The Emergence of Queer Nature: Minakata Kumagusu (1867-1941) and the Making of Microbial Paradigm 1887-1900

Eiko Honda
St Antony's College
University of Oxford

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Introduction

> The effects of the shrine merger [in Kii] have been utterly devastating. … The policy disregards the wisdom of microbes, for the woodland concerns a major part of the national economy.
>
> Minakata Kumagusu,
> Summer 1911[1]

In 2004, UNESCO acknowledged the sacred sites and pilgrimage routes in the Kii Mountain Range of South West Japan as a World Heritage Site.[2] Rising over the Pacific Ocean, the region has been the primary holy ground for Shingon Buddhism since the 9th century and for *Kumano Shinkō* (Kumano Beliefs). Here, the shamanistic belief of Shugendō has existed in synthesis with nature-worshipping Shintō and esoteric Buddhism since the 12th century. The pivotal intellectual history that led to the area being valued a World Heritage Site, however, remains completely absent in the United Nations' narrative. The central figure of the history in the region was the independent Japanese naturalist-polymath Minakata Kumagusu (南方熊楠: 1867-1941), who specialised in microbes.

Kumagusu ferociously ran a nation-wide campaign against a state-led shrine merger that most affected his home region, immediately after the Japanese victory of the 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War. The policy aimed to remove numerous shrines that did not worship the emperor but rather the primordial forest itself. The mass destruction of the cultural relic, he

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[1] "… 神社合祀は実に甚だしく … 山林等は国家経済の大体にも関することゆえ、微生等智恵の及ぶ所に非ずとして … /Jinjagōshi ha jitsuni hanahadashiku … sanrintou ha kokkakeizai no zentai nimo kansuru koto yue, biseitou chie no oyobu tokoro arazuto shite"; The quote from a letter addressed to Matumura Jinzō (松村任三, 1856-1928) the chief professor of botany at the Imperial University, Tokyo.; See Minakata Kumagusu *Genpon Honkoku: Minakata Nisho. Matsui Junzō ate Minakata Kumagusu Genshokan/The Original Text Reprint: Two Letters of Minakata Addressed to Matsui Junzō* ed. Research Division of the Minakata Kumagusu Archives (Tanabe: Minakata Kumagusu Archives, 2006), 16-17.

[2] UNESCO "World Heritage List: Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range" retrieved from https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1142/, 8 August 2019.

argued, led to mass destruction of the primordial forest. The cultures of nature that resided in the region did not align with the state's view of civilisational progress, symbolised by its victory over the "Western" superpower, Russia. Kumagusu's activism aimed to protect the heritage's microbial biodiversity and cultural landscape from annihilation at the intersection of nature and culture.

Not only did Kumagusu contribute to the historical landscape of Kii through his activism, but he also made immense contributions to knowledge production of the time. As he moved between Japan, the US, and the UK, he published 51 articles in the science journal *Nature* and approximately 400 English essays and 600 Japanese works in the field of humanities. Even the Shōwa emperor of Japan requested him to deliver a lecture in 1929. Yet, no monograph exists in English. The state-centred modern intellectual history, from which the United Nations emerged, could not make sense of what underlined his seemingly discursive works and actions, *naturally*.

The thesis illuminates a cohesive account of Kumagusu's transdisciplinary knowledge formation for the first time. It does so by decolonizing the intellectual history of modern Japan through a novel method of uncovering previously marginalised intellectual phenomena in their authenticity. The history of modern Japan typically opened with Japan's Meiji period (1868-1912), known as the era of the nation's paradigm shift to the one of the modern West. This thesis re-opens the opening by disclosing a 'microbial paradigm.'[3] Within this paradigm, historical knowledge of Kii that originally derived from Sino-Asia

[3] The gesture of 'reopening' the history of modern Japan alludes to the effort to reveal a historical narrative of modern Japan away from the West-centric understanding of the 'opening' of Japan supposedly 'closed' to the West. See: Sho Konishi "Reopening the "Opening of Japan": A Russian-Japanese Revolutionary Encounter and the Vision of Anarchist Progress." *American Historical Review* 112, no. 1 (2007): 101-130.

informed the reasoning behind its knowledge formation. This most notably included tenets of Buddhism, which was persecuted by the Meiji government.

The microbial paradigm founded all its disciplinary knowledge on what I conceptualise as 'queer nature.' Queer nature was the basis of truths that emerged in Kumagusu's life and work during his early adulthood in 1887-1900. As I will shortly articulate in detail, the notion of queer nature shares an affinity with non-heterosexuality as used in the contemporary discourse of identity politics. Yet, queer nature does not exclusively refer to this present-day idea that originates in Euro-America. Rather, the concept captures the characteristics of knowledge formation rooted in the intellectual history of modern Japan.

Nature mattered in modern thoughts. In order to assert what is true, one had to contend so based on the nature of the universe discovered by modern science, eg., the phenomenon of gravity.[4] Irrefutable accounts of this nature provided the indisputable basis of truths.[5] Modern thinkers, inspired by natural science, sought to determine a similar natural order within human societies. The early Meiji period and Kumagusu's early adulthood coincided with the immediate aftereffects of Charles Darwin's evolutionary discovery on philosophers' understanding of the nature of social evolution. In other words, what it meant for an idea about the civilising of human society to be truthful depended on the understanding of evolutionary nature. The nature of the universe and of society guided the understanding of the metaphysical paradigm within which various academic disciplines produced their ideas and 'facts.'

[4] Albert M. Craig, "The Scottish Enlightenment and the Stages of Civilisation" in *Civilisation and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 11-32.
[5] Ibid.

Kumagusu was acutely aware of the fact that how, why, and as what one came to apprehend such natures were contingent on the inevitably cultural characteristics of the ways in which humans created knowledge. Nature, the basis of truths, was inescapably cultural. Therefore, what one could argue as true on the basis of one nature appeared totally false on the basis of another. Inevitably, different natures created distinctive paradigms. Kumagusu however never arrived at a cohesive conceptualisation of his basis of truths. I contend that his basis of truths was queer nature.

Queer nature generated the microbial paradigm where the basis of truths resembled characteristics of the microbe that fascinated Kumagusu the most: slime mould. Slime mould has existed in more than 900 biological sexes, transcended plant-animal categories, and appeared to trespass life-death divide in his eyes.[6] As he discussed the nature of universe, modern science, and Buddhism, he told his friend, the Shingon Buddhist monk Togi Hōryū: "Slime mould is the best example of the evidence there is no clear boundary between life and death."[7] The microbial paradigm defied binary and hierarchical conceptions that shaped the modern Western ways of knowing, adopted by Meiji Japan's state research and education. It evaded the most fundamental logic of their evolutionary – and civilisational – theories. It invalidated their basis of truths upon which the state institutionalised knowledge away from local experience, developed ecologically destructive policies, and launched into wars to colonise lands, people, and knowledge that they considered 'inferior.'

[6] In today's science, slime mould is known to exists in one to eight different types of biological sex each. More than 500 different kinds of slime mould have been found in Japan alone and more than 900 in the world. In other words, slime mould exists in at least 900 different kinds of biological sex. See: Mary R. Henney and H.R. Henney, *The Mating-type Systems of the Myxomycetes Physarum rigidum and P. flavicomum* Journal of General Microbiology, 10/01/1968, Vol.53(3), 321-332.; and Kawakami Shin'ichi, *Henkeikin Nyūmon/The Introduction to Slime Mould* (Tokyo: Bun'ichi Sōgō Shuppan, 2018), 12.

[7] "変形菌(=粘菌)は、生死の定かなきを示す最好例/Henkeikin(=Nenkin) ha, seishi no sadaka naki wo shimesu saikōrei" Minakata Kumagusu, *Kōzanjizō Minakata Kumagusu Shokan Toki Hōryū Ate 1893-1922/Kōzan Temple Archive Minakata Kumagusu Letters to Toki Hōryū 1893-1922,* ed. Okuyama Naoji, Undo Hitoshi, and Kanda Hideaki (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2010), 259-260.

Queer nature operated as Kumagusu's basis of truths in his knowledge formation throughout 1887-1900. Once queer nature begun to emerge, he realised he needed to reformulate the entire system of knowledge that justified these unjustifiable acts under the name of 'civilisational progress.' His research thus expanded into disciplines beyond natural science as he deconstructed and reconstructed the modern intellectual paradigm, consequentially turning into a polymath. Historical knowledge of Kii that derived from Sino-Asia always facilitated the process of his reasoning in almost every subject he discussed.

In the following sections, I will firstly explain why I arrived at the notion of queer nature, why and how it resembled slime mould, what the notion means exactly, how it affected Kumagusu's knowledge formation, and similarities and differences between thesis's contention of queer nature and Timothy Morton's idea of queer ecology. I will then introduce Kumagusu's background that brought about the emergence of queer nature. I will furthermore expand on how queer nature worked as a method of historical analysis when I examined gathered primary sources. Secondly, I will clarify what the thesis's historiographical contributions are. Finally, I will explicate the chapter structure, each chapter's subject matter, and their arguments. In so doing, I will discuss how each of the arguments challenge established historical accounts of their concerns while concurrently proving the contention of the thesis as a whole.

Queer Nature: Why, What, and How

I conceptualised the notion of queer nature on examining primary historical sources on Kumagusu – including his diary, letters, notebooks, essays, drawings, and specimens he collected. While exploring them, I noticed his thoughts, emotions, and actions appeared to have emerged based on a common basis of truths that was radically different to that of the state-centred history of modern Japan. It did so because his knowledge formation primarily happened outside the ivory tower as he negotiated his lived experience with diverse knowledge and theories of nature. The indisputable basis of truths in his knowledge formation resembled the microbe slime mould: what he recognised as the primal, but not primitive, form of life. In what follows, I will firstly expand on what slime mould is in order to, secondly, illuminate how the notion of queer nature as I define it best captures the ways in which the nature of this microbe played the fundamental role in his knowledge formation, both ontologically and experientially.

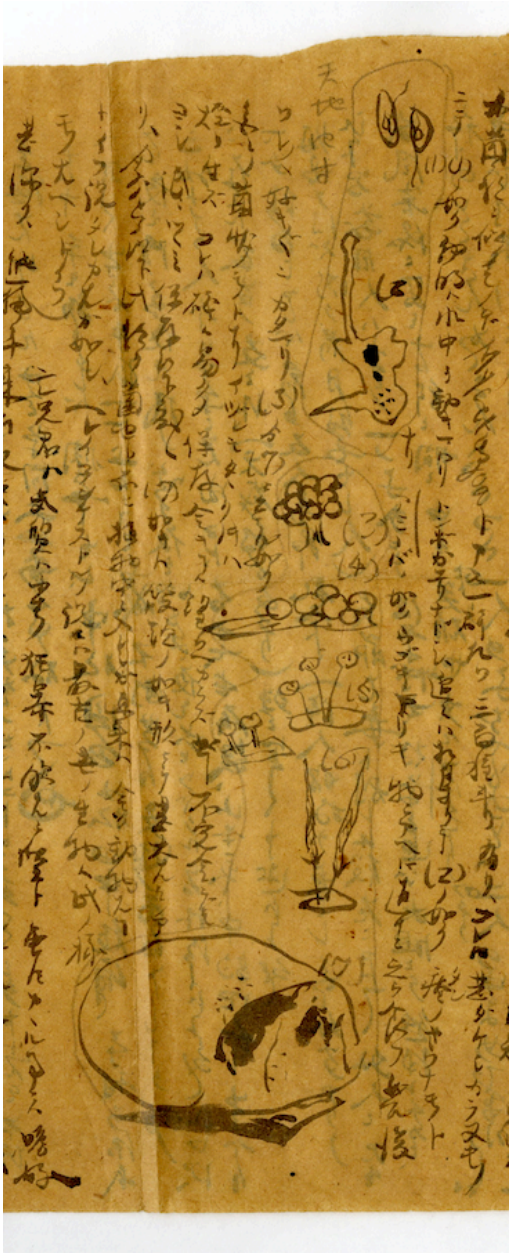
The microscopic existence of slime mould is hard to spot with human eyes. Not as noticeable as stars in the sky, microbes escape most people's attention. Yet, it was their innate qualities that elucidated the nature of universe to Kumagusu and inspired him to contemplate on the nature of societies. Some microbe's carpophore, or the 'fruiting body' that contains spores, are almost transparent and too small to see without a microscope; while others range between 1mm to few centimetres and, in any case, extremely fragile.[8] They most commonly feed off bacteria on rotten woods and fallen leaves, inhabiting the forest, parks, and fields away from chemical pest control.[9] The way in which they thrive may not be glamorous; but examining them through a microscope unfolds a kaleidoscopic cosmos.

[8] Kawakami Shin'ichi *Henkeikin Myxomycetes: Graphic Voyage* (Tokyo: Gijutsu Hyōron Sha, 2017), 10.
[9] Ibid, 22-23.

The Japanese terms for slime mould encapsulate what Kumagusu saw through the microscope. They are known as *nenkin* (粘菌) or *henkeikin* (変形菌) .[10] The former literally translates as 'sticky-fungi,' a Japanese translation of the English slime mould, and the latter implies 'transformation-fungi.'[11] The microbe's appearance is often sticky and malleable; they continuously change their forms without a normative state. Referring to animating drawings of slime mould (Image 1), he described the microbial movement that captivated him with fascination:

[10] The microbe slime mould is also known as Myxomycetes or Myxogastria in English.

[11] Kumagusu used the former term *nenkin* (粘菌) to refer to slime mould. According to the microbiologist Kawakami Shin'ichi, the latter term *henkeikin* (変形菌) was coined by the Japanese mycologist Tanaka Nobujirō (田中 延次郎: 1864-1905) in his research paper published in 1888. His *Nihon Kinrui Zusetsu* (日本菌類図説, 1890) is known as the first Japanese publication of modern mycology. See Kawakami Ibid., 9.; Tanaka Nobujirō *Nihon Kinrui Zusetsu/The Illustrated Myxomycetes in Japan* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1890).



[Slime mould] are utterly outrageous. Just like the illustration (1), they swim in the water when they are young, turning around and round, and come together before long. They then turn into phlegm-like form, as in (2). Some of them move like amoeba and eat up what they encounter right away. They harden themselves in whatever the way they like. From (3) to (7), they transform themselves into various mycological shapes. In any case they emit smoke if one were to strike them. It's so fragile it's hopeless to preserve them.[12]

Image 1: Kuamgusu's drawings of slime mould in his letter addressed to one of his lovers Hayama Hanjirō. (circa 1891)
Courtesy of Minakata Kumagusu Archives.

[12] "これははなはだけしからぬものにて、(1) のごとく幼時は水中を動きまわり、トンボがえりなどし、追い追いは相集まりて(2)のごとく痰のようなものになり、アミーバのごとくうごきありき、物にあえばただちにこれを食らう。然るのち、それぞれ好き好きにかたまり、(3)より(7)に至るごとくいろいろの菌状のものとなり、いずれもたたくときは煙を生ず。これは砕けやすくして保存全きことは望むべからず。/Koreha hanahada keshikaranu mono nite, (1) no gotoku yōji ha suichū wo ugoki marari, tonbo gaeri nadoshi, oioi ha sōatsumarite (2) no gotoku tan no yōna mononi nari, ameba no gotoku ugokiariki, mono ni aeba tadachini korewo kurau. Sarunochi, sorezore sukizukini katamari, (3) yori (7) ni itarugotoku iroiro no kinjō no monoto nari, izuremo tatakutoki ha kemuriwo shōzu. Koreha kudake yasukushite hozon mattaki kotoha nozomu bekarazu." Minakata Kumagusu *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 7/ The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Vol.7* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), 97-98.

As I mentioned earlier and as noticed by Kumagusu himself, the elusive biology of slime mould defied the normative notions of male-female, plant-animal, and life-death binaries fundamental to the dominant understanding of evolution. In contemporary science, they are known to possess a form of intelligence that can navigate space without eyes or a brain.[13] What is more, they are some of the largest single cells on the earth and are known for their ability to process information without a nervous system.[14] Microbes themselves created the biosphere far prior to when animals and plants began to dwell in this planet 500 million years ago.[15] Kumagusu was aware that the British biologist Ray Lankester (1847-1929), the third director of the Natura History Museum in London, speculated that they were the earliest form of life on the earth.[16] Both human and the non-human evolution happened in the habitable sphere microbes generated – and continue to permeate.[17]

It was the ontological and experiential qualities of the microbe that captivated Kumagusu and guided his knowledge formation. Its innate qualities became the basis of his truths. I argue such qualities can be best described with the notion of queer nature. I will thus articulate the notion of queer nature and how it impacted his knowledge-formation as follows. I will firstly delineate the ontological qualities of queer nature itself. In doing so, I will clarify its similarity and difference to how the term 'queer' is widely used today. Secondly, I will define the experiential qualities of queer nature as he recognised them – by

[13] Experiments with *Physarum polycephalum,* "the many-headed slime mould," has been known to prove this. See Roberto Kolter and Scott Chimileski, "Chapter 4: Intelligent Slime" in *Life at the Edge of Sight: A Photographic Exploration of the Microbial World,* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 114-145.
[14] Kolter and Chimileski explains: "Along with ostrich eggs, the human egg cell (the ovum), and marine kelp, plasmodial amoebas are some of the largest single cells on the planet." Ibid., 115.; On the intelligence of slime mould, also see John Tyler Bonner *The Social Amoebae: The Biology of Cellular Slime Moulds* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
[15] Colter and Chimileski, Ibid., ix.
[16] Kumagusu "Zaibei Shokan: Sugimura Kotaro Ate/Letters in the US: Addressed to Sugimura Kotaro," *Zenshū 7,* 98.
[17] Ibid.

elucidating the meanings of 'queer' and of 'nature.' Significantly, both of these ontological and experiential qualities resembled the ways in which he related to slime mould as he matured his thoughts. I will, then, explicate how queer nature impacted Kumagusu's formation of knowledge. Lastly but not least, I will conclude the section by elaborating on the similarities and differences between the notion of queer nature I postulate in this thesis and the philosopher and literary scholar Timothy Morton's conception of queer ecology.

Ontologically, queer nature traversed the clear-cut dichotomies of not only male-female sex but also life-death divisions, similarly to slime mould. Kumagusu's theoretical reasoning based on queer nature accordingly defied the normative notions that conceptualised the world in binaries and hierarchies, such as the West and the rest, civilised and savage, heterosexuality and homosexuality, and subject and object. The ontological qualities of queer nature thus impacted Kumagusu's epistemic lens – the way in which he came to perceive and know the world.

Thus, the ontological quality of queer nature did not solely reduce itself to the gender discourse of identity politics, while appearing to share an affinity for non-heteronormativity. Identity politics itself came out of the normative nature of the state-centred, West-centric knowledge production where identities other than heterosexual (most typically Caucasian) men had to strike against 'the norm' to claim their authenticity.[18] Queer nature was not driven by such an intention because what comprised its authenticity in Kumagusu's life existed prior to the imposition of the norm.[19] Furthermore, historically, the term `queer'

[18] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989).; and Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition,* ed. Amy Gutmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 25–74.
[19] The notion of 'homosexuality' was coined by the Hungarian psychologist Karoly Maria Benkert in Germany in 1869. See: Howard H Chiang, "Liberating Sex, Knowing Desire: Scientia Sexualis and Epistemic Turning Points in the History of Sexuality," *History of the Human Sciences* 23, no. 5 (2010), 42-69.

signified a range of meanings beyond the present-day association with the identity politics of gender, whose use appeared only since the early 1990s.[20]

Here, I define the experiential qualities of 'queer' in queer nature by deconstructing and reconstructing the historical notions of queer. Queer, as an adjective, implied 'strange, odd, peculiar,' and 'eccentric' when queer nature began to emerge in Kumagusu's life and work in the late 1880s to early 1890s. The term was not always used in a negative manner. For example, contributors to *Notes and Queries*, the scholarly antiquarian journal in which he published numerous articles from the late 1890s, employed the word to discuss 'startling' and 'amusing' intellectual history during the same period.[21] The strangeness of queer nature captivated its perceivers. The induced enchantment inspired them 'to ask, inquire,' and 'question' – another definition of queer as a verb, used in regional English and Scottish until early 19th century.[22] Queer, in other words, conjoined the ability to discern a fascinating mystery with the desire to know and to understand. The queer knower was, moreover, 'fond of' and 'attracted to' the subject of enquiry, as the late 20th century American colloquial English 'to be queer for' implied.[23]

Kumagusu articulated all of the above experiential qualities emanated from the nature he discerned through various Japanese and English terms, including: *jōsei* (情性/affective human nature), *hōyu* (朋友/intimate friend), *myō* (妙/strange), *chin* (珍/curious, rare, and

[20] On the historiography of queer studies in this line of research, see William B. Turner, *A Genealogy of Queer Theory,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000).
[21] Walter W. Skeat "A Queer Etymology" In., *Notes and Queries* Volume s8-VI, Issue 139, 25 August 1894, 143–144.; and Edward Peacock "A Handful of Queer Etymologies" In., *Notes and Queries* Volume s8-VI, Issue 145, 6 October 1894, 274–275.
[22] "queer" in *A Glossary of Dialect & Archaic Words Used in the County of Gloucester*, ed. John Drummond Robertson (London: K. Paul Trench, Trübner & co., 1890), 122.; Walter William Skeat, "queer," in *English Dialect Dictionary IV,* ed. Joseph Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903), 684.
[23] E.g. William Seward Burroughs, *Junkie,* (New York: Ace Books, 1953), 28.; John Sayles, *Los Gusanos* (New York: Nation Books, 1991), 233.

strange), and Platonic Love. He wrote newspapers by hand, entitling them *Chinji Hyōron* (珍事評論/The Criticism on Curious Things).[24] He asserted the most crucial form of knowledge induces the knower to think: "What a strange thing."[25] His *jōsei* (affective human nature) that desired intimacy with his *hōyu* (intimate friend) manifested in platonic love. All of these emotions and intellectual fascination resonated with the strange and attractive -- queer -- nature of microbes.

The 'nature' of queer nature thus refers to the meaning of 'intrinsic nature.' Queer nature therefore does not carry the meaning of 'nature' as in 'the environmental nature' that emerged during the post-war period.[26] Similarly, it does not imply the modern Japanese term *shizen* (自然) that refers to external, 'objectifiable' nature that came into popular use in the following period of 1890s. Kumagusu hardly used the term *shizen* as a noun in his life even after it settled into everyday Japanese vocabulary. The visible usage of the term in his writing appeared as an adjective; the only form of the term that initially existed in Confucian texts in the previous Tokugawa period.[27] In fact, he rarely used equivalent Japanese words of the time. For example, the Meiji emperor used the term *tenchi* (heaven and earth) to signify 'nature' in his speech to promulgate the Charter Oath in 1868.[28] His own understanding of intrinsic nature runs through his primary historical sources.

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[24] Minakata Kumagusu *Minakata Kumagusu Chinji Hyōron,* ed. Hasegawa Kōzō and Takeuchi Yoshinobu, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995).
[25] "妙なことじゃ/ myōna kotoja" Minakata Kumagusu, *Minakata Kumagusu Toki Hōryū Ōfukushokan/Minakata Kumagusu and Toki Hōryū Exchanged Letters* (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1990), 62.
[26] On the history of "the environment" as a notion, see Warde, Paul, Libby Robin, and Sverker Sörlin. *The Environment: A History of the Idea* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018.; and Warde, Paul., Robin, Libby., and Sörlin, Sverker. "Part 4: "The Environment" How Did the Idea Emerge?" in *The Future of Nature: Documents of Global Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 157-204.
[27] On the brief summary of the geneology of the term *shizen,* see Thomas, Julia "Introduction: The Trouble with Nature" In., *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif. and London: University of California Press, 2001), 1-31.
[28] Theodore de Bary, Wm., Gluck, Carol and Tiedemann, Arthur E. eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition* 2nd edition, vol.2 (New York: 2005), 672.

Such nature emanated as queer; whether be it contents, forms of knowledge, or microbes, evident tellers of queer nature appeared fascinatingly strange and startling in Kumagusu's eyes. They attracted his attention, made him fond of them, and thus induced in him a greater desire to inquire into what they showed and informed. Ontologically, queer nature traversed the dichotomised notions of modern Western science and philosophy. Queer nature that embodied such an ontology inspired the inquisitive desires uninhibited by normative divides and hierarchies.

Historically, queer nature shared the same time and space with the state's normative intellectual paradigm. Kumagusu therefore recognised his thoughts and actions appeared 'queer,' or 'abject' as the gender theorist Judith Butler discussed the term, in the light of scholars who closely worked with the state.[29] In other words, the normative system of knowledge acknowledged queer nature only by denying its innate existential quality.[30] However, his thoughts and actions neither revolved around the state nor emerged as a periphery of human history.

Rather, the normative intellectual paradigm's refusal to accept queer nature's existential quality in its authenticity paradoxically worked to induce even greater agency to the formation of his ideas. Furthermore, because queer nature carried elements of surprise and curiosity that celebrate its qualities, it prevailed over the assumed existential denial. It was this dynamic that strengthened his conviction over his thoughts and actions. Consequentially,

[29] Judith Butler *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex,"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993: 2011).
[30] Ibid.

he queered – or 'to put out of order' in another meaning of queer – the normative nature of the state's intellectual paradigm.[31]

The above notion of queer nature speaks to a field of study the literary scholar and philosopher Timothy Morton proposed as 'queer ecology' in 2010.[32] Queer ecology asserts the intimate relationship between ecology and queer theory. It builds on the facts that "[e]cology stems from biology, which has nonessentialist aspects" and "[q]ueer theory is a nonessentialist view of gender and sexuality."[33] Thus, queer ecology departs from the discourse of nature and gender within the narrative of identity politics notably known as ecofeminism, cultivated by scholars such as Carolyn Merchant in the 80s.[34] Morton points out Darwin's evolutionary theory regarded life-forms as mutually determining entities.[35] Present-day science furthermore clarified cellular reproduction happens asexually and that there is no firm boundary between life and nonlife.[36] Thus, the conception of the environmental "Nature" as an idealised, pristine, and wild*"* existence outside human being does not exist. He calls for abandoning terms such as 'animal' and adopt "something like *strange and strangers* … [that are] uncanny, familiar and strange simultaneously."[37] The cellular existences are within us human beings and they holds our existence; we are in symbiosis.[38] Desire for intimacy with strangers is therefore central in queer ecology.[39]

[31] E.g. George Moore, *A Mummer's Wife,* (London: Vizetelly & co., 1885: 1887), 190.; Edward W. Townsend, *Chimmie Fadden, Major Max & Other Stories*, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1895), 38.
[32] Timothy Morton, "Queer Ecology," *PMLA* 125, no. 2 (2010): 273-282.
[33] Ibid., 274.
[34] Ibid.; See Carolyn Merchant *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: HerperOne, 1980).
[35] Morton, Ibid., 275.
[36] Ibid., 276. On these accounts, Morton references Richard Dawkins and Dawkins' note on the biochemist Sol Spiegelman's work on life and non-life.; Richard Dawkins *The Ancestor's Tale: A Pilgrimage to the Dawn of Life.* (London: Phoenix, 2005), 582-94 and 626.
[37] Morton Ibid., 277.
[38] Ibid., 277.
[39] Ibid., 279.

The striking resemblance between my conceptualisation of queer nature and Morton's queer ecology signals the affinity between Kumagusu's knowledge formation and present-day philosophers' contemporary consciousness. The way in which I arrived at queer nature is however not by applying Morton's queer ecology as a method of historical analysis. Rather, as I mentioned earlier, what led me to the conceptualisation was an intent observation of Kumagusu's lived experience of knowledge formation embedded in historical experience of this naturalist-polymath, as recorded in primary sources. I consequentially ended up drawing out the theory of his knowledge formation. The result shows the captivating likeness.

While bearing the resemblance, the fundamental difference between queer nature and queer ecology indeed resides in the way in which the notions crystalised. Queer nature is a conceptualisation of Kumagusu's basis of truths historically situated in the specific time and space he navigated within the intellectual history of modern Japan. Morton delineated queer ecology as a call for a new field of knowledge formation situated primarily in the present-day time and space in the intellectual lineage of modern Western science and continental philosophy. The intellectual context of his discussion has been developed by scholars such as, as he explicitly cites, Catriona Sandilands, Greta Gaard, Judith Butler, Jacques Derrida, and Richard Dawkins. Because of this difference, for example, how Morton employed the term nature is primarily tied to the idea of "Nature" with the capital 'N' as the author puts it: the external, wild, and pure 'environmental' Nature, positioned in dichotomy to industrialised human society. Morton asserts that such a notion is ideological and non-existent, with which I wholly agree. The 'nature' of queer nature however, as I explained earlier, does not convey this meaning. I paired the term 'nature' with 'queer' because the notion of nature I discussed existed as Kumagusu's basis of truths in the intellectual history

of modern Japan in the late 19th century. The historically heterogeneous ideas of 'queer' best conveys the ontological and experiential qualities of this 'nature', as I argue in this thesis.

If I were to position the contention of queer nature within the historiography of queer theory, one could argue it contributes to what Morton argues as dark ecology. Dark ecology refers to a "transitional mode" of knowledge formation "from an ideological fixation of Nature to a fully queer ecology."[40] The primary intention of the thesis nevertheless lies in illumination of Kumagusu's work and thoughts as a work of modern Japanese intellectual history.

Queer Nature, Before its Emergence

Queer nature emerged as the basis of truths in Kumagusu's knowledge formation in 1887-1900 America and London. The ways in which he interconnected his intellectual enquiries of nature with emotional experience and Sino-Asian derived Japanese knowledge in the light of the microbe originated from his childhood and adolescence in Japan. His main source of reliable knowledge was Sino-Japanese encyclopedias of natural studies from early on. The attendance in the state-run primary school strengthened his faith in independent learning in the forest, Sunday school and evening classes open to public. Behind it was his lived experience of love and bonding he forged with his male friend over their mutual fascination for natural studies. A brief time in Tokyo concurrently exposed him to the critical relationship between natural science and civilisation theory and greater varieties of resources

[40] Ibid.; More on dark ecology, see Timothy Morton *Dark Ecology: For a Logic of Future Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016) and Timothy Morton "The Dark Ecology of Elegy" in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

with which he could interrogate the issue. He also became fascinated by microbes at the same time.

A historically specific, locally situated context within which Kumagusu spent his formative years nurtured his rigor for independent intellectual pursuit and thirst for encyclopedic knowledge particularly in natural studies. As a child born to a merchant in the castle city of Wakayama in southwest Japan, he grew up in the urban environment located between the primordial forest of Kumano and the Wakayama Bay that opens to the vast Pacific Ocean. A merchant family was considered lower class and was in no way wealthy in this early Meiji period; the class mentality from the Tokugawa period's feudal system still permeated the society. His family – about to start a successful sake brewery – hence did not own many scholarly books. Yet, he began to immerse himself in the world of natural studies as early as the age of four through Sino-Japanese illustrated encyclopedias he found at neighboring shops and houses.[41] Such was how Kumagusu begun learning even before he entered the elementary school. He would memorise sections of the encyclopedias at his neighbors' house and write down the contents with lively illustrations as soon as he came back home.

Having developed his independent style of self-guided studying led by curiosity, the primary school only reinforced Kumagusu's enthusiasm for knowledge outside the Meiji state's intellectual agenda. The government's Ministry of Education, Science and Culture introduced an education reform in 1872, two years prior to his enrolment to the newly opened Ono Primary School in Wakayama.[42] Under the policy, all citizens were to go to a

[41] On Kumagusu's early immersion in Sino-Japanese encyclopedias and *honzōgaku,* see Iwakura Shōhei "Wakan no Hyakkajiten to Honzōgaku" in Matsui Ryūgo and Tamura Yoshiya ed. *Minakata Kumagusu Daijiten/The Comprehensive Dictionary of Minakata Kumagusu* (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2012), pp.3-6.
[42] The government formed the ministry in 1871; On the history of education in Wakayama, see: Watanabe Hiroshi Sensei Taikankinenkai ed., *Wakayama no Rekishi to Kyōiku/The History and Education of Wakayama* (Wakayama: Watanabe Hiroshi Sensei Taikankinenkai, 1979).

primary school at their own expense to acquire knowledge from early on to be able to make one's own living themselves.[43] The schooling where knowledge became the symbol of economic mobility made young Kumagusu feel alienated. "The majority of children who could afford to go to the school were those of families who previously belonged to the samurai class. They very much looked down on *heimin* (平民: the common people)," he later recalled.[44] Acquisition of knowledge gradually became an elitist activity.[45] The government was indeed about to set up the University of Tokyo in 1877 with a view to educate authoritative elites of the new era.

Discouraged by the primary school, Kumagusu sought intellectual solace in the forest of Kumano and Sino-Asian derived education that existed locally since the Tokugawa period. He eagerly attended *shingaku*（心学） Sunday school and *kangaku* (漢学) evening school. Spelt as 'the study of *kokoro* (心：mind-heart)', *shingaku* delivered accessible lectures on life lessons in partnership with scholars and private philanthropists, acknowledging the significance of *heimin* (the common people) merchants in society.[46] At the *kangaku* school, he learnt to read Chinese classics used in encyclopedic works of *honzōgaku* (本草学) written for adults.[47]

[43] While the ministry followed France for the system, the ethos behind it was heavily influenced by English utilitarianism. On the history of education in Meiji Japan, see Naka Arata, *Meiji No Kyōiku. Nihon Rekishi* (Tokyo: Shibundo, 1967) and Nagayama Yasuo, *Teikokukasuru Nihon: Meiji No Kyōiku Sukyandaru* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 2018).

[44]"その頃学校へ満足に通う者多くは士族の子弟で、平民と見れば侮蔑することはなはだしく/Sono koro gakkoue manzoku ni kahyou mono ookuha shizokuno shitei de, heimin to mireba bubetsu surukoto hanahada shiku." Iikura Shōhei *Minakata Kumagusu: Fukurō no Gotoku Mokuza Shioru/Minakata Kumagusu: Sitting Quietly Like an Owl* (Tokyo: Minerva Shobō, 2006), 5.

[45] On Tokugawa period culture of learning before the Meiji period, see Hayek, Matthias, and Annick Horiuchi. *Listen, Copy, Read: Popular Learning in Early Modern Japan* (Leiden: Leiden, 2014).

[46] Iikura Ibid., 6-7.

[47] Ibid., 12-13.

The fascination for natural studies and romance found in the local forest and Sino-Japanese encyclopedias merged with romance as he grew into early adolescence. Kumagusu fell for Hayama Shigetarō (1868-1888), a "beautiful boy" with an interest in mineralogy, a year below him at his junior high school. They bonded over their shared passion for knowledge of natural studies and even co-created an illustrated textbook on mineralogy.[48] He concurrently became captivated by beautiful young pageboys and the culture of same-sex affection among male Shingon Buddhist monks he witnessed at the Mt Kōya in Kumano, Kii.[49] It seemed *natural* for him to feel that way.

Kumagusu left for Tokyo after the junior high to attend the Preparatory School for the University of Tokyo.[50] Despite his hatred towards elitism, Tokyo offered dazzling sources of natural studies with unearthed archaeological sites and newly built museums, zoo, and libraries where he would spend hours even when he ought to be attending classes at the school. Rummaging bookstores in Tokyo, he amassed all the *honzōgaku* publications possibly available at that time in Japan. He consequentially returned to Wakayama after a failure in math exam and worsening health condition with suspected epilepsy.[51] He spent days and nights with Shigetarō and other love interests in the mountain villages of Kumano to recuperate and plan the next course of action: America.

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[48] Minakata Kumagusu and Hayama Shigetarō, *Kinsekigaku/The Mineralogy,* Minakata Kumagusu Museum, A1-037.

[49] Okayama Naoshi, "Kōyasan Tozan," *Minakata Kumagusu Daijiten,* 193-195.

[50] Kumagusu's classmates at the school included young Natsume Sōseki (夏目漱石, 1867-1916), the prominent novelist, and Masaoka Shiki (正岡子規, 1867-1902), the poet and Japanese linguist. Neither of them had direct relationship with Kumagusu.

[51] Minakata Kumagusu *Minakata Kumagusu Nikki 1 1885-1896/Minakata Kumagusu Diary 11885-1896* (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1987), 58-59 and 61.
The Medical Department of the Osaka University preserved his brain after his death, as to follow his will. The MRI scan they conducted showed a potential history of temporal lobe epilepsy. See Sengoku Akira "Minakata Kumagusu no Tenkan: Byōsekigakuteki Kenkyū/Kumagusu Minakata with Temporal Lobe Epilepsy: A Pathographic Study" In., *Seishin Shinkeigaku Zasshi/Psychiatria et neurologia Japonica* 108(2), 132-139, 2006-02-25

The question of civilisation theory increasingly preoccupied him in the middle of the heated intimacies with the boys and with natural studies. The idea of learning the essence of the theory directly in 'civilised' America emerged on his horizon. The upmost social concern of the Meiji Japan was inseparable from natural science. The Preparatory School delivered lectures of the Darwinian scholar Edward Sylvester Morse (1838-1925) on the Spencerian idea of social evolution as the civilisational progress.[52] His diary entries suggest however that his interest was not limited to theoretical ideas; the knowledge of natural and human sciences was directly connected to immediate political practice and actions of the time. From day to day, he actively followed political incidents and international diplomacies. He even noted that he purchased a swordstick: the symbolic weapon secretly carried by Japanese youths involved in the 1880s movement for democracy Freedom and People's Rights Movement (自由民権運動： *Jiyūminkenundō*).[53] His concern for direct action is evident although the detailed account behind the intent remains unknown. After he once retrieved back to Wakayama, he decided to depart for America: the civilised nation from which Japanese ought to learn. Landing on the continent, this idea about America that the life in Tokyo taught him crumbled apart.

What sprung up in parallel to the interest in civilisation theory in the middle of all these was his enthusiasm for microbes. It was shortly before he left Tokyo for Wakayama, he recalled: "[On hearing about] how a North American called Curtis collected 6,000 fungi and sent them to the famous Berkeley (an English) for examinations … I thought I want to collect

[52] Matsui Ryūgo "III: Shinkaron to Dōjidai no Kokusai Seijō/III: The Evolutionary Theory and International Politics of the Time," in *Minakata Kumagusu: Fukugan no Gakumon Kōsō/Minakata Kumagusu: Designing Scholarship of Compound Eyes* (Tokyo: Keio Gijuku Daigaku Publishing, 2019).
[53] Kumagusu, *Nikki 1,* 29.

7,000 fungi of Japan."[54] Existing primary sources do not illuminate what exactly triggered his obsession over them in the first place. What is clear from this recollection is, however, the scale of ambition and unwavering commitment he already held in this field of study.

The microbes were about to take hold of the heart of his natural science that determined the *nature* of not only civilisation theory, but also of metaphysics and social sciences as he lived and worked in America and London in 1887-900. The emotional drive behind his knowledge formation became the intensity of love and longing he shared with Shigetarō and others. Encyclopaedias remained the significant source of knowledge throughout his life. Kumagusu himself grew to possess encyclopaedic knowledge of the world, trespassing conventional disciplinary boundaries reinforced by institutionalised research and education; and Buddhism never left his process of reasoning. His underlining basis of truths became queer nature.

Queer Nature as Analytical Method in Practice

Asserting Kumagusu's basis of truths as queer nature impacted the ways in which I analysed the abundance of primary sources available to this date. As it is clear from the definition of queer nature I explained above, queer nature affected his knowledge formation as well as

[54] "菌類は小生壮時、北米のカーチスと申す人六千点まで採り、有名なるバークレー（英人）におくり調査させ候。小生これを聞きし時、十六、七なりしが、何とぞ七千点日本のものを集めたしと思い立ち候。/Kinrui ha shōsei sōji, hokubei no kachisu to mōsu hito rokusenten made tori, yūmei naru bakure (eijin) ni okuri chōsa sase sōrō. Shōsei korewo kikishi toki, jūroku, hichi narishiga, nanitozo nanasenten nihon no monowo atsumetashi to omoitachi sōrō." Minakata Kumagusu "Uematsu Shigeru Ate Shokan: 27th August 1919" *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū Bekkan 1/The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Supplement 1*, 56.; "Curtis" noted here refers to the American botanist Moses Ashley Curtis (1808-1872) and "Berkeley" refers to the English mycologist Miles Joseph Berkeley (1803-1889).

his experience of coming to know the world as he maintained a cosmopolitan life as a non-state independent scholar. This means analysing the sources through the epistemic lens of queer nature, and contending historical arguments based on the analysis, required attention to three main aspects. Firstly, examination of interconnectivity between his lived experience, observation, and knowledge formation. Secondly, consideration on how queer nature's ontological qualities shaped his theoretical development within this lived experience of knowledge formation distinct from the West-centric counterparts. Thirdly, reflection on how, at the intersection of these two relationalities, he created intellectual 'friendships' with contemporaneous historical actors as well as multilingual publications he rigorously studied. I will concurrently discuss which sources housed at which archives I worked with to analyse them accordingly. Then, I will briefly expand on how the above analytical practice based on queer nature revealed the characteristics of Kumagusu's knowledge formation within the microbial paradigm.

Firstly, I considered Kumagusu's diaries, private letters, and notebooks, including accounts of emotional experiences, as the evidence of history equally significant to his published intellectual work and corresponding actions. This included evaluations of his interest in what the normative nature would identify and segregate as "gender" and "sexology." To do so, I additionally gathered newspaper articles he wrote on these topics in the 1920s, archived at the National Diet Library in Tokyo. Many works of these kinds have been excluded from the 12 volumes of *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū* (Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu) published in 1971. The scope of the thesis does not extend to the early 20th century. However, the analysis of the articles enabled me to identify a previously uncovered historical trajectory within the evolution of his thoughts where his personal experience of love and observation of microbes existed hand in hand with his knowledge formation from early adulthood.

Secondly, I examined Kumagusu's theoretical contentions and research activities based on the qualities of queer nature I explicated earlier. While doing so, I simultaneously made a comparative analysis on how these bore similarities with and differences to works of contemporaneous scholars against which he argued his ideas. The most notable figure whose works with which he engaged was the English philosopher Herbert Spencer. Kumagusu's basis of truths that determined his reasoning had different characteristics to that of Spencer and of Meiji state scholars who endorsed the Westcentric, normative nature. Comparatively examining the theorisation process of the intellectuals with contrasting natures allowed me to discern how he used the other scholar's work as his sounding board to mature his theories while upholding queer nature as his basis of truths. The results not only shed light on how, why, and as what he maintained his theories and acted accordingly, but also clarify the wider significance of the corresponding contentions he made.

Queer nature continued to permeate Kumagusu's knowledge formation as he chose to remain independent of state's research and education. He moved from one country to another as an individual without any obligation to the Meiji state. In other words, his thoughts and actions that emerged from the two kinds of inter-relationships within the knowledge formation I addressed above were located within the wider cosmopolitan context he inhabited. His independent position reflected on his freedom to choose whom he befriended and how he forged intellectual relationships.

Therefore, thirdly, I observed how intellectual friendships he nurtured with others enabled him to recognise connections among seemingly disparate knowledge without dividing them through top-down categories asserted by the state. By 'friendships,' I refer to actual friends

with whom he had debates as well as multilingual publications which he examined in the process of formulating his ideas and directions of his actions. Interestingly, it seemed those characters with which he interacted the most were the ones who had an intellectual drive other than mere interest in getting a university degree or unquestioningly serving the state's civilisational ideologies. He considered only this kind of intellectual worthy of sustained dialogues. Such appeared to be the case whether it be friends with whom he had direct contact or scholars of the past and modern whose work he repeatedly referenced, including Spencer. He pointed out that Spencer, too, did not go to university. The influential English philosopher developed his ideas while working as a railway engineer. Traces of these friendships remain to this date in his letters, research notes, diaries, and essays. Thus, I observed the ways in which he formed his thoughts and ideas for actions, continuously writing them down in English and Japanese, while situating himself within the intertwined intellectual web created through these 'friendships.'

I conducted the overall research required for the analysis above by going through original materials in Kumagusu's libraries preserved at several archives in Wakayama Prefecture, Japan, instead of solely relying on edited reprints of his work. These were the Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Minakata Kumagusu Museum, and Wakayama City Museum. As I spent approximately four months to do so, I lived locally in his childhood home city Wakayama and adulthood hometown Tanabe for an extended period of time. This environment allowed me to visit sites of his interests and situate myself in the historical time and space of the region Kumagusu deemed significant, from the contemporary moment of now. Additionally, as I mentioned earlier, I also drew on his newspaper articles found at the National Diet Library in Tokyo. Furthermore, I consulted the British Museum on newly found letters he wrote to their curators at that time.

Primary sources that became most important to this thesis consequentially boiled down to materials in three interrelated categories. These are: letters he wrote to intimate friends, notebooks he kept for his research and study, and publications he carefully examined. Out of numerous letters he wrote, he revealed his evolving thoughts and emotions most vividly to his lovers Sugimura Kōtarō a.k.a. Sojinkan (1872-1945) and Hayama siblings Shigetarō (1868-1888) and Hanjirō (1871-1896) as well as his friend the Shingon Buddhist monk Toki Hōryū (1854-1923). Chapter one particularly relied on the letters to his lovers to draw out fundamental ideas relevant to queer nature while the extensive correspondence with Toki became essential in chapter two. Furthermore, notebooks he rigorously sketched out his ideas and copied references of his interests played the vital role in illuminating his emerging theories and concerns as well as the scholarly contexts within which these situated in his mind. Chapter one sought such information in the three volumes of notebooks he entitled *The Scientific Memoire* where, in 1888, he copied essays on evolutionary science from *Popular Science Monthly*: the magazine founded in 1872 to disseminate the latest scientific knowledge to educated public. Chapter three in the meantime could not be written without the 52 notebooks he compiled at the British Museum's renowned Reading Room and other related museum libraries in 1885-1900. Known among Japanese scholars of Kumagusu as *London Nukigaki* (London Excerpts), he meticulously jotted down sections of books from various disciplines he deemed relevant. Moreover, I analysed the letters and notebooks in conjunction with publications of authors with whom he cultivated intellectual friendships. The most important works I feature in this thesis were those of Herbert Spencer. In chapter two, I heavily consulted his *First Principles: A New System of Philosophy* (1867) to uncover the logic behind Kumagusu's arguments on science, religion, and civilisation theory he disclosed in his letter to Toki. *The Study of Sociology* (1873) and *The Principles of Sociology*

(1876) also became invaluable in chapter three, along with notes Kumagusu inscribed on his own copies of these publications.

Analysing Kumagusu's knowledge formation through queer nature, as a result, captured its historical emergence as a narrative full of what could be described as *involutionary momentum*. Argued by the anthropologists of plant science Carla Hustak and Natasha Myers, the notion denotes "the very momentum through which organisms reach toward one another and involve themselves in one another's lives."[55] The notion of *evolution* more commonly use in modern science refers to movement of "rolling outwards," creating divergence and thus separations of lives across differences.[56] *Involution* instead delineates: ""rolling, curling, turning inwards" that brings distinct species together to invent new ways of life."[57] They further explain that the idea of *momentum* here alludes to "the sense of what dancers may feel as they lean into and follow through on a movement" with continuing vigor, rather than the term defined by Newtonian physics that perceived the nature of the universe in binary.[58]

Kumagusu's knowledge formation based on queer nature embraced involutionary momentum as he rigorously involved his lived experience, microbes, and intimate intellectual friendships with which he engaged. In so doing, he trespassed imposed categorical differences as he persistently worked to respond to urgent questions of social evolution paused by the present moments of 'now' he inhabited within the history. He

[55] Carla Hustak and Natasha Myers "Involutionary Momentum: Affective Ecologies and the Sciences of Plant/Insect Encounters" *differences* 23, no. 3 (2012): 96.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 96-97.

asserted: "Scholarship is a living creature. Books are just residues [of the learning]."[59] Similar to how the microbiologist Merlin Sheldrake elucidated the innate characteristic of microbes as involutionary, the intellectual paradigm of queer nature resembled the involutionary character of microbes.[60] Kumagusu thus created a microbial paradigm as queer nature emerged and persisted in his life and work.

Historiographical Contributions

Employing queer nature as the method of historical analysis enabled the thesis to open broader horizons of at least two historiographies. One is the modern Japanese history of science and its correlating impact on intellectual history. Existing works of the field revolved around imperial science chiefly developed at the Imperial University (presently known as the University of Tokyo) within the state's vision of civilisational progress. Queer nature as the method of historical analysis reveals an intellectual paradigm that did not resort to the logic of the Western science the state adopted. As a result, the thesis advances the non-state history of science in modern Japan and beyond without marginalising the subject in the shadow of the state's discourse. Another historiography is specifically on the naturalist. No historian has illuminated an underlying logic to Kumagusu's seemingly discursive thoughts and actions in both Japanese and Anglophone scholarship of modern Japanese history. My contention of queer nature elucidates this for the first time.

[59] "学問は活物で書籍は糟粕だ/Gakumon ha ikimono de shosekiha sohaku da" Minakata Kumagusu, "Heikegani no Hanashi/The Story of Heike Crab," in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshu 6/The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu 6* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973), 57.
[60] Merlin Sheldrake *Entangled Life: How Fungi Our Worlds, Change Our Minds and Shape Our Futures* (London: Vintage Publishing, 2020), 158.

First of all, the thesis catalyses the emerging field of non-state historical narrative in the historiography of modern Japanese science.[61] The dominant historiographical current of modern Japanese science revolved around imperial science that endorsed the state's theory of civilisation.[62] The early Meiji state perceived the rapid adaptation of Western science as a vital enabler of the nation's civilisational progress.[63] They considered Asia-derived knowledge to be stagnating this progress.[64] The scholars who worked at the Imperial University – the first national university founded by the Meiji regime in Tokyo – interpreted Social Darwinian thoughts in the effort to accelerate the process in the 1880s.[65] By the end of the decade, Meiji government celebrated the promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (1889) and opening of the Imperial Diet (1890), rapidly gaining the structural ground for a modern nation-state equal to that of the West. Then, Japan turned into the only major non-Western imperial power. The historical narrative of modern

[61] Sho Konishi, "The Science of Symbiosis and Linguistic Democracy in Early Twentieth-century Japan," *Interdisciplinary Description of Complex Systems* 13, no. 2 (2015): 299-317.; Sho Konishi, "Chapter 6: Nature in Culture, Culture in Nature: Phagocytes, Dung Beetles, and the Cosmos" in *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperation and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

[62] For example, see Hiromi Mizuno, *Science for the Empire: Scientific Nationalism in Modern Japan,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).; Morris Low, *Building a Modern Japan: Science, Technology, and Medicine in the Meiji Era and beyond*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).; David G. Wittner and Philip C. Brown, ed., *Science, Technology, and Medicine in the Modern Japanese Empire*, (London: Routledge Studies in the Modern History of Asia, 2016).; James Bartholomew *The Formation of Science in Japan: Building a Research Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).; Lisa Onaga, "More than Metamorphosis: The Silkworm Experiments of Toyama Kametaro and his Cultivation of Genetic Thought in Japan's Sericultural Practices, 1894-1918," in *New Perspectives on the History of Life Sciences and Agriculture*, ed. Denise Phillips and Sharon Kingsland, (Springer International Publishing, 2015), 415–37.; Gregory K. Clancey, "Foreign Knowledge: Cultures of Western Science-making in Meiji Japan" in *Asia in Europe, Europe in Asia,* ed. Srilata Ravi, Mario Rutten, and Beng-Lan Goh (Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2015), 162-183.; and Kenji Ito, "Magnetrons and Quantum Electrodynamics: Engineering and Physics in the Case of Tomonaga Sin-itiro," *Studies In History And Philosophy Of Modern Physics* 60 (2017): 110-122.

[63] On the Tokugawa-period science and natural studies, see Federico Marcon, *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: Columbia University, 2015).; Ellen Gardner Nakamura, *Practical Pursuits: Takano Chōei, Takahashi Keisaku, and Western Medicine in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); and James Bartholomew, "Chapter Two: Science and Society in the Tokugawa Period" in *The Formation of Science in Japan*, 9-48.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity* Ibid.

Japanese science thus overwhelmingly focused on the development of science in its relationship to the state and its empire.[66]

The dominant historiography has long assumed that the fundamental origin of modern science belonged to the West. Only in adopting the same system of thoughts within this culture of science, a nation could 'civilise' – so it asserted. The pervading supposition is evident as the historian of science Scott L. Montgomery asserted: "The terrain of modern Japanese science has been created almost entirely since the late eighteenth century. This was a period that followed the lifting of a strict ban on Western books … ."[67] This historical discourse never wondered if other kinds of nature – the basis of truths – existed in modern Japanese intellectual imagination other than that of the Western origin. If it ever did, 'facts' and ideas that emerge from the alternate nature appeared scientifically untruthful because the nature was merely 'alternate,' and therefore, inauthentic. Here, only the Western-derived science could discern indisputable nature on which one can argue 'scientific,' therefore truthful, facts and ideas of civilisation theory and human societies.

The thesis opens a larger terrain of non-state history of modern Japanese science by arguing the emergence of queer nature as Kumagusu's scientific basis of truths. As I will articulate further in this work, the historical origin of modern science within the intellectual paradigm of queer nature went back as far as the late 300 AD. It derived from, for example, cosmological research of the monk Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什: 344-413) from the Buddhist Kingdom of Kucha located on the Silk Road in the ancient Asia. Kumagusu employed his

[66] Mizuno *Science for the Empire* Ibid.; Low *Building a Modern Japan* Ibid.; and Witter and Brown *Science, Technology, and Medicine in Modern Japanese Empire* Ibid.
[67] Scott L. Montgomery 'Chapter 5: Record of Recent Matters: Translation and the Origin of Modern Japanese Science' *Science in Translation: Movement of Knowledge Through Cultures and Time* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p.202.

vast knowledge of the Sino-Asian lineage to theorise his own civilisation theory, scientific theories of evolutionary metaphysics, and a form of modern social sciences that emerged through this metaphysics. All of these emerged as truthful facts and ideas in their own right in the intellectual paradigm of queer nature. Queer nature as the method of historical analysis thus contributes to the larger effort to decolonise the history of science in modern Japan and beyond, away from the state-centric ways of knowing.

Furthermore at a first glance, the notion of queer nature through which I will reveal Kumagusu's microbial paradigm may recall the 1910s-1920s field of state science *Hentai Shinri* (變態心理: Abnormal Psychology) to some readers.[68] He certainly paid attention to the academic journal of the same name in the early to mid 1920s, a period outside the scope of this thesis.[69] However, as the term *abnormal* suggests, the branch of study revolved around the predetermined norm of the modern Western science that studied the human mind. Indeed, the Imperial University educated Japanese psychologist Nakamura Kokyō (中村古峡: 1881-1952), the founder of the journal and the Japanese Society of Psychiatry and Neurology, defined *Hentai Shinri* (Abnormal Psychology) as: "a term that encompass abnormal or peculiar psychological operation that are out of the normal mental phenomena."[70] Kumagusu's science of queer nature operated within the microbial paradigm that defied the normative paradigm of *Hentai Shinri* (Abnormal Psychology) science.

[68] Christopher Harding "Japanese Psychoanalysis and Buddhism: The Making of a Relationship." *History of Psychiatry* 25, no. 2 (2014): 154-70.
[69] Nakamura Kokyō *Hentai Shinri* 8(4), 14 (2, 4-6), 15 (1-6), 16 (1, 3-6), 17 (1-3, 5), 18 (1-4) (Tokyo, Nihon Seishin Igaku Kai Washi: 1921, 1924-16), 200. Minakata Kumagusu Archives.
[70] "變態心理とは、吾々の普通の精神現象から外れてゐる 有らゆる異常な、または特殊な心理作用を總括した名稱である。/ Hentai Shinri toha, wareware no futsū no seishingenshō kara hanareteiru arayuru ijō na, mataha tokushu na shinri sayō wo tōka shita meishō de aru." Nakamura Kokyō *Hentai Shinrigaku Kōgiroku Dai Ippen* (Tokyo: Japanese Society for Abnormal Psychology, 1921), 1. National Diet Library 13-626.

With the state-centred narrative of science and civilisational progress dominating the historical understanding of modern Japan, no historian has elucidated the underlining logic to the non-state scholar Kumagusu's knowledge formation. Japanese scholarship, while abundant, vibrant and insightful, tended to rely on established cultural categories of knowledge to analyse his life and work. In the meantime, Anglophone scholarship that solely focused on Kumagusu has been quiet for so many years. Whenever scholars mentioned his work, it appeared rather fragmented within the authors' wider sub-disciplinary research questions.

Japanese scholarship indeed produced more than 1,500 secondary works on the naturalist since the late 1980s to this date. The discourse predominantly revolved around two kinds of work. First, those that focused on the significance of Kumagusu's work in terms of either the state or the West-centred knowledge production that segregated knowledge formation into rigid disciplinary divides. Second, other kinds that spoke to the popular imagination of contemporary Japan.

Within the former type of scholarship, the historian Matsui Ryūgo most notably pioneered the present-day research. His work developed on rigorous research into the vast number of primary sources with a focus on Kumagusu's intellectual activities in early adulthood. I have hugely benefited from the work he and his colleagues have done, including seminars and articles run by the Society for the Studies of Minakata Kumagusu. Matsui's recent 2016 monograph *Minakata Kumagusu: Fukugan no Gakumon Kōzō* (Minakata Kumagusu: Designing Scholarship of Compound Eyes) particularly helped me to navigate Kumagusu's key contributions in various disciplinary field and sources produced during his time in the

UK.[71] However, each of Matsui and his colleagues' work tended to stay within conventional disciplinary framework or established cultural categories, such as "the Western science," "Folklore," and "Asian in America." What interconnected these aspects of Kumagusu's work remained unclear. Moreover, the analysis of his work rarely bridged what he reflected in his personal life, including issues on love and sexuality, with his intellectual formation of 'nature.'

Similar challenges existed with the latter kind of work. The most recent example includes the 150th anniversary exhibition *Minakata Kumagusu – 100 nen Hayakatta Chi no Hito* (Minakata Kumagusu: An Informant-savant a 100 Years Ahead of his Time) at the National Museum of Nature and Science, Tokyo in 2017.[72] The historian Tamura Yoshiya and a team of scholars in Japan framed the meaning behind Kumagusu's prolific work across several disciplines as an information provider that resembles today's enormous data of the world available on the internet.[73] Slightly earlier another work is the curator and historian Takeuchi Yoshiya's 2012 monograph *Tatakau Minakata Kumagusu: 'Ecology' no Senkusha* (The Resistence of Minakata Kumagusu: The Pioneer of 'Ecology').[74] The thoroughly researched, insightful work emerged from another public museum exhibition he organised in 2009 at the Wakayama City Museum, Wakayama, Japan: *Ecology no Senkusha: Minakata Kumagusu no Sekai* (The Pioneer of Ecology: The World of Minakata Kumagusu).[75] Takeuchi's work revolved around Kumagusu's work in what can be considered the

[71] Matsui Ryūgo *Minakata Kumagusu: Fukugan no Gakumon Kōsō/Minakata Kumagusu: Designing Scholarship of Compound Eyes* (Tokyo: Keio Gijuku Daigaku Publishing, 2019).
[72] *Minakata Kumagusu – 100 nen Hayakatta Chi no Hito/ Minakata Kumagusu: An Informant-savant a 100 Years Ahead of his Time,* The National Museum of nature and Science, Tokyo. 19th December 2017 – 4th March 2018.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Takeuchi Yoshiya *Tatakau Minakata Kumagusu: 'Ecology' no Senkusha/The Resistence of Minakata Kumagusu: The Pioneer of 'Ecology'* (Tokyo: Bensei Publishing, 2012).
[75] *Ecology no Senkusha: Minakata Kumagusu no Sekai/ The Pioneer of Ecology: The World of Minakata Kumagusu,* Wakayama City Museum, Wakayama, Japan. 10th October – 23td November 2009.

environmental activism in today's sensibility. The author-curator situated him within the wider modern Japanese history of political activism and unfolded the narrative in the lead up to assertion of his alternate notion of 'ecology' in the midst of his activism against the shrine merger. All of these works indeed contributed to popularisation of his life and work in the wider public in contemporary Japan. However, like the former kind of scholarship, the reliance on cultural frameworks established within the present-day Japan overshadowed the crucial enquiry into what underlined his multicultural and multi-disciplinary knowledge formation, and how it may have emerged through his lived experience.

Moreover, following the resurgence of domestic interests, Kumagusu has also attracted diverse attentions from scholars of modern Japan and beyond since the late 1990s in the Anglophone academia.[76] There has been approximately ten works of history to date that brought him up within their discussions. His life and work that engaged with a wide range of topics and disciplines conveyed something relevant to almost every scholar's interests.

[76] On the historiography of Japanese work on Kumagusu, see Matsui Ryugo and Tamura Yoshiya, ed., *Minakata Kumagusu Daijiten* (Tokyo: Bensei Publishing, 2012), 657-662.
The existing Anglophone works include Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).; Gerald A. Figal, *Civilisation and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan,* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).; Julia Adeney Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).; Mark Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895–1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).; Clinton G. Godart. *Darwin, Dharma, and the Divine: Evolutionary Theory and Religion in Modern Japan*, (Honolulu: Columbia University, 2017).; Carmen Blacker, "Minakata Kumagusu: A Neglected Japanese Genius." *Folklore* 94, no. 2 (1983): 139-52.; Kazuko Tsurumi, "Minakata-Mandala: A Paradigm change for the Future," *Tokyo Symposium / Science and Culture: A Common Path for the Future*, Proceedings of a Symposium held 14 September 1995 (UNESCO/UNI): 113-124.; Kato, Ibid.: 85-98.; Anna Tsing, "Arts of Inclusion, Or, How to Love a Mushroom." *Australian Humanities Review*, no. 50 (2011): N_A.; Adachi, Isao. "Globally Pioneering Ecologist: Kumagusu Minakata (1867-1941): Thought of Diversity from Buddhist World. (Keeping up with the Times)(Biography)." *Japan Spotlight: Economy, Culture & History* 30, no. 1 (2011): 4.; Kanzaki Sachiyo. "Sustainable Development from Within: A Case Study of Kuzumaki, "The Town of Milk, Wine, and Clean Energy"." *The Japanese Political Economy* 40, no. 3-4 (2014): 63-95.; Casper Bruun Jensen, Miho Ishii, and Philip Swift, "Attuning to the webs of en: Ontography, Japanese spirit worlds, and the 'tact' of Minakata Kumagusu," *Hau: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6, no. 2 (2016): 149–172.; Honda, Ibid.; Victoria Lee, "The Microbial Production of Expertise in Meiji Japan," *Osiris* 33, no. 1 (2018): 171-90.; and Caroline A. Jones "Monads, Mycetes, and Mandalas: Inserting Jenna Sutela in Symbiotic Philosophies" in *Jenna Sutela: NO NO NSE NSE,* ed. Stefanie Hessler (Trondheim and London: Kunsthall Trondheim, Serpentine Gelleries and Koenig Books, 2020).

Yet, as a result, each author briefly examined his thoughts and actions in the light of their own sub-disciplinary research questions. Consequently, the understanding has remained fragmented.

For example, Julia A. Thomas briefly discussed his aforementioned activism in *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (2001).[77] She situated the instance as a parallel existence of "nature … consonant with particular popular cultures" that resisted the government-led "national political culture" of "nature" behind the State Shinto, which worshipped the imperial lineage of the Meiji emperor.[78] The author's interrogation of myriad notions and relations of "nature" has indeed part-inspired the investigative method of this thesis. However, given the subject matter of the monograph, the interconnection between his work in science, interests in cultures of belief-systems, and performed political actions remained submerged. Furthermore, more recently, G. Clinton Godart included a summary on his Buddhism-informed science and evolutionary theory in *Darwin, Dharma, and the Divine: Evolutionary Theory and Religion in Modern Japan* (2017).[79] While insightful, the scope of the text remained within a brief discussion of his work in relation to the specific subject matter of the publication exclusively. Hence, the author introduced the discussion on each of his key ideas without considering specific historical circumstances and subjective experiences through which each of his ideas emerged.

Other existing works included and are not limited to: Carmen Blacker's consideration of Kumagusu as a 'forgotten genius' in folklore studies;[80] Gregory Pflugfelder's elucidation

[77] Thomas, Ibid., 191-193.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Godart, Ibid., 92-103.
[80] Blacker, Ibid.

on the relevance of his work to the discourse of sexuality in Japanese history;[81] and Gerald Figal's argument of his evolutionary theory as part of wider phenomena of the ways in which fascination towards the mysterious coexisted with Japanese modernity.[82] All of these researches indeed illuminate how Kumagusu, knowingly and unknowingly, cohabited the same shared time and space with diverse cultural and intellectual imaginations within which other historical actors operated. What is more, how Figal addressed his thoughts as the author challenged the assumed divide and hierarchies between modern Japan and so-called 'non-scientific' imaginations of wondrous beings. However, again, none of the work clarified what interconnected Kumagusu's myriad thoughts, work, and actions, how and why. Even Figal's work did not extend to fundamentally overcome the normative logics that shaped the premise of what was 'scientific' in modern Japan.

The predicament of the investigative approach through sub-disciplinary, thematic frameworks arises from the fact that most of these intellectual demarcations derive from a modern system of thoughts. This system, as I mentioned earlier, conceptualised the world in binaries and hierarchies. What is more, the system rarely interconnected knowledge formation with individuals' lived experience. The site of knowledge-making revolved around ivory towers particularly in intellectual history of modern Japan. Disciplinary studies behind the walls of modern academic institutions developed their research and methodologies without returning to deconstruct and reconstruct the nature of this intellectual paradigm through which they originally emerged. Consequently, it became increasingly difficult to emancipate the ways in which one yields historical knowledge from the rigid constraints of the paradigm.

[81] Pflugfelder, Ibid.
[82] Figal, Ibid., pp.52-73.

The thesis reveals a singular narrative that embraced the multiplicities by articulating the emergence of queer nature as the unifying basis of truths in Kumagusu's life and work. In so doing, I demonstrate how the novel method of historical analysis may liberate historical ways of knowing from the normative intellectual paradigm. I do so while simultaneously acknowledging the potency of the dominant system of thoughts without treating the subject of enquiry as marginal or inauthentic. The normative system of thoughts only worked to induce greater potential in maturing queer nature's own system of thoughts.

The Microbial Paradigm

The thesis is organised chronologically to reveal the ways in which Kumagusu formulated principal theories for components of a modern intellectual paradigm that justified 'civilised' human actions. These were, namely: civilisational theory, metaphysics for modern science, and the social sciences. Each chapter unpacks his theories, and at times practice, behind them in relation to his evolving – or involving – 'personal history' during the periods of their emergence as he moved from Japan to America and America to London. Kumagusu believed: "Any human thoughts mostly emerge from the person's personal history." [83] The 'personal history' included loss of loved ones, encounters with new friends, and grappling with competing theoretical works, especially of Spencer that justified competitions, racism, social hierarchies, and wars: what Kumagusu deemed 'uncivilised' acts and worldviews. All of these strengthened his conviction about queer nature as the basis of truths.

[83] "すべての人間の思想所守は、そのひとの履歴に出づること多き/ Subete no ningen no shisōshoshū ha, sono hito no rireki ni dezuru koto ooki" Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 14.

Key theories introduced in earlier chapters work to illuminate those within later chapters. Each chapter, however, asserts its own argument that challenges established historical accounts of its concern in existing historiography. Chapter one does so by directly responding to the fundamental historiographical concerns I discussed here in the introduction. Chapter two and three speak to historiographies on their specific time periods and themes with which each of them interrogates. Therefore, each of these arguments collectively substantiates the larger contention of the thesis within the wider historiography I addressed. Hence, readers are free to read each chapter independently or cumulatively. Either way, all of the debates throughout the thesis unfold while asserting queer nature as Kumagusu's basis of truths that created the microbial paradigm.

The first chapter elucidates the ways in which Kumagusu came to discern queer nature as the basis of truths for what it truly meant to 'civilise' during his life in 1887-1892 America. It situates his enquiries into the nature of evolution – and civilisational process – in microbes within civilisational discourse of the late 1880s Meiji Japan. The state-centred intellectual history of modern Japan on this period assumed the discourse settled by then. America symbolised the 'civilised' West. Philosophers at the Imperial University adopted languages of the modern West to assert their own agenda within the Spencerian civilisational theory of the survival of the fittest. The Meiji government opened the Imperial Diet, establishing itself as the modern nation-state in 1890. Historians rarely imagined simultaneous emergence of another evolutionary nature informed by Sino-Asian-derived knowledge. Chapter one redefines what has been widely understood as the evolutionary nature and correlative civilisation theory during this period by elucidating the emergence of queer nature in Kumagusu's life and work. These were the fundamental concepts that justified the

state and the West's reasoning behind competitive and discriminatory human actions amid 'civilisational progress.' By uncovering Kumagusu's understandings of these words, the chapter initiates the thesis's contention for the microbial paradigm whose basis of truths was queer nature.

The second chapter interrogates Kumagusu's radical deconstruction and reconstruction of the metaphysics – a philosophical study on the nature of reality – behind modern intellectual paradigm in 1893-1894 London. He called the end result wisdom-knowledge: 'science' that enabled people and their societies to civilise in his sense of the word. Here, the nature of reality was queer. His theorisation on the nature of reality happened with his newly matured assertion on evolutionary *henkaron* (The Theory of Change). All microbes, people's *kokoro* (心: mind-heart), and societies evolved through various *changes* instead of teleological, one directional 'progress.' The chapter contextualises the theoretical assertions within international debates on reconcilability of religion and science at the the first Parliament of the World's Religions (1893) in Chicago. In particular, Japanese Buddhists' move to conform to evolutionary science of the West at this event initiated by a Christian organiser became the trigger for his contestation. Historiography on Buddhism and science in the intellectual history of modern Japan indeed revolved around the ways in which Japanese Buddhist monks and their scholars negotiated their faiths with Western modernity. The metaphysics behind the evolutionary science that justified the Western modernity inherited the Christian epistemology. In other words, it conceptualised the world in dichotomies and hierarchies. Historians scarcely returned to examine the first principles – basic propositions that cannot be deduced from any other propositions – that constituted such a metaphysics to reveal its historical implications against other forms of modern metaphysics. Chapter two illuminates a historical case where Buddhism did not conform to the Christian-derived

metaphysics of modern science. It delineates how Kumagusu took apart first principles behind this metaphysics and reconstituted them by merging Buddhist ontology with primary laws of modern science. The chapter therefore articulates the philosophical foundation on which disciplinary studies of sciences developed in the microbial paradigm.

Kumagusu contended the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge with a view to create a form of sociology that yielded social scientific 'facts' and ideas with queer nature as its basis of truths. Social sciences justified imperialism and industrialisation that *naturally* happened in the Western civilisational 'progress.' Yet, he was aware what modern disciplines asserted as the 'natural' human actions of social evolution was a cultural construct. He recognised that London, particularly the British Museum's renowned Reading Room, provided him with an open possibility to constitute the sciences that overturned the inauthenticity of such a nature. It is against this background that the third chapter reveals the ways in which Kumagusu created a form of social sciences rooted in what I call queer historicity in 1893-1900 London. The notion of historicity – the historical authenticity – asserts that ideas and what seem like facts have a historical origin. Queer historicity's historical time was defined by his evolutionary *henkaron* (The Theory of Change). Hence, the social sciences of queer historicity generated its 'facts' and ideas in a culturally centreless manner. The chapter thus overturns the established historiography that perceived the social sciences as inherently West-centric disciplines. It dares historians to re-evaluate how the cultural nature of evolutionary theory defined the narrative of history and, in turn, determined the ways in which social scientists generated their 'facts' and ideas. As a result, it challenges them to re-examine the existing boundaries among the modern disciplines that overshadowed their inseparable relationships. In so doing, the chapter elucidates how the microbial paradigm may have operated as a concrete set of disciplines, both in theory and practice.

The thesis thus contends the microbial paradigm based on queer nature: the basis of truths that emerged in Kumagusu's life and work in 1887-1900. This paradigm articulated its reasoning through Sino-Asian-derived knowledge abandoned by the Meiji state scholars. Reopening the intellectual history of modern Japan with queer nature as the method of historical analysis illuminates previously marginalised phenomena of the period in their authenticity, calling what we historians thought we knew into question.

Chapter One

Queering the Theory of Civilisation
1887-1892

Introduction



Image 1: Minakata Kumagusu prior to departing to America. He gifted the photo to his "intimate friend" Hayama Shigetarō. 1886. Courtesy of Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Tanabe, Japan.

> Today, it is exceptionally important for a Japanese to enter the West, step on their soil, examine their objects, investigate the inside facts of the human beings, acquire what one should acquire, and imitate what one should imitate. This is why I thought of going abroad to America…
>
> Kumagusu's departure speech.
> Wakayama, Japan.[84]

> American scholarship turned out to be terribly inferior to scholarship of my own country.
>
> Kumagusu, writing to his Wakayama friend Sugimura Kōtarō
> San Francisco, America[85]

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[84] "されば今日、日本人が欧米に入りて、その土をふみ、その物をみ、その人間の内情を探り、資るべきはすなわちとり、倣うべきはすなわち倣い、もってみずから勖むることはなはだ要用なりとす。これ余の米国行を思い立ち故にして… / Sareba kyō, nihonjin ga ōbei ni hairite, sono tsuchi wo fumi, sono mono wo mi, sono ningen no naijō wo saguri, shirubeki ha sunawachi tori, narau bekiha sutawachi narai, motte mizukara tsutomuru kotoha hanahada yōyō naritosu. Kore amari no beikoku iki wo omoitachi yuenishite ..." Minakata Kumagusu, "Meiji 19 nen 10 gatsu 23 nichi Shōju-tei Sōbetsukai Jōen zetsu Sōkō/The manuscript for Farewell Speech at Shōju-tei, 23 October 1886," in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 10/ The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Vol. 10* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973), 35.

[85] "米の学問のわが邦の学問に劣れるはなはだしきを知る。/ Bei no gakumon no wagakuni no gakumon ni otoreru hanahadashiki wo shiru." Minakata Kumagusu, "Sugimura Kōtarō ate [Letter to Sugimura Kōtarō, 1887]" in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 7/ The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Vol.7* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), 77.

In January 1887, the 20-year-old Minakata Kumagusu (南方熊楠: 1867-1941) arrived at the port of San Francisco, inspired to investigate the knowledge required to become 'civilised' in America (Image 1).[86] Japanese needed to survive in the inevitable changes of society in civilisational progress.[87] As he came face to face with the supposedly civilised nation America, however, he quickly realised what the University of Tokyo's Preparatory School taught him as the theory of civilisation prior to his arrival was completely unreasonable. He abandoned the Japanese Meiji state (1868-1912)'s civilisation theory that equated the ideas of being civilised with adaptation of modern Western knowledge. He turned his mind and heart back to his home region of Kii, Wakayama. The local knowledge of Sino-Asian origin, experience of love, and enthusiasm for microbes gradually illuminated his own theory of civilisation as he re-examined its nature, studying on his own in his own way. It marked the early emergence of what I argue as queer nature in his life and work in America until 1892.[88]

Queer nature came to serve as the basis of truth for his ideas of "a different kind of civilisation."[89] Kumagusu reasoned them based on queer nature through Buddhism primarily and Confucianism-derived *honzōgaku* (本草学), which can be considered Chinese natural studies, secondarily. These were the "scholarships of [his] own country" that proliferated in the previous Tokugawa period, yet persecuted by the Meiji state as 'detrimental, 'backwards,' and 'foolish.'[90] Unknown to historians, this theory of civilisation emerged during the very period the state achieved its triumph in establishing itself as the

[86] Minakata Kumagusu, "Meiji 19 nen 10 gatsu 23 nichi Shōju-tei Sōbetsukai Jōen zetsu Sōkō/The manuscript for Farewell Speech at Shōju-tei, 23 October 1886," in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 10/ The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Vol. 10* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973), 32-36.
[87] Ibid.
[88] On the detailed definition I give to the notion of "queer nature," see Introduction chapter.
[89] Kumagusu, *Nikki 1,* 282.
[90] Fukuzawa Yukichi, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation*. ed. David A. Dilworth, G. Cameron Hurst, and Inoki Takenori (Tōkyō: Keio University Press, 2008).

modern nation state inspired by the West. Chapter One thus challenges the historical logic of 'Westernisation as the civilisational progress' by interrogating the very cultural characteristics of the ways in which one came to understand nature, the fundamental basis of truths, in civilisational discourse.

The theory of civilisation depended on how one understood the nature of society comparable to the nature of the universe discovered by modern science.[91] Nature provided the indisputable basis of truths.[92] Therefore, the argumentation on what it meant to be civilised stood on knowledge of nature. Kumagusu's basis of truths was queer nature. Queer nature resembled his understanding of the microbe slime mould in its ontological and experiential qualities. The characteristics of queer nature as a result impacted his epistemic lens: the way in which he came to understand the world. The epistemic lens that arose from queer nature determined how and as what he understood as factual and truthful ideas of civilisation theory. Both the characteristics of queer nature and his civilisation theory appeared *natural* and therefore truthful in the light of the Sino-Asian derived scholarships.

As I extensively explicated the notion in the introduction chapter, historically diverse meanings of the term 'queer' illustrate both ontological and experiential qualities of queer nature. Ontologically, queer nature was non-binary, just like slime mould. He understood

[91] Albert M. Craig, "The Scottish Enlightenment and the Stages of Civilization" in *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 11-32.

[92] The notion of "nature" and its potency, in other words, inhabited a different paradigm to that of the post-WW II idea of "the environmental" nature we are accustomed to relating in speaking of "nature." On the intellectual history of "the environment," see Paul Warde, Libby Robin, and Sverker Sörlin, "Part 4: "The Environment" How Did the Idea Emerge?" in *The Future of Nature: Documents of Global Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 157-204.; On the summary on the notion of "nature" in the intellectual history of political thoughts in modern Japan, see Julia Adeney Thomas, "Introduction: Trouble with Nature" in *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 1-31.

that slime mould possessed qualities of both plants and animals and a transient ability to float between life and death.[93] Moreover, it appeared androgynous – its biological sex undefined by the male-female binary.[94] Experientially, queer nature attracted his attention and induced greater curiosity to enquire further, similarly to the ways in which slime mould fascinated him and facilitated broader intellectual enquiries. Queer nature induced 'attraction' and 'fondness' towards 'strange, odd,' and 'peculiar' that appeared 'startling' and 'amusing' and incited the desire 'to inquire' further – all ideas that the term 'queer' historically conveyed.[95] In Japanese, he described the above characteristics of knowing through queer nature in words such as *jōsei* (情性/affective human nature), *hōyu* (朋友/intimate friend), *myō* (妙/strange), *chin* (珍/curious, rare, and strange), and Platonic Love.

Queer nature thus defied the Meiji state's epistemic binaries and hierarchies inherited from the modern West in at least two ways. Firstly, the non-binary ontological qualities of queer nature traversed fundamental conceptions of the state's civilisation theory. In other words, it troubled the ideas of dichotomies and hierarchies shaped by notions such as the West and the rest, men and women, intelligence and emotion, and life and death. Secondly, the

[93] Minakata Kumagusu "Hayama Hanjirō ate (Letter to Hayama Hanjirō)" in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 7*, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), 91-100.; Minakata Kumagusu *Minakata Kumagusu Iwata Jun'ichi Ōfuku Shokan: Nanshoku Dangi*, ed. Hasegawa Kōzō and Tsukikawa Kazuo (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1991).

[94] In today's science, slime mould is known to exists in one to eight different types of biological sex each. More than 500 different kinds of slime mould have been found in Japan alone and more than 900 in the world. In other words, slime mould exists in at least 900 different kinds of biological sex. See: Mary R. Henney and H.R. Henney, *The Mating-type Systems of the Myxomycetes Physarum rigidum and P. flavicomum* Journal of General Microbiology, 10/01/1968, Vol.53(3), 321-332.; and Kawakami Shin'ichi, *Henkeikin Nyūmon/The Introduction to Slime Mould* (Tokyo: Bun'ichi Sōgō Shuppan, 2018), 12.

[95] Walter W. Skeat "A Queer Etymology" In., *Notes and Queries* vol. s8-VI, 139, (25 August 1894), 143–144.; and Edward Peacock "A Handful of Queer Etymologies" In., *Notes and Queries* vol. s8-VI, 145, (6 October 1894), 274–275.; "queer" in *A Glossary of Dialect & Archaic Words Used in the County of Gloucester*, ed. John Drummond Robertson (London: K. Paul Trench, Trübner & co., 1890), 122.; Walter William Skeat, "queer," in *English Dialect Dictionary IV,* ed. Joseph Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903), 684.; William Seward Burroughs, *Junkie,* (New York: Ace Books, 1953), 28.; John Sayles, *Los Gusanos* (New York: Nation Books, 1991), 233.

experiential qualities of knowing based on queer nature accordingly merged the knower's intellectual enquiries with their embodied emotion. It therefore encouraged self-initiated investigation rather than unquestioning reliance on state-provided knowledge within the assumed hierarchy and dichotomy of teachers and students. As a result, Kumagusu's theory of civilisation based on queer nature *queered* – or 'put out of order' as it once meant – the fundamental conceptions that defined the state's social Darwinian vision of the 'survival of the fittest' within international competition and the assumed racial hierarchy.[96]

While contending diverse ideas and opinions around civilisation theory and discussing his experience of living through the social change, Kumagusu did not leave behind a singular thesis of his own that provides a cohesive account. His interests were expansive, and his style of writing was discursive, comedic, and literary at once. However, analysing his historical records while asserting queer nature as his basis of truths unveils a civilisation theory that changes how one may understand its historical meaning within the intellectual history of modern Japan.

Here, civilising subjectivities simultaneously embraced independence and collectivity through cooperation beyond the imposed epistemic divides among race, sex, and nationalities. He indicated that people civilised through self-knowledge independent of unquestioning reliance on state-provided knowledge. Moreover, his self-knowledge elucidated affective desire for each other, inviting collectivity unbounded by the binary sex, life-and-death, and the normative racial taxonomy imposed on human beings. The concurrent existence of independence and collectivity was possible for individual

[96] E.g. George Moore, *A Mummer's Wife,* (London: Vizetelly & co., 1885: 1887), 190.; Edward W. Townsend, *Chimmie Fadden, Major Max & Other Stories*, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1895), 38.

subjectivities to embrace. It was so because people civilised through self-knowledge with moral agency without solely depending on state-provided knowledge. This theory of civilisation postulated its truths based on queer nature.

Historians have rarely decoupled what it meant to become civilised with the making of the modern nation-state inspired by the monolithic *seiyō* (the West). As a result, the historical meaning of civilisational discourse and the power of the political institution in shaping its nature remained almost unchallenged. The late 1880s Meiji Japan epitomises this understanding. The government celebrated the promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (1889) and opening of the Imperial Diet (1890). Civilisational discourse seemed to have settled when Japan established its governing system as the modern nation-state. With such an account overbearing the narrative of modern Japan, no scholars who examined Kumagusu's life and work interrogated whether his ideas were any different from the state at length, either. Yet, during this very period, Kumagusu discerned the state-led ideas to be uncivilised and arrived at his notions of what it means to be civilised based on queer nature.

Queer nature, however, did not emerge as a utopian knowledge against the modernity, segregated from 'civilising' movement. It did not because, while articulating his thoughts through Sino-Asian derived knowledge, he concurrently studied the intellectual sources of the state-led civilisation theory and contemplated on their wider implications. For example, he kept absorbing civilisation theories discussed in both Japanese and English.[97] He extensively self-taught European intellectual history while maintaining his interests in

[97] Kumagusu read various works on civilisation, evolution, origin of species, and social Darwinism by Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Thomas Henry Huxley, and John Lubbock to Japanese jurisprudence and sociology scholar Ariga Nagato. E.g. see Minakata Kumagusu "9 May 1888 - 7 October 1889" in *Minakata Kumagusu Nikki 1: 1885-1896* (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1987), 156-223.

Buddhism and Tokugawa-period knowledge of Japan.[98] The history of the queered civilisation theory thus emerges only by simultaneously engaging in this seemingly contradictory act. One is to distance the modern nation-state from the very ideas of what it meant to civilise; the other is to be aware of the logic behind the state-led theory of civilisation. Unveiling his civilisation theory based on queer nature radically challenges the viability of the state's power in shaping the nature of civilisational ideas.

After all, Kumagusu was a non-state scholar who chose to pursue *dokugaku* (独学/self-education), longing for "freedom and independence."[99] He did not travel to America as a diplomat or a state scholar in a governmental mission. He did not work in a laboratory space within rigid confinement of an academic discipline at an ivory tower institution. Instead, he worked outdoor in the field during the day, collecting specimens of microbes (Image 2), and examining them at his shared accommodation. He even travelled with a circus troupe in Cuba in search of rare microbes. He abandoned college education and consulted other independent scholars, books at libraries and booksellers, and references he received from his brother in Wakayama, Japan. He wrote poetry and literature on his lost male lover. With his student friends, he discussed love and desire in relation to science, religion and philosophy of Asia, Europe, and North America. He situated academic enquiries in life outside the ivory tower, where knowledge unfolded without the state's supervision.

[98] Examples of scholarships Kumagusu found significant can be observed from the list of European and Japanese scholars on his diary: "Aristotle, Secundus, Gesner, Leibniz, Carl von Linne, Darwin, Spencer, Arai, Takizawa." See Kumagusu *Nikki 1,* 239.

[99] Later in his life, Kumagusu recalled that: "I meditated on ideas of freedom and independence since the age of 16-17. I escaped schools finally and have been learning by myself until now." The original text in Japanese. See Minakata Kumagusu '19th February 1919', *Minakata Kumagusu Shokan Meiyū Mōri Seiga/Minakata Kumagusu Correspondence to Cómrade Meiyū Mōri* Nakase Hisaharu ed. (Tokyo: Nihon editor school shuppan, 1988), 71.



Image 2: Kumagusu's mycological drawing from his specimen book he created in America. Courtesy of Minakata Kumagusu Museum, Shirahama, Japan.

Bearing the above in mind, I will elucidate how Kumagusu arrived at queer nature and his ideas behind its theory of civilisation in the following steps. Firstly, I will expand on why he became propelled to imagine "a different kind of civilisation" as he set foot in the US, and why he regarded Buddhism and *honzōgaku* as the historical knowledge that validated the reasoning for the theory of civilisation in the present.[100] In doing so, I will explain how these sources of knowledge informed his epistemic lens – the way in which one came to perceive and know the world. It was this epistemic lens that enabled him to discern queer nature as the basis of truths. Secondly, I will illuminate how he envisaged his evolutionary theory based on queer nature and what the theory entailed. I will clarify how his theorisation of evolutionary theory affected his delineation of civilisation theory. While elucidating the

[100] "異種の開化/ Ishu no kaika" Minakata Kumagusu "Meiji 24 nen 9 gatsu 23 nichi [13 September 1891]" in *Minakata Kumagusu Nikki 1 1885-1896* (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō), 282.

above, I will put Kumagusu's position in dialogue with the state's view; he formulated his ideas by simultaneously being conscious of the state's discourse.

The Theory of Civilisation, Retrogressed

Upon Kumagusu's arrival to America, the civilisation theory signaled by the Western and the Meiji state slid from the vision of progress to retrogression -- in a similar manner to what Sho Konishi termed as "the history slide."[101] It slid because young Kumagusu's belief in the Meiji state's assertion of their West-inspired civilisation theory fell apart. He realised he could no longer rely on the knowledge provided by the West and the state without questioning them. What in fact informed him about civilisational changes as he lived through the early Meiji era throughout his formative years was historical, Sino-Asian derived 'Japanese' knowledge of the Kii region in Japan: Buddhism and *honzōgaku*. The difference in the fundamental intellectual tools for reasoning about the civilising state of human society became starkly apparent. Then, the sense of abjection shook the foundational basis of truths for the civilisation theory.

The local knowledge of the Kii dated back to not only the previous Tokugawa period in Japan but traced back to 'premodern' China and wider Asia. They illuminated a different understanding of the historical past that justified the experience of the present and vision for the future in civilising society. The present time became the moment in which he urgently needed to rectify the history. What was perceived as progressive became backwards. Suddenly, history became a matter of social change.

[101] Kumagusu, *Jippitsu 074*.; Konishi, "The History Slide" in *Anarchist Modernity*, 209-257.

The Meiji government rapidly adopted the modern knowledge of the 'civilised' West while using its normative logic to paint Japan's historical past. By doing so, the state could legitimise its vision of civilisational progress whose basis of truths grounded on the notion of nature they invented at the beginning of its era. The creation of *Kokka Shintō* (国家神道/the State Shinto) in 1868 defined the imperial lineage of Japan as the nature of the new Japanese nation-state. The invention emerged while, as Julia Thomas elucidated, the notion of nature became a contested one in the 1860s and 1870s.[102] The government, in the meantime, relentlessly disseminated the centralized myth of nature through the Great Promulgation Campaign until 1884.[103]

The following 'modernisation' programme towards the modern state of 'civilisation' inspired by that of *seiyō* (the West) served to support such a 'divine' Imperial nature of the modern Japanese state. Even the Japanese translation of the English term "nature" in 1880s conveyed the notion of *kōkin* (洪鈞): the political power of the nation-state as the creator of the universe.[104] The political ideology of nature envisioned to take charge of all other metaphysical beliefs.[105] Based on this ideological nature, the government could legitimise

[102] Julia Thomas "Chapter 3: Early Meiji's Contentious Natures" In., *Reconfiguring Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif. and London: University of California Press, 2001), 60-83.
[103] Hardacre, Helen. "Creating State Shinto: The Great Promulgation Campaign and the New Religions." *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 12, no. 1 (1986): 29-63.
[104] According to the 1881 English-Japanese *Tetsugaku jii* (Dictionary of Philosophy) Kumagusu studied in America, other translated meanings of "nature" included: 1) natural quality or instinct, and one's real intention, 2) natural quality or ability, 3) the logic of the heaven that governs everything, 4) to create and nurture the heaven and the earth and everything in between, and 5) the universe. See Inoue Tetsujirō *Tetsugaku jii* (Dictionary of Philosophy), (Tokyo: University of Tokyo 1881), 57.; The dictionary was republished as an expanded second and third edition in 1884 and 1812.; Kumagusu studied the dictionary, copying the entries to his notebook, on 24 -28 November 1888. See Kumagusu *Nikki 1,* 175.; and Kumagusu *Jippitsu 073* Minakata Kumagusu Archive.
[105] The ideology continued until December 1945, when the GHQ (General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) ordered its abolition and the separation of politics and religion. Jason Ananda Josephson *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 94-97.

its implementation of knowledge, including science, laws, and morality. The adopted knowledge of 'civilised' West operated to preserve *kokutai* (国体/literally, the 'nation-body' or national polity). The preservation process supposedly imparted its theory of civilisation to the nature of the people and their experiences.

Kumagusu had familiarised himself with the state's concern for becoming civilised and its theory inspired by the social Darwinian ideas of the survival of the fittest when he attended the Preparatory School for the University of Tokyo, the first state-funded university aimed to nurture future elite bureaucrats. He was seventeen when he entered the school with a bag of enthusiasm for what Tokyo had to offer, moving from the regional city of Wakayama in Kii. He became highly conscious of the concerns around the human society's civilisational changes in conjunction with natural history he eagerly pursued since his childhood.

The main learning ground for his lifelong passion for natural history and newly discovered interest in human's history of civilisational change was however situated outside the school. He accumulated every book of *honzōgaku* (Chinese natural study) he could find at bookstores in Tokyo. He regularly visited the Ueno Library, Ueno Museum, Education Museum, and the Zoo, newly opened as part of the Meiji government's adaptation of the Western public institutions. He skipped classes to take trips to archaeological sites to collect fragments of unearthed human remains and earthenware. Witnessing the early history of human society within the wider context of natural history fascinated him. The zoologist Edward S. Morse (1838-1925), known as the founding father of archaeology in Japan, taught the social Darwinian theory of civilisation at the University of Tokyo as one of the *oyatoi gaikokujin* (御雇外国人: hired foreigners) before Kumagusu's arrival to Tokyo. In 1877, Morse had discovered the Omori Shell Mound of the late Jōmon period (c. 14,000–300

BCE) Kumagusu eagerly visited in Tokyo. He bought and read the Japanese translation of Morse's lecture as soon as he relocated to the city.[106]

Human civilisation had to progress, and Japanese were no exception, so he thought, holding an axe in his hand.[107] America was the land in which he could learn the essence of civilisational progress the Meiji state taught. He returned to Wakayama, Kii, to recuperate after suspected epilepsy and dropping out of the Preparatory School. After spending an idyllic spring and summer with friends and lovers from the Wakayama Junior High School he attended before Tokyo, he convinced his father to support his desire to pursue the intellectual endeavour in America. The enthusiasm was only met by a great disappointment as he arrived at the 'civilised' nation. The historical understanding of civilisational progress human society built up since the Iron Age slid off and collapsed.

What exactly disillusioned Kumagusu about the US and forced him to turn to the historical knowledge of the Kii remains unclear. What he witnessed as the marker of the so-called 'civilised society' is, however, apparent. He reported to his best friend from the Wakayama Junior High, Kitahaba Takesaburō (喜多幅武三郎, 1868-1941): "There has been a battle between black people and white people; the American land troops came out. … Approximately a thousand black people, three hundred white people, one hundred militia, and five hundred armed forces."[108] The Western society whose scientific knowledge the

[106] Edward Morse trans. Ishikawa Chiyomatsu *Dōbutsu Shinkaron* (Tokyo: Tōsei Kamejirō, 1883) Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Wa 450.14.
[107] Kumagusu, "Farewell Speech," Ibid.
[108] "… 黒人と白人のあいだに合戦起こり、合衆国陸軍兵隊出張。… 黒人およそ千人、白人三百人、民兵百人、軍隊五百人…/Kokujin to hakujin no aidani gassen okori, gasshūkoku rikugun heitai shuccho. … Kokujin oyoso sennin, hakujin sanbyakunin, minhei hyakunin, guntai gohyakunin …" Minakata Kumagusu, "Letter to Kitahaba Takesaburō" in *Zenshū 7,* 90.

Meiji government rushed to adopt resulted in alarming racial conflict under its civilisation theory.

With a sense of conviction, Kumagusu wrote to one of his lovers Sugimura Kōtarō (杉村廣太郎, 1872-1945) whom he met in Kii: "I found out America is a new country that does not have everything. American scholarship turned out to be terribly inferior to scholarship of my own country." [109] Although he did not expand on what he meant by "American Scholarship," it is evident the kinds of American scholarship he rigorously studied behind the remark were those of modern science and evolutionary theories. This was the scholarship that inspired the theory of civilisation in the present historical moment in time. The "history" elucidated that the modern civilisation manifested "not progress, but retrogress," he jotted down in his notebook.[110] What taught him the "history" was the Sino-Asia derived knowledge of the Kii.

The Kii was a region in southwest Japan formerly ruled by the Kii domain during the previous Tokugawa period, within which Kumagusu's hometown, the castle city of Wakayama resided. 'Kii' was in fact a Tokugawa way of calling the region; when the Meiji government introduced the prefectural system of governance with centralised power in Tokyo, most of it became Wakayama Prefecture. The Meiji state regarded the Tokugawa

[109] "もとより米の新建国にして万事整わざるを知る。米の学問のわが邦の学問に劣れるはなはだしきを知る。/ Motoyori beino shinkenkoku nishite banji totonowazaru wo shiru. Bei no gakumon no wagakuni no gakumon ni otoreru ha hanahadashiki wo shiru." Minakata Kumagusu, "Sugimura Kōtarō ate [Letter to Sugimura Kōtarō, 1887]" in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 7/ The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Vol.7* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), 77.; Sugimura Kōtarō became a prominent journalist under the name of Sojinkan (楚人冠) for the Asahi Newspaper as an adult.

[110] The original text in English. Minakata Kumagusu, "Notebook, January – September 1889," *Jippitsu 074*, Minakata Kumagusu Archives.

knowledge and customs as 'evil' and 'backward.'[111] However, Tokugawa knowledge and customs continued to shape and celebrate local people's lived experience. Kumagusu absorbed them before he even began schooling, outside classrooms. He then combined the knowledge from the immediate past with the state-filtered knowledge of the 'civilised' West, particularly their modern natural history and science, introduced at the junior high school. He comparatively learnt them without reducing either to the state of inferiority.[112]

It was with this intellectual background that Kumagusu began to merge the historical knowledge of Kii with the modern concern for becoming civilised as he settled in the US. Kumagusu was a modern "*Kiikoku-jin*" (紀伊国人) -- his neologism for "the citizen of Kii."[113] It was the knowledge of "*Kiikoku"* (紀伊国/the nation of Kii) to which the American scholarship was "inferior." He grumbled: "Looking back at the current situation in Japan, the society is horribly confused. … Selling [social and governmental] ranks by the mean of intellectual investigation is equivalent to *Kan・Rei* (桓・霊)."[114] So, he argued, referring to the historical incident of the late 2nd century Japan where wars became out of control under the two emperors of *Kan* and *Rei,* leading to near-disintegration of the whole country. Kumagusu asserted Japanese had to learn about their own "country" before they "adore the West," mimicking the Westerners in order to claim that they, too, are

[111] "The Charter Oath (promulgated by the Meiji emperor on 6 April 1868)" in *Sources of Japanese Tradition,* ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, 2nd edition, vol.2 (New York: 2005), 672; Fukuzawa, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation*. Ibid.

[112] Kumagusu's Junior High School teacher Toriyama Hiraku (1837-1914) taught him natural science through such a style of teaching. See Minakata Kumagusu "Jūnishikō: Nezumi ni kansuru minzoku to shinnen [originally written in January 1924]" in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 1* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971 and 1975), 570.; and Iikura Shōhei *Minakata Kumagusu: Fukurō no gotoku mokuza* shioru (Tokyo: Minelva Shobō, 2006), 18-20.

[113] Inscribed on the inner cover of his 1886 (Meiji 19) diary. Minakata Kumagusu *Jippitsu 231* Minakata Kumagusu Archives.

[114] "顧みて日本現状を見れば、世の溷濁もまたはなはだし。… 庫究して位階を売るは為作一に桓・霊に同じ。/ Kaerimite nihon jōkyō wo mireba, yono kondaku mo mata hanahadashi. … Kokyū shite ikai wo uruha tame isakuichini Kan・Rei ni onaji." Kumagusu, "Letter to Sugimura," 76.

"civilised."[115] They could not “blame the foreigners” for the contempt they receive due to such an attitude.[116]

Kumagusu was certainly “Japanese” for he cared enough to be troubled by the civilisational vision of the country.[117] However, the “country” to which he maintained his patriotism was not the modern nation state “Japan” that issued him the order of conscription.[118] For him, the country “Japan” comprised historical knowledge entangled with over 250 years of controlled international trades and cultures. They were variously rooted in localities previously governed by approximately 300 clans under the Tokugawa Shogunate. Under the current state of the society, he asserted, “[t]here is no point for me to be a citizen of Japan.”[119] He then continued, writing to Sugimura: “But, there exist yourself: the beautiful and deeply affectionate bosom friend. I long for my dear hometown.”[120] He had to rectify the history to delineate the “different kind of civilisation.”[121]

History, Rectified

Kumagusu rectified the history that gave the meaning to the theory of civilisation in the present moment in time by interconnecting his lived experience of adolescence and

[115] Minakata Kumagusu “Dainihon (Meiji 22 nen 2 gatsu 1 tachi hakko, Daiichigō/Published on 1 February 1889, vol. 1)” in *Nikki 1*, 430.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.,
[118] The conscription order issued by the Meiji government on 21 January 1889, found between the pages of his 1889 American diary. *Jippitsu 234* Minakata Kumagusu Archives.
[119] “予はのち日本の民たる意なし。/ Yoha nochi nihon no tami taru inashi.” Kumagusu, “Letter to Sugimura,” 76.
[120] “しかれども、美にしてかつ情厚き君のごとき親友の存するあるをもってすれば、あに一念の故土に眷々たるものなからんや。/ Shikare domo, binishite katsu jōatsuki kimino gotoki shinyū no sonsuru aruwo motte sureba, ani ichinen no pin’in ni kenken tarumono nakaranya.” Ibid.
[121] Kumagusu, *Nikki 1*, 282.

historical knowledge of Kii with contemporary concern for becoming civilised. He did so while simultaneously analysing these experience and knowledge in relationship to knowledge of modern Western natural science and philosophy. The formation of his ideas behind the civilisation theory thus happened as he sought the knowledge of the past that remained in the complexity of the present. This dynamic existed in contrast to the Meiji state's vision of civilisational advancement through the condemnation of the past and an appeal to a conclusive future.

What marked his adolescence were intimate – and often sexual – friendships with other male youth and his attraction towards curious existences, such as microbes. Shingon Buddhism and *honzōgaku*, the Kii region's cultural knowledge of the universe and the world he familiarised himself since childhood, most *naturally* made sense of them. The wondrous characteristics of Kumagusu's intellectual curiosity simultaneously appeared in his writing in the manners in which he adopted humorous, and often romantic, narrative forms of late Tokugawa arts of poetry, drama, and comedy he enjoyed since childhood. Neither the ontology of Buddhism nor that of *honzōgaku* aligned with the hierarchical and dichotomised ontology of the Western science and philosophy adopted by the Meiji regime. Comedy and romance were certainly not the preferred mode of intellectual dissemination for the government.

The Meiji government persecuted Buddhism from its outset with the nation-wide policy *haibutsu kishaku* (廃仏棄釈).[122] It destroyed Buddhist temples that merged with Shintō (神仏習合/*shinbutsu shūgō*) in the Kumano mountains of the Kii region almost entirely.[123]

[122] See Ketelaar *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan* Ibid.
[123] The movement declined around 1871 when the government introduced a new class system among Shintō shrines in the aftermath of *haibutsu kishaku*.

Kumagusu's parents however continued to believe in Shingon Buddhism whose relatively unaffected head temple resided on Mt Kōya, overlooking his home city of Wakayama.[124] This background familiarised him with cultures of Shingon before 1889 when the imperial sovereign state allowed other metaphysical beliefs to operate under its nature officially.[125] Shingon Buddhism embraced fluid sexuality among men and boys.[126] Mt Kōya was known for *nanshoku* (男色/'male-colour'): romantic and sexual relationships among them. [127] The previous Tokugawa period regarded the monastic culture to be in no way unnatural. It only became 'uncivilised' behaviour in the Meiji state's civilisational agenda – slowly, yet surely.[128] Termed as 'homosexuality' in English, it was certainly illegal in the Judeo-Christian derived culture in America. Nevertheless, *nanshoku* or similar "intimate friendships" among male youth remained *natural* at least during his adolescence in Wakayama.[129] The relationship inspired emotional bonds and compassion as well as intellectual rigor and curiosity for them to navigate the civilising process of the new era.

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[124] Unlike anywhere else, Shingon's head temple at Mt Kōya was relatively unaffected by *haibutsu kishaku.*
[125] The Meiji government acknowledged "The freedom of religion" in the Meiji Constitution, issued in February 1889. Concurrently, it gave the State Shintō what Josephson terms as "Shinto secular," i.e. "the hybrid Shinto-scientific ideology that undergirded the Meiji state and was ultimately distinguished from the category religion." See Josephson "Chapter Five: Formations of the Shinto Secular" in *The Invention of Religion in Japan*, 132-163.
[126] Kumagusu witnessed the culture already when he was fifteen during his visit to Mt Kōya with his family in 1882, as recalled in his correspondence with Japanese *nanshoku* scholar Iwata Jun'ichi exchanged between 1931-1941. Minakata Kumagusu and Iwata Jun'ichi *Minakata Kumagusu Nanshoku Dangi,* ed. Hasegawa Kōzō and Tsukikawa Kazuo, (Tokyo: Yahata Shobō, 1991).; On *nanshoku* and Buddhism, see Gregory Pflugfelder "Authorising Pleasure: male-male Sexuality in Edo-period popular discourse" *in Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950* (Berkeley & London: University of California Press), 23-94.
[127] The two major landmarks of ancient beliefs that accepted such a practice resided in the area; the head temple of Kumagusu's family belief Shingon Buddhism at the Mt Kōya in the North West and the Nachi shrine of *Kumano-Shinko* (The belief of Kumano) in the south. Pflugfelder notes that the Tokugawa period proverb "Kōya rokujū Nachi hachijū (Kōya sixty Nachi eighty)" referred to the lasting age of the monks' sexual activity with a younger male. Pflugfelder *Cartographies of Desire,* 33.
[128] On the male-male romantic sexuality of Meiji era, see Pflugfelder "The Forbidden Chrysanthemum-Male-Male Sexuality in Meiji Legal Discourse" in *Cartographies of Desire,* 146-192.; and Tanaka, Aiko *Otoko-tachi/Onna-tachi no Ren'ai: Kindai Nihon no 'Jiko' to Gender* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2019).
[129] Karasawa Taisuke "Minakata Kumagusu to Hayama Kyōdai: Intimate na Kankei" in *Minakata Kumagusu no Mita Yume: Passage ni Tatsu Mono,* (Tokyo: Bensei Publishing, 2014).; Hasegawa Kōzō and Tsukikawa Kazuo ed. *Minakata Kumagusu Danshoku Dangi* (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1991).; Inagaki Taruho *Minakata Kumagusu Chigo Dangi* (Tokyo: Kawade Shoko, 1992).

Works of *honzōgaku* were at the heart of the intellectual bonding Kuamgusu harnessed with his male lovers during his adolescence. As defined by Federico Marcon, *honzōgaku* was "a scholarly field that encompassed subjects ranging from *materia medica* and agronomy to natural history" that originates in China with a close tie to Confucianism.[130] *Honzōgaku* was popularly practised in the Tokugawa period under the Shogunate that exercised Neo-Confucianism. In Tokugawa Japan, he explains, "[a] variety of disciplines of nature studies more or less directly associated with *honzōgaku.*"[131] The ruling Kii clan notably endorsed the proliferation of the study in the Kii region.[132] As a result, *honzōgaku* publications continued to circulate among Kumagusu's local shops and residents even after the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate.[133] The illustrated encyclopaedic works of *honzōgaku* shaped Kumagusu's foundational knowledge since his early childhood. During his junior high school at leisure, he hand-copied every single one of the 105 volumes of *Wakan Sansai Zue*, one of the representative works of *honzōgaku* by the Tokugawa physician Terashima Ryōan (寺島良安: 1650-unknown) (Images 3).

[130] Federico Marcon *The Knowledge of Nature and the Nature of Knowledge in Early Modern Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 5.; On the study of *honzō* in China, see Carla Suzan Nappi, *The Monkey and the Inkpot: Natural History and Its Transformations in Early Modern China*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009).
[131] Ibid.
[132] Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan ed., *Edo-jidai no Dōbutsu Zukan: Kishū no Honzōgaku wo Chūshin ni* (Wakayama: Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, 1994)
[133] *Wako 620.17* and *Jippitsu 008-011*, Minakata Kumagusu Archives; Tokyo Minakata Kumagusu Honjino kai ed. "'Wakan sansei zue' he no anaba jidai kakiire" in *Kumagusu Studies* Vol.8., 142-145.



Image 3: Honzōgaku publication Wakan Sansai Zue and Honzō Mokkō, hand copied by Kumagusu. Circa 1881.
Courtesy of Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Tanabe, Japan.

Kumagusu did not start publicly publishing scholarly works with references to *honzōgaku* until his first articles for the British journal *Nature* in 1893, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. At this moment in America however, what mattered to him seems the emotional experience of intellectual enquiry he embraced through *honzōgaku* than its detailed contents. This intellectual relationship to *honzōgaku* were distinct from both Tokugawa and Meiji scholars. According to Marcon, while the *honzōgaku* developed on Confucian-based metaphysical worldview in China, Japanese scholars of the Tokugawa period increasingly

ignored its metaphysical context and focused on the materiality of natural studies subjects they examined.[134] Japanese institutional scholars of the Meiji period adopted the languages of *honzōgaku* to discuss the science of the 'civilised' West and moved away from Confucianism.[135] Kumagusu's intellectual tie to *honzōgaku* in the meantime unravelled in his ontological memory of Hayama Shigetarō (羽山繁太郎: 1868-1888), with whom he shared the most intensive intimacy and longed to be reunited.

A short reflective writing Kumagusu inscribed on the latest copies of *Wakan Sansai Zue* (1884-1888) he received from his brother in Wakayama illuminates this. After narrating his relationship to the publication since the childhood, he recollected how Shigetarō and he discussed the significance of the *honzō* scholarship.[136] They, together, cultivated their intellectual curiosity through *Wakan sansaiue* while suffering from each of their physical illnesses. Shigetarō however became someone who would never return to this world, as he passed away from illness after Kumagusu left for America. He thus concluded:

> What tortures me and delights me are both this book. What induced my tears when I think of printed writing is also this book. Through this book, I cure the incurable illness [of mine] and receive immense wisdom-knowledge. With this book, in this moment, I am able to retain the traces of the times when my mind and heart filled with pleasure with my most intimate friend.[137]

[134] Marcon Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Minakata Kumagusu. Tokyo Minakata Kumagusu Honji no Kai ed. "Minakata Kumagusu – Wakan Sansai Zue he no Ann Arbour Jidai Kakiire" in *Minakata Kumagusu Kenkyu 8* (2006), 144.
[137] "吾を苦しめものも吾をうれしめしものも此書なり。吾をしていんじを思ふて涙おとさしむるも亦是 [破損] なり。吾はこれによりて不治の病をも獲つ、そこばくの智識を受たるなり。又は莫逆の友えこれよりて心たのしみときのおもかげをも今にとどめ得たるなり。" Ibid, 144-145.

To disclose his thoughts informed by these historical knowledges of Kii, Kumagusu emulated another branch of knowledge the Meiji state regarded insignificant. These were the arts of poetry, drama, and comedy of the late Tokugawa to Meiji period. Laughter and romantic dramas became prominent methods of opening up intellectual discourse in his writing as a young adult.

Three forms of the arts most notably appeared in Kumagusu's writing in the US: *dodoitsu* (都都逸), *gesaku* (戯作), and at times, *rakugo* (落語). *Dodoitsu* is a type of popular songs – most typically on love – sung with shamisen accompaniment. *Gesaku* is a style of light novel written in a manner of jest. *Rakugo* is a style of narrative-based comedy with a punch line, typically performed at its own theatre. Narrating his critical thoughts using these arts, he contended the act of "pretending to fool around" was precisely his tactic to disseminate his ideas most effectively.[138] The potency of seemingly 'foolish' knowledge resided in its ability to attract people's attention and draw them in. In so doing, he celebrated "*myō"* (strange) and "*chin"* (curious, rare, and strange) qualities of the world with an avid curiosity and a sense of conviction.

The history rectified through these knowledges of Kii shaped Kumagusu's epistemic lens to discern the basis of truths for his theory of civilisation. Its impact is evident in how he illustrated himself:

[138] The translation of the original text in Japanese by the author. Kumagusu *Chinji Hyōron,* 9-10.

> A big scholar, specially devoted his studies to botano-physiology, botano-morphology, botano-taxonomy, and ætiology, and mastering on Buddhistic, Confucian, and historic-Japanese literatures.[139]

His specialties as a scholar were, furthermore, informed by his personal identification as:

> Formerly, a "sanga" in Jizōin, Kōya; Presently … The "king of love."[140]

In his imagined persona, Kumagusu used to be one of the monks (sanga) who lived under the Buddhist precepts at the Shingon temple in the Mt Kōya. He then became the ruler of an independent state that governed love. Thus, he embodied the rectified knowledge of history. The knowledge of history as a result shaped the epistemic lens that enabled him to discern queer nature as the basis of truths for the civilisation theory.

Queering the Cultural Nature of Natural Science

Nature was never natural in the 1880s. Inescapably cultural characteristics of the ways in which humans yield their knowledge shaped the epistemology of the knower who determined the nature. Such was the case even in the late 19th century natural science's seemingly 'objective' knowledge of universal nature that informed the nature of society, the basis of truths in civilisation theory.[141] The naturalist Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory and philosopher Herbert Spencer's civilisation theory both emerged through Christian

[139] The original text in English, all written in capital. Minakata Kumagusu "Chinji Hyōron Dainigō" (Originally published in 1889) in *Minakata Kumagusu Chinji Hyōron,* ed. Hasegawa Kōzō and Takeuchi Yoshinobu, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995), 75-76.
[140] Ibid.,
[141] On the history of "objective" knowledge in the late 19th-century European science, see Lorraine Daston "Objectivity and the Escape from Perspective." *Social Studies of Science* 22, no. 4 (1992): 597-618.

worldview of human domination over the nonhuman lives. The Meiji state, in the meantime, consciously diminished the Christian influence in its civilisation theory. In doing so, the government introduced Darwin's evolutionary theory as a Spencerian social theory suited to its political ideology of *Kokka Shintō* (State Shinto) that worshipped the imperial lineage of the Meiji emperor. Kumagusu was aware of these cultural characteristics of 'objective' knowledge embedded within the discourse. It was within this context that he let the historical knowledge of Kii influence his scientific and philosophical enquiries to discern the nature of the universe and societies.[142] He did so while engaging with Darwinian evolutionary theory and Spencerian civilisational theory that moulded the heart of civilisation theories in the 1880s America and Japan.

The cultural nature endorsed by the American and Japanese states illuminated competitions and hierarchy as the innate characteristics of civilising society. Only the strongest and fittest individuals, race, and nation *naturally* survived in the civilising process and actions, as Spencer claimed in his argument of the "survival of the fittest."[143] Darwin's evolutionary theory disclosed in his seminal work *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859) verified the claim in this theory.[144] Both Darwin and Spencer's epistemology inhabited the intellectual paradigm of the modern Western science that adopted the dichotomised and hierarchical worldview of Christianity.[145]

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[142] On the possibility of considering non-European historical knowledge as "civilisational knowledge" pertinent to modern science, see Susantha Goonatilake *Toward a Global Science: Mining Civilizational Knowledge* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999).
[143] Herbert Spencer *S Ayatem of Synthetic Philosophy. Vol. II and III. The Principles of Biology* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1863: 1888). *Yō 130.17* and *Yō 130.80,* Minakata Kumagusu Archives.
[144] Charles Darwin *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (1859).; and Spencer Ibid.
[145] Darwin Ibid; Herbert Spencer *A System of Synthetic Philosophy. Vol I. First Principles* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1860: 1888). *Yō 130.16,* Minakata Kumagusu Archives.

Kumagusu was aware the modern science of the 'civilised' West historically carried the Christian epistemology. He paid attention to the English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626)'s work and his 1620 treatise *Novum Organum.* The publication famously argued the legitimacy of the seventeenth century European Scientific Revolution in the light of Theology. Bacon asserted the essential value of science existed in its ability to increase "his power over Nature."[146] He argued, through science and labours, "the created world will at last be subjected to the providing bread to mankind, that is, to the uses of human life."[147] This culture of science assumed innate human supremacy over the nonhumans on the other earth. Similarly, it conceptualised the world in dichotomies and hierarchies.

The modern natural science and philosophy of the Meiji state driven by scholars at the Imperial University, presently known as the University of Tokyo, echoed the normative notions behind the Christian-derived scientific paradigm. The intellectual logic they constructed while adopting this paradigm was the theory of civilisation whose nature resided with the Japanese emperor. The president of the university Katō Hiroyuki (加藤弘之, 1836-1916) was the central figure in the state sciences that changed the epistemic origin and meaning of the Darwinian theory of evolution according to the government's agenda and introduced it as a social theory.[148] A proponent of social Darwinism inspired by Spencer, he imbued the Japanese translation of 'evolution' with the teleological civilisational vision in

[146] Francis Bacon *Instauratio Magna, pars secunda: Novum Organum* (London, 1620), book II, aphorism LII, 359.
[147] Ibid., 360; Also see Charles Webster *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626-1660. 2nd ed. Studies in the History of Medicine* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 1975: 2002).
[148] See G. Clinton Godart *Darwin, Dharma, and the Divine: Evolutionary Theory and Religion in Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017).

1881: *shinka* (進化), literally, 'the progress.'[149] He concurrently provoked the usage of the pre-Meiji Japanese term *shizen* (自然) as an 'objectifiable' nature free of 'religious' thoughts, i.e. Christianity, in 1882.[150]

The American zoologist-archaeologist Edward S. Morse I mentioned earlier also played a pivotal role at the Imperial University. Despising Christian opposition to evolutionary theory, he stripped off the "theological prejudice" when he delivered a public lecture on the Darwinian theory of evolution in 1877.[151] "What Morse lectured saved us from Christian superstitions," his student Ishikawa Chiyomatsu (石川千代松, 1860-1935) remarked.[152] Ishikawa, soon-to-be a prominent evolutionary biologist, prepared the lecture for publication in 1883; he employed Katō's notion of evolutionary theory as *shinkaron* i.e. "the progress theory" in its title.[153] This translated publication was the work Kumagusu read as soon as he

[149] See the entry on "Shinkaron" in Inoue, Ibid., 42.; Richard M. Reitan "The Epistemology of Rinrigaku" In., *Making a Moral Society Ethics and the State in Meiji Japan* (2009), 45-46.; On Katō and the history of his political ideology in relationship to theories of nature, Julia Thomas "Kaō Hiroyuki: Turning Nature into Time" in *Reconfiguring Modernity*, 84-110.; On the wider history of translation in Japan and beyond, see Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing ed., *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon* (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 2009).; Douglas Howland, *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-century Japan,* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).; Howland, "The Predicament Of Ideas In Culture: Translation And Historiography." History and Theory 42, no. 1 (2003): 45-60.; Sho Konishi, "Translation and Conversion Beyond Western Modernity: Tolstoian Religion in Meiji Japan" *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology and Transformations of Modernity*, ed., Dennis C. Washburn and A. Kevin Reinhart. (Leiden: Brill, 2007).; Indra Levy ed., *Translation in Modern Japan* (London: Routledge, 2010).; Lydia He Liu, *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulation,* (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press, 1999).; and Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On "Japan" and Cultural Nationalism*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

[150] As elucidated by Thomas, Katō argued that bright political leaders needed to study and comprehend such "secular, objectifiable nature" as opposed to *tempu,* the "absurd" notion that "nature" provided an indisputable moral political guidance. Thomas Ibid., 161.; Katō Hiroyuki *Jinken Shinsetsu* (The New Theory on Human Rights) (Tokyo: Taniyamarō, 1882).; On the notion of "religion" as Christianity and the history of Christianity in Meiji Japan, see Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* Ibid.; Emily Anderson, *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).; and Irwin Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

[151] Godart Ibid., 28.; Godart clarified that, despite the popular belief, Morse was not the first to discuss evolutionary theory in Japan. He did not "introduce" it to the passively portrayed Japan. see ibid., 17-21.

[152] Ibid., 17; Ishikawa Chiyomatsu, *Ishikawa Chiyomatsu Zenshū 4* (Tokyo: Kyōbunsha, 1935-1936), 112.

[153] Edward Morse trans. Ishikawa Chiyomatsu *Dōbutsu Shinkaron* (Tokyo: Tōsei Kamejirō, 1883).; Ishikawa studied evolutionary biology in Germany and returned to Tokyo in 1889. Godart Ibid., 73.

moved to Tokyo when he planned to attend the university's Preparatory School, before he ended up in the US. The evolutionary theory as the theory of progress – instead of change as Darwin intended it to be – validated the Spencerian vision of the civilising process. Such an epistemic view was in tune with the supposedly divine imperial nature of the Meiji Japan – at least until the beginning of the 1890s.[154]

As the West-inspired civilisation theory disillusioned Kumagusu, he criticised "the scientists of modernist school" who argued – and validated – the civilising process that involved such a "progress."[155] It manifested what he would regard as "retrogress."[156] The social, racial, and international hierarchies and the state's control over people's freedom all implied civilisational retrogression. The epistemology of *daijō* (mahāyāna) Buddhism to which Shingon belonged asserted the equality of all humans.[157] The worldview endorsed his belief in people's freedom and equality without oppression. He asserted: "there is nothing between the heaven and the earth that desires restraints; nothing in east, west, north, south, the heaven, and the earth that favours inequality. … Freedom and equality are the biggest happiness in the world."[158] Such was also the case for "animals and plants."[159] Kumagusu's Buddhism-

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On the dynamic between Christianity, the nature of the state, and Darwinian evolutionary theory, see Godart "Religious Transmission of Evolutionary Theory" in ibid., 17-42.

[154] Thomas Ibid., 160-164.; Also see Godart's discussion on "the demise of Spencerism" in Chapter Two: Evolution, Individuals, and the *Kokutai*" in Godart, Ibid., 66-68.; and Godart "Spencerism in Japan: Boom and Bust of A Theory (1868-1911)" *Global Spencerism: The Communication and Appropriation of a British Evolutionist,* Bernart Lightman ed., (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 56-77.

[155] Kumagusu wrote the original text in English. Kumagusu, *Jippitsu 074.*

[156] The original text in English. Ibid.

[157] Nevertheless, Buddhism has been criticised for having a misogynistic character. On the discussion of women's place in Buddhism, see Pandey, Rajyashree *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair: Body, Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016).

[158] "天地ノ間何物カ束縛ヲ欲スルモノアランヤ。六合ノ間何物カ不平等ヲ好ムモノアランヤ。… 最大幸福ナル自由平等/ Tenchino aida nanimonoka sokubakuwo hossurumono aranya. Rikugō no aida nanimono ka fukōhei wo konomumono aranya. … saidai no kōfuku naru jiyūbyōdō." Kumagusu "Dainihon," 431.

[159] "禽獣草木尚然リ / Kinjū kusaki nao shikari" Ibid.

influenced ontological belief troubled the hierarchical epistemic distinctions in the normative nature asserted by "the scientists of the modernist school."[160]

Kumagusu was certainly not alone in combining Buddhism with science in the late 1880s to the early 1890s. Buddhism was at the brink of its reinvention as a compatible thought to the 'scientific objectification' of nature in 1880s Japan, as elucidated by Godart.[161] The combination of the state's persecution and the rise of the Western science had put Buddhism under threat. Even Christianity was rapidly gaining church membership.[162] Competing with one another, Buddhism and Christianity strived to argue their compatibility with science of the 'civilised' West.[163] Inoue Enryō (1858-1919) was the most prominent figure who advocated the integration of Buddhism with philosophy and Western science. His influential 1887 publication *Bukkyō katsuron joron* (仏教活論序論/*Introduction to the Vital Theory of Buddhism*) argued how Buddhism was compatible with Spencerian theory.[164]

Kumagusu was, however, in America, away from the movement. His concern with Buddhism rested in the historical discussion of religions in the Anglophone world and its relationship to the method of finding the 'truth.'[165] He showed no interest in its social and political status in Japan. Moreover, while learning from Spencer, he contemplated his own theory of evolution, unlike Enryō. As a result, he argued against Spencer – again, unlike Enryō.[166] He did so before Enryō and other Buddhist thinkers, such as Kiyozawa Manshi

[160] Kumagusu, *Jippitsu 074.*
[161] Godart "Chapter Three: The Dharma after Darwin: Meiji Buddhism and the Embrace of Evolution" in Ibid., 70-118.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.; Inoue Enryō *Bukkyō katsuron joron* (Tokyo: Tetugaku Shoin 1887).
[165] Kumagusu *Chinji* ibid.; and Kumagusu "Meiji 23 nen 2 gatsu 18 nichi (18 February 1890)" *Nikki 1*, 243.
[166] Kumagusu "Nakamatsu Morio ate" (Estimated date: early August 1892) *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 7* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), 126.

(清沢満之, 1863-1903) and Miyake Setsurei (三宅雪嶺, 1860-1945), began to argue the decline of 'progressive' evolution.[167] The decisive difference between the contemporaneous Buddhist thinkers and Kumagusu however existed in their contrasting epistemology. Kumagusu enquired the nature of civilisation theory through a Buddhism-influenced epistemic lens. He did not discuss Buddhism in the light of the normative civilisational theory like the others.

As a result, Kumagusu discerned the nature, the basis of truths, as queer when he observed microbes and what he referred to as *jōsei* (情性: affective human nature) in found in his mind and heart: strange and wondrous sources of knowledge that attracted his attention. He discerned queer nature by perceiving the former in relation to – and possibly as the reflection of – the latter.[168] In other words, his Buddhist cultural characteristics of natural science perceived objects-and-subjects and intelligence-and-emotion in symbiosis, instead of dichotomy as the Western and Meiji state science did.[169]

To begin with, he classified the said realms of inquiries into *bukkai* (物界) and *shinkai* (心界).[170] *Bukkai* signified the world of matter, whereas *shinkai* referred to the world of *kokoro* (心). The notion of *kokoro* (心) denoted an organ that took charge of thoughts, i.e. the mind, as well as emotion, i.e. the heart. In *shinkai* (the world of mind-heart), therefore,

[167] On the discussion of "Progress and Retrogression" by Enryō and Mansetsu, see Godart ibid, 84-87.
[168] During the late years of his life, Kumagusu repeatedly argued how slime mould and humans are the same in relation to Buddhist epistemology. E.g. Kumagusu "Iwata Jun'ichi ate, Shōwa 6 nen 8 gatsu 20 nichi (20 August 1931)", *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 9* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973), 30.
[169] The contrast with the Meiji state's science is visible in how Katō and his disciple Inoue Tetsujirō envisaged to establish new philosophical terms in their making of Japanese-English *Tetsugaku Jii* (哲学字彙/Dictionary of Philosophy), published 1881. The dictionary Kumagusu rigorously studied conceptualised the world in dichotomy through terms such as *gaikai* (外界/external world) and *naikai* (内界/internal world) – abandoning the notions of *bukkai* (world of matter) and *shinkai* (world of mind-heart) in their 1884 edition. See Inoue, *Tetsugakujii,* Ibid. and Inoue *Tetsugakujii* (Tokyo: Tōyōkan, 1884), 44 and 62.
[170] Kumagusu *Chinji,* 105.

an intellectual recognition happened hand in hand with an emotional experience.[171] Microbes belonged to the world of *matter*, and affective human nature belonged to the world of *mind-heart*. He sought the help of Buddhist scriptures to enquire into the nature of the world of *mind-heart*.[172] His lived experience processed through the world of *mind-heart* influenced how he made sense of the world of matter.[173] *Daijō* (mahāyāna) Buddhism to which the Shingon sect belonged taught that any phenomena, the subject of epistemic recognition, emerged from each individual's *mind-heart*.[174]

Kumagusu's use of philosophical and scientific language use did not follow normative terms that Katō and his disciple Inoue Tetsujirō envisaged to establish, either. Inoue, soon to become the first Japanese philosophy professor at the Imperial University, closely worked with Katō to edit a Japanese-English *Tetsugaku Jii* (哲学字彙/Dictionary of Philosophy), published 1881.[175] Inoue was the scholar who legitimised the English term 'nature' to include the notion of *kōkin*, the political power of the nation-state as the creator of the universe, in Japanese.[176] The dictionary became the significant reference point for modern Japanese scholars. Kumagusu, too, rigorously studied the dictionary while he was in the US.[177] He was hence aware of their work and yet chose not to adopt their philosophical language when conveying his thoughts in writing.[178]

[171] Such an epistemology is particularly potent today. See the relevance of emotion behind reasons in Lynn Hunt's discussion on the future direction of global intellectual history writing: Lynn Hunt, "Rethinking Society and the Self" in *Writing History in the Global Era* (New York & London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2014), 78-118.
[172] Kumagusu *Chinji* Ibid.
[173] Kumagusu "Hayama Hanjirō ate" *Zenshū 7,* 91-100.
[174] The notion has been known as *shingai mubeppo* (心外無別法) *Kongō hannyakyō,* Ibid.
[175] Inoue, *Tetsugakujii,* Ibid.
[176] Ibid.,
[177] Kumagusu notebook
[178] Kumagusu *Chinji,* Ibid.

For example, Inoue included the terms *bukkai* (the world of matter) and *shinkai* (the world of mind-heart) in the dictionary. However, when translating the terms, he listed them as synonyms to *gaikai* (外界/external world) and *naikai* (内界/internal world) and simply defined them as "External world" and "Internal world" in English.[179] In the 1884 edition, the notions of *bukkai* (the world of matter) and *shinkai* (the world of mind-heart) disappeared from the dictionary.[180] Unlike Kumagusu's language use, Inoue's definition drew a clear line between them as if their epistemologies did not operate in the same shared sphere of nature. The notions of "external world" and "internal world" implied the existence of human as the definite substance of a body. It possessed "inside" and "outside" as an ontological fact. Kumagusu's natural science did not inhabit this paradigm. Instead, his language of science adopted the symbiotic epistemology of Buddhism.

Kumagusu collected and observed microbes dwelling in the fields to enquire into the nature of the world of matter through this epistemic lens.[181] Although historical sources on his studies of microbes before America are scarce, his fascination towards microbes started prior to the relocation.[182] He was in fact already fascinated by microbes when he was at primary school. He used to stuff his *bento* lunchbox with algae if he were to find them on his way to school, quickly eating up the lunch content in order to use the container as a specimen carrier.[183] He vowed to collect 7,000 fungi of Japan as a teenager.[184] However, it was in America he embarked on a serious research into microbiology.

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[179] Ibid.,
[180] Inoue *Tetsugakujii* (Tokyo: Tōyōkan, 1884), 44 and 62.
[181] Kumagusu *Chinji,* Ibid.
[182] Minakata Fumie *Chichi Minakata Kumagusu wo Kataru/On My Father Minakata Kumagusu* (Tokyo: Nihon Editor School Shuppan, 1981), 55.
[183] Fumie *On My Father,* 55.
[184] Minakata Kumagusu "Uematsu Shigeru Ate Shokan: 27th August 1919" *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū Bekkan 1/The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Supplement 1*, 56

Kumagusu equipped himself with a microscope, illustrated books of the study, and matchboxes he used as specimen boxes. With them, he carefully examined the microbes in his messy rented accommodation and created specimen books of his own. He eagerly corresponded with another independent microbiologist, William Wirt Calkins (1842-1914), to discuss and exchange findings.[185] He even found news species of lichens that made appearances in the journal *Science*, although announced by Calkins as his own discoveries, with no acknowledgement given to Kumagusu.[186] Seemingly not discouraged by such incidents, he tended to his research.[187] The motive behind it did not have much to do with fame and success as a naturalist.

A semi-fictional autobiographical *gesaku* he wrote in 1889 elucidates the intellectual grounds behind his simultaneous engagement with Buddhism and microbes. Entitled *A Writing for Ryūseiho* (竜聖法に与うる書), he addressed the writing to his US-based Japanese student friend Watanabe Ryūsei (渡辺龍聖):

> I Jintaku is a man of Hidaka district in the nation of Kii… One day, I read Kūkai (空海)'s *Sangō Shiiki* (三教指帰). Upon closing the book, I realised this is the direction to where my life is headed. I studied very hard, trying every possible means. Now I am in America. … My most earnest desire is to rescue everyone. The hardship of life can rescue the society. … The virtue of Buddha never changes, the Buddhist scriptures are accurate, the Buddhist precepts are orderly, and the sutra is rational. … Spencer facilitates Christians' partial peace and ignorance. Japanese Buddhism these days particularly deteriorated; Christianity confused them and greatly disturbed the Buddhist truth. … I therefore cross marshes and walk into forests to

[185] William Wirt Calkins (1842-1914) was a lawyer and military officer who practiced microbiology in his own time. He and Kumagusu started corresponding in 1890. See Matsui Ryūgo "William Wirt Calkins," *The Comprehensive Dictionary of Minakata Kumagusu,* 339-340.; Kumagusu *Zenshu 7,* p.9; Minakata Kumagusu *A Letter to Calkins, William Wirt,* Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Shoseki 0003.
[186] Matsui, *The Comprehensive Dictionary,* Ibid.
[187] Ibid.

> thoroughly investigate the nature of matter during the day; I read the sutra and reflect on the image to enquire into the dynamic of matter and *mind-heart* at night. … I named myself Minakata Kumagusu in this human world. [188]

Here, he portrayed himself as a fictional Buddhist monk Jintaku (腎沢). Kumagusu merged his persona as the monk with his affective desire for intimacy with his closest lover Shigetarō by noting the monk himself belonged to Shigetarō's hometown Hidaka. This monk becomes aware of his life pursuit upon reading the autobiographical novella text of Kūkai (774-835 AD), the founder of the Shingon Buddhism. Jintaku had to rescue the society from the intellectual chaos as Minakata Kumagusu in the human world, just like Kūkai. The society was in an epistemic turmoil; people could not discern what it actually meant to become civilised in the light of Buddhist truths. Spencer's social Darwinism normalised the Christian-derived epistemology. Japanese Buddhism lost its epistemology to this social Darwinian norm. Kumagusu examined the nature, the basis of truths for civilisation theory, in microbes he collected out in the field and forest. He did so in the light of Buddhist epistemology where the matter and *mind-heart* appeared in symbiosis.

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[188] "腎沢は紀伊の国の日高郡の人なり。… 一日、空海の『三教指帰』を読み、巻を掩いていわく、指揮すること、此のごときか、人生期する所それ如何ぞや、と。… 苦学すること百方、現に美国にあり。… 一身の願念は一に衆を救うにあり、一世の苦辛は一に世を救うを以てす。… けだし仏徳は無偏に、蔵論は精確に、戒律は斉整に、経文は有利なり。… 斯辺撒は参して以て耶蘇教徒の偏安無智を諷す。而るに近世の日本仏教はことに衰残し、耶蘇教その人を蠱し、大いにその真を乱す。…すなわち、日中は沢を渉り林を排って物性を極め、夜半は経を繙き蔵を転じて物心を覓む。/ Jintaku ha kii no kuni no hidakagun no hito nari …. Ichinichi, Kūkai no 『Sangōshiiki』wo yomi, kanwo ooite iwaku, shikisurukoto, koreno gotokika, jinsei gosuru tokoro sore ikaga nanzoya, to. … Kugaku surukoto hyakuman, gen'ni bikokuni ari. … isshin no nengan ha ichini shū wo sukuuni ari, isse no kushin ha ichini yowo sukuuwo mochitesu. … kedashi buttoku ha muhen ni, zōron ha seikaku ni kairitsu ha seisei ni, kyōbun ha yūri nari. … Supenseru ha sanshite mochite yasokyōto no heian muchi wo fūsu. Shikaruni kinse no nihonbukkyō ha kotoni suizan shi, yasokyō sono hitowo gomakashi, ooini sono makoto wo midasu. … Sunawachi, nicchū ha sawa wo watari hayashiwo haitte busshō wo kiwame, yahan ha kyō wo himotoki kura wo tenjite busshin wo magu." Minakata Kumagusu "Yoryūseihōinsho" *Chinji Hyoron* Ibid., 103-106.

The Evolutionary Theory, based on Queer Nature

Observing microbes through affective human nature Kumagusu recognised within his *mind-heart* led him to perceive the central quality of queer nature: affective desire for intimacy with each other. He recognised this quality as the fundamental civilisational wealth that people had to tend to cherish through cooperation instead of competition, regardless of nationality and race. He upheld it as the basis of truths for his evolutionary theory. The evolutionary theory based on queer nature indicated that humans evolved – and therefore, civilised – through the affective desire for intimacy with each other. The affective desire for intimacy knew no clear-cut boundaries between male-female, life-death, and the normative racial taxonomies of human beings. It defied the notions central to social Darwinism.

Kumagusu's understanding of civilisational wealth had nothing to do with financial or territorial gain.[189] It was the affective human nature. He argued so when he realised the supposedly civilised America turned out to be uncivilised in his eyes. Feeling dismayed, he declared all he can do for now is to "simply follow the example of *jitsugyō* (実業/business), the basis of civilisation."[190] He elaborated on this seemingly Capitalist idea: "What is *jitsugyō* (business)? It is a way to create *tomi* (富/wealth)."[191] It was shortly before the notion of 'business' came into popular use in the history of Capitalism in Japan.[192] However, the 'business' did not imply transactions for financial wealth in his mind. He articulated the

[189] Kumagusu "Sugimura Kōtarō ate, Meiji 20 nen 9 gatsu 9 ka (9 September 1887)," *Zenshū 7,* 77-78.
[190] Ibid.
[191] "ただただ文明の基本たる実業の一件を見習いおり。実業とはなんぞ、富を致すの術なり。/ Tadatada bunmei no kihon taru jitsugyō no ikken wo minarai ori. Jitsugyō toha nanzo, tomi wo itasu jyūtsu nari." Ibid.
[192] On the dominant history of Capitalism in Modern Japan, see John H Sagers *Confucian Capitalism: Shibusawa Eiichi, Business Ethics, and Economic Development in Meiji Japan* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Studies in Economic History, 2018).

notion by expanding on a remark made by a Chinese historian of early Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220):

> According to Sima Qian [(司馬遷: c. 145-86 BC)], *tomi* (wealth) is a person's *jōsei* (情性/affective human nature), and it is not something that one learns but desires together with others. If *tomi* (wealth) was affective human nature, *jitsugyō* (business) is a business that all nations and each race should learn together while helping each other.[193]

One had to acknowledge the affective human nature as the civilisational wealth in order for them and their society to civilise. One could recognise affective human nature through interpersonal – and potentially interspecies – relationships. The idea implied an innate collective desire for each other. Yet, such a wealth was largely absent in the social Darwinian theory of civilisation endorsed by international modern nations. Hence, despite Qian's argument that it was not about learning, Kumagusu asserted that all nations and race had to learn the method of producing such a wealth.

The initial ideas for his evolutionary theory appeared in his short essay "Chinron: Myō na Shinkaron (珍論: 妙な進化論/A Curious Theory: The Strange Progress Theory)" for *Chinji Hyōron* (珍事評論/Criticism on Curious Things): a hand-written newspaper he wrote and circulated among his friends in America.[194] "The curious theory" discussed a series of modern scientific discoveries that elucidated the nature of the universe.[195] Within this, he

[193] "司馬遷のいわく、富は人の情性、学ばずして共に欲するところなり、と。富は人の情性なれば、実業は万国各人種共に相学び相資くるべきの業なり。/ Shiba Sen no iwaku, tomiha hitono jōsei, manabazushite tomoni hossurutokoronari, to. Tomiha hitono jōsei nareba, jitsugyō ha bankokukakujinshu tomoni aimanabi aishikurubekino gyōnari." Kumagusu Ibid.,
[194] Kumagusu *Chinji,* 115-116.
[195] Ibid.

contended "The Principle of Venereal Passion (色欲原則)," a theory named after his friend's remark on love and sexuality.[196] This theory ought to come after "the father of *shinkasetsu* (the progress theory) Spencer … and his work *The Principle of Psychology,*" he explained.[197] The theory, according to him, revealed their affective human nature's desire for the intimacy.[198] He did not discuss further details of the theory and said resentfully: "sadly, nobody writes about it because of the 19th century."[199]

However, it is possible to clarify its outline by cross-examining who and what evoked Kumagusu's affective desire for intimacy when he discerned queer nature. These were memories of his male lovers that occupied his *mind-heart*, and cryptogams – a type of microbes that resembled human sexual organs. They both signified the central quality of queer nature: the affective desire for intimacy unbounded by the dichotomised notions of state-endorsed science. He observed the microbes while reflecting unforgettable memories of his lovers.

The primary subjects that evoked Kumagusu's affective desire for intimacy troubled the conceptions of male-female and life-death dichotomies. One of them was recently deceased Shigetarō he left behind in Kii.[200] He narrated his struggle in a short *gesaku* he wrote for his Japanese friends in the US to read:

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[196] Ibid.
[197] "… 進化説の父と称せらるるスペンセル、プリンシプルス・オブ・サイコロジー…/ Shinkasetsu no chichi to shōseraruru Supenseru, Purinshipurusu・obu・Saikoroji" Ibid.
[198] Ibid.
[199] "… 恨くは現十九世紀、未だ色欲の進化を説く者なきをとは …/ Uremeshiku ha gen jūkyūseiki, imada shikiyōku no shinka wo tokumono nakiwo toha …" Kumagusu, *Chinji* Ibid.
[200] Kumagusu *Chinji,* 60-63.

> I have been thinking of him quietly for so long. … If I was to die with the illness in the end, I would rather return home and sleep together with him in the same hole.[201]

The yearning for the dead led him to experience the present moment as a simultaneous expression of life and death. He barely ate or slept; when he did sleep, he dreamt about Shigetarō.[202] The affective desire for intimacy extended to Shigetarō's still-alive brother Hanjirō (蕃二郎: 1871-1896) with whom he also had a romance before he left Japan.[203] Kumagusu's dreaming of the Hayama brothers, as the historian Karasawa Taisuke extensively discussed, never ceased for the rest of his life.[204] A friend asked him as he dreamt the dead: "The poet and the philosopher said, 'The life is not a dream; but earnest and true.' What say you?"[205] For him, it was his dreams that maintained his life. The dreams were earnest and true. He attained the source of life only in desiring for the existences no longer physically obtainable, seeing them in his dreams.

"The other day I wrote on and on asking you to kindly collect algae and lichens [in the Kii region]. What I would love you to additionally pay attention are fungi."[206] Kumagusu wrote to Hanjirō. The research in microbes became inseparable from his dialogue with his

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[201] Minakata Kumagusu "Watabe Hango-kun Den" In., *Chinji Hyoron* Ibid., pp.60-63.
[202] Kumagusu *Chinji,* Ibid.; Karasawa Taisuke analysed the significance of Hayama brothers in Kumagusu's dreams. Karasawa Taisuke "Kumagusu to Hayama Kyōdai: intimate na kankei" in *Minakata Kumagusu no mita yume: pasaju ni tatsu mono* (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2014), 33-68.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Karasawa Taisuke, who analysed the presence of the brothers in his diaries, points out that the numerous entries on dreams he inscribed throughout his life begins and ends with appearances of the Hayama brothers. They were the figures who made the most appearances in the dreams and he began to blend two of the brothers as if they were one. Kumagusu recorded, recalled, and dreamed of them – from thoughts on romantic yearning to sexual intercourse he had with them – throughout his life. See Karasawa Taisuke *Minakata Kumagusu: Nihonjin no Kanousei no Kyokugen/Minakata Kumagusu: The Ultimate Possibility of the Japanese* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2015); Karasawa Taisuke *Seimei Ronri Saikō: Minakata Kumagusu to Tomoni/Reconsideration of Bioethics: Along With Minakata Kumagusu* (Tokyo: Nūsu Shuppan, 2015); and Karasawa Taisuke *Minakata Kumagusu no Mita Yume: Pasaju ni Tatsumono/The Dreams of Minakata Kumagusu: The One who Stands on the Passage* (Tokyo: Bensei Publishing, 2014).
[205] The original text in English. Minoda Nagamasa, 1888 Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Jippitsu 079.
[206] "先日藻および地衣のこと長々と御頼み申し上げ候が、なおついでに御心掛け下されたく候は菌類なり。" Kumagusu letter to Hayama Hanjiro *zenshu* 7, 92.

affectionate attraction to intimate dialogue with the physically unobtainable lover. As he looked through the microscope to examine the microbes he gathered in the land faraway from Kii, his affective human nature appeared in symbiosis with the curious microcosmos that attracted his attention in an irresistible manner.

Cryptogams, the kind of microbes Kumagusu was particularly fond of, reflected the intellectual and emotional symbiosis. These were plant-like organisms without visible sexual organs such as flowers or seeds.[207] These included slime mould, fungi, seaweed, mosses, liverworts, and lichens. The name 'cryptogam,' moreover, derived from Greek *kryptos* 'hidden' and *gameein* 'to marry' to imply 'hidden reproduction.'[208] While their sexual organs were invisible, in his eyes, some of their visual appearances curiously resembled human sexual organs (Image 4).[209]

[207] Kawakami *Henkeikin Nyūmon,* ibid.
[208] Ibid.; Kumagusu wrote an essay entitled after the etymological meaning in 1913 and published it in the newspaper *Fuji*. Minakata Kumagusu "Jōji wo suku shokubutsu" in *Fuji* 6 and 18 November 1913; Republished in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 6* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1973), 66-72.
[209] Kumagusu "Hayama Hanjirō ate," 91-100.

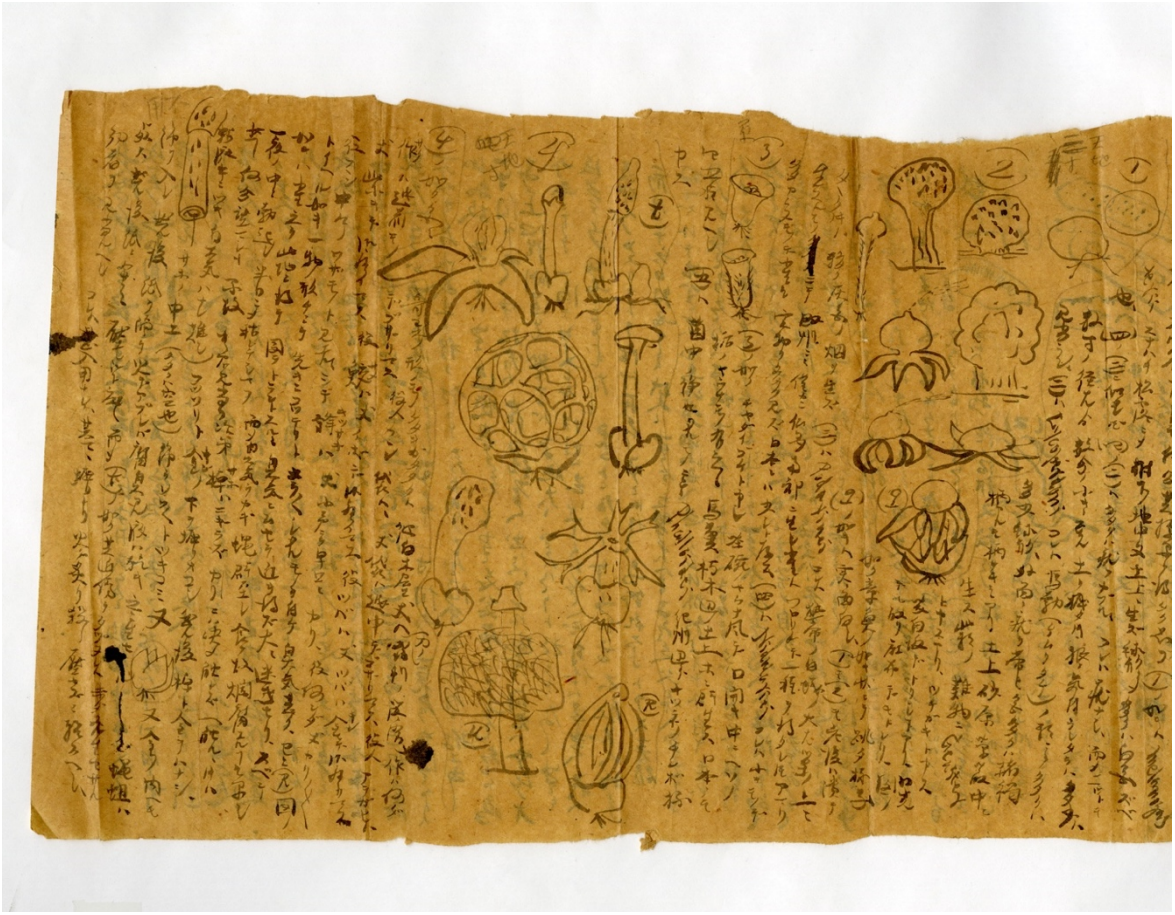


Image 4: Kumagusu's drawings of cryptogams on his letter to Hayama Hanjirō.
Courtesy of Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Tanabe, Japan.

Incorporating the narrative of sexual scandal *Shirokiya* (白木屋), a late Tokugawa piece of Japanese comedy *rakugo* (落語) written by Kenkonbō Ryōsai (乾坤坊良斎：1769-1860), Kumagusu explained in his letter to Hanjirō:

> Like the illustration (4), many of them come in strange, peculiar shapes just as in the trial scene of Jōhachi in *Shirokiya* rakugo: … The bureaucrat: … And what's the spearhead? Jōhachi (in a small voice speaking fast): Crunch. The bureaucrat: What? Jōhachi: Crunch crunch crunch. In a shape of a penis that would sound like just like that, it carries thick, slimy substance on its end, very smelly, and already like the illustration (R), I would try to get hold of it here [in the US] to draw its appearance, but I get choked by the smell I can't get closer it's such a nuisance. All of them

would have erection overnight and dry out within half a day. … But they are so desirable.[210]

As he sketched them out, he asserted that slime mould, the mycetozoa group in particular, should be regarded as animals instead of then-taxonomical classification of plants: i.e., the category closer to human beings.[211] The biological relevance of mycetozoa to human was evident in his thoughts. Mycetozoa was the oldest form of life on the planet.[212] That is, according to the British biologist Edwin Ray Lankester (1847-1929), he explicated.[213] Lankester was the author of *Degeneration: A Chapter in Darwinism* (1880), where he argued evolution does not necessarily always result in "improvement."[214]

Mycetozoa was hence not only human's potential ancestor, but also manifested two pivotal observations of nature Kumagusu made. This microbe firstly illuminated the historical lineage of the social evolution that can "retrogress" as he witnessed in the civilisational state of American society. Secondly, it proved neither the seemingly asexual characteristic of the

[210] "図(４)のごとく色々奇異の形のもの多きが、多くはかの白木屋丈八刀の裁判の落語…役…して鋒は、丈（小声にて早口に）カリ、役何だ、丈カリカリカリと、いえるごとき一物の形にて、先にこってりとヌラヌラしたるものを付け、臭気はなはだしく、すでに(R)のごときは、小生これをこの地に得て図をとらんとするに、臭気にむせて近づき得ず、大いに迷惑せり。すべて一夜の中に勃起し、半日にして枯れてしまう。…しかし何分望ましき品ゆえ/ Zu (4) no gotoku iroiro kii no katachi no mono ookiga, ookuha kano Shirokiya Jōhachi tō no saiban no rakugo … Yaku … shite tsurugi ha, Jō (kogoe nite hayakuchi ni) kari, Yaku nannda, Jō, karikarikari to, ieru kotoki ichimotsu no katachi nite, sakini kotteri uranura shitaru monowo tsuke, shūki hanahada shiku, sudeni (R)no gotoki ha, shōsei korewo konochini ete zuwo torantosuruni, shūki ni musete chikazuki ezu, ooini meiwaku seri. Subete ichiyano nakani bokkishi, hannichi ni shite karete shimau. … Shikashi nanbun nozomashiki shinayue." Kumagusu "Hayama Hanjirō ate," 95.

[211] Kumagusu "Hayama Hanjirō ate," 97-98.; The classification of mycetozoa was particularly debatable because they possessed both qualities of plants and animals. Hence, the name "mycetozoa" combined *myke* (fungi) and *zoon* (animal). Although, in today's science, fungi's DNA is also known to be closer to animals than plants.

[212] Kumagusu "Hayama Hanjirō ate," Ibid.

[213] Kumagusu "Hayama Hanjirō ate," 98.

[214] Edwin Ray Lankester *Degeneration: A Chapter in Darwinism* (London: Nature, 1880)

microbes nor their bodies without the dichotomised sex hindered the evolution.[215] There had to be reasons why such organisms exist.[216] He reflected so as he studied the ongoing scientific debates of evolutionary theory in America while seeking the alluring memories of his lovers as he examined the "desirable" microbes. The nature of this evolution evidently emerged as queer.

The Theory of Civilisation, based on Queer Nature

It was based on the queer nature of evolution Kumagusu gradually delineated ideas on his own theory of civilisation. He elaborated on them as he traveled Cuba with an Italian circus trope, with his microscope in search of rare cryptogams.[217] It was shortly before he departed the US for the next destination: the UK. There and then, he imagined "a different kind of civilisation" by comparing cross-mixing of the human race to microbial osmosis.[218] His musing on the theory troubled radically troubled social Darwinian theory of civilisation adopted by the Meiji state.

[215] Science today proved that slime mould is single-celled just like sperm and ovum. According to the microbiologists Scott Chimileski and Roberto Kolter, "Along with ostrich eggs, the human egg cell (the ovum), and marine kelp, plasmodial amoebas [i.e. slime mould] are some of the largest single cells on the planet." Chimileski and Kolter *Life at the Edge of Sight: A Photographic Exploration of the Microbial World* (Cambridge MA: 2017), 116.

[216] Kumagusu familiarised himself with the debate on the reason behind the existence of organisms without a reproductive organ concerning Darwin's evolutionary theory. Minakata Kumagusu notebooks *The Scientific Memoirs I-III* consists of articles from vol.28 and 29 of *The Popular Science Monthly* and was compiled over two weeks from the late March 1888. *A1-055*, Minakata Kumagusu Museum.
; Takegami Mariko compiled a list of articles in his notebook. See Takegami Mariko "Sonbun and Minakata Kumagusu" in *Kagaku no Hito: Sonbun. Shisōshiteki Kōsatsu* (The Man of Science: Sonbun. The Analysis in Intellectual History) (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2014), 161-163.

[217] Minakata Kumagusu "13 September 1891" *Nikki 1,* 282.; Minakata Kumagusu "Cuba, Florida nite saishu no inkashokubutsu ichiran (1891)" in ed. Yoshikawa Toshihiro *Bibōroku* (Wakayama: Minakata Kumagusu Museum), 21.; Fumie *On My Father,* 56-57.

[218] Kumagusu, *Nikki 1,* ibid.

Japanese intellectual elites who worked with the state considered racial mixture a highly sensitive issue.[219] Inoue, for example, strongly argued against the mixed residence of *seiyō-jin* (the Westerners) with Japanese.[220] He feared, *naturally*; they may take over the "weak and inferior civilisation" of Japan based on the innate characteristics of social Darwinism.[221] Spencer, who occasionally advised the Meiji state, too, vehemently opposed "the intermarriage of foreigners and Japanese," arguing that "the result is inevitably a bad one."[222]

Such a concern was *unnatural* to evolutionary – and civilisation – theory Kuamgusu contemplated. The detailed account of many "*hisetsu"* (秘説 / secret theories) Kumagusu said he wrote against Spencer remains unknown.[223] He was unable to publish them due to "the confusion of the entire world."[224] However, his theory of civilisation can be illuminated.

The process of elucidation involves attention to his thoughts on the affective desire for intimacy in relation to his recurring topics of interests: desires for knowledge and independence and concern for morality and collectivity. These issues were, in fact, also the pressing concerns of the Meiji regime in establishing their civilisation theory.[225] The state

[219] Urs Matthis Zachmann elucidated that, at the turn of 1880s to 1890s, the social Darwinian understanding of race was limited to the intellectual elites who had an extended period in Europe. The "xenophobic current among the Japanese people" against the plan was based on "concerns about economic inequality." See Urs Matthias Zachmann "Race without Supremacy: On Racism in the Political Discourse of Late Meiji Japan, 1890-1912" in *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* ed. Berg, M. & Wendt, S. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 255-280.
[220] Thomas, 164.
[221] Ibid.; Inoue Tetsujirō "Wagakuni ni okeru rōdō mondai" (1889) In., *Meiji benka zenshū,* 3rd edition, ed. Kimura Ki et al. (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha: 1968), vol. 6, 508.
[222] Herbert Spencer "Letter to Kaneko Kentarō, August 1892" in Duncan *Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer* (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1908), 322.
[223] Kumagusu entrusted at least one of them to his closest US friend Satō Torajirō (1864-1928). Torajirō was "the only Japanese worthwhile knowing" outside Japan. The entrusted manuscript did not survive to date, or at least it has not been discovered. Kumagusu "Nakatatsu Morio ate" in *Zenshū 7,* ibid.
[224] "主として … スペンセルを攻撃したるものにて … 小生この類の草稿は甚だ多きが、悲しい哉、挙世混濁にして世に公にするをえず。/ Omotoshite … Supenseru wo kōgeki shitaru mono nite … shōsei kono rui no sōkō ha hanahada ōkiga, kanashiikana, kyōsei kondaku nishite yoni ōyake ni suruwo ezu." Kumagusu, ibid.
[225] Fukuzawa, Ibid.

deemed adaptation of the Western knowledge as the central requirement for a nation to civilise and remain independent.[226] The state centralised moral codes to suppress the internal uprising and to maintain national collectivity amid the effort to 'civilise.' The fundamental difference between Kumagusu and the Meiji state on these issues arose from the contrasting natures that served as their basis of truths.

Kumagusu sought his own affective desire for intimacy to argue his thoughts on the central concerns of civilisation theory. Based on queer nature, he regarded individuals as the key agency in the civilising process and actions. To civilise or not to civilise was a matter of individuals anywhere in the world. The normative nature of the Meiji state's civilisational vision, in the meantime, resided in the absolute imperial sovereign. Thus, the civilising process was justifiable as a matter of the nation led by the centralised state.[227]

The civilisation theory of queer nature called for civilising subjectivities to become simultaneously independent and collective.[228] It did so by asserting self-knowledge of one's nature as the required knowledge for civilising individuals; the acquired self-knowledge facilitated the independence of individuals. Kumagusu recognised the affective desire for intimacy with others as his self-knowledge in doing so. This self-knowledge concurrently implied collectivity in its essence. Civilising subjectivities could inhabit independence and collectivity at the same time because, in his understanding, anyone could possess moral agency.

[226] Craig Ibid.; Fukuzawa Ibid.
[227] Fukuzawa *An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation,* 59.
[228] The notion echoes Konishi's notion of Cooperative Anarchism. See Konishi "Introduction" Ibid.

Self-knowledge of nature facilitated civilising individuals' independence. Kumagusu's thoughts behind this notion surfaced when he responded to fellow Japanese friends in America who immersed themselves in modern Western political ideologies.[229] From "anarchism" to "socialism," the ideologies they discussed could be identified by the naming of "*shugi*" (主義 / ism) in modern Japanese.[230] He contended against what appeared to him as temporal privileging of modern thoughts in history. The Western civilisational ideologies that argued for freedom and equality of people were not at all new; it was, instead, a continuation of the 'pre-modern' past.[231] Such ideas existed for thousands of years in Buddhist thoughts, he argued.[232]

Ism was a form of thought and way of living one's life one ought to find through self-knowledge, just like Buddhist monks who meditated on the nature of the universe – and therefore of societies.[233] Buddhist monks found the basis of truths within their worlds of *mind-heart* that reflected on the phenomena in the world of matter. Each individual, too, ought to be able to find their own *ism* by seeking self-knowledge of nature within their mind and heart.[234] One of the Japanese student friends in the US wrote to Kumagusu: "To emancipate ourselves is difficult."[235] The normative nature of the state's civilisation theory did not provide such knowledge. Yet, by seeking self-knowledge of nature, one could engage in the civilising process that *naturally* encouraged individual independence.

[229] Kumagusu *Chinji*, 13-16.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Takano Reitaro on Kumagusu's signature book, dated 15 March 1888. *Jippitsu 079* Minakata Kumagusu Archives.

Koko ga Kugai no Mannaka Kaina (こゝが苦界のまんなかかいな/Is This the Centre of Tough World?), the opening story of a hand-written newspaper *Chinji Hyoron* (珍事評論/Criticism on Curious Things) Kumagusu wrote for these friends to read elaborated on this view in the manner of *dodoitsu*:

> The world is fast changing but what does not change is the nature of human being. Ripped clothes and broken shoes *heimin* (the common people) -ism … eight-tongued repeat-ism, reliable and hindering critic-ism … whatever is good-ism … so many men, so many minds. Ism of ism is not an immanent ism, so an old man on an ox says, leaving the gate, if so, a great number of isms exists, intimately close to their balls and never apart, five-hundred isms at a gathering of *rakan* (羅漢), thirty-three-thousands-three-hundreds-thirty-three ism of the Buddha at the temple of the *Sanjūsangendō* (三十三間堂）… One ism exists for a person's own way, one's own way also exists for one ism. Oh, is this the centre of a tough world. [236]

To clarify the Buddhist terms used here, the notion of a *kugai* (苦界) in the title of the piece implied the human world where many challenging incidents happen. *Arakan* referred to a Buddhist who attained spiritual release from Karma through severe religious practices. Sanjūsangendō was a Buddhist temple in Kyoto built by the renowned warlord Taira no

[236] "変わるが早い世間でも変わり難きは人の性、衣破鞋壊の平民主義や … 一つが八つの頭武六主義、倚るとさはると批評主義、… 何でもいゝわと飲みこみ主義も… 十人よれば十色なる、そも主義の主義たるは常の主義に非ざる也と青牛に乗て関を出たる老聃が言ば、されば随分主義は夥しく、人一人に一つづゝの胆肝と相密着して離るゝことなく、羅漢の会には五百の主義有り、十大弟子には十個の主義有り、三十三間堂には仏の主義が三万三千三百三十三個あり…一者流一主義あり、一主義も亦一我流有り。嘻こゝがくがいのまんなかかいな。/ Kawaruga hayai sekendemo kawari gatakiha hitono sei, koromo yabure kutsu koware no heimin shugi ya …. Hitotuga Yattsuno zuburoku shugi, yorutosa haruto hihhyō shugi, nandemo iiwato nomikomi shugimo … jūnin yoreba toiro naru, somo shugi no shugi taruha tsune no shugini hizaru nari to seigyū ni norite kuwan wo detaru routan ga ieba, sareba zuibun shugiha obitadashiku, hito hitori ni hitotsu zutu no kimotama to sōmitchakushite hanaruru kotonaku, arakan no kainiha gohyaku no shugi ari, jūdai deshi niha jūkko no shugi ari, sanjūsankandō niha hotokeno shugiga sanman sanzen sanbyaku sanjūsanko ari … issharyūishugiari, isshugimo mata ichigaryūari." Kumagusu, *Chinji,* 14-16.

Kiyomori (平清盛: 1118-1181）for Emperor Goshirakawa (後白河天皇: 1127-1192) in 1164. A historical anecdote of the temple famously suggested that, observed carefully, one would find a face of the person they long to meet among its 1,001 golden statues of the Goddess of Compassion Kannon in her thousand-armed incarnation.

Kumagusu and his friends, the humans, lived in the world where brutally harsh incidents can happen – like the loss of loved ones. But if one were to become like *rakan* who meditated on the nature of the world to overcome the spiritual torment, people would each arrive at their own *ism* that exists in hundreds of heterogeneous forms. Such diverse *isms* resembled the 333 faces of the Buddha which, upon an intent inspection, illuminate the face of the person they yearned to meet. The one Kumagusu was dying to see was, of course, the Hayama brothers.

The *ism* Kumagusu "could not possibly abandon" was the rising affect (情/*jō*) and desire (慾/*yoku*) for loved ones, he declared.[237] An interpersonal relationship he explicated as *hōyū* (朋友/intimate friends) activated this affect and desire for collectivity.[238] "Intimate friend" was also how Shigetarō described his relationship to Kumagusu in English before their separation.[239] Kumagusu in the meantime described his emotion towards his *hōyū* (the intimate friend) Shigetarō as platonic love.[240] The notion of love advocated by the ancient

[237] "人物 … 発して情となり、現じて慾となる。人を恋人に慕わるるも、また人生史上の一大乗ならずや。/ Jinbutsu … hosshite jōto nari, genjite yokutonaru. Hitowo koibitoni shitawarurumo, mata jinsei shijō no ichidaijō narazuya" and "僕は到底この主義を廃する脳わず。/ Boku ha tōtei kono shugi wo haisuru omowazu." Kumagusu "Sugimura Kōtarō ate" in *Zenshū 7*, 86.
[238] Kumagusu "Nakamatsu Morio ate" ibid.; According to *Koji Ruien*, the 1896-1914 encyclopedia on pre-Meiji bibliographies compiled by the government, the term implied: 1) *tomo* (友) a friend and 2) *chion* (知音), a lover or an intimate friend with who one exchange their affect (*jō*). The original expression of *Péngyou* (朋友) in Chinese signified "a lover" in addition to "a friend." *Koji Ruien Jinbu Yōkan Vol.2,* 397.
[239] Kumagsu and Hayama Shigetarō, "Meiji 19 nen 4 gatsu 29 nichi (29 April 1886)" in *Nikki 1*, 70.
[240] Kumagusu *Chinji,* 41.

Greek philosopher Plato asserted love as androgynous.[241] It resonated with the circumstance within which he sustained his affect and desire for the physically unobtainable *hōyū*, the intimate friends.[242]

It was possible for civilising subjectivities to inhabit independence and collectivity simultaneously because anyone could possess moral agency. The original meaning of *hōyū* (the intimate friend) implied the existence of moral agency among all human beings regardless of sex and age in Kumagusu's understanding. He asserted *hōyū* was one of the Five Ethics (*gorin*/五倫) in Confucian thoughts. The classification of ethics asserted human relationships in which morality ought to exist.[243] "*Hōyū* … ought to happen in women … and in boys, too."[244] Even women and children – the categories of people the state perceived inferior to men and adults – possessed agencies to conduct morality.[245] Any individual's civilising subjectivities could hence be concurrently independent and collective in his theory of civilisation.

Conclusion

Kumagusu *queered* – or subverted – the Meiji government's social Darwinian theory of civilisation in 1887-1892 America. The state celebrated Japan's 'civilisational achievement,'

[241] Plato ibid.
[242] Kumagusu Ibid.
[243] "そもそも人間の道徳の種別を解くもの孔子は道徳を存すべき人と人との関係に資[よ]りて、これを夫婦、父子、君臣とうの五倫となし、… 五倫の中に朋友といえる目あり。" Kumagusu "Nakamatsu Morio ate/ Somosomo ningen no dōtoku no shubetsu wo tokumono kōshi ha dōtoku wo sonsubeki hito to hito no kankei ni yorite, korewo fūfu, chichiko, kunshin tō no gorin to nashi, … gorin no nakani hōyū toieru moku ari." in *Zenshū 7*, 124.
[244] "女より起こることもあれば、少年より起こることもあるべきなり。/ Onna yori okoru kotomo areba, shōnen yori okorukotomo arubeki nari." Ibid.
[245] Ibid.

establishing itself as a modern nation-state by adapting the knowledge of the West. The regime committed to survive as the fittest in the international competition. During this very period however, Kumagusu arrived at ideas for a theory of civilisation whose sources of reasonings the Meiji state regarded as 'evil' and 'backwards.' Namely, primarily Buddhism and secondarily Confucianism-influenced *honzōgaku* both of which derived from Sino-Asia.

Kumagusu had not arrived at delineating a cohesive method or theory like other Buddhist thinkers such as Enryō.[246] Enryō was consciously and vigorously developing his scholarly persona not only as a philosopher of Buddhism but also an educator around the same period. He published fifteen publications, from *Shinri Konshin* (真理金針/The Golden Compass of Truth, 1886-87) to *Shinshū Tetsugaku Joron* (真宗哲学序論/Prolegomena to a Philosophy of the True School, 1894).[247] Enryō even institutionalised his thoughts by establishing his own school *Tetsugakukan* (The Institute of Philosophy) in in Tokyo in 1887.

The contemporaneous Kumagusu was over a decade younger than Enryō, processing his thoughts, experience and emotion while enquiring into the nature of evolution. He was not preoccupied with creation and dissemination of a grand ideology. Hence, in order to illuminate his emergent ideas of the time, one had to analyse his thoughts, emotions, and actions by discerning what, how and why he arrived at his basis of truths. Only in doing so could one reveal the meanings hidden in the historical sources he left behind. His basis of truths was as queer nature.

[246] Janine Anderson Sawada *Practical Pursuit: Religion, Politics, and Personal Cultivation in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 2004).
[247] Inoue Enryō *Shinri Konshin/The Golden Compass of Truth* (Tokyo: Hōzōkan, 1886-87); Inoue Enryō *Shinshū Tetsugaku Joron Prolegomena to a Philosophy of the True School* (Tokyo: Inoue Enryō, 1894).

The theory of civilisation revealed based on queer nature indicated civilising subjectivities concurrently embraced independence and collectivity through cooperation regardless of race and nationalities. People civilised through self-knowledge independently and without uncritical dependence on state-provided knowledge. Kumagusu's self-knowledge illuminated affective desire for collectivity unbounded by the binary sex, life-and-death, and the normative racial taxonomy imposed on human beings. The concurrent existence of independence and collectivity was possible because anyone could possess moral agency. He postulated ideas behind the civilisation theory because his basis of truths was queer nature.

How Kumagusu arrived at his basis of truths destabilises the conventional dynamic of power, knowledge, and the production of the truthful knowledge that determined the historical narrative of civilisational discourse. The state-centred narrative of 'civilisational progress' typically followed the Foucauldian perspective where the regime of power, not knowledge, produced the basis of truth.[248] It is clear Kumagusu's knowledge formation would not have happened based on queer nature without acknowledging the existing basis of truths produced by the state. In effect, the regime did help him to think and reason based on his own basis of truths. However, the impact of the regime, paradoxically, worked to reduce its own power. The regime of power played a role only to the extent it induced greater agency to his formation of thoughts and actions. It was the microbes and his knowledge away from the regime of power that fundamentally contributed to the ways in which he arrived at his ideas behind the theory of civilisation based on queer nature. The uncovered history of civilisational discourse decentralises the emerging point of nature, the basis of truths, away from a singular cause towards an entanglement of multiple agencies.[249]

[248] Michel Foucault *Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1969: 2002).
[249] On the notion of the entangled multiple agencies in the predicament of the moment in time, see Donna Haraway *Staying with the Trouble: Making kin in the Chthulucene* (Durham and London: Duke University Press Duke, 2016).

Kumagusu planned the next step of action. He hoped to leave for the nation he perceived as the empire of queer knowledge: Great Britain. “Strange things from every country … galloped to gather” and “many people who plan extraordinary curious things” resided there, “unlike the US.”[250] He imagined that in Europe, he could even gain the support to publish “many manuscripts of this kind” that “criticised Spencer.”[251] So, he declared in the autumn of 1892: “I put a sail on my arse and head to London from New York.” [252]

[250] “英国は米国とは事変わり、各国奇物 … ここ舞台と馳せ集まりて… あるいは途方もなき珍事を目論むもの多き所ゆえ/ Eikoku ha beikoku toha kotokawari, kakkoku kibutsu …. Koko butaito hase atsumarite … aruiha tōhō mo naki chinji wo mokuromu mono ooki tokoro yue” Kumagusu “Nakatmatsu Morio ate” Ibid., 118.

[251] “欧州にて有志の賛助を得て私にこれを刊行配布するつもりに御座候。/ ōshū nite yūshi no sanjo wo ete watashi ni korewo kankō haifu suru tsumorini gozarisōrō.” Ibid., 126.

[252] Kumagusu “Meiji 25 nen 9 gatsu 14 ka (14 September 1892)” and “Meiji 25 nen 9 gatsu 21 nichi (21 September 1892)” in *Nikki 1,* 304.; “尻に帆をかけてニューヨークより英京ロンドンに渡航仕り候。/ Shirini howo kakete Nyū Yōku yori Eikyo Rondon ni tokō shiori sōrō. Kumagusu “Letter to Kitahaba Takesaburō” in *Zenshū 7,* 89.

Chapter Two

Wisdom-Knowledge: Civilising through Evolutionary *Henkaron* (The Theory of Change) 1893-1894

Introduction

"I must rescue what people want to learn but cannot learn."[253] Kumagusu noted his intellectual intent in the diary after his first two years in London.[254] I argue such was what he called the wisdom-knowledge (*chishiki*: 智識): "a science required for society to civilise."[255] Wisdom-knowledge differed from more commonly used idea of "knowledge" (*chishiki* 知識), although pronounced the same in modern Japanese. The latter implied informational knowledge. Wisdom-knowledge, he explained, inspired imagination and thoughts within amused state of *kokoro* (心: mind-heart). [256] Engaging with wisdom-knowledge facilitated people and their societies to 'civilise' in his sense of the word. [257] That meant, as I elucidated in chapter one: asserting equality and cooperation among all people and embracing desire for intimacy with each other beyond the imposed epistemic divides among race, sex, and nations. In other words, the question of a 'civilised' society was a matter of human *mind-heart,* and how it interacted within wider realities. People and their societies could only civilise in this sense by learning through centreless and non-hierarchical *changes* and *turns* of evolutionary reality he called *henkaron* (変化論: The Theory of Change). Wisdom-knowledge enabled them to do so while informational knowledge alone could not. Wisdom-knowledge emerged as a science whose first principles of metaphysics – the irrefutable fundamental suppositions on the nature of reality – was informed by his

[253] "… 人の学ばんと欲しながら学び得ぬものを救うべし。/ Hitno manaban to hoshi nagara manabi enu mono wo suku'u beshi." Minakata Kumagusu, "London Nikki/London Diary [11th January 1895]," in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenhū Bekkan 2/Complete Works of Minakata Kgumagusu Supplement 2* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975), 54-55.
[254] Kumagusu had arrived at London via Liverpool on 26th September 1892.
[255] "智識（ここにいうは … 社会物体上の開進に必要なる科学）/ Chishiki (kokoni iuha … shakaibuttaijō no kaika ni hitsuyō taru kagaku." Minakata Kumagusu, *Minakata Kumagusu Toki Hōryū Ōfukushokan/Minakata Kumagusu and Toki Hōryū Exchanged Letters* (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1990), 52.
[256] Ibid., 59.
[257] Ibid., 128-129.

understanding of *Daijō* (大乗: Mahayana) Buddhism's ontology and epistemology in 1893-1894. This chapter delineates the theories and reasonings behind its emergence. In so doing, it illuminates an intellectual history of modern Japanese Buddhism that innovated a novel adaptation of its metaphysics to the modern concerns of social evolutionism without submitting Buddhism to the logic of Western modernity.

The metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge envisaged to resolve a fundamental problem in existing metaphysics that grounded the truths of the dominant civilisation theory. He argued: "the majority of the Western civilization today has only concerned matters of *keijika* (形而下: physics)."[258] It sought the importance in physical and material gains when assessing the civilisational state of societies. He lamented: "what should be considered as one nation's civilising factors (開化: *kaika*) are not limited to its business and armaments."[259] Too many people assessed the civilizational state of the world through numerical "science."[260] Such a science could not resolve theft, poverty, and murders while counting their numbers.[261] He argued that if "progress" followed the force of nature and resulted in these issues in the society, humans ought to act against the nature that delineates such a "progress" in order to civilise.[262] The *meta*physics of the science that informed the dominant civilisation theory did not regard the correlative dynamic of human actions and recognition as part of its nature of reality. He needed to deconstruct and reconstruct the

[258] "今日の西洋開化は多くは形而下の開化也。/ Kyō no seiyōkaika ha ook ha keijika no kaika nari." Minakata Kumagusu, *Kōzanjizō Minakata Kumagusu Shokan Toki Hōryū Ate 1893-1922/Kōzan Temple Archive Minakata Kumagusu Letters to Toki Hōryū 1893-1922,* ed. Okuyama Naoji, Undo Hitoshi, and Kanda Hideaki (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2010), 42.
[259] "それ一国の開化と申すものは、商売とか兵備とか申すもののみにあらず。/ Sore ikkoku no kaika to mōsu mono ha, shōbai toka heibi toka mōsu mono nomi ni arazu." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters*, 12.
[260] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 104.
[261] Ibid., 104-105.
[262] Ibid., 105.

metaphysics of science to equip people with wisdom-knowledge, so that they and their societies would truly 'civilise.'

Kumagusu discussed the first principles behind the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge in a fragmented manner in his letters to the Shingon Buddhist monk Toki Hōryū (土宜 法龍, 1854-1923) from December 1893 to October 1894.[263] Yet, no historian in English and Japanese academia indeed noticed how Kumagusu used the notion of wisdom-knowledge as distinct from the idea of knowledge. He matured his ideas and theories while simultaneously using Herbert Spencer's *First Principles: A New System of Philosophy* (1862) as his sounding board.[264] No historian discerned the striking similarities and differences between Kumagusu's metaphysical theories and that of Spencer's *First Principles,* either.

Historiography on the intellectual history of Buddhism and science in modern Japan focused on the ways in which Japanese Buddhist monks and their scholars negotiated their faiths with Western modernity.[265] Ketelaar's work on Japanese Buddhists at the first Parliament of the World's Religions (1893) in *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (1990) foregrounded this canonical discourse. Accordingly, Japanese Buddhism's operation within the paradigm of Western modernity has never been radically challenged from the metaphysical ground. For example, G. Clinton Godart too introduced

[263] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* Ibid.; Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* Ibid.; Minakata Kumagusu "Toki Hōryū ate Shokan/Letters to Toki Hōryū," in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenhū 7/Complete Works of Minakata Kgumagusu 7* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975), 135-476.
[264] Herbert Spencer, *First Principles: A New System of Philosophy* (New York: D. Appleton and co., 1862: 1880) Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Yō130.16.
[265] In the 1890s, the Meiji state's nationalist ideologies rapidly grew and took over the 1880s scholarship on social Darwinism. However, as the emerging rise of the Japanese empire illustrates, the rhetoric of nationalism did not leave the normative nature of metaphysics that justified the wars and international competition.

Kumagusu's metaphysical theories that unfolded in the conversation with Toki in a chapter of his monograph *Darwin, Dharma, and the Divine: Evolutionary Theory and Religion in Modern Japan* (2017). The survey on how and why religious thinkers of modern Japan actively negotiated their faith with evolutionary theory illuminated an insightful overview. However, the brief analysis on Kumagusu's Buddhist metaphysics unfolded without detailed historical contextualisation and did not examine exactly how and why it emerged.

In order to illuminate the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge – the historical meanings behind Kumagusu's thoughts he unveiled to Toki – one had to re-evaluate what and how Kumagusu recognised as nature: the basis of his truths that underlined his knowledge formation. Only in so doing, one can begin to discern as what and how he perceived the nature of reality. His metaphysical theories, then, fall into places. The field of his primary interest - natural science - played the role in determining the qualitative understanding of the universal nature. Modern philosophy strived to identify the existence of similar nature within society. Philosophers, in turn, contended what is true and just regarding the nature of reality at the juncture of these natures, which they regarded conflicting or symbiotic.

I reveal the cohesive understanding of Kumagusu's discourse on the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge by developing my contention of queer nature: the basis of truths that has never been articulated by historians before. As I argued in chapter one, he discerned nature as what I conceptualise as 'queer nature' as he examined the nature of his *mind-heart* and microbes through Buddhist epistemic lens that recognised the subject-object relation in symbiosis. Characteristics of queer nature resembled the biology of the microbe slime mould closest to his heart. As the contemporary meaning of 'queer' implies non-heterosexuality, slime mould transcended the most fundamental binary and hierarchical categories of

dominant evolutionism: male-female, life-death, and plant-animal. His *mind-heart* that longed for intimacy with his deceased male lover resonated with the queer nature of slime mould. Experientially, the illuminators of queer nature 'attracted' his attention towards its 'strange' and 'curious' existences, and induced desire 'to enquire' them further, as historical meanings of the term 'queer' variously entailed this lived experience. Significantly, he arrived at queer nature as the basis of truths when he re-examined the nature of evolution himself. Then-dominant Spencerian evolutionary theory that asserted the survival of the fittest no longer made sense in his lived experience. Re/evaluating existing theories based on queer nature thus became an essential process in the ways in which he delineated his theoretical responses to the modern concerns of the time. Similar emotional experience and epistemic understanding of queer nature operated as the driving factor in Kumagusu's knowledge-formation behind the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge. The nature of reality, too, was queer. His theoretical reasoning of truths on the queer nature of reality epistemically defied conceptual dichotomies and hierarchies that dictated Western science and its metaphysics. Wisdom-knowledge involved *natural* attraction towards the strange and the curious.

Therefore, I articulate the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge by deconstructing and reconstructing Kumagusu and Toki's debate in tandem with Spencer's *First Principles* – all while upholding queer nature as the nature of reality through which he articulated truths of reality. Only in discerning that his truths of reality emerged because his basis of truths was queer nature, diverse sources of experiential, visual, and textual knowledge with which he engaged interconnect. In other words, through this methodology, the interrelationship among his 1893-1894 research on microbes, reflection on *mind-heart,* the extensive debate on Buddhism, science, civilisation theory, occasional mention of Spencer's *First Principles*

within the debate, and the encounter with the Shingon monk who arrived from the Parliament finally make sense as a cohesive dynamic of intellectual formation.

Historical impacts of Kumagusu's metaphysical discourse that unfolded in 1893-1894 can be observed on Toki, who became the superintendent monk of the Shingon Buddhism at the sect's head temple at Mt. Kōya, Japan, in 1906. Toki began to perceive Kumagusu as his advisor on the Shingon sect's future direction as the discussion evolved between them. He vowed to set up a library where pupils of Shingon Buddhism could learn in the manner of wisdom-knowledge Kumagusu suggested.[266] Even after Kumagusu's return to Japan in 1900, Toki asked him if he would teach at the Shingon Buddhist school.[267] Toki concurrently found the dialogue with Kumagusu a reliable sounding board for his own intellectual endeavours.[268] Thus, Kumagusu's discourse behind wisdom-knowledge influenced the intellectual life of Toki who came to oversee Shingon, one of the prominent sects of Mahayana Buddhism in Japan.

Kumagusu did not offer concrete ideas of what societies civilised through the wisdom-knowledge would look like in practice. He did briefly elaborate on what practicing wisdom-knowledge would be like for individual's experience of learning process. Nevertheless, he discussed no detailed methods or exemplary models in surviving texts. Therefore, the chapter's primary focus will remain on the philosophical debates than practice.

I will open the chapter by expanding on the historical context and personal circumstances in which he delineated the metaphysical theories of wisdom-knowledge. I will clarify how and

[266] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 6 and 28.
[267] Toki Hōryū, *Exchanged Letters*, 255.
[268] Toki Hōryū, *Exchanged Letters.;* and Toki Hōryū, *Kōzan Temple Archive.*

why these conditions gave rise to his thoughts. Then, I will articulate his process of arriving at *henkaron* (the theory of change) and why exactly he urged that Buddhism, instead of Christianity, work with science to create a new metaphysics. The Buddhism-informed science reveals the first principles that verified his civilisation theory – and what it meant for humans and their societies. The elucidation of the first principles will be followed by a clarification on his notion of 'religion' and its role in the civilising process. After that, I will disclose what 'wisdom-knowledge' entailed as lived experience and action in theory for Kumagusu. I will conclude the chapter by clarifying his phenomenological theory that enabled him to articulate the metaphysics behind such concerns of wisdom-knowledge.

The Emergence of Wisdom-Knowledge: The Intersectional Context

Wisdom-knowledge emerged through a historically specific, culturally particular, and personally unique context that Kumagusu found himself through both chance and intention. This context emerged as five conditions intersected with one another in 1893-1894: the intellectual environment of the late 19th century London, the centre of the British Empire; further loss of his loved ones; botanical research he continued to conduct; social relations with his newly acquired friends; and an encounter with the Shingon monk Toki Hōryū.

London held an open possibility for Kumagusu to create the new form of truthmaking: wisdom-knowledge. The city was the capital of the British Empire that became so powerful as the result of its civilisational 'progress.' Britain was moving towards democracy by improving people's political representation and increasing their literacy and opportunities

to participate.[269] Hence, London attracted political dissenters, radical thinkers, and cultural figures from both inside and outside the country.[270] The wealth of intellectual sources the empire amassed provided them with the tools to debate and think for themselves – if they knew how to do so. After all, both Darwin and Spencer were English scholars who made use of the Empire's resources to create their ground-breaking scholarships.

A personal incident in Kumagusu's life concurrently instilled his determination to elucidate the logic behind the wisdom-knowledge's truthmaking. His arrival to the city was met by a news of his father's death.[271] The loss of the most earnest supporter of his scholarly pursuit followed the death of his lover while he was still in the US. The presence of the social Darwinian rhetoric of 'the survival of the fittest' became loud and clear than ever. It appeared in his embodied experience with sorrow and hardship. In the midst of these, both Japanese and British societies increasingly equated university degrees on a disciplinary subject with scholarly credibility. Yet, he remained independent. The institutionalised methods of disciplinary truthmaking did not enable people and their societies to 'civilise.' He swore to himself:

[269] E. Spencer Wellhofer, *Democracy, Capitalism and Empire in Late Victorian England, 1885-1910* (Basingstoke: Mcmillan, 1996).

[270] Including Sun Yat-Sen with who Kumagusu became close, and the anarchist thinker Peter Kropotkins with who he met at the British Museum in the following period. No detailed accounts of their conversations remain today. Takegami Mariko "Sonbun to Minakata Kumagusu/Sun Yat-Sen and Minakata Kumagusu," in *Kagaku no Hito: Sonbun – Shisōshi teki Kōsatsu/The Man of Science: Sun Yat-Sen – An Analysis as an Intellectual History* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 2014).; Minakata Kumagusu, "Rirekisho (Yabuki Yoshio ate Shokan)/Résumé (A Letter to Yabuki Yoshio)," in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū/The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu 7* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971: 1974), 15.

[271] Minakata Tsunetusu, *Letter to Minakata Kumagusu [19th January 1893 letter],* Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Raikan 4439-4619.; Kumagusu, "London Diary," 5.

> "No day or night happens without a bravery … The one who strikes on the important matter shouldn't care to deal with what the others say … I shall fight with scholarship at the risk of my life."[272]

Kumagusu embraced London's diverse intellectual spheres by criss-crossing the established disciplinary divides, public institutions and public parks, and by publishing in an academic journal. He regularly visited the Speakers' Corner in Hyde Park, an open-air space where anyone could speak, debate, and discuss their thoughts on, most commonly, the social and political matters.[273] He befriended Keepers of Antiquity, Ethnography, and Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum, and became close with a self-taught Japanologist at the University of London.[274] He presented himself as a Buddhist scholar, even wearing a Buddhist robe on a certain occasion.[275] These senior British scholars – who were also self-taught in their specialised subjects -- keenly listened to what he had to say.[276]

Kumagusu simultaneously continued to pursue natural history and science during these two years in the city. He researched microbes on his own in the parks and examined them through a microscope in his small, rented bedroom amidst mountains of books and specimens.[277] He began to publish response letters on articles in the science journal *Nature.* He did so without

[272] "日夜一刻も勇気なくては成ぬものなり。… 大事を思い立しもの他にかまう勿れ。… 学問と決死すべし。/ Nichiya ikkoku mo yūki nakuteha naranu mono nari. … daiji wo omoi tasshi mono hokani kamau nakare. … Gakumon to kesshi subeshi." Kumagusu, "London Diary," 52-54.
[273] Kumagusu, Ibid.
[274] Kumagusu met Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), the Keeper of British and medieval antiquities and ethnography, through his Japanese art and antiquity dealer friend Kataoka Masayuki (lifetime unknown), a.k.a. "Kataoka Prince" in 1893. He then acquainted the archaeologist Charles Hercules Read (1857-1929), who became the successor to Franks' position, and Sir Robert Kennaway Douglas (1838-1913), who had become the first keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts when in 1892. I elaborate on his relationship with them on Chapter 3.; For Kumagusu's account on his relationship with them, see Kumagusu "Résumé," 12-24.
[275] Kumagusu borrowed the robe from the Shingon Buddhist monk Toki Hōryū when they visited the museum together. Kumagusu "London Diary [1st November 1893]," 23.; Toki Hōryū, *The Complete Works of Mokubodō,* Ibid.
[276] Kumagusu "Résumé," Ibid.
[277] Shimura Masaki "Minakata Kumagusu to London no Futatsuno 'Mori'/Minakata Kumagusu and the Two 'Forests' of London" in *BIOCITY* vol. 70. (2017): 46-51.

joining any botanical research society because "many of them were Christian."[278] The Christian influence on modern science appeared obvious to his eyes. Christian epistemology conceptualised the reality in dichotomies and hierarchies, perceiving human *mind-heart* in dichotomy and superior to physical world of matter. The effects of Christian-influenced metaphysics reached beyond the narrow discipline of science into theory of civilisation whose basis of truths natural science illuminated. With Buddhism, Kumagusu envisaged to revise the fundamental metaphysics of truthmaking.

It was in this context in London Kumagusu met the Shingon Buddhist monk Toki Hōryū, to whom he entrusted the metaphysical theories of wisdom-knowledge. The theories emerged through Kumagusu and Toki's debates on the place of Buddhism in religion, science, and civilisation theory. Their dialogue, in other words, interconnected the diverse intellectual activities Kumagusu undertook in London. He inscribed his ideas and arguments in his extensive letters to Toki from December 1893 to October 1894.[279] He deemed it an essential task to persuade the monk that Buddhism – especially Shingon Buddhism – had to work with science to create the new form of truthmaking. What is more, he recognised that Toki would understand his intellectual language and the urgency of the task. There were at least two reasons for this: their shared epistemic origin and the intellectual context in which Japanese Buddhism found itself in the early 1890s.

Firstly, Kumagusu and Toki shared the same epistemic roots: Shingon Buddhism. Kumagusu's belief in the Mahayana branch of Buddhism derived from Shingon; the sect had its head temple at Mt. Kōya in his home region of Wakayama Prefecture in the Kii

[278] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 133.
[279] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* Ibid.; Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* Ibid.; Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki," Ibid.

region, southwest Japan. His parents familiarised him with Shingon since his youth even when the Meiji government persecuted Buddhism in Japan.[280] This background heavily influenced Kumagusu's intellectual formation not only during his adolescence but also throughout his life. He even dreamt about Kōya as he slept in London.[281] Kumagusu and Toki even acquainted with each other through a Wakayama-born mutual friend in London when Toki was passing through the city, on his way to Paris.[282] In Kumagusu's understanding, Buddhist epistemology endorsed symbiosis and equality in its understanding of reality, defying the Christian epistemic dichotomies and hierarchies. The state of human *mind-heart* could get influenced by its reflection on physical matter. Similarly, it could shape the physical aspect of reality – including human actions and the consequential state of society.

Secondly, Kumagusu and Toki both understood Japanese Buddhism's contemporaneous intellectual circumstance. After the initial decades of persecution by the Meiji government (1868-1912) in Japan, Buddhism had to reclaim its place in the wider society.[283] Toki arrived to London after representing Shingon Buddhism at a pivotal international event which major Japanese Buddhism sects deemed essential to attend and advocate Buddhism for this purpose: The first Parliament of the World's Religions (1893) in Chicago.[284] However, as

[280] Kumagusu visited the Mt. Kōya with his parents and his younger brother Tsunegusu in the spring of 1882. He later recounted his experience of the visit to the Japanese *nanshoku* scholar Iwata Jun'ichi in letters they exchanged in 1931-1941. Minakata Kumagusu and Iwata Jun'ichi, *Minakata Kumagusu Nanshoku Dangi,* ed. Hasegawa Kōzō and Tsukikawa Kazuo (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1991).; On the persecution of Buddhism by the Meiji government, see Ketelaar, "Chapter Two: Of Heretics and Martyrs: Anti-Buddhist Policies and the Meiji Restoration," in *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan*, 43-86.
[281] Kumagusu, "London Diary [17th October 1893]," 22.
[282] Kumagusu "London Diary [30th October 1893]," 23. ; Kumagusu and Toki met through their mutual Wakayama-born friend Nakai Hōnan (中井芳楠: 1853-1903), then-the branch manager of the Yokohama Specie Bank, on 30th October 1893. Nakai frequently helped Kumagusu as someone from the same home region of Wakayama.; Toki was on his way to research Buddhist artefacts at the Guimet Museum in Paris.
[283] Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan,* Ibid.
[284] On the detailed account of this event in the history of Buddhism in modern Japan, see Ketelaar, "Chapter Four: The Reconvening of the Babel: Eastern Buddhism and the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions," in *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan,* 136-173.

Ketelaar delineated, the Parliament chaired by the Christian believer John Henry Barrows (1847-1902) aimed to unite diverse religions in the world under Christian truth.[285] The Christian initiative furthermore mobilised the universalist ideas of race and religion asserted by Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory and F. Max Muller's study on the history of religion.[286] Here, evolution also happened to religion – and, as Ketelaar put it, "[e]volution was read within its Christian refiguration to extend from the simple to the complex, which is then fully, and finally, united by the pure light of Christian civilization."[287] In other words, invitees were obliged to speak to the Christian ideals.

Whereas Kumagusu and Toki shared the same epistemic roots in Shingon Buddhism, Toki did the opposite of what Kumagusu would have done in this context at the Parliament. Toki emulated Christian doctrine in his presentation entitled "Buddhism in Japan" while only subtly denying the "existence of one creator (not by this expression meaning God)."[288] He did so despite the fact that many non-Christian representatives considered that the fundamental purpose of the Parliament was to teach Christianity how to meet the modern day demands.[289] Moreover, Shingon monks in Japan expected the representative of their belief – someone who would ideally resonate the eloquence of the Shingon founder Kūkai (空海: 774-835 AD) – to show Christians a clear understanding on the true religion of the world: Buddhism.[290]

What was starkly clear to Kumagusu and not so to Toki was that Christian epistemology did not align with modern science, but Buddhist epistemology did. The background to this

[285] Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, 139.
[286] Ketelaar, "The Reconvening of the Babel," ibid.
[287] Ibid., 144-145.
[288] Ibid., 151.
[289] Ibid., 157.
[290] Ibid., 161-162.

concern was Spencer's discussion on "the antagonism of belief" between religion and science in *First Principles: A New System of Philosophy* (1862), which also played the central interest for religionists at the Parliament.[291] Science articulated its truths of reality based on its metaphysics' first principles – basic suppositions on the nature of reality that cannot be deduced from any other suppositions. Religion's account on the nature of reality was in conflict with modern science that gained the voice of authority. The publication served as Spencer's metaphysical foundation behind his social Darwinian theory of civilisation widely adopted by the Western and Westernised nations, including Meiji Japan.[292] Spencer theorised the metaphysics of the theory as he negotiated the antagonism between religion and science.[293]

Kumagusu was aware that Spencer, while doing so, imbued the metaphysics with Christian epistemology that justified social Darwinism through its hierarchical and dichotomised conceptions of the reality. The metaphysical combination justified the idea that only the fittest within the predetermined hierarchies and dichotomies of race, nation, and sex survived through competitions as people and their societies 'civilised.' This 'civilising' process happened teleologically, moving towards the predetermined goal to move up within the social hierarchies. Kumagusu therefore envisioned to deconstructed and reconstructed the *First Principles* by merging Buddhist metaphysics with fundamental logics of science. Understanding the truths on the nature of reality through this Buddhist science of wisdom-

[291] Spencer, *First Principles,* 11.; Ketelaar, Ibid.,
[292] As I discussed in chapter one, Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916), the president of the first state-founded modern university the University of Tokyo, was the foremost proponent of social Darwinism inspired by Spencer. On Katō and the history of his political ideology in relationship to theories of nature, see Julia Thomas "Kaō Hiroyuki: Turning Nature into Time," in *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 84-110.
[293] Spencer, *First Principles,* Ibid.

knowledge enabled people and their societies to 'civilise' in his sense of the word through the evolutionary *henkaron* (The Theory of Change).

Kumagusu felt propelled to guide Toki. Kumagusu was a naturalist with an in-depth understanding of modern science's historical relationship to Christianity, who illustrated his life as one similar to Kūkai's.[294] The Buddhist-naturalist and the Shingon monk spent two days of intense discussion immediately after they met.[295] Kumagusu then delineated the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge through their letter exchanges as Toki returned to Wakayama, Japan, via Paris, and Kumagusu carried on his intellectual endeavour in London.[296] In so doing, Kumagusu urged the propagation of wisdom-knowledge as a matter of urgency.[297]

Wisdom-knowledge was, as Kumagusu defined it, an inspired, amused *mind-heart*.[298] He further explained: "what is an amused *mind-heart*? That is, imagination and thoughts."[299] Such was what he considered as the act of *kōtoku* (功徳 virtue) – the highest morality of humankind that invited favourable consequences.[300] Buddhism, as a metaphysical belief-

[294] Kumagusu paid attention to English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626)'s work and his 1620 treatise *Novum Organum* that famously argued the legitimacy of scientific endeavour in the light of Theology during the European Scientific Revolution. See Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum, sive Indicia Vera de Interpretatione Naturae,* (Oxford: e typographeo academico, 1855), Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Yō 130.01.; Francis Bacon, *The Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon* (London: George Bell and sons, 1888), Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Yō 130.02.; The auto-biographical story of his life as one similar to Kūkai appeared in his hand-written newspaper he circulated among his friends when he was in the US. See Minakata Kumagusu, "Ryūseisanbōin ni atauru sho/A Writing on Ryūseisanbōin [1891]," in *Minakata Kumagusu Chinji Hyōron*, ed. Hasegawa Kōzō and Takeuchi Yoshinobu (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995), 103-111.
[295] Kumagusu "London Diary" Ibid.
[296] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* Ibid.; Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters*, Ibid.; Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki," Ibid.
[297] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 107.
[298] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters*, 59-60.
[299] "… 楽しむ心とはなにかというに想像と考思なり。/ Tanoshimuu kokoro toha nanikato iuni sōzō to shikō nari." Ibid.
[300] Kumagusu, Ibid., 128-129.

system, held this notion of *kōtoku* (virtue) as the noblest action that humankind could undertake.[301] He continued: "wisdom-knowledge is a science required for society to civilise."[302] In other words, he regarded engaging in wisdom-knowledge to 'civilise' in his sense of the word to be the most virtuous action people could embark on for the sake of humanity and its societies.

By the 1890s, the modern British and Japanese empires had established their institutional disciplinary model of modern academia based on the "science"-based metaphysics that asserted normative progress. He argued that "scientific education" of the time did not benefit morality.[303] Spencer's educational theory, too, encouraged "science-based" truthmaking with a sole focus on "practicality" instead of "learning too many impractical studies," he explained.[304] He found this idea of education completely "bonkers."[305] He highlighted that the society would turn into a "fossil-like state" if it were to suppress wisdom-knowledge.[306] However, people could not learn wisdom-knowledge through the state-run modern schools and universities, even if they wanted to. He could not misuse the moments of his life: "It would be too late, unless if we start it now."[307]

The *Henkaron* (the Theory of Change): Shattering the Teleology of Progress

[301] Kumagusu, Ibid., 128.
[302] "智識（ここにいうは … 社会物体上の開進に必要なる科学）/ Chishiki (Kokoni iuha … shakaibuttaijō no kaishin ni hitsuyō naru kagaku)" Kumagusu, Ibid., 52.
[303] "科学的教育/ Kagakuteki kyōiku" Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki," 298.
[304] "科学をもって/ Kagaku wo motte", "実用/ Jitsuyō" and "…別に学問無用のこと多く知りて不直なるよりは…/ Betsuni gakumon muyō no koto ooku shirite fuchoku naru yoriha …" Ibid.
[305] Ibid., 298.
[306] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 52.
[307] "今始めねばいよいよ後れ行くなり。/ Ima hajimeneba iyoiyo okure yukunari." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 107.

Kumagusu discerned the queer nature of reality as he examined the sources of knowledge towards which he gravitated the most: microbes and human *mind-heart*. As queer nature did, their strangeness and peculiarity inspired his intellectual curiosity and induced the urge to enquire further. In other words, the experiential qualities that defined the learning process of wisdom-knowledge corresponded to the qualitative effects that queer nature of microbes and human *mind-heart* gave to Kumagusu. The existential state of microbes and human *mind-heart* defined the queer nature of reality; they evolved through numerous changes and turns in a centerless and non-hierarchical manner. Their evolving movement defied the hierarchical teleological notion of 'progress' embedded in social Darwinian civilisational discourse. Accordingly, humans and their societies 'civilised' in his sense of the term through the centreless and non-hierarchical changing movement in the queer nature of reality.

Thus, the modern Japanese notion of social evolution as *shinkaron* (進化論: the theory of progress) completely lost its place in his understanding of civilising reality. Kumagusu had already begun to question the idea in passing while he was in the US.[308] Now, he took a radical departure: "evolution is … in fact, a *henkaron* (the theory of change) … instead of *shinkaron* (the theory of progress)."[309] The queer nature of reality illuminated that evolution comprised of a series of "*shinka* (progression)" and "*taika* (retrogression)," repeatedly changing its directions, instead of orientating towards one directional goal.[310] *Henkaron* (the theory of change) elucidated the structure and process of evolution as centerless and non-

[308] Kumagusu Notebook, Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Jippitsu 075.
[309] Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki," 248-249.
[310] Ibid.

hierarchical, i.e. as similar to the changing forms of microbes and fluctuating state of human *mind-heart*.

Kumagusu left neither a detailed nor a cohesive account on the theory of *henkaron* (the theory of change). However, the significance of the theory lay in the way in which he, though briefly, interconnected microbes and human *mind-heart*'s *henkaron* (the theory of change) with other botanical and animal species and human societies. The "curious and strange" biology of certain microbial, botanical, and animal species, the civilisational state of human *mind-heart*, and the technological sophistication of certain ancient societies all embodied *henkaron* (the theory of change). He explained: "Many of the species considered "retarded" nowadays are not something primitive; they were once highly advanced yet have retreated to their current forms."[311] Moreover, "on the civilising state of *mind-heart*, one cannot always claim that the present state is better than the past."[312] Civilisational evolution as teleological progress of human society, furthermore, dismissed the technological sophistication of ancient civilisations exemplified by "the Egyptian pyramid" and "Moai statues" as "strange mysteries."[313] However, those "strange mysteries" were authentic truth of reality. Human society, *mind-heart*, and species all evolved through various turns, appearing to move towards various directions. Kumagusu contended: "therefore … one should call it *henka* (変化: change) or *tenka* (転変: turn, or, tact)."[314]

[311] "今、下等生物下等生物というものは、多くは原始のものにあらずして、一旦高等なりしものが退却せるものなり。/ Ima, getōseibutsu getōseibutsu to iumonoha, ōkuha genshi no mononi arazushite, ittan kōtō narishi monoga taikyaku seru mononari." Ibid.
[312] "心性の開化は、物形の開化とは多いに違い、一盛一衰一盛一衰するが、決して今のものが昔に勝れりといいがたし。/ Shinsei no kaika ha, buttai no kaika toha ooini chigai, issei issue issei issue suruga, kesshite ima no mono ga mukashi ni masareri to iigatashi." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 152-168.
[313] Ibid.
[314] Ibid.

The *henkaron* (the theory of change) paradigm perceived evolution as centerless and non-hierarchical in its structure and process, similar to how the microbe slime mould evolved in its form. What appeared to be 'progression' and 'retrogression' did not necessarily move in a single linear manner towards or away from a goal. What seemed "primitive" was not always ancient. Similarly, what seemed 'ancient' was not primitive. The evolutionary movement neither moved up nor down in the normative civilisational hierarchy. Accordingly, the civilisational evolution of queer nature operated through a series of 'changes' and 'turns.' The nature of reality appeared queer.

Kumagusu's metaphysics for wisdom-knowledge developed through this assertion of the nature of reality – and therefore the civilising, evolutionary process of societies – as queer. Hence, he considered all of the key discoveries made on the nature of the universe all part of "*henka* (change)," not *shinka* (progress), "from Charles Lyell (1797-1875)'s principle of geology and Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory to John Lubbock (1834-1913)'s theory of humanity and Herbert Spencer's principles of the universe."[315] The progress theory emerged because European scholars did not start their research from the smallest existence right in front of them, such as the atom or amoebas – Kumagusu argued.[316] Instead, the European scientific revolution began with the research on the biggest subject: astronomy.[317] They then turned to geography, biology, and "now even ended up discussing the progress

[315] "ラプラスの天象変化、ライエルの地層変化、ダーウィンの生物変化、ラボックの人類変化、スペンセルの宇宙万象変化等/ Rapurasu no tenshō henka, Raieru no chisō henka, Darwin no seibutsu henka, Rabokku no jinrui henka, Supenseru no uchūbanshō henka tō" Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki," 248-249.

[316] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* Ibid., p.208.; amoebas ギリシャ語で「変化」を意味する。Minakata Kumagusu scholar Takahashi Yasuo pointed out the etymology of the world 'amoebas' derives from Greek word ἀμοιβή (amoibḗ, "change"). See Takahashi Yasuo *Kokoro ni Fushigi Ari: Hito to Shisō/There Exist Wonders in Mind-heart* (Tokyo: JICC Shuppan Kyoku, 1992), 15.

[317] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* Ibid.

of a chemical element."[318] His *henkaron* (the theory of change), instead, emerged from his observation of microbes and his *mind-heart.* So did the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge.

Creating the Metaphysics of *Henkaron* (the Theory of Change)

Kumagusu strove to amend the nature of reality by deconstructing and reconstructing the metaphysical theories that the originator of social Darwinism Spencer postulated three decades ago in *First Principles: A New System of Philosophy* (1862).[319] In so doing, he urged Toki that Buddhism had to come together with science to revise the metaphysics. As I mentioned earlier, Spencer, too, delineated *First Principles* through examining the reconciliability of the antagonism between religion and science. Religion and science mattered in this work because they both operated as the truth-makers of the world, contributing to how one understood the nature of reality. The queer nature of reality illuminated that people and societies civilised through *henkaron* (the theory of change), not social Darwinian *shinkaron* (the theory of progress). Kumagusu had to amend the very metaphysics that reinforced the latter civilisation theory instead of the former.

The reconciliation of religion, i.e. the narrative within the Old Testament, and European modern science, had been one of the uppermost interests for philosophers in Europe since its scientific revolution in the 16th-17th century. Darwin's 1859 work *On the Origin of Species* posed a further threat from science to the Judeo-Christian narrative.[320] The

[318] "今では化学元素の進化迄もいふに至れり。" Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 209.
[319] Spencer, *First Principles,* Ibid.
[320] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life* (London: Routledge, 1859: 2017).

reconciliation of the two truth-makers was an upmost societal issue when Spencer wrote *First Principles* (1867), the prequal to his grand project on the making of a "new system of philosophy" to replace the Judeo-Christian belief that stemmed in European Middle Ages. He therefore articulated the need for science to work with religion in this work.[321] However, the concern for the reconciliation emerged because Christianity and science's understanding of the nature of reality did not logically align with one another.

Kumagusu recognised that Christian narrative operated as a doctrine that affected one's way of life, characterised by the suffix *shugi* (主義: ism) in Japanese, in Spencer's understanding of 'religion' in the English philosopher's metaphysics. He argued: "whatever the Westerners says they relate it to *yasokyōshugi* (耶蘇教主義: Christianism) – after all, they never think about getting outside the Christianism."[322] In so doing, he contended that religions that worshipped God were not suitable to work with science. Not only did the creationist narrative fail to align with the logic of science, but how this positioned God as the saviour did not help people to civilise through changes and turns of *henkaron* (the theory of change).

In the meantime, Buddhism was a Godless religion that shared the same fundamental logic with science. What is more, the aim of Buddhism was to *facilitate* people in their development instead of *saving* them from their troubles and regrets. Buddhism's alliance with science, as a result, created freedom and independence from the idea of such a higher power that functioned to help them *survive* in the teleological process. The metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge articulated through the symbiosis of Buddhism and science, instead,

[321] Spencer, *First Principles,* Ibid.
[322] "西洋人がなにかいふと耶蘇主義に相対する故、結局耶蘇主義の外に出ることは脳はず。/ Seiyōjin ga nanikaifu to yasoshugi ni soutai suru yue, kekkyoku yaso shugi no soto ni deru kotoha omowazu." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 205.

endorsed people's own agencies and enabled them to civilise according to the *natural* movement of *henkaron* (the theory of change).

Kumagusu argued that the principles of science highly resembled Buddhist metaphysics.[323] Their understanding on the nature of reality did not contradict each other. Science and Buddhism shared the most foundational logic of metaphysics *inga* (因果: cause and effect) to explain the fundamental nature of reality. Kumagusu therefore argued that Buddhist monks could even perceive modern philosophy and science as "eulogies on Buddhism."[324] Moreover, his assertion echoed what Auguste Comte (1798-1857), the first modern philosopher of science in Europe and the founder of sociology, maintained: "Comte said religion should have established itself by asserting logic."[325] Out of various religions in the world, Buddhism was the religion that stood on logics instead of God. Because they were both logical, they could elucidate the fundamentally queer nature of reality.

Accordingly, it was only logical for wisdom-knowledge to emerge without the idea of a higher being, God, providing people with freedom from such a power-relation. Buddhism was indeed a belief system without the Absolute God. Therefore, the Buddhism-derived metaphysics also freed science from the God-worshiping narrative that did not comply with logic. Kumagusu asserted Buddhism is "a *mushinkyō* (無神教), i.e. a religion without a God, because it does not worship God."[326] He translated this notion to English as "Atheism."[327]

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[323] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 57-58.
[324] Ibid., 83.
[325] "仏のオゴスコム August Comte は理学をば主張して宗教を立んとせしが、行れざりき。/ Fraunsu no Ogosu Komu Agust Comte ha rigaku woba shuchō shite shūkyō wo tatanto seshiga, okonaware zariki." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 137.
[326] "さて次は仏教。これは神を立てぬゆえ、無神教 (Atheism) 。/Sate tsugi ha bukkyō. Kore ha kami wo tatenu yue, mishinkyō (Atheism)." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 79.
[327] Ibid.

Having said that, he certainly did not disrespect other religions that worshipped God(s).[328] For example, he discussed how he appreciates that Christianity also cherishes the notion of freedom and equality.[329] He was indeed "particularly fond of" the Unitarian Church and the Quakers to the point he "even considered becoming a Quaker."[330] However, the science of wisdom-knowledge had to be Atheist, unlike the Judeo-Christian-derived science. This is because, he argued, people did not develop their *mind-heart* as civilising human beings if they could simply pray for forgiveness repeatedly – for their regrets did not provide them with much meaning.[331]

Kumagusu surveyed other forms of religion also represented at the 1893 Parliament of the World's Religions and their relationship to the notion of God to articulate this point. "The religion of the [ancient] Greek and Roman" was "*tashinkyō* (Polytheism)."[332] One of the oldest continuing religions Zoroastrianism, "the religion of Zoroaster … who believed to have existed 40,000 BC," was "*nishinkyō* (Dualism)."[333] Hinduism was "truly difficult … but for now," he called it "*sanshinkyo,*" literally: a religion with three gods.[334] Judaism, Christianity, and Islam were all "*isshinkyō* (Monotheism)."[335] These "religions with a God"

[328] Ibid., 51.
[329] Ibid., 15.
[330] "小生もクエーカーははなはだ好きじゃ。… 故に小生もこれならんかと思いしこと多きが … またユニタリアンは … 耶蘇教にあらずして仏教みたようなものなり。" Ibid., 84.
[331] Ibid.
[332] "ギリシア・ローマの教は … 多神教 (Polytheism)。/ Girishia・Rōma no oshie ha… tashinkyō (Polytheism)" Ibid., 77.
[333] "ゾロアストルという人 … 紀元前四万年に存せしとかいえり。/ Zoroasutoru to iuhito …. Kigenzen yonman'nen ni sonzeshi toka ieri." And "二神教 (Dualism)。/ Nishinkyō (Dualism)." Ibid.
[334] "これ実にむつかし。… 今はまず三神教か。/ Kore jitsuni mutsukashi. … Imaha mazu sanshinkōka." Ibid., 77-78.
[335] "一神教/ Isshinkyō" Ibid., 78-79.

encouraged people to "recklessly pray to the god(s)" about their regrets, he explained.[336] They did not help people to develop their *mind-heart* as civilising human beings. He explained: "How Christians emphasised "the intent of God" equates with how Buddhist monks stressed the idea of *in-en* (cause and causal-relation)."[337] Perceiving cause and causal-relation as such freed people from the God that restrained them from relying on their ability to think and feel for themselves, so as not to repeat the same pattern of regrets.

Therefore, what the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge needed in a religion that collaborates with science was the role of *facilitator* instead of a *savior.* It had to respect people's independence and their own agencies. Such a role aligned with what Kumagusu understood as the role of science. Facilitation was the existential purpose of *Daijō* (Mahayana) Buddhism – the branch of Buddhism to which Shingon Buddhism belonged. Unlike the *Shōjō* (Hinayana) branch of Buddhism that prioritised personal formation of oneself over the relief of others, *Daijō* Buddhism placed emphasis on the latter, facilitating as many people as possible to enlightenment.[338] He explained: "What differentiated Buddhism from other religions is that, in the same manner to science, it performed what people need the most: the facilitation of their development."[339] *Daijō* Buddhist monks, then, had to attend to this work. Words of Comte also affirmed his concern. Kumagusu recounted:

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[336] "むちゃくちゃに神に悔い神に祈りて一々その意に任するごとき理観を、仏教は有せざるなり。/ Muchakucha ni kamini kuiri Kamini inorite ichiichi sonoini makasurugotoki rikanwo, bukkyōha yūsezaru nari." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 129.

[337] "耶蘇徒の*神威*ということを主張するは、仏教が*因縁*を主張するに等し。/ Yasokyō no *Shini* toiukotowo shuchōsuruha, bukkyōga *inga* wo shuchō suru ni hitoshi." Ibid., 58.

[338] Kumagusu asserted that *shojo* Buddhism was insignificant. See Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters*, 13.

[339] "…
仏教の他教徒異なるは、人間に第一必要として開進の助手たる科学と同一轍を行きおることなり。/ …Bukkyō no takyōto kotonaruha, ningenni daiichi hitsuyō toshite kaishin no joshu taru kagakuto douittetsu wo okonaiki orukoto nari." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters*, 129.

"monks ought to become the adviser to people of the society."[340] The advisory role respected people's independence, own agency and their ability to self-develop their *minds-hearts*.

The Godless religion Buddhism was the religion that ought to work with science to create metaphysics for this wisdom-knowledge. Not only were they logically compatible, but their alliance also assumed the respect towards people's own agency to civilise as they embraced the changes and turns of *henkaron* (the theory of change). He considered conception of "God" as "*yūge"* (有碍: obstacle) in the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge.[341] He argued that how these religions configured "God" in their belief system had a limitation in its fundamental ability.[342] He explicated even Spencer said "religion would yearn for a life full of ups and downs and would completely stop behaving to please the God" when people were truly civilised.[343] Kumagusu contended: "Humans ought to reach a place more precious than God."[344] The precious place humans ought to arrive at was where the society and its people civilised through the wisdom-knowledge in line with the civilisational movement of *henkaron* (the theory of change) in the queer nature of reality.

The First Principles of *Henkaron* (the Theory of Change)

It mattered which religion collaborated with science because it influenced the epistemic lens that elucidated what Spencer called "the ultimate truth," the irrefutable truth of the

[340] "オーゴスト・コムの語に、僧は社会人民の忠告者とすべしといへり。/ Ogusuto・Komu no kotoba ni, sōha shakaijinmin no chūkokusha to subeshi to ieri. " Ibid., 164.
[341] Ibid.
[342] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 25.
[343] "… 宗教は禍福を求厭し、神巫に媚諛ことは全く止み… /Shūkyō ha kafukuwo kyūen shi, ichiko ni biyu kotoha mattaku yami…" Kumagusu, 'Letters to Toki Hōryū', Ibid., 299.
[344] Ibid.

fundamental nature of reality that both religion and science illuminated.[345] The ultimate truth discerned by religion and science indicated the first principles that regulated the universe.[346] The principles, in turn, shaped the structure and process of societal evolution.[347] One of the driving first principles Spencer asserted and with which Kumagusu critically engaged was the law of the persistence of force.[348] Together with the law of the instability of the homogeneous and the law of the multiplicity effect, this universal force of nature facilitated the evolutionary process of the societal progress.[349] The dominant process involved evolution from homogeneity to heterogeneity that accelerated in its speed.[350] The social class that segregated people into heterogeneous groups in the industrialised, "civilised" societies was a good example of this.[351] The combination of the heterogeneities within the society created "mutual dependence" among them.[352] Therefore, the hierarchies and divides among humanity promoted "happiness," so he asserted.[353] Kumagusu condemned such metaphysical assertion that resulted in Spencer's assumed normative understanding of civilisational structure and process.[354]

Kumagusu contended that the principle for the progress theory emerged from Christianity.[355] In doing so, he argued that Buddhist theories of metaphysics encompassed the principle that grounded such a theory.[356] However, the Buddhist theories of metaphysics illuminated other first principles not uncovered by the Christian-based metaphysics. The discerned principles,

[345] Spencer, *First Principles,* Ibid.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 42.; Spencer 'Part II. The Knowable: Chapter IV. The Persistence of Force', in *First Principles,* 185-192.
[349] Spencer, Ibid.
[350] Spencer, 'Part II. The Knowable: Chapter XIV. The Law of Evolution' in *First Principles,* 307-328.
[351] Ibid.
[352]Ibid., 328.
[353] Ibid.
[354] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 12 and 129.; Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 42 and 104.
[355] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 42.
[356] Ibid.

in turn, defined *henkaron* (the theory of change). What is more, here, the first principles generated virtuous actions among people, leading them and their societies to civilise in accordance with the queer nature of *henkaron* (the theory of change).

Firstly, Kumagusu's Buddhism-influenced epistemic lens of science interpreted Spencer's explanation on the working of first principles completely differently to the author's intention. In his eyes, the most fundamental first principle, the law of the persistence of force, verified *henkaron* (the theory of change). The law delineated the recurring pattern of cause and effect.[357] This recurring pattern, furthermore, evidenced the changes and turns in natural phenomena and human behaviours. He listed out examples of these that Spencer noted:

> "from the ways in which large waves move up and down and how objects vibrate, … to … how a student would study hard before an exam, then become lazy, studies again, and then get lazy again."[358]

The waves, vibrations and emotions impacted the movement and behaviours of the physical world, variously making them change and turn. Hence, Spencer's first principle reaffirmed Kumagusu's *henkaron* (the theory of change).

The matter of metaphysics, however, could not just be about the law of the persistence of force, Kumagusu asserted.[359] The symbiosis of Buddhism and science in his epistemic lens illuminated other ultimate truths; these were what I refer to as the universal laws of virtuous actions and of absolute equality. While he did not name these laws as such himself, their

[357] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 48.
[358] "波濤が凹凸して動くより、物体の顫動 … 学生が試験前に勉強して、またなまけ、また勉強し、またなまけ出す等のことまで出せり。/ Hatōga ōtosu shite ugokuyori, buttai no sendō … gakusei ga shikenmae ni benkyōshite, matanamake, mata benkyōshi, mata namakedasu tō no kotomade daseri." Ibid.
[359] Ibid., 129.

pertinence in his understanding on the queer nature of reality is undeniable. I argue that these laws may have been, in fact, what Toki referred to as "logics outside logic" in their exchanged letters.[360] Kumagusu asserted that if "logics outside logic" were to exist, "they are not logics outside logic."[361] Their existences simply "elucidated the insufficiency of science and philosophy today."[362] He used the Buddhist notions of *rin'ne inga* (輪廻因果) and *jirimuge* (事理無碍) to articulate the queer nature of reality. How he employed these terms illustrates their existences as the logics outside the logic of European modern science and philosophy as well as their relevance in his understanding of first principles.

Rin'ne inga (輪廻因果) or *inga rin'ne* (因果輪廻) was one of the key terms Kumagusu used to theorise what can be understood as the law of virtuous action in the dynamic of *henkaron* (the theory of change).[363] Here, he combined two different, yet inter-related, fundamental concepts that clarified the nature of reality in Buddhism: *inga* (cause and effect) and *rin'ne* (the cycle of reincarnation).[364] The former term referred to the fundamental law of nature that both Buddhism and science asserted in their understanding of metaphysics. The latter term referred to how human actions and behaviours influenced the course of one's reincarnation in Buddhism. In other words, these explained how the response of human *mind-heart* to the physical world they inhabited operated as the *causes* to certain *effects*, resulting in the *changing* patterns of phenomena.[365] Furthermore, Kumagusu asserted that Buddhism held the notion of *kōtoku* (功徳: virtuous actions) to be the highest form of actions

[360] "理外の理/ Rigai no ri" Tokl Hōryū, *Exchanged Letters,* 33.
[361] "理外の理に非ず。/ Rigai no ri ni arazu." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 210.
[362] "今日の…これ科学、哲学の不全を訴えるまでなり。/ Kyōno … kore kagaku, tetsugaku no fuzenwo uttaeru made nari." Ibid.
[363] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 128-129 and 131.
[364] Ibid.
[365] Ibid.

humans could undertake within the cycle of cause and effect.[366] Therefore, "science increased the cycle of recurrence through virtuous actions," enabling people and their societies to civilise.[367] Thus, his Buddhism-influenced epistemic lens of science did not only confirm *henkaron* (the theory of change) that Spencer involuntarily illustrated, but also discerned what can be characterised as the law of virtuous action.

The law of virtuous action coexisted with what can be considered the law of absolute equality. The metaphysical law of *jirimuge* (事理無碍) asserted that Kumagusu's *henkaron* (the theory of change) exists with the universal logic of the absolute equality – what he contended as the vital civilisational quality in his civilisation theory I clarified in the previous chapter.[368] The law of absolute equality was one of the four universal laws taught in *Kagon* (華厳: Huayan) denomination of *Daijō* (Mahayana) Buddhism.[369] He explicated that the existence of this law was precisely the reason why he respected Buddhism the most.[370] The term *Jirimuge* described the relationship between *koto* (事: things, or phenomena) and *ri* (理: universal logic) as the one of water and waves without a boundary.[371] *Koto,* the world of relative discrimination, blended with *ri,* the truth of absolute equality.[372] The boundaryless dynamic of water and waves shaped the metaphysics as *henkaron* (the theory of change) while asserting the civilisational quality he believed in as

[366] Ibid., 128.
[367] "すなわち科学は輪廻を人の功徳 … にて増上するなり。/ Sunawachi kagaku ha rin'ne wo hito no kōtoku … nite zōjō surunari." Ibid., 58.
[368] Ibid., 48.
[369] "事理無碍法界/Jirimuge Hokkai," *Japan Knowledge: Bukkyōgo Daijiten/The Dictionary of Buddhist Terms,* https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2683/lib/display/?lid=54100P157400; On Kumagusu's wider discussion the notion of 事理無碍/ Jirimuge, see Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 122, 132, and 136.
[370] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 132.
[371] *The Dictionary of Buddhist Terms,* Ibid.
[372] Ibid.

universal logic. Hence, Kumagusu argued that the more the world civilised, the more the societal phenomena of *inga* (cause and effect) appeared as *jirimuge*.[373]

Thus, Kumagusu elucidated the first principles for the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge. He did so by asserting Buddhism as the most compatible "religion" to science that illuminated the working of *henkaron* (the theory of change). Spencer's metaphysics that assumed the Judeo-Christian epistemology in the place of "religion" restricted scientific understanding of the universal laws. Kumagusu's Buddhism-influenced epistemology, instead, clarified what Spencer's metaphysics could not perceive. These were the universal laws of virtuous actions and of absolute equality. Therefore, the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge he delineated by bringing together Buddhism and science induced virtuous actions in absolute equality. That was how people and their societies civilised amid the *henkaron* (the theory of change) in the queer nature of reality. He proclaimed: "Placing the first principle [that evidenced *henkaron* (the theory of change)] above the notion of God matches with the academic theory that ought to govern the destiny of the world's humanity from now on."[374]

The Buddhist 'Religion' as the Shaper of Virtuous Actions

Kumagusu discerned the first principles of *henkaron* (the theory of change) not only because of the preexisting Buddhist notions. He did so because he recognised 'religion' as a belief-

[373]Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 136.
[374] "… 大則を神意の上におくことが、今後世界人間の進行を支配すべき学理と同一し居る故也。/ … Taisoku wo shini no ue ni okukotoga, kongo sekai ningen no shinkō wo shihai subeki gakurito dōitsu shieru yuenari. " Ibid., 134.

system that determined the course of civilising human actions. How he defined the term religion resembled interpretations of neither Spencer's nor Japanese scholars' who worked with the Meiji state. Spencer primarily approached 'religion' as a Middle Age belief system whose metaphysics needs to be replaced with the up-to-date *First Principle: A New System of Philosophy* (1867).[375] Japanese state scholars of the period, in the meantime, understood 'religion' – or *shūkyō* (宗教) as Kumagusu referred to in modern Japanese – as a Western intellectual conception of Christian-origin.[376] Both of them, significantly, theorised the knowledge of religion in accordance with the progress theory in bringing together religion and science as they produced knowledge. After all, their knowledge-making concerned 'survival of the fittest' within international competition.

Kumagusu took a radically different approach. He perceived religion as a major active agent in shaping civilising human actions, present in the lives of people in the societies. Therefore, the notion of religion had to become free and independent from the endorsed West-centric notion of the progress theory. Asserting Buddhism in the place of the free and independent notion of religion, the determinant of civilising human actions, brought about the metaphysical wisdom-knowledge of *henkaron* (the theory of change). It did so because Buddhism and science jointly illuminated virtuous actions in absolute equality as the first principles of *henkaron* (the theory of change) in the queer nature of reality.

"Religion" was a belief-system that determined the course of civilising human actions in the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge. Kumagusu explicated that "religion" was a "culture";

[375] Spencer, *First Principles,* Ibid.
[376] Jason Ānanda Josephson *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).; On the late 19th century debate on whether Buddhism and/or Confucianism fell under the category of "philosophy" or "religion," see G. Clinton Godart, ""Philosophy" or "Religion"? The confrontation with Foreign Categories in Late Nineteenth Century Japan," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* 69/1 (2008): 71-91.

and a culture was "*kaikagoto* (開化事: a civilisational phenomenon)."[377] Furthermore, "*shūkyō* (religion) offered people a belief, and the belief guided people's actions."[378] Here, religion was an active agent of a civilising moment. Therefore, it mattered which religion worked with science to articulate the fundamental nature of reality and thereby the nature of civilisation theory.

'Religion,' however, became synonymous with Christianity.[379] The metaphysics influenced by Christian-derived epistemology resulted in the theory of civilisation that embraced murder, theft, and the wars as 'civilising' human actions. Kumagusu considered such actions 'uncivilised.'[380] "That is why," he continued, "I envisaged to provide the wisdom-knowledge necessary to guide more or less uncivilised people."[381] Hence, he delineated the notion of 'religion' free and independent of the existing West-centric notion of progress theory informed by the Christian epistemology. He articulated 'religion' concerning what it does to lived human experience – it determined the course of civilising human actions – as part of the wisdom-knowledge.

Such an understanding of 'religion' was certainly comparable to Spencer's Christian-influenced definition of the notion. In the chapter "Ultimate Religious Ideas" in *First Principles,* he contended: "… a religious creed is definable as an *a priori* theory of the

[377] Kumagusu wrote 'culture' in English in the original text written in Japanese. The commonly used translation of the term 'culture' today is *bunka* (文化) instead of his original translation *kaikagoto* (開化事: a civilisational phenomenon). Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 105 and 134.
[378] "宗教は人に信を与へ、信は人の行を導くなり。/Shūkyō ha hitoni shin wo atae, shin ha hito no okonai wo michibiku nari." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 105.
[379] Josephson, *The Invention of Relition in Japan,* Ibid.; Isomae Jun'Ichi, "The Conceptual Formation of the Category "Religion" in Modern Japan: Religion, State, Shintō," *Journal of Religion in Japan* 1/3 (2012): 226-45.
[380] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 104-105.
[381] "故に小生も、何卒して多少後進の人を、此衆生を導かんが為に必要なる智を与へたきなり。/ Yueni shōsei mo, nanitzoshite tashō kōshin no hito wo, koshūjō wo michibikanga tameni hitsuyō naru chi wo ataetaki nari." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 105.

Universe."[382] Hence, the belief system provided knowledge evidently "erroneous" in the late 19th century.[383] Science, in turn, articulated *a posteriori* "objective" knowledge of the universe.[384] Here, religion and science were polar opposites. 'Religion' was full of incorrect understanding – unlike science that actively drove the modern and present moment of civilisational progress. Spencer therefore needed to replace the 'religious' metaphysics that stemmed in the Middle Age although it certainly carried "a soul of truth."[385]

What is more, Spencer argued consideration on morality is not essential to any 'religion.' He asserted "moral code … is in all cases a supplementary growth," and therefore, ought to be left out in defining the "religious creed."[386] In other words, he assumed that the moral code is not an innate quality of the universal natural law in any religious thoughts.[387] The moral code was clearly not "a supplementary growth" in the case of Buddhism, in the light of Kumagusu's metaphysics that asserted *henkaron* (the theory of change). On the contrary to Spencer's understanding, Buddhist epistemology, in working with science, illuminated virtuous actions in absolute equality as the fundamental laws that regulated the movement of the universe. Religion, therefore, determined the *natural* existence of moral actions, or lack thereof, in the civilising humans.

Kumagusu was also aware that his understanding of Buddhism as a religion thoroughly differed from most Japanese state scholars of the Meiji era. First of all, the common Japanese notion of *shūkyō* (religion) came with Christianity at its outset. As Jason Josephson discussed, the notion of "religion" emerged in modern Japanese as a foreign concept, in the

[382] Spencer, *First Principles,* 43.
[383] Ibid., 3.
[384] Spencer, "Ultimate Scientific Ideas," in *First Principles,* 47-67.
[385] Ibid., 3.
[386] Ibid., 43.
[387] Ibdi.,

context of international competition in mid-19th century.[388] In 1853, the international superpowers America, Russia, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and France appeared in their battleships to demand the full access to Japanese ports with a treaty.[389] It outlined freedom of religion as one of the clauses, as the Shogunate government had prevented Christian missionaries from entering the mainland Japan during the Tokugawa period (1603-1868).[390] The addressed notion of 'religion' here equated to Christianity.[391] The Japanese government's official translators invented the new term *shūkyō* (religion) as the translation of the Christian-imbued English word in 1858 treaties.[392] As a result, Japanese scholars debated whether existing belief-systems in Japan – such as Buddhism and Shintoism – were *shūkyō* (religion) or not according to the Christian-derived Western norm.[393] Kumagusu's understanding of *shūkyō* (religion) was not concerned with such matters. What mattered to him was the impact of the belief system on civilising human action.

Accordingly, Kumagusu integrated Buddhism with science in theorising the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge. In so doing, he briefly articulated the difference between his effort and that of the contemporaneous Japanese Buddhist thinker Inoue Enryō (井上円了: 1858-1919). Upon being encouraged by Toki to teach Enryō and other Japanese Buddhists whose work Kumagusu criticised, he firmly refused it.[394] He and Enryō had "extremely different *kokoroe* (心得: literally, "what the *mind-heart* understands")."[395] Enryō merged Buddhism with *shinkaron* (the theory of progress) and justified the act of hierarchical competition in the

[388] Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan,* Ibid.
[389] Ibid., 71-72.
[390] Ibid., 72-73.
[391] Ibid.
[392] Ibid., 73.
[393] Isomae, 'The Conceptual Formation', Ibid.
[394] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 5 and 15.; Toki Hōryū, *Exchanged Letters,* 7.
[395] "… はなはだ心得違いと存じ候。/ Hanahada kokoroe chigai to zonji sōrō." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 15.

1890s.[396] Enryō was the foremost proponent of converging Buddhism with logics of the Western modernity adopted by the Meiji state. Evolutionary theory played the heart of this process as Buddhist institutions struggled to survive in the aftermath of the state-led persecution of their belief in the early Meiji period. Buddhism had to reinvent itself to meet the modern demand of civilisational 'progress.' Thus, Kumagusu and Enryō had contrasting understanding of evolutionary and civilisation theories. Kumagusu maintained it seemed absurd that the Buddhist, "someone who preaches that even plants and countries ought to achieve enlightenment," would discuss social hierarchies.[397]

Enryō's understanding of Buddhism as a *shūkyō* (religion) conformed with the science of progress theory. This is because his theoretical arguments and educational practice he launched developed on his background in studying the newly created field of *tetsugaku* (哲学: philosophy) at the state-funded Tokyo Imperial University, after a training in Jōdo-Shinshū (浄土真宗: True Pure Land sect) Buddhism monkhood. *Tetsugaku* (philosophy) primarily revolved around the study of Western philosophy. He argued the reason behind European nations' civilisational advancement lay in their study of philosophy: the foundational discipline to their politics, laws, science, and technology that all contributed to their 'progress.'[398] He contended that Buddhism clearly aligned with its philosophical principles and committed to disseminate his theories for them to be practiced in real life.[399] "Buddhism will disappear otherwise," so Enryō feared and preached his students at the

[396] Ibid.,
[397] "… 草木国土までも成仏すべしということを説く教を奉ずるものが、階級等のことをかれこれいうは … / Kusakikokudo mademo jōbutsu subeshi toiukoto wo toku oshie wo hōzuru monoga, kaikyūtō no koto wo karekoreiuha …" Ibid.
[398] Won Yong Sang. "Acceptation and Development of Western Thought in Japanese Buddhism of Modern Time - Focused on Inoue Enryo(井上円了)." *Journal of Eastern Philosophy*, no. 67 (2011): 341-71.
[399] Ibid.

Tetsugakukan (哲学館: The Institute of Philosophy), a school he founded in Tokyo in 1887 to "teach *tetsugaku* (philosophy) to those who do not understand European language."[400] As a result, unlike Kumagusu, he did not see the need to deconstruct and reconstruct the metaphysics itself – the very foundation of philosophical study. For Enryō, philosophy of the West was given. It was so because his concern for theory−based practice derived from his primary concern for survival of Buddhism instead of social betterment.[401]

Kumagusu in the meantime contextualised Buddhism in the Medieval history of Buddhist science in wider Asia, instead of discussing Buddhism in the context of the late 19th century progress theory in relation to European science. His intellectual imagination reversed how Spencer – the source of knowledge for Enryō's Buddhist science – perceived the metaphysics of "religion" that stemmed from the Middle Ages. Kumagusu perceived it as the active and ever-more relevant agent in the present moment of 1890s that required a new metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge. He explicated that *Daijō* Buddhism and its monks had been no stranger to science.[402] The Kuchean monk Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什: 344-413), a renowned polymath of Vedantic and Indian studies who translated Sanskrit Buddhist texts to Chinese, worked on cosmology.[403] The Chinese monk Ichigyō (一行: 683-727), who

[400] Inoue Enryō "Shiritsu Tetsugakukan Settchigan/Hopes for Establishing the Institute of Philosophy," in *Tōyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi Shiryō 1 ・Jō/The Historical Sources for the Hundred-Year of the Tōyō University 1 ・the First Volume* (Tokyo: *T*ōyō University, 1988), 89.
[401] The idea of theory-based practice for social betterment became the focus of the New Buddhism movement (新仏教運動: *Shin Bukkyo Undō*) initiated by Enryō's students in 1889 at the *Tetsugakukan* (The Institute of Philosophy). The movement that aimed to achieve radical improvement of society flourished in 1900-1915, until the Meiji government forced it to come to an end. Its activities ranged from call for freedom of religion, freedom of speech, abolition of prostitution, abstinence, and ban on smoking to disaster victim rescue within Japan and fundraising for famine in India. The key founders of the movement included Takashima Beihō (高嶋 米峰: 1875-1949) and Sakaino Kōyō (境野黄洋:1871-1933) who advocated for the Nonwar Movement. Kan'numa Aikira "Shinbukkyō Undō to Tetsugakukan -- Kōyō Sakaino to Takashima Beihō wo chūshin ni" in *Indogaku Bukkyō Kenkyū* Vol.49, No.1 (2000)001, 1-11.
[402] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 58.
[403] Ibid.

created the foundation of esoteric Buddhism within Mahayana, specialised in cosmology-based calendar making.[404] Another Chinese monk Jianzhen (鑑真: 688-763), who introduced the Ritsu denomination to Japan, studied pharmacology. And the Japanese monk Jōzō (浄蔵: 891-964) professed mathematics and science.[405] He urged that contemporary monks ought to be aware of the historical ties.[406] Buddhism was ancient but not outdated. Buddhism, as a *shūkyō* (religion), played an active role in working with science to induce civilising human actions, then and now. Such an action was virtuous through an absolute equality vital in the civilisational movement of *henkaron* (the theory of change).

Thus, Kumagusu understood "religion" as a belief-system that determined the course of civilising human action. It therefore mattered which religion worked with science to create the new metaphysics. Here, "religion" was ancient but not "primitive." It was an active agent in shaping the civilising action of humans that impacted the state of societies, here and now. His definition of "religion" freed the notion from the Christian-informed West-centric notion of progress theory inhabited by Spencer and Japanese scholars of the Meiji state. In doing so, he asserted Buddhism in the place of religion that collaborated with science to create the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge. Buddhism and science, as a result, elucidated virtuous action in absolute equality as the first principle of *henkaron* (the theory of change) in the queer nature of reality.

Wisdom-knowledge as the Desire for Strange Things

[404] Ibid.
[405] Ibid.
[406] Ibid.

The queer nature of reality impacted the ways in which the knower engaged with wisdom-knowledge. In their lived experience of wisdom-knowledge, strange, wondrous and peculiar things fascinated them, invoking inspirations and desire for them to enquire further. It highly resembled the intellectual and emotional process Kumagusu had undergone when he discerned queer nature in the biology of microbial species and the state of his *mind-heart* whilst in America. He described this experience of wisdom-knowledge as "*myōsō* (妙想)."[407]

The notion of *myōsō* referred to 'wise ideas' and 'inspirations.'[408] Kumagusu explained that *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas) ought to be about "thinking 'what a strange thing'."[409] *Myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas) involved a *natural* desire and attraction towards the strange, wondrous, and peculiar. The amused *mind-heart* invoked "imagination and thoughts," he continued.[410] Enjoying such a process in their amused *mind-heart* indeed defined what wisdom-knowledge was about.[411] Furthermore, for him, continuous engagement with wisdom-knowledge indicated an act of honesty. For as long as people engaged with wisdom-knowledge in life, they could avoid deviating into "uncivilised" actions such as theft and murder. Wisdom-knowledge, as thus, facilitated people and thereby their societies to civilise in accordance with the evolutionary process of *henkaron* (the theory of change) by embracing the queer nature of reality.

[407] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 59-62.
[408] "妙想/Myōsō," *Japan Knowledge: Nihonkokugo Jiten/The Encyclopaedia of Japanese Language,* https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2683/lib/display/?lid=2002040cc495ujtJEB23.
[409] "… 何にせよ、妙なことじゃと思うが妙想なるべし。/ … nan'ni seyo, myōna kotoja to omouga myōsō naru beshi." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 62.
[410] "… 楽しむ心とはなにかというに想像と考思なり。/ … tanoshimu kokoro toha nanikato iuni sōzō to kōsō nari." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 59-62.
[411] Ibid.

While Kumagusu did not articulate how exactly *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas) happens in detail, one can explain the process of creating wisdom-knowledge through *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas) by piercing together his arguments on these topics. First of all, "desire (欲望: *yokubō*) is a significant matter for humans because civilisational movement of societies frequently happened from it" -- he quoted the French biologist-anthropologist J. L. A. de Quatrefages de Bréau (1810-1892).[412] Various phenomena happened in societies because humans possessed desires in their everyday lives to begin with.[413] Importantly, he further explained, what determined the attention of the desire was the enjoyable feeling of wonder and curiosity.[414] The notion of *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas) encapsulated this experience.[415] What triggered those emotions was "*myō-fushigi* (妙不思議)" – i.e. inspirational, strange and wondrous phenomena.[416] This wisdom-knowledge-making process sparked "imagination and thought" in people's *mind-heart* enabled them to be amused by it.[417] Such was the embodied experience of wisdom-knowledge, the "science required for society to civilise."[418]

Kumagusu therefore argued: "the more the education of wisdom-knowledge advances, the more people would respect and celebrate things particularly wondrous."[419] If people could learn to engage with the world through this wisdom-knowledge, "human *mind-heart* would

[412] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 49.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Ibid.
[415] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 59-62.
[416] Kumagusu "Letters to Toki," 298.
[417] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 60.
[418] "智識（ここにいうは … 社会物体上の開進に必要なる科学）/ Chishiki (kokoni iuha … shakaibuttaijō no kaika ni hitsuyō taru kagaku.)" Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 52.
[419] "すなわち智育進めば進むほど不思議の度の加わるものを尊敬称賛して、人心もために清浄なるの一時に止まるべし、といえり。/ Sunawachi chiiku susumeba susumu hodo fushigi no do no kuwawaru monowo sonkei shōsan shite, hitokokoro mo tameni seijōnaruno hitotoki ni tomarubeshi, to ieri." Kumagusu "Letters to Toki Hōryū," 298.

remain clean."[420] It encouraged people to stay away from desires and attractions towards what Kumagusu considered as uncivilised actions, such as murder, theft, and deceiving other people. The societies as a result could avoid turning into what he described as the "fossil-like state."[421]

The wisdom-knowledge-making worked in accordance with its first principles – the aforementioned universal laws of virtuous actions and of the absolute equality that defined the *naturally* queer, evolutionary movement of *henkaron* (the theory of change). The attraction towards the strange and wondrous sparked inspirations and wise ideas in one's *kokoro* (mind-heart) and, as a result, induced the desire to engage with them more. In turn, repeated engagement invited even more inspiration and wise ideas. Kumagusu explicated: "You would work for an hour, and if you did that interestingly, the following hour would become even more interesting."[422] Thus, the curious and interesting experience intensified as one committed to it time after time. And it was the foremost form of virtuous action with which one could engage.

For Kumagusu, to engage with such a process implied a persistent act of honesty.[423] This logic even applied to how people could focus on cooperation in businesses for mutual gain, instead of hatred and competition.[424] Being honest with one's desire and attraction towards the strange and peculiar – and with one's amusing experience of its enjoyment – led the

[420] Ibid.
[421] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 52.
[422] "… 一時間つとめ、それを面白くつとむれば、次の一時間は一層面白くつとめらるる。/ … Ichijikan tsutome, sorewo omoshiroku tsutomureba, tsugino ichijikan ha issō omoshiroku tsutomeraruru." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 129.
[423] Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki Hōryū," Ibid.; Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* Ibid.
[424] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* Ibid.

person to be honest and cooperative with other people. It was thus the most virtuous form of action that coexisted with respect for absolute equality.

The nature of reality was queer. People certainly would enjoy the experience of *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas) even if they practiced religions other than Buddhism. He explicated Christians would be inspired when they contemplated on "God," for example.[425] One did not necessarily have to become a Buddhist to understand the significance of *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas). Indeed, he maintained "it is absolutely not appropriate" to argue which religion induced greater *myōsō* (inspiration) or not.[426] However, Buddhism was the only religion that seemed to explain the universal logic behind the *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas) applicable to diverse phenomena within societies, bringing forth the necessary wisdom-knowledge for people and their societies to civilise.[427]

What Kumagusu referred to as the "god-like figures" in Buddhism further exemplified the significance of inspiration coexisting with logic.[428] He argued these figures existed to convey "*ritai* (理体: logic) and *myōsō* (inspiration)."[429] Therefore, he articulated, Buddhism's "God-like figures" were "completely different to those in other religions" in their functions.[430] Buddhism did not have to justify their existences "through records of biography and history" as the aforementioned religions did.[431] It did not matter whether people believed in the existence of the "God-like figures" or not, for they existed specifically to facilitate people's self-development through logic and inspiration.

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[425] "ゴッド/God" Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 60.
[426] "はなはだ不当と存じ候。/ Hanahada futō to zonji sōrō." Ibid.
[427] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 60-61 and 128-129.
[428] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 25.
[429] Ibid.
[430] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 79.
[431] Ibid.

On the contrary to Kumagusu's wisdom-knowledge, Spencer's science-based education disregarded the significance of *myōsō* (inspiration and wise ideas) and the desire and fascination towards strange things. It did so because the latter's knowledge-making focused on "practicality" in the sense of survival within the civilisational progress, as Kumagusu asserted.[432] The progress theory assessed the civilising state only through numbers as if it was simply a matter of *keijika* (physics).[433] Kumagusu argued "physics could not possibly control such a deep emotion" that *myōsō* (inspiration and wise ideas), the core experience of the wisdom-knowledge, induced.[434] After all, numbers could not assess the state of the human *mind-heart*, which he explained as being similar to how one experienced taste and scent.[435] Spencer's knowledge-making for progress theory maintained disinterest in this aspect as exemplified by his assertion on morality being "in all cases a supplementary growth."[436] Kumagusu's concern for civilising state of human *mind-heart* was not essential for Spencer.

Kumagusu's metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge, instead, conveyed a logic behind the *natural* desire and attraction towards the strange and wondrous, in its core understanding of the fundamentally queer nature of reality. Engaging with wisdom-knowledge meant engaging with the experience of *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas): the most significant

[432] "実用" Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki Hōryū," 298.
[433] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 42.
[434] "感慨は物理に支配さるるものにあらず。/ Kangai ha butsuri ni shihai saruru mononi arazu." Ibid.
[435] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 129-130.
[436] Spencer, *First Principles* 43.

virtuous action founded on absolute equality. It inspired "imagination and thoughts" in the wisdom-knowledge maker's *mind-heart*.[437] "What a strange thing," they would think.[438]

The Study of Things

> "One gains most wisdom-knowledge by coming into contact with outside the body. Hence, one can enjoy *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas) within their inner *mind-heart* by reflecting *things* and *matters* onto them."[439]

Kumagusu called this mechanism behind the making of wisdom-knowledge *Koto no Gaku* (事の学: Study of Things). This study further attested how and why it was significant for people's mind and heart to engage with *myōsō* (inspirations and wise ideas), i.e. wisdom-knowledge, for societies to civilise. The state of *mind-heart* mattered because it reflected on what he called *things* that appeared in the society.[440] Here, perceived *koto* (things), phenomena that one can recognise as the reality, emerged though the symbiosis of *kokoro* (mind and heart) and *mono* (matter). In the meantime, neither modern science nor Spencer seemed to be concerned with what happens at the intersection of the two because they perceived subjects and objects in dichotomy. He resented that: "Most Western philosophers and scientists only investigate mind and matter separately."[441]

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[437] "… 楽しむ心とはなにかというに想像と考思なり。… tanoshimu kokoro toha nanikato iuni sōzō to kōsō nari." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 60.

[438] "… 何にせよ、妙なことじゃと思うが妙想なるべし。/ … nan'ni seyo, myōna kotoja to omouga myōsō naru beshi." Ibid., 62.

[439] "智識というものは多くは身外に接して得るものなり。故に内心の妙相を楽しむというも、身外の事物を内心に写して楽しむなり。/ Chishiki to iumonoha ookuha migaini sesshite erumono nari. Yueni naishin no myōsō wo tanoshimu toiumo, migai no kotomono wo naishin ni utsushite tanoshimu nari." Ibid., 60.

[440] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 209.

[441] "科学者および欧州の哲学者の一大部分、ただ箇々のこの心この物について論究するばかりなり。/ Kagakusha oyobi ōshyū no kagakusha no daiichibu, tada kokono kono kokoro kono mono nit suite ronkyū suru bakari nari." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 49.

While Kumagusu and Spencer worked through the contrasting natures of metaphysics, the former's Study of Things bore a stark resemblance – and fundamental difference – to what the latter also called the "Theory of Things." The existing records of Kumagusu's account do not mention Spencer's name directly in relation to this theory. However, the relevance is evident when one analyses the two theories comparatively. I argue that Kumagusu developed the Study of Things by merging two intellectual lineages of *things*: Spencer's usage of the term *things* in his discussion of phenomenology delineated in *First Principle* and the notion of *koto* (things) in the metaphysics of Buddhism.[442] Essentially, he integrated the former that perceived the nature of the reality in a hierarchical dichotomy, with the latter that, together with science, elucidated the nature of reality as queer.

Things referred to how Spencer initially described societal phenomena that captured the reality before he came to describe it as "super-organic," i.e. societal, phenomena.[443] He narrated *things* as an unrefined "vulgar" conceptualisation of *real,* i.e., a metaphysical enquiry, that may appear in the minds of uneducated peasants.[444] Such an idea that could be described as "Theory of Things," he argued, was "confessedly imperfect so long as any past or future portions of their sensible existences are unaccounted for."[445] Kumagusu's Study of Things refuted Spencer's assertion.

[442] Kumagusu did not state his use of the term derived from Spcencer's discussion when he explained what the theory was about, at least not in survived historical sources.
[443] Spencer, *First Principles,* 316.
[444] Ibid., 159-160 and 316.
[445] Ibid., 180.

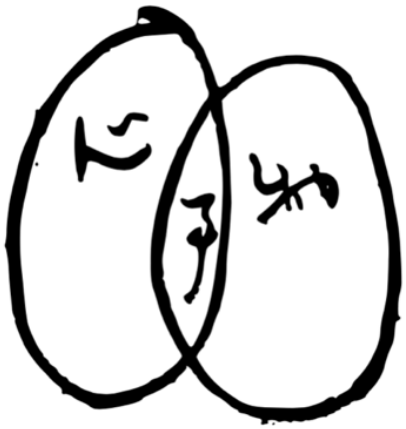


Image 1: Kumagusu's Venn diagram on his Study of Things. He noted the left circle as "心" (kokoro: mind-heart), the right circule as "物" (mono: matters), and the intersected area as "事" (koto: things).

Kumagusu chose to carry on the expression Spencer regarded as "imperfect" articulation potentially embraced by peasants and thus of no use, instead of adopting conceptual languages of modern science or of Spencer. The notion of *things* already existed in Buddhism, as in "*koto*" (things, or phenomena). Hence, he explained his Study of Things by using Buddhist terms. *Things* emerged at the intersection of the two worlds in human reality: *bukkai* (the world of matter) and *shinkai* (the world of mind-heart) (Image 1).[446] "*Mono* (matter) each possessed their force, either active or quiet. *Kokoro* (mind-heart) contemplates, desires, and feels variously."[447] The physical phenomena – such as "how electricity sparked light and light emitted heat" exemplified the working of the "forces" within *mono* (matter).[448] When human *kokoro* (mind-heart) retain the "desire" to move their body to interact with these matters, *things* emerged.[449] One would "move the matter with their hands

[446] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 46.
[447] "… 物にはそれぞれ力ありて、あるいは動き、あるいは静かにしておる。また心界にはいろいろ考え欲し、感じおる。/ Mono niha sorezore chikara arite, aruiha ugoki, aruiha shizukani shiteoru. Mata shikai niha iroiro kangae hosshi, kanjioru." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 48-49.
[448] Ibid.
[449] "欲望/ Yokubō" Ibid.

and make a fire to warm themselves … or build a large temple by shaving woods."[450] Thus, human actions prompted by the desires of their *kokoro* (mind-heart) affected the state of the already existing *mono* (matters) and *koto* (things).

Kumagusu further argued the above chain of symbiotic phenomena through what he called "*inen-ōhō* (因縁応報)," literally meaning "the responses of cause and relational-cause."[451] He explained that it referred to how "the *effect* of *things* in human mind-heart evoked certain feeling within it, and therefore, became the *cause* for the following *things.*"[452] The triggered chain created a repeated persistence of certain *things* as he explained through the aforementioned notion of *inga rin'ne* (因果輪廻: the cycle of cause and effect).[453] As a result, the chain-reaction created changes and turns in the civilisational movement of people and societies as in *henkaron* (the theory of change).

The experience of *myōsō* (inspiration and wise ideas), and thereby the making of wisdom-knowledge itself, happened accordingly.[454] Therefore, one had to come into contact with various *things* and *matters* as much as possible. Kumagusu asserted: "*Myōsō* (inspiration and wise ideas)," i.e. wisdom-knowledge, "would not increase without knowing *things* and *matters.*"[455] What is more, he also applied his Study of Things to explain how one could

[450] "… 手をつかい物を動かし、火を焚いて体を煖むるごときより … 木をけずりて大堂を建つるごときは …/ Tewo tsukai monowo ugokashi, hiwo taite karadawo atatamuru gotokiyori …. Kiwo kezurite daidō wo tatsuru gotoki ha …" Ibid.

[451] Ibid., 48.; It seems Kumagusu created this term as his elaboration of the Buddhist term *inga-ōhō* (因果応報).

[452] "この物心両界が事を結成してのち始めてその果を心に感じ、したがってその感じがまた後々の事（心が物に接して作用を現出すること）の因となるなり。/ Kono mono kokoro ryōkai ga koto wo kessei shite nochi hajimete sono ka wo kokoroni kanji, shitagatte sono kanjiga mata nochinochi no koto (kokoroga mono ni sesshite sayō wo shutsugen surukoto) no moto to narunari." Ibid.

[453] "因果輪廻の説/ Ingarin'ne no setsu" Ibid., 131.

[454] Ibid., 60.

[455] "されば身外の事物を知らずして、妙想のおおかるべきはずなし。/ Sareba migai no koto mono wo shirazushite, myōsō no ookaru beki hazu nashi." Ibid.

understand the significance of human action based on moral logic and consideration towards others.[456] While ideas did not have a sound or shape, one could learn the ideas by listening or reading instances of these gestures – and reflecting them onto their *mind-heart*.[457] Doing so triggered *myōsō* (inspiration and wise ideas) in their *mind-heart.*[458] The more people engaged with *things* and *matters* that evoked *myōsō* (inspiration and wise ideas) in their *mind-heart* as such, the more they gained wisdom-knowledge. The more people acted based on this logic of wisdom-knowledge, the more societies civilised.

Kumagusu's articulation of his Study of Things contrasted with Spencer's theory that bore the similar name. Spencer discussed the theory when he argued how one ought to understand what is real in his treatise on the new metaphysics *First Principles.* He explicated this by dividing the reality into dichotomies and hierarchies of subject and object / mind and matter. He initially characterised how peasants would process the phenomenology of *things* in understanding the reality as Theory of Things, as mentioned earlier. In doing so, he ridiculed how they would "imagine that his consciousness extends to the very place where the object lies," without realising that they are separate, opposing entities.[459] The real for them, therefore, was a matter of how *things* appeared.[460] Then, he explained that a metaphysician would know that "consciousness cannot embrace the reality, but only the appearance of it."[461] Here he went on to criticise then-scholars of philosophy and science who would leave "the reality outside consciousness … in the same way as the ignorant man."[462] Consequentially, Spencer asserted that the notion of reality can be anything other than an

[456] Ibid.
[457] Ibid.
[458] Ibid.
[459] Spencer *First Principles,* 159-160.
[460] Ibid.
[461] Ibid., 160.
[462] Ibid.

issue of consciousness.[463] In the discussion where he divided the reality into the dichotomies and hierarchies, he remained uninterested in the role of human action, let alone virtuous action – or how that impacted the civilisational state of reality.

In the queer nature of reality, *things* emerged as a symbiotic relationship between *mind-heart* and *matters*, *naturally.* It did so because Kumagusu intently observed what was right in front of him: his *mind-heart* and microbial species. He argued that neither natural history and science students nor established European scientists and philosophers of the 1890s seemed to study what was immediately available and theorise what they could see before they resort to adopting existing theories.[464] If they had done so, they would have understood how the people's state of *mind-heart* corelates to their actions and the state of societies.

Kumagusu made an analogy between the human *mind-heart* and the microbe amoebas to illustrate this. He explained that most students of biology neglected the significance of seeing an amoeba through a microscope in their own eyes.[465] He, in the meantime, "swallowed the pond water in Florida" in order to do so.[466] Amoebas were so easy to find – they existed everywhere in water yet they do not care to look at it, he complained.[467] The same was also the case with one's *mind-heart*; it was right there with them but nobody paid attention. He argued people simply memorised and discussed written knowledge on its nature without returning to enquire into its beginning.[468] Similar to how amoebas – known as the origin of life – evolved by coming into contact with *matters,* it was essential to

[463] Ibid.
[464] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 209.
[465] Ibid.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.

understand the nature of *mind-heart* through direct observation.[469] Both microbes and human *mind-heart* illuminated that the nature of reality was queer.

Intent observation of something as immediate as microbes and *mind-heart* enabled people to apprehend and consciously engage with the civilising process of their *mind-heart,* their actions, and their societies. Kumagusu expanded on this logic through an example of illnesses. Here, one's experience of the body emerged as the *thing* through the symbiosis of the *mind-heart* and *matter* – in this case, the body. He argued that "if one cultivated the nature of *mind-heart,*" various illnesses would heal "apart from incidents like a cut or syphilis."[470] Doing so equated a regular visit to an average doctor.[471] The symbiotic relationship of *mind-heart* and *matter* or the body emerged as the health condition of the human being. The cultivation of the queer nature of *mind-heart* involved the engagement with *myōsō* (inspiration and wise ideas). As his Study of Things illuminates, doing so impacted the "health condition," or the civilisational state, of society. One could understand this logic only by observing their *mind-heart*, intently.

Buddhism had already illuminated the logic of symbiosis. The *Daijō* (Mahayana) Buddhism's *Yuimakyō* (維摩経: Vimalakirti Sutra) illustrated it in its narrative on Ānanda, the principle attendant of the Buddha, Kumagusu explained.[472] He resented that even doctors nowadays rarely understood it: "They even checked the pulse and listened to the *mind-heart* only as a matter of formality."[473] They performed their role and diagnosed what the illness

[469] Ibid.
[470] "… ただ心性を修養すれば/ … Tada shinseiwo shūyō sureba" and "… 金創とかまたは黴毒とかいふものの外は …/ Kinsō toka mataha baidoku tokaumono no hoka ha …" Ibid., 207.
[471] Ibid.
[472] Ibid., 207-208.
[473] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 208.

is without really paying attention to what is in front of them, in the same manner to the biology students who would not care to look into amoebas with their own eyes and relied on already established theories and written knowledge.

Kumagusu expanded on the significance of carrying out intent observation and analysis when he argued how a process of learning ought to happen in wisdom-knowledge. He explained that students should be provided with "publications that guides general wisdom-knowledge such as geography and cosmology."[474] Then, "gather them once a month or so, and ask them what they came to know and what they want to know."[475] It was only afterwards they ought to be exposed to existing theories.[476] Furthermore, if their ideas did not fit into the existing theories, they ought to try to arrive at their own theories based on abundant data.[477] He maintained: "The valid wisdom-knowledge is the wisdom-knowledge that one produces oneself; knowing by listening and memorizing by reading are not the point of wisdom-knowledge."[478]

The lack of observing what is right in front of them led to suppositions and bias against curious and strange *things* and *matters*. Kumagusu lamented even so-called renowned European scholars did not take the trouble of really trying to understand what was strange and unfamiliar to them without their own assumptions.[479] What is worse, it led them to

[474] "… 地理、天文以下の一汎智識を導く書をよませ …/ … Chiri, tenmon ika no ippan chishikiwo michibiku sho wo yomase … " Kumagusu, *Mianata Kumagusu and Toki Hōryū,* p.67.
[475] "… 一月に一度ばかりずつその人を集めて、何ごとを知り得たるか、何を知りたきかを問い答えしめ …/ Hitotsuki ni ichido bakarizutu sono hito wo atsumete, nanigoto wo shirietaruka, nani wo shiratakika wo toikotaeshime … " Ibid.
[476] Ibid.
[477] Ibid.
[478] Ibid., 14.
[479] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 209.

regard themselves highly, and perceive people from Asia with a bias.[480] He delineated his plan:

> "Leaving that sort of thing to them, most issues come down to the matter of *mind-heart* as a whole. In other words, I want to pursue researching … *things* that appear in the society when human *mind-heart* intersects with *matters*."[481]

Kumagusu envisaged to mobilise the wisdom-knowledge as the foundation for his further research in the coming years. *Things* – phenomena that can be considered as *real* – bore the evidence for first principles he discerned through the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge. [482] The wisdom-knowledge of *things*, therefore, verified *henkaron* (theory of things) as the civilising process of societies with which one must engage in the queer nature of reality. He declared: "I want to acquire all the wisdom-knowledge of *things*."[483]

Conclusion

In this chapter, I illuminated Kumagusu's motives behind his contention for wisdom-knowledge, "a science required for society to civilise," and how and what he elucidated as its metaphysics – a study on the nature of reality. I did so by comparatively analysing his discourse on the nature of reality and Spencer's *First Principles* (1862), a treatise on metaphysics. To do so, I situated the discourse within the wider historical context of London,

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[480] Ibid.

[481] "右のやうなことは其人に任せ、大機分のものは心理全体 … すなはち人心が物に接して社会に顕する事相より押して研究したきことなり。/ Migino yōnalkoto ha sonohito ni makase, daiikubun no monoha shinrizentai …. Sunawachi hito kokoro ga mono ni sesshite shakaini utsusuru koto aiyori oshite kenkyū shitaki kotonari." Ibid.

[482] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 48.

[483] "この*事*一切の智識を得たしというなり。/ Kono *koto* issai no chishiki wo etashi toiu kotonari." Ibid.

his concurrent social and intellectual activities, personal incidents, and he and Toki's mutual intellectual background. All of these interconnected through the analytical lens of what I conceptualised as 'queer nature.'

Queer nature was Kumagusu's basis of truths for what it meant to civilise, as I delineated in chapter one. He discerned that nature was 'queer' through his Buddhism-influenced science that defied dichotomised and hierarchical conceptions of reality. Wisdom-knowledge's metaphysics similarly combined Buddhism with logics of science. This metaphysics indicated the nature of reality as queer. Practising wisdom-knowledge meant that the knower attracted towards strange, peculiar and wondrous things and desired to enquire further, as the term 'queer' variously meant in history. Furthermore, people and societies evolved – and therefore 'civilised' – through changes and turns in a centreless and non-hierarchical manner in the queer nature of reality. They civilised through *henkaron* (the theory of change) instead of teleological *shinkaron* (the theory of progress). He discerned so through his intent observation of microbes and *mind-heart* whose nature fluctuated in such a way.

Kumagusu had to amend the *meta*physics by turning Spencer's *First Principles* on its head. Based on queer nature, he recognised that becoming civilised involved cooperation and equality among people as well as desire for intimacy with each other beyond the divisions of race, sex, and nations. Yet, it became dominant to assess the civilisational state of societies only through physical and material gains. Spencer's metaphysics grounded the truths of this idea as the nature of reality. This metaphysics emerged through amalgamation of Christianity and science – and hence conceptualised the nature of the reality in dichotomies and hierarchies. Kumagusu asserted that Buddhism was the religion most suitable to merge with science instead for the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge.

Unlike Christianity, Buddhism shared the same fundamental logic with science. Moreover, it *facilitated* people to civilise instead of *saving* them. The Buddhism-informed science disclosed the laws of virtuous actions and of absolute equality as part of the first principles that regulated the movement of the universe. The concern for civilising human action and equality mattered in the metaphysics of wisdom-knowledge because, for him, "religion" was a belief system that determined the course of civilising human actions. Wisdom-knowledge induced *myōsō* (inspiration and wise ideas) in people's *mind-heart* through attraction and desire towards the strange and wondrous. Moreover, a continuous engagement with *myōsō* (inspiration and wise ideas) implied an act of honesty. He theorised the logic of wisdom-knowledge by articulating what can be considered real, or *things*, as the symbiosis of *mind-heart* and *matters* in his Theory of Things. The fundamentally queer nature of reality illuminated the civilising state of societies as the result of this symbiotic chain of re-actions.

In April 1895, Kumagusu gained access to the British Museum's renowned Reading Room.[484] Here, he set to practice the wisdom-knowledge's metaphysical theories. He embarked on gathering evidential materials of *things* that illuminated the civilising process of societies as *henkaron* (the theory of change).

[484] Kumagusu, "London Diary [10th April 1895]," 56.

Chapter Three

The Social Sciences of Queer Historicity
1893-1900

Introduction

"This is where I yearned to be."[485] So Kumagusu thought, entering the renowned Reading Room at the British Museum for his research for the first time in the spring of 1895. I argue, here at the heart of the British empire's collection of knowledge and its clusters at other museum libraries, he created a form of social sciences rooted in what I call queer historicity until he left the city in 1900. The notion of historicity – the historical authenticity – asserts what seems like a fact has a historical origin behind the reasoning that verifies it as a fact. He was aware that the metaphysical paradigm within which the social scientific reasoning process operated indeed had a historical origin. This paradigm justified the Spencerian notions of the 'survival of the fittest' as the civilisational progress and Western supremacy over 'the rest.' What is presented as a fact by the social sciences as a result privileged the West. The social sciences of queer historicity inhabited a paradigm where queer nature, what I conceptualised as Kumagusu's basis of truths, served as the nature of reality. Within this paradigm, the social sciences produced its facts and ideas in a centreless and non-hierarchical manner. This process of reasoning social scientific truths made sense in the light of what he considered 'Japanese' historical knowledge derived from China and wider Asia. By revealing the principles and notions behind Kumagusu's social sciences of queer historicity, the chapter overturns the widely assumed belief that the social sciences are, by 'fact' and 'nature,' innately Westcentric. [486]

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[485] "「学校にも入ってみたけど、自分ののぞむ所は、ここなんだと思った」って言っていました。/ Gakko nimo haitte mitakedo, jibunno nozomu tokoroha, kokonanda to omotta" tte itte mashita./ "I tried attending school. But I thought this is where I yearned to be." So he said. As recounted by Kumagusu to his daughter Minakata (Okamoto) Fumie (1879-1955). Matsui Ryūgo. "Minakata Fumie san ni Kiku/Interviewing Minakata Fumie" In *Minakata Kumagusu Kenkyū 3 go/Studies on Minakata Kumagusu Vol.3,* (Shiga: Society for the Research on Minakata Kumagusu, 2001), 4.; Matsui Ryūgo. "Daieihakubutsukan (The British Museum)" *Kumagusu wo shiru Jiten/The Dictionary for Understanding Minakata Kumagusu,* ed. Matsui Ryūgo, Tukikawa Kazuo, Nakase Hsaharu, Kirimoto Tōta (Tokyo: Kōdansha Gendai Shinsho, 1993), 118-119.

[486] Conrad stated that the Westcentricity of social sciences was one of its "birth defects." See Conrad Ibid.

By ‘social sciences,’ here I primarily refer to sociology and anthropology, the latter of which branched into ethnography. Kumagusu specifically worked with these studies because Herbert Spencer’s sociology and anthropology legitimised the empire’s colonial projects, industrialisation, and corresponding social and racial inequality and discrimination amid civilisational ‘progress.’ All of the human actions and relations involved with the imperial endeavour appeared *natural* and just in Spencer’s social sciences. Yet, Kumagusu recognised these human acts and relations as ‘uncivilised’ no matter what state authorities asserted. He noted on his diary: “No day, night, or second happens without a bravery … One who realises the matter of great importance should not care what others say.”[487]

Kumagusu needed to reformulate the social sciences’ historicity as a matter of urgency. Historicity within the scholarship rendered the role which the connectivity between the past, the present, and the future plays in the process of generating its ‘facts’ and ideas.[488] What bounded the interplay of historical time in the social sciences was the social theory of evolution: an understanding on how human societies evolved from the past, in the present, and into the future. What grounded the social theory of evolution was understanding of innate nature of society. The social sciences of queer historicity emerged as he reformulated the metaphysical paradigm of its science based on queer nature as its basis of truths.

Understanding of nature was inseparable from the historicity of social sciences. The historical origin of social scientific truths derived from how and as what philosophers

[487] “日夜一刻も勇気なくては成るものなり。… 大事を思い立しもの他にかまう勿れ。/ Nichiya okkoku mo yūkinakuteha narumononari. … Daiji wo omoitashimono hokani kamaunakare.” Kumagusu, ‘London Diary’, Ibid.

[488] François Hartog elaborates on how a set of suppositions connects the past, the present, and the future in historicity in François Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time,* trans. Saskia Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003: 2015: 2017).

understood the nature of society, similar to how and as what natural scientists illuminated the nature of universe. In other words, to argue a 'fact' or an idea as the truth of human society, one had to do so based on what can be understood as the irrefutable, innate characteristics – nature – of society. The delineated nature therefore became the basis of social scientific truths about social evolution. Yet, as I delineated extensively in the chapter one, the understanding of nature was inescapably cultural.

Spencer's social sciences existed in normative historicity; his influential science of society inherited the Judaeo-Christian culture of conceptualising the world in dichotomies and hierarchies. Its metaphysical paradigm, the nature of reality, through which the scholarship emerged was thus normative. The social sciences of queer historicity asserted categories such as the West and the rest, civilised and uncivilised, male and female, heterosexual and homosexual, mind and matter, and subjects and objects. The ways in which the social sciences produced its facts and ideas revolved around the former conceptions while people who belonged to these categories assumed they are more socially evolved and therefore civilised than the rest. They examined the latter as existences inferior to themselves. The social theory of evolution with which the scholarship emerged developed on these building blocks of concepts that shaped the nature of reality in intellectual imagination. The theory as a result justified the Spencerian idea of the survival of the fittest, and Westcentric ideas and 'facts' as historically authentic. The social sciences hence came to exist in normative historicity.

Kumagusu's social sciences emerged with queer historicity for its science adopted Sino-Asian-derived 'Japanese' culture of perceiving the nature of reality in symbiotic relationship. Here, nature was queer; and its metaphysical paradigm was microbial. As I articulated my

conceptualisation of the notion in detail in the introduction chapter, queer nature encompassed historically diverse meanings of the term 'queer,' and importantly, resembled microbes both ontologically and experientially. Queer nature shared an affinity with the notion of queer as sexual non-binary. However, queer nature extended beyond the limit of identity politics imposed by the normative nature where the people who are identified as 'inferior' categories to the norm became perpetually marginalised. Ontologically, queer nature defied the dichotomised and hierarchical conceptions of the normative nature, just like the microbe slime mould whose biology traversed male-female, animal-plant, and life-death dichotomies. As Kumagusu observed the microbe through his Buddhism-influenced epistemology of science, its queer nature appeared to reflect his own *kokoro* (心: mind-heart) that longed for his deceased male lover.[489] Experientially, queer nature induced *natural* 'attraction' to 'curious' and 'strange' reality, embracing the diverse meanings of the term 'queer' historically conveyed. It invited the knower to further 'enquire' and desire intimacy with others – similar to Kumagusu's experience of observing microbes. The microbial paradigm shattered the fundamental notions of evolutionary science that informed the social science of normative historicity. His social sciences of queer historicity thus emerged within the microbial paradigm.

Since his arrival in London in 1893, Kumagusu had been working to uproot the fundamental metaphysical paradigm of modern scholarship that asserted the normative historicity. "I have to fight with scholarship with the risk of my life,"[490] so he swore to himself. The

[489] The notion of *kokoro* (心) that transcends mind and heart Kumagusu employed in Japanese derives from both Buddhism and Confucianism in Tokugawa period thoughts. See Minamoto Ryōen, "Tokugawa shisōshi ni okeru "shin"/"ki"/"butsu" no shisō/The ideas of "mind-heart," "energy," and "matter" in Tokugawa period Intellectual History" In *Kyoto Conference of Japanese Studies 1994 II* (Kyoto, 1994), 196-202.

[490] "学問と決死すべし。" Minakata Kumagusu "London Nikki/London Diary [The inside the cover of the 1895 diary]" In *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū Bekkan 2/The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Supplement Vol.2,* (Tokyo: Heibonsha Publishing, 1975). 52.

microbial paradigm had surfaced in Kumagusu's life and work in 1887-1892 America and 1893-1894 London prior to 1895-1900 when he conducted the research at London's museum libraries. As I will demonstrate, it persisted in being instrumental in his knowledge-formation during the latter period, the focus of this chapter. He in fact begun to formulate concrete ideas for the social scientific research in this paradigm through extensive letter exchanges with the Buddhist monk Toki Hōryū in 1893-1894. He pressed, as he urged Toki to join him in his effort to uproot the foundation of the scholarship: "It would not be possible to accomplish this in a matter of a day even if we started the work now. But it would be too late, unless if we start now."[491]

With the new intellectual paradigm which Kumagusu theorised, he aimed to deconstruct and reconstruct the sociology of Herbert Spencer, whose Westcentric and supremacist 'facts' relied on colonialist anthropological data of the past and present. Neither Spencer's sociology nor how he used anthropology appeared historically authentic to Kumagusu. 'Japanese' historical knowledge illuminated the intellectual paradigm to which social sciences of queer historicity belonged. London, most notably the British Museum's Reading Room, presented him with a possibility to formulate sciences of societies that inhabited this paradigm. He began to apply the metaphysical theories to his research practice as soon as he gained the access to the libraries in 1895 and devoted himself to the work for five years. Thinking and acting through the microbial paradigm of queer nature while conducting the research, he consequently brought about the social sciences of queer historicity.

[491] "…今始めたりとて、一朝夕に成し得ることに非ず。さりながら今始めねばいよいよ後れ行くなり。/ …Ima hajimetaritote, hitoasayūni nashierukotoni arazu. Sarinagara imahajimenneba iyoiyo okureyukunari." Minakata Kumagusu, *Kōzanjizō Minakata Kumagusu Shokan Toki Hōryū Ate 1893-1922/Kōzan Temple Archive Minakata Kumagusu Letters to Toki Hōryū 1893-1922,* ed. Okuyama Naoji, Undo Hitoshi, and Kanda Hideaki (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2010), 107.

Historians have challenged the social sciences' ingrained Westcentricity as they interrogated the entanglement of the empire and the disciplines. However, I contend that the historical studies on the disciplinary knowledge rarely overcame the constraint of the normative historicity. As this chapter will elaborate, the intellectual paradigm of normative historicity *naturally* justified European nation-states' industrialisation and colonial expansion as the foremost model of industrialisation and colonial expansion. Therefore, imperial endeavors of modern states around the globe essentially shaped the social sciences as modern disciplines within this historicity. This historical narrative has indeed illuminated essential insights to formation of academic knowledge centred around states' institutions.

The normative historicity came with at least three dilemmas of historical studies today. Firstly, producers of the disciplinary knowledge *naturally* remained on the side of those who closely worked with their state with local variations in and out of the West. Secondly, the history of social sciences in the non-Western modern nation-states emerged by adapting the teleological idea of civilisational progress that the Western knowledge brought about. For other nations, if they wanted to join or survive in the *natural* evolution of society, their states had to incorporate modern disciplines of the West. As a result, the history of social sciences seldom broke free of the normative historicity. Thirdly, this issue derived from the fact that historical studies of the social sciences often assumed that legitimate modern disciplines only emerged at state-funded institutions through works of scholars whose ideas of civilisaitonal progress closely aligned with that of the state. Independent scholars such as Kumagusu's work on the social sciences at state-funded institution like the British Museum, hence, remained obscure. Two prominent works on the history of the social sciences exemplify the established paradigm: first in modern Japanese history and, second, in global history.

The historiography of the social sciences in modern Japanese history has revolved around scholars at Meiji state-funded institutions who found themselves at the intersection of the fields and the nation's colonial ambition. Andrew Barshay's 2007 seminal monograph *The Social Sciences in Modern Japan: The Marxian and Modernist Traditions* delineates Japanese social sciences' two major movements that emerged against this background.[492] These were: "neotraditional" nationalism of 1890s and Marxism of the early twentieth century. Elite state scholars drove the narratives on both cases. Unlike the independent scholar Kumagusu, these producers of the Japanese social sciences characteristically moved away from Sino-Asian knowledge incorporated by both locals and authorities of Japan in the previous Tokugawa period (1603-1868). They instead adopted the teleological, developmental model of thoughts provided by the West in line with Japan's imperial expansion. The wider historical context to the nationalist movement of the 1890s contemporaneous to Kumagusu's work at the Museum was the state's effort to prevail in the international competition, defeating China in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). The analysis centred around the elites, as a result, captured the emergence of Japanese social sciences within the normative historicity.

Jeremy Adelman's 2019 edited volume *Empire and the Social Sciences: Global Histories of Knowledge* reflects the above characteristic in the larger scale of global history. The publication brings together diverse case studies on how imperial projects formed the social sciences in various localised contexts.[493] Spanning from modern Japan, China, and America

[492] Andrew E. Barshay *The Social Sciences in Modern Japan: The Marxian and Modernist Traditions* (Berkeley and London: U of California, 2004).
[493] Jeremy Adelman, *Empire and the Social Sciences: Global Histories of Knowledge* (Bloomsbury Collections. London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2019).; On Eurocentricity within one of the social sciences politics see John M Hobson, *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

to British Burma and pot-war Latin America, contributing authors illuminated that social scientists operated to serve domestic perspectives while challenging the supposed boundary between nations and empires in history of knowledge-making. Adelman explicates: "nations were often born or reimagined as empires."[494] Social scientists, he argued, performed their work to accelerate the global integration.[495] Furthermore, the imperial mode of this integration process did not revolve around the West but also emerged against the West – exemplified by the case of modern Japan and China. While Adelman asserted such historical phenomena as non-Eurocentric manifestations of the social sciences, he simultaneously confirms that these intellectual formations occurred in the process of their national survival.[496] The historicity of social sciences formed by the empires inevitably inherited the developmentalist, teleological characteristic of normative historicity.

The social sciences of queer history emerged without the colonial ambition at its core. However, it did so by using the institutionalised intellectual epicentre of the British empire to its own advantage. The British Museum and its resources sympolised the Britain's imperial power over people who they considered 'inferior' to themselves and knowledge of Europe they regarded the highest in human civilisational development.[497] Kumagusu perceived these intellectual sources gathered at the Reading Room to be essential in this work. Yet, the sources were invaluable not in the sense of a need to emulate how the superpower of the West gathered, organised, and interpreted the knowledge of the world. The Museum's Reading Room offered the sources and intellectual freedom that he could never find within institutionalised research and education.[498] Here, he could work with the

[494] Adelman Ibid., 3.
[495] Ibid.
[496] Ibid, 3-4.
[497] Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, ed., *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998).
[498] Matsui, "Minakata Fumie," Ibid.

sources through his own method of selection, evaluate them through his distinctive epistemic lens, and interpret them through his own theories. In other words, the Museum's libraries were the intellectual bodies of the empire, but their microbial cells of sources were there for Kumagusu to activate as the microbial paradigm. He wrote to the British Museum's Trustees shortly before his departure:

> "… after investigations for last five years, I have now nearly finished my intended work: so far I present herewith my best thanks to all the authorities in the Museum, who have, either directly or indirectly, rendered me an invaluable assistance in the completion of such a serious work."[499]

The "authorities" understood that the aim of his research at the Reading Room was provoked by Spencer's remark he read shortly before his arrival to London: "it was a matter of great pity that Japan possessed as yet no sociological history."[500] However, without any elaborate explanations, they could not make sense of what his supposedly "serious work" was really about, and therefore did not see its significance.

No historian of the Anglophone scholarship extensively interrogated ideas and actions at which Kumagusu arrived during his life in London, let alone his research at the Museum's Reading Room. In the meantime, in Japanese academia, Matsui Ryūgo has investigated the comprehensive contents of Kumagusu's 52 research notebooks compiled at the British Museum's Reading Room and briefly at the Victoria & Albert Museum and Natural History Museum libraries. These consist of excerpts from numerous publications from varieties of disciplines Kumagusu referenced in nine languages.

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[499] Minakata Kumagusu, The Trustees of the British Museum. W.C., (Eikoku Hakubutsukan Rijikai ate/A Letter to the British Museum Trustees). 1898. 12.7. Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Wakayama, Japan.*Letter to the British Museum* Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Shokan 001, 2.
[500] Ibid.

Matsui extensively analysed the naturalist's work at the libraries in his 2016 publication *Minakata Kumagusu: Designing Scholarship of Compound Eyes* (*Minakata Kumagusu: Fukugan no Gakumon Kōsō*) through three key strands.[501] Firstly, how the disciplinary genres of the excerpts in the notebooks reflected Kumagusu's scholarly interests and what kinds of contents these were.[502] Secondly, how these notebooks evidence Kumagusu's interest in research trends within the British anthropology of the time.[503] Thirdly, Spencer's influence on Kumagusu's research at the library in relation to Kumagusu's critical comments on his copies of Spencer's *The Principles of Sociology, The Study of Sociology,* and *The Descriptive Sociology.*[504]

I benefited from Matsui's work and generosity in sharing his organised documentations on both unpublished and published archival materials and his analysis. However, Matsui's research on the subject did not clarify how and if at all Kumagusu's archival research were connected to his earlier and simultaneously emerging theoretical thoughts, actions and experience in life. Definitive historical implications of his work within disciplinary knowledge-making of the time, too, stayed in the shadow of the dominant historiography.

One had to interrogate the *nature* of Kumagusu's scholarship that interconnected all of the above. Analysing his primary sources of letters, discarded drafts, notebooks, diaries, and

[501] Matsui Ryūgo, "VII: 'London Nukigaki' no Sekai/Chapter VII: The World of 'London Excerpts'," in *Minakata Kumagusu: Fukugan no Gakumon Kōsō/Minakata Kumagusu: Designing Scholarship of Compound Eyes* (Tokyo: Keio Gijuku Daigaku Publishing, 2019), 265-328.
[502] Ibid.; Minakata Kumagusu, *London Nukigaki 1-4, 5 danpen, and 7-51/London Excerpts 1-4, 5 fragments, and 7-51,* Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Jippitsu 094-143.; Minakata Kumagusu, *London Nukigaki 5, 6, and 52/London Excerpts 5, 6, and 52,* Minakata Kumagusu Museum, A1-067, A1-068, and A-1069.; Matsui Ryugo "'London Nukigaki' Mokuroku/The London Excerpts Catalogue" in *Compound Eyes*, 33-74.
[503] Ibid,
[504] Matsui, *Compound Eyes,* 200-212.; Matsui "Minakata Kumagusu Kenshokan Zoshochu no Hebert Spencer Chosho heno Kakikomi/Notes on Herbert Spencer's Publications Housed at the Minakata Kumagusu Archives" in Ibid., 75-79.

comments inscribed on publications he read through the epistemic lens of queer nature illuminates why and how he generated his ideas and 'facts' at the juncture of the present, past, and the future in his science of societies. This chapter, in so doing, argues the emergence of the social sciences rooted in queer historicity.

The analytical method I employ discloses the microbial paradigm, a new historical paradigm for forms of modern intellectual disciplines that were previously marginalised as inauthentic. In this sense, the social sciences of queer historicity resonates with Sho Konishi's reflection on the early formation of the field that inhabited anarchist epistemology in modern Japan.[505] Similar to Kumagusu's social sciences, the scholars such as Yokoyama Gennosuke (1871-1915) and Matsubara Iwagorō (1866-1935) who were involved in the Russo-Japanese anarchist intellectual relations produced social critiques that did not resort to the teleological paradigm of the West.[506] Barshay articulated their work as "the "prehistory" of Japanese social sciences."[507] However, I suggest that their activities only appeared as the "prehistory" in the normative historicity. I will now reveal the social sciences of queer historicity as a historically authentic narrative of modern scholarship.

I will start by delineating the ways in which Kumagusu altered the nature of the social sciences as he replaced key notional elements of social evolution with those that emerged from the microbial paradigm of queer nature. I will then briefly explain why the historical authenticity of social evolution in the social sciences mattered to Kumagusu. After that, I will articulate how and why his theory of social evolution was *a posteriori* theory, and therefore operated with true and just suppositions and historically authentic evidence within

[505] Sho Konishi *Anarchist Modernity: Cooperatism and Japanese-Russian Intellectual Relations in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).
[506] Ibid., 86-87, 163, 178-179, and 351.
[507] Ibid., 3.

the social sciences. I will, then, show how Kumagusu mobilised what he called 'Japanese' science to evidence his understanding of social evolution through his research at the Museum's Reading Room. The result illuminates what characterised the distinctiveness of this scientific study of societies. Following that, I will show what this study looked like in practice of the research. I will concurrently postulate how he triggered alternate historical meanings embedded in dominantly European sources he employed. In so doing, I will argue the emergence of the social sciences of queer historicity. Finally, I will elucidate the Sino-Asian ancient historical roots of disciplinary knowledge behind the social sciences of queer historicity. I will reveal all of the above while concurrently situating the discussion in relation to Spencer and other British and Japanese scholars' theories and practice of the social sciences which Kumagusu examined as he formulated his thoughts.

Nature of Social Evolution as the Nature of Historicity in Social Sciences

Nature of social evolution determined the nature of historicity in the social sciences. In other words, understanding of how evolution of society happened impacted how and what social sciences produced as their facts and ideas. Such was the case with modern sociology and anthropology: the two major branches of social sciences that emerged in entanglement with narratives of social evolution in the late 19th century.[508] As Eriksen and Nielsen articulated, sociology surfaced to apprehend changing class relations in industrialisation while colonial projects enabled anthropology within the evolutionary account of the human race.[509] Industrialisation and colonial expansion were justifiable in the dominant understanding of

[508] Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Finn Sivert Nielsen *An History of Anthropology* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), 21 and 32.
[509] Ibid.

social evolution, where human societies evolved in a hierarchical and teleological manner. Indeed, the nature of evolution was, social or not, inescapably cultural as I elucidated in the previous chapters. The cultural nature of social evolution further impacted understandings of historical time as it defined the ways in which societies evolved over time. In the dominant, normative understanding of social evolution Spencer asserted, societies evolved – and therefore civilised – according to social Darwinian notion of the 'survival of the fittest' through the civilisational hierarchy. This understanding of social evolution perceived the historical time as linear, binary, and centred around the West. Societies within this historical time evolved in developmental manner from 'backwardness' of 'savage' and 'barbaric' to 'progress' of the 'modernisation' and 'civilised' that resembled the modern nation-states of the West.[510] Social sciences that emerged with this social evolution, accordingly, authenticated their facts and ideas in the West-centric, normative historicity.

The social sciences of queer historicity destabilised the imperial and industrial genealogy of Spencer's social sciences by replacing their three constitutive elements with Kumagusu's own notions I have delineated in chapter one and two. These were: what 'Japanese' meant in the science of social evolution; the social evolution's guiding idea of civilisation theory: and the ways in which the social evolution took place. The microbial paradigm of queer nature interconnected and gave rise to all of these ideas that became pivotal in the social sciences of queer historicity. As a result, queer historicity recognised historical time of diverse human past as centreless and non-hierarchical. Accordingly, the knower's experience of producing facts and ideas through this queer historicity in the social sciences resembled the same lived experience of knowing through queer nature as the basis of truths.

[510] This developmentalist account of history is commonly known to have originated from Scottish Enlightenment stadial theories where societies progressed through four stages from 'primitive' to the state that emulated industrial Europe. See: Nathaniel Wolloch, "The Civilizing Process, Nature, and Stadial Theory." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 2 (2010): 245-59.

That is, an attraction towards the curious and the strange with a desire to enquire into them further and attain an affective intimacy, regardless of the supposed normative divides among race, sex, and nationalities.

First of all, what Kumagusu referred to as 'Japanese' in his social sciences did not represent the rising empire of Meiji Japan that defeated China in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). The Meiji government's sovereign state envisioned a civil community of 'Japan' under a unifying system of education for the nation to survive and prevail within the international competition, *natural* to the civilisational progress. For them to do so, the state deemed it essential to rapidly adapt the modern Western knowledge and move away from Sino-Asian historical knowledge that long informed Japanese intellectual life until the dawn of the period. The defeat of China was precisely the result of this effort. Yet, the understanding of 'Japan' was not quite unified.

Kumagusu's intellectual imagination informed by his local childhood life was certainly out of reach from the Meiji state. His 'Japanese' knowledge characteristically remained rooted in Tokugawa-period 'Japanese' sources from which he learnt during his childhood in the home region of Kii in southwest Japan. As I noted in chapter one, the local area continued to embrace knowledge derived from China and wider Asia in the early Meiji period. Among them, Shingon Buddhism particularly influenced his epistemic lens as its head temple resided on the Mt Kōya in the region. Buddhist influence on the epistemic lens in his science most evidently defined the Japaneseness of what he called 'Japanese' science for studies of the social sciences. Furthermore, he frequently explained his reasonings behind his research with Confucian historical references with which he became familiar since childhood. The 'Japanese' characteristics of his science of societies thus did not refer to the Imperial science

of the Meiji state that adopted the Western intellectual paradigm of normative historicity. Instead, 'Japan' entailed Buddhist and Confucian lineages of thoughts that made sense of his formative years in Kii, Japan.

In fact, Kumagusu, writing to the British Museum board, explained that he consciously created the 'Japanese' science whilst in America with the aim to work on his sociological research.[511] He was aware of the fact that science was a culturally informed discipline. He wanted to "prove to our posterity that there was no positive proof that we Japanese – then of course, a very insignificant nation – were entirely unsuitable to the scientific culture."[512] While he addressed the 'insignificance' of Japan within the international competition before the Sino-Japanese War with a sense of irony, what he referred to as 'Japanese' science was certainly not the same as the Imperial science of the Meiji state. His 'Japanese' science did not inherit the Western culture of science that conceptualised the world in hierarchy and dichotomy, as I discussed in chapter one. Instead, this science inherited 'Japanese' culture of Shingon Buddhism.

As I discussed in chapter one and two, Buddhism-influenced epistemic lens in the science he practiced in America and carried on in London asserted absolute equality among all humans and species. What is more, it recognised the nature of reality as a symbiosis of *kokoro* (心: mind-heart) and *mono* (物: matters) instead of resorting to the subject-object dichotomy.[513] As I discussed in chapter two, he articulated the symbiotic phenomena of the two as *koto* (事: *things*), what can be considered 'the reality,' in his *koto no gaku* (事の学:

[511] Kumagusu, *Letter to the British Museum,* 1.
[512] Ibid.
[513] Minakata Kumagusu *Minakata Kumagusu Toki Hōryū Ōfukushokan/Minakata Kumagusu and Toki Hōryū Exchanged Letters* (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1990), 46.

The Study of Things).[514] Here, neither the mind, heart, nor matters ruled the others. The epistemology of this non-binary and non-hierarchical symbiosis existed everywhere in the world regardless of race, sex, or nationality. Such was precisely what characterised the core of the 'Japanese' science he practiced through his scientific research of societies at the British Museum's Reading Room.

The culture of science thus affected what the science illuminated as the nature of reality. The delineated quality and characteristics of the nature, then, acted as the basis of truths for defining what it meant to become 'civilised.' The culture of science mattered in social sciences because social evolution entailed ideas of what it meant for people and their societies to 'civilise' and evolve through history. What one may define as the process and structure of social evolution, as I mentioned earlier, conversely determined the historical authenticity of social scientific knowledge.

The social sciences of queer historicity and its understanding of social evolution emerged through Kumagusu's civilisational discourse whose basis of truths was queer nature. Based on queer nature, becoming 'civilised' involved cooperation and desire for intimacy with others unbounded by the normative binary and hierarchical divides of sex, race, and nationalities. Societies evolved – or 'civilised' – in this sense in the social sciences of queer historicity.

Significantly, as I illuminated in chapter two, this social evolution did not occur in the linear, hierarchical, and teleological manner as in the Spencerian civilisational 'progress.' Kumagusu argued *henkaron* (変化論: The Theory of Change) as social evolution, refuting

[514] Ibid.

the Japanese state's translation of *shinkaron* (進化論: The Theory of Progress).[515] The *henkaron* (the theory of change) paradigm perceived evolution as centerless and non-hierarchical in its structure and process, just like the microbe slime mould and amoeba whose natural movement embodied seemingly never-ending alterations.[516] Similarly, the civilising state of human *mind-heart* fluctuated, *naturally.*[517] What appeared to be "progression" and "retrogression" did not necessarily move in a singular, linear manner towards or away from a conclusive future. People and their societies could 'civilise' in his sense of the word only by learning from their experience as they lived through *turns* and *changes* of such a social evolution. The 'Japanese' science verified *henkaron* (the theory of change) as the truth of social evolution.

Hence, Kumagusu replaced the key ideas of social sciences with his own notions of what 'Japanese' meant in the science of social evolution; the social evolution's guiding idea of civilisational discourse; and the ways in which the social evolution took place. The emergence of these notions in his work predated his research at the Reading Room. However, queer nature that underlined all of their births continued to take effect ever more strongly as he conducted the research.

Pervading Queer Nature: Lived Experience Behind the Research

[515] Minakata Kumagusu "Toki Hōryū ate Shokan/Letters to Toki Hōryū," In *Minakata Kumagusu Zenhū 7/Complete Works of Minakata Kgumagusu 7* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975), 248-249.
[516] Ibid.
[517] Ibid.

Queer nature persisted within Kumagusu's knowledge formation in 1893-1900. It did so because further loss and new encounters, similar to the lived experience that facilitated him to discern nature as queer, happened to his life in London while he continued his research in microbes. What is more, these incidents amplified the presence of queer nature in the intellectual endeavour as he experienced them locally within both adversities and advantages that the historical contexts of 1890s Japan and Britain brought about. Queer nature therefore continued to impact the ways in which he delineated facts and ideas in his social scientific research.

To begin with, in the first two years in London, his *mind-heart* was "singularly absorbed in botany [of microbes]," he said.[518] His obsession with microbes that illuminated the nature that defied male-female and life-death dichotomies echoed with his longing for the dead. He desired intimacy with the dead as he lived his life, mentally and psychologically transgressing the life-death dichotomy. He lost both of his parents; his father was particularly supportive of his scholarly pursuit since he was young.[519] In addition to the family death, one of his lovers, the Hayama brothers had passed away earlier, and now the other one died due to a severe illness.[520] He kept dreaming of the lost "intimate friends" as he slept at night.[521] He then desired intimacy with an English woman during the day; she

[518] "小生は植物一新となりおる所故/ Shōseiha shokubutsu isshinto narioru tokoro yue." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive*, 123-125.
[519] Kumagusu's father: Minakata Yahee (南方弥兵衛: 1829-1892). Kumagusu's mother: Minakata Sumi (南方すみ: 1838-1896). Kumagusu, "London Diary", 5.; Minakata, Kumagusu *Minakata Kumagusu Nikki 1 1885-1896/Minakata Kumagusu Diary 1 1885-1896* (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1987), 385.
[520] The younger sibling of the Hayama brothers: Hayama Hanjirō (1971-1896). Minakata Kumagusu, *Yamada Eitarō ate Minakata Kumagusu Shokan,* Minakata Kumagusu Archive, Shokan 2085.
[521] Hayama Shigetarō (1868-1888), the diseased older sibling of the Hayama brothers, referred to Kumagusu as an "intimate friend." Kumagsu and Hayama Shigetarō, "Meiji 19 nen 4 gatsu 29 nichi (29 April 1886)" in *Nikki 1*, 70.; Karasawa Taisuke "Minakata Kumagusu to Hayama Kyōdai: Intimate na Kankei" in *Minakata Kumagusu no Mita Yume: Passage ni Tatsu Mono,* (Tokyo, Bensei Publishing, 2014).

resembled the no longer physically attainable Hayama brothers.[522] Queer nature accordingly persisted in his way of knowing.

The adversities of the historical circumstance reinforced Kumagusu's determination. The shattering deaths of his loved ones he left behind in Japan happened behind the Japanese state's 'civilisational progress' fuelled by industrialisation, the war with China, and escalated nationalism against the Western imperial powers. The normative social sciences that emerged with the Spencerian theory of social evolution legitimised what the industrialisation and imperialism brought about in his personal experience. However, for him, the stark survival for life did not symbolise 'civilisational progress' at all. Concurrently, London, the city he lived, was the very heart of the British governmental power that led European industrialisation and colonialism. Being an independent East Asian scholar in this city, he certainly experienced a degree of social and racial discrimination, including what he argued was harassment from another reader aimed at him at the Reading Room.[523] Moreover, his supportive father's death and the extortionate price of basic living in London created greater financial hardship.[524] He aspired to live frugally, frequently vowing to stop drinking although with little success, while wearing minimum light clothing even during the winter, living among mountains of books in a small rented room with bottles for urine lying around.[525]

[522] Minakata Kumagusu. "London Shiki: Zaiei Nihon Kōshikan Ate Chinjō/The Personal Record of London: The Peculiar Letter to the Embassy of Japan in London" In *Minakata Kumagusu: Chinji Hyōron/Minakata Kumagusu: Essays on Curious Things,* ed. Hasegawa, Kyōzō and Takeuchi, Yoshinobu (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1995), 167-211.
[523] Kumagusu, "The Personal Record of London, "169-211.
[524] Kumagusu, "London Diary."; Minakata Kumagusu and Minakata Tsunegusu "Kumagusu・Tsunegusu Shokan/Letters Exchanged between Kumagusu and Tsunegusu" in *Chinji,* 213-222.
[525] Kumagusu, "London Diary."

The sufferings of life at the heart of the empire simultaneously came with exceptional advantages that strengthened Kuamgusu's enthusiasm for creating the science of societies in the microbial paradigm of queer nature. Not only did London provide him with an abundance of intellectual sources, for which Kumagusu yearned the most, at the British Museum's Reading Room, it generated invaluable encounters with other East Asian scholars with whom he had intense debates. They were the Shingon Buddhist monk Toki Hōryū and the Chinese revolutionary, physician, and political philosopher Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), who were similarly attracted by London's intellectual environment.

What bonded them were, I argue, Kumagusu's dedication to create the new form of modern scholarship whose authenticity of social scientific 'facts' and ideas were rooted in the intellectual history of Asia. Both Toki Hōryū and Sun understood the necessity and the Asian intellectual references he employed in his contention. Kumagusu and Toki Hōryū's extensive debates on religion, science, and metaphysics, whose details I discussed in chapter two, created the foundation for the science of the social sciences rooted in queer historicity.

An account of long conversations between Kumagusu and Sun remains largely unknown due to the scarcity of existing historical sources. However, it is possible to argue they forged their close friendship through their shared concern for the inseparable relationship between science and theory of civilisation. Similar to how Kumagusu envisaged to the science-based scholarship that altered the ideas of what it meant to be civilised, Sun became a revolutionary as he left the job of a physician to devote himself to "cure the nation first, and then the people."[526] They met at the British Museum in 1897 while Sun sought refuge in London,

[526] Kan-Wen Ma "Sun Yat-Sen (1866-1925), A Man to Cure Patients and the Nation - His Early Years and Medical Career" In *Journal of Medical Biography* 4/3 (1996), 161-170.

after his failed first attempt in inciting a revolution in China.[527] The soon-to-be 'the father of the nation' for the Republic of China wrote a farewell note on Kumagusu's diary upon departing London: "海外逢知音 (I met an intimate friend oversea)."[528] Sun then gifted Kumagusu with two publications that symbolised his intellectual relationship to this intimate friend through science and the state of human civilisation. One was the first 1897 copy of *紅十字會救傷第一法* (The Red Cross Society Ambulance Lectures: First Aid to the Injured) authored by Sun.[529] Another was a pamphlet for the revolutionary intent *原君原臣* (On the Prince, On the Ministership) secretly created by Sun and his allies.[530]

First Aid to the Injured was the only medical science work Sun authored and yet continued to get reprinted by his revolutionists, as if to ensure reminding themselves of the close relationship between science and the ways in which people could be governed.[531] Importantly, the ethos behind Sun's scientific training resembled how Kumagusu configured his science. As Takegami Mariko discussed, Sun received his scientific training at a medical school in Hong Kong that aimed to combine the Western cultural knowledge with that of the East Asia.[532]

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[527] Kumagusu, *Minakata Kumagusu Diary 1 1885-1896,* 386.
[528] The English translation is author's own. The original text in Chinese only.; M. Kumagusu, 'Saturday 3rd July 1897' in *Collins' Pocket Diary 1897,* Minakata Kumagusu Museum, A1-074.
[529] Takegami *The Man of Science,* p.52.; Sun Yat-sen, *紅十字會救傷第一法/The Red Cross Society Ambulance Lectures: First Aid to the Injured*, Minakata Kumagusu Museum, B2-003.
[530] Zongxi Huang, *原君原臣/On the Prince, On the Ministership,* ed. Sun Yat-sen, Minakata Kumagusu Museum, B2-002.
[531] On medical science and Sun Yat-sen and further background to the making of the pamphlet, see Takegami Mariko 'Dai Nishō: Sonbun to Igaku/Chapter Two: Sun Yat-sen and Medical Science' in *Kagakuno Hito Sonbun: Shisōshi teki Kōsatsu/The Man of Science Sun Yat-sen: An Analysis as an Intellectual History* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2014), 51-84.
[532] Takegami Mariko 'Dai Isshō: Sonbun no Kagakukan/Chapter One: Sun Yat-sen's View of Science' in *Kagakuno Hito Sonbun: Shisōshi teki Kōsatsu/The Man of Science Sun Yat-sen: An Analysis as an Intellectual History* (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2014), 25-50.

For Sun, the publication went hand in hand with *On the Prince/On the Ministership* in his relationship to Kumagusu. The pamphlet consisted of excerpts from the Ming-dynasty period naturalist, political theorist, and philosopher Huang Zongxi (黃宗羲: 1610-1695)'s treatise on political reform *明夷待訪錄* (Waiting for the Dawn).[533] Kumagusu and Sun's contemporaneous political activist Liang Qichao (梁啓超: 1873-1929) called Huang "China's Rousseau."[534] Kumagusu had impersonated Rousseau in his writing when he lived in America.[535] Huang's political philosophy, which Sun endorsed, indeed resonated with how Kumagusu's civilisational discourse emphasized individuals' freedom, equality, and independence. In the chapters Sun used for the pamphlet, Huang contended all laws to be created based on the needs of the people on the ground instead of political elites' agenda.[536]

Moreover, Huang's political philosophy built on Neo-Confucianism, which also part informed Kumagusu's theory of civilisation, as I discussed in chapter one.[537] The major influence from the intellectual movement included early legal thoughts of the Song dynasty period historian and philosopher Zhu Xi (朱熹: 1130-1200). Similar to Kumagusu's earlier assertion on the necessity of self-knowledge in the process of becoming civilised, which I discussed in chapter one, Zhu Xi called for "self-cultivation" to be carried out by everyone "for the governance of humankind."[538] As Wm. Theodore de Bary explicated, this notion took effect together with his contention on the necessity for human *mind-heart* to balance

[533] For English translation of *明夷待訪錄/Waiting for the Dawn,* see Zongxi Huang, *Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince: Huang Tsung-hsi's Ming-i-tai-fang Lu*, trans. Wm Theodore De Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
[534] Ikegami, *The Man of Science,* 241.; Shimada Kenji, *Chugoku Kakumei no Senkushatachi/The Pioneers of the Chinese Revolution* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1965), 127-128.
[535] Kumagusu, *Chinji Hyōron,* 23.
[536] Zongxi Hunag, 'On the Prince' and 'On the Ministership' in *Waiting for the Dawn*, 91-93 and 94-96.
[537] Wm Theodore De Bary 'Chapter 15: Waiting for the Dawn: Huang Zongxi's Critique of the Chinese Dynastic System" In *Finding Wisdom in East Asian Classics*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 199-208.
[538] Ibid., 200.

"legitimate self-interest with the interests of others to achieve the common good."[539] In other words, freedom, equality, and independence of people did not equate selfishness; on the contrary, these ideas were compatible with care and intimacy for others, just as they were in Kumagusu's civilisational discourse. Significantly, Sun employed Huang's political philosophy rooted in the above intellectual lineage to substantiate his science-derived modern concern for the state of human civilisation in China. He recognised that Kumagusu would understand and appreciate such a formation of thoughts.

Thus, Kumagusu's lived experience that occurred within his interpersonal relationships with his loved ones and intellectual allies intensified the impact of queer nature on his knowledge formation in London. The loss and encounters reconfirmed the queer nature as the basis of truths upon which he unfolded his scientific research of societies. Although he conducted his research at the Reading Room independently, he knew he was not alone in realising the necessity to "fight with scholarship" to alter the science of societies. The challenges of life became the source of commitment. The intimate friendships he built over science and civilisational concerns became the spring of his courage. His five-year research at the Reading Room consequentially brought about the social sciences of queer historicity.

Historical Authenticity: A Matter of Happiness and Wealth

The historical authenticity of the social scientific facts and ideas mattered to Kumagusu because "Spencer argued that the study of society is most required for people to get

[539] De Bary, 'Waiting for the Dawn,' ibid.

along."[540] Sociology, according to Spencer, articulated the evolutionary – therefore civilising – structure and process of society.[541] An accurate understanding of social evolution enabled people to be content with their lived experience within the societies, and as a result, promoted "happiness," so he asserted.[542] Therefore, the social sciences – be it sociology or anthropology – had to coexist with true and just suppositions of social evolution. However, Kumagusu and Spencer's ideas of happiness within civilising societies were distinct from one another. Their contrasting notions of happiness were intimately connected with their understanding of 'civilisational wealth.' Kumagusu's understanding of wealth and happiness derived from the ancient history of Sino-Asia. Spencer, in the meantime, asserted the notion in line with the 19th century laissez-faire Capitalism of industrialised Europe at the height of British colonial expansion.

The social sciences of queer historicity built on Kumagusu's ideas of wealth and happiness that derived from Asian intellectual history and its origin of history writing. As I introduced in chapter one, he understood civilisational wealth as "a person's *jōsei* (情性/affective human nature)," quoting the Chinese scholar of early Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) Sīmă Qiān (司馬遷: c. 145-86 BC).[543] The source of Kumagusu's understanding of wealth possessed ever stronger potency in the sociology of queer historicity. Sīmă Qiān was the

[540] "… スペンセルは … 人間の人間として処世するには社会の学が一番必要ぢゃと言へり。/ Supenseru ha … ningen no ningentoshite shosei suruniha shakaino gakuga ichiban hitsuyōja to ieri." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 204.
[541] Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873).
[542] Herbert Spencer, Herbert *First Principles of a New System of Philosophy* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1862: 1867), 328.
[543] "司馬遷のいわく、富は人の情性、学ばずして共に欲するところなり、と。富は人の情性なれば、実業は万国各人種共に相学び相資くるべきの業なり。/ Shiba Sen no iwaku, tomiha hitono jōsei, manabazushite tomoni hossurutokoronari, to. Tomiha hitono jōsei nareba, jitsugyō ha bankokukakujinshu tomoni aimanabi aishikurubekino gyōnari." Minakata Kumagusu "Sugimura Kōtarō ate, Meiji 20 nen 9 gatsu 9 ka (9 September 1887)," *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 7 Kan/The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Vol.7* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971: 1974), 77-78.

'founding father' of history writing in Asia.[544] His notion of wealth as *jōsei* (affective human nature) was the essential agent of social evolution that defined Kumagusu's civilisation theory. Kumagusu referred to the act of producing this wealth as the essential *jitsugyō* (business), which all people and nations must learn and with which they must engage. Furthermore, they had to do so in absolute equality – "the biggest happiness in the world" along with freedom, as he understood through his Buddhist learning.[545]

The modern Western science which Spencer endorsed could not "measure" the inorganic element of the lived experience Kumagusu discerned as central to social evolution.[546] Spencerian theory of civilisation only concerned physical and material aspects.[547] The notions of wealth and happiness in Spencer's social science corresponded to this characteristic of the Western science.[548] The 'business,' the method of producing 'wealth,' referred to commercial activities that produced financial wealth and material gains in this context.

This is most visible in the ways in which his study of sociology developed on his early work that justified the laissez-faire Capitalism. *Social Statics, or the Condition Essential to Happiness Specified, and the First of them Developed* (1851) was his thesis on the fundamental social conditions required for humans to prosper and achieve 'happiness.'[549]

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[544] See Grant Hardy *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo: Sima Qian's Conquest of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
[545] "天地ノ間何物カ束縛ヲ欲スルモノアランヤ。六合ノ間何物カ不平等ヲ好ムモノアランヤ。… 最大幸福ナル自由平等/ Tenchino aida nanimonoka sokubakuwo hossurumono aranya. Rikugō no aida nanimono ka fukōhei wo konomumono aranya. … saidai no kōfuku naru jiyūbyōdō." Kumagusu "Dainihon (Meiji 22 nen 2 gatsu