in Part Two clearly expose the fallacy that Japanese women have always been passive, subservient, housebound, cherry blossoms in a vase. To the contrary, it is shown that their confidence and autonomy have grown with their increased education and their participation in the labor force. Some Japanese women have taken political and social stands in spite of government opposition and manipulation for centuries.

One of this book's most valuable insights is the extent to which economic imperatives, state policies, and sociocultural norms have and continue to influence gender definition in Japan. But its greatest contribution is its documentation of how Japanese women have played an active and vocal role in the dynamic and ongoing process of their own gender definition. This collection of scholarly essays is well worth reading.

『性差別する仏教—フェミニズムからの告発』
[Gender Discrimination in Buddhism: A Feminist Indictment]
大越愛子, 源 淳子, 山下明子
Ōgoshi Aiko, Minamoto Junko, and Yamashita Akiko
Kyoto, 1990.

Reviewed by Mitani Takayasu, Matsuyama

THE FEMINIST OR women's liberation movement which began in the United States in the 1960s, spreading to Europe as well as to Japan and other Asian countries, has been called the second women's liberation movement to distinguish it from the one in the second half of the nineteenth century. The earlier movement strove to rectify gender-based discrimination through reforms in the legal system, such as the fight for women's suffrage. The second feminist movement has attempted to dismantle patriarchal systems based on sexist ideology as expressed in the maxim "women are inferior to men and their place is in the home," a belief common to nearly all societies that support the visible fabric of those social systems. At the same time, it has aimed to liberate from those inner constraints women who have unconsciously accepted such systems. In order to do so, modern-day gender-based role divisions must be demythologized and a very radical, causally rooted theory is needed to negate authority and the very power structures that sustain it.

The authors of this book skillfully reveal, from a fundamentally feminist stance, the structure of the deeply embedded gender-based discrimination found in the religions of Japan, particularly Buddhism and the so-called new religions founded after the Meiji Restoration. The value of this book does not end there, however. As long as religion serves "as the center of the cultural paradigm rooted and structured therein and dominates all world views, sense of values, views about humankind, and morals which form the structure of social systems, sexual norms and the process of the formation of the self," the disclosure of the deep-seated gender discrimination found in religions constitutes concurrently criticism of that same society and culture through its clarification of the structure of that discrimination. The intent of the authors lies here. Because, at a glance, Buddhism seems characteristically highly egalitarian and world-denying, it is more difficult to identify its structure of discrimination than that of Christianity. This work clarifies that very structure of discrimination by exposing this invisible trait.

Three authors have contributed the three parts that comprise this book. In the first part, Ogoshi Aiko explains theoretically the gender discrimination found in Buddhism

from both the aspects of paternal and maternal principles. Despite Buddhism's apparent de-patriarchal nature, in its very essence it is a highly male-centered religion. The author views Buddhism's basic nature via four cultural paradigms: 1) denial of language; 2) denial of gender; 3) denial of the female; and 4) denial of this world. Next she analyzes the patriarchal structure found therein. This patriarchal structure, however, originates in the renunciation and separation from the rich and fertile Indian maternal principle. Even this paternal religion, because of its characteristic denial of everything, "needs another enforcing principle to support it in reality" in the creation of a cultural paradigm. (p. 63) Buddhism sought this support in the maternal principle. The problem lies in the Japanese understanding of it.

In confronting this maternal principle, Buddhism in Japan, that is Mahayana Buddhism did not undergo the process of establishing the self through the "slaying of the great mother," to use the Jungian Erich Neumann's term. Rather, to borrow Julia Kristeva's words, it chose to nullify self by passive abjection. (p. 64) Hence, the philosophy of emptiness, through which was established the psychic ground which makes everything relative, equal, vague and inclusive. This is the Japanese maternal principle whereby the "individual is repressed by totalitarianism, where the individual's self-nullification is positively accepted and self-subordination from ones' heart" (p. 86) is practiced as though it were entirely natural. It is Japanese women who have been forced to internalize such repressing principles.

The author of the second part of the book, Minamoto Junko, traces the nature of the maternal principle through the context of Japanese Buddhist history and further elucidates the problem by focusing on sexual love. In ancient time, women in Japan were held in awe and respect. Why? Women brought forth life and their sexual love was considered sacred, bringing rest and tranquillity to others. (p. 95) The maternal principle of reproductiveness was still operating. (p. 152) However, from about the time that Buddhism entered Japan, this understanding underwent a change.

Buddhism is a religion that denies sex to the extreme. Denial of sex desexualizes men and women but at the same time unifies sexuality. Moreover, unification means integration with the dominant sex. In Buddhism the male sex became the only sex, thus eliminating the female sex. Women had to dismiss their sexuality and become male before they could ever be reborn in the Pure Land, or paradise, Women could attain Nirvana only by denying their femaleness and transforming themselves into men. Behind this philosophy that only the male could be accepted into paradise is the thought that the female is defiled, impure. We see that, although the gender-based division of roles in Christianity is dualistic according to the differences between male and female, in Buddhism the duality is based on the degree of purity between male and female. In the former, it is possible to establish selfhood and find joy in dedicating oneself to a man, but in the latter one can only live and always in the dark, by self-negating service.

Denial of femaleness follows a peculiar course in Japan. It is the mother-child relationship the psychoanalyst Furusawa Heisaku has termed the "Ajase complex." (p. 153) The thinking developed that a woman's salvation could be obtained by denying her sexuality and becoming a mother. (p. 158) The ideal woman is a "devoted mother" who kills her own ego and only desires to nurture her son assiduously. The Buddhist mother, loathing the fact that she is a woman, is a powerless mother who entrusts her son with her salvation from womanhood. But because it is the mother's powerlessness that serves as the motive for her

son to follow in the Buddha's path, mother and son are religiously united in an interdependent relationship. Thus the term "devoted mother," the ideal type of woman. Over time, the belief in Kannon (Avalokiteśvara, Goddess of Mercy) came to be aligned with this ideal. In this manner, Japanese women were blocked from developing into independent and mature persons and were only permitted to enter into dependent mother-child relationships, with no possibility of equal relations with men.

In the religions which developed in modern times, however, a number of women raised their voices in protest against the social system of paternal family rule. These were the women founders of the new religions: Nakayama Miki of Tenrikyō and Deguchi Nao of Ōmotokyō. The third part of the book shows why so many women founded popular religions and why these popular religious groups could only develop in very similar ways. The author Yamashita Akiko analyzes these women religious leaders' struggle for liberation and the limitations of and subsequent reverses experienced by these religions.

Physically as well as spiritually forced to bear the burdens of the female role in a social system based on paternal rule of the home, it was possible for women to be freed from this world only at the level of the other world. Only at that level could women establish their own selfhood. "Divine possession" was not an escape from this world; it was an unavoidable fight that had to be fought in order to assure selfhood. The teaching of Nakayama Miki and Deguchi Nao cannot be delimited to "divine possession"; in their teachings lies an egalitarian philosophy rooted in the female principle. For that very reason, many people turned to these teachings. Their work grew out of the confrontation with the traditional spiritual climate of Japanese maternal society. Outwardly, they resisted the ideology of State Shinto which held up the emperor as the apex of the state; inwardly, they confronted the head-of-household rule by eldest son. Nakayama Miki rejected the "impurity of women," preached the equality of mean and women, and developed her own human creation myth. Deguchi Nao developed an androgynous philosophy of man and woman being in a counterpart of companion relationship transcending the discriminatory teaching of "reborn male."

Contrary to the intention of their teachings, these women religious founders found it necessary, in the name of survival, to sidle up to the imperial state system in order to grow during that period of merciless suppression by government authorities. Reiyūkai preached the practice of honoring the ancestral spirits of both spouses, a new practice that suited the modern married couple and family. It is indeed a teaching greatly welcome to women, but this religion still does not approve of both spouses working and asserts that the happiness of family life comes from the realization of gender-based role divisions.

Almost all of the new religions, including the above, are at present used by corporate labor management, thereby contributing organizationally to the Japanese form of capitalism. They are not actively anti-establishment. In this way, the father-as-household-head society founded on gender-based role divisions continues to function today. This book helps us understand how "Japanese sectarianism, the philosophy that formulated the Japanese corporate entity, which is rooted in Buddhism and which in turn supports the maternal principle, has rejected the independence of the individual and how all manner of women's selfhood, including their sexuality, has been ignored, estranged and eliminated." (p. 241) The construction of a philosophy going beyond the principles of a Japanese corporate body and Japanese maternalism is anticipated. From this perspective, we can see that this book is not simply a fullscale cri-

tique of Buddhism by feminist thinkers but a significant work that offers a new viewpoint to contemporary thought.

Lastly, I would like to raise a point about the use of the Japanese word *sei* in this book. It is sometimes unclear whether the word is used to mean gender, sex or sexuality. I find a certain Japanese vagueness when one word expresses all three concepts. In the process of analyzing the vagueness of the meaning of the Japanese word *sei*, feminist thinkers might possibly discover new forms of discrimination related to gender.

『アメリカ婦人宣教師—日本の背景とその影響』
[As Our God Alone Will Lead Us: The 19th-Century American Women's Foreign Mission Enterprise and Its Encounter with Meiji Japan]
小檜山ルイ
Kohiyama Rui
Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1992.

Reviewed by Mitani Takayasu, Matsuyama

IT IS NO EXAGGERATION to say that the modern education of women in Japan was begun by Protestant missionary women. In particular, the involvement of American women is remarkable; they founded many schools for women throughout the country—the so-called "mission schools." Most of these schools, while struggling through rough times, have consistently undertaken the education of women from the early Meiji period to the present. Some of these institutions have developed into comprehensive schools which include colleges. It is impossible to overrate the contributions to modern Japanese education made by these women.

There are major obstacles, however, in trying to learn about the scope of their work. Although each school has records of the accomplishments of individuals and compilations of collected letters, there is no published work that "places in history the group of people called women missionaries explaining [their accomplishments] as social fact." (p. 1) This book should be noted for the remarkable job it has done in filling that very gap in modern Japanese Protestant history and for the author's command and skilled analysis of the great amount of source material.

Kohiyama is not a theologian. Graduating from International Christian University (ICU) and going on to obtain her master's degree in American studies at the University of Minnesota, she then returned to her alma mater to continue study at the doctoral level. She is strongly interested in feminism. This book is a somewhat abbreviated version of the doctoral dissertation she submitted to ICU. The author's viewpoint as a student of American studies constitutes the prime characteristic of the book. Previous research concerning missionaries has concentrated on their "evangelizing" and "faith"; the central themes were theology and dogma, their manner of faith in God and the manner of their calling. Here the author does not interest herself in such theological aspects. She has tried to focus on the women missionaries' sense of morals, outlook on women and education "not by explaining the existence of women missionaries in terms of Christianity, but rather by [regarding] the broader social and cultural context [they came from] with Christianity as a base." (p. 6)

Even missionaries are products of their own time. Their faith and calling cannot be discussed apart from the sociohistorical background of the time. Why did so many women missionaries come to Japan all the way from across the Pacific and so soon after the Civil War? In order to find the answer, we need an analysis of the women's mission societies that sent and supported them. We must also understand the cir-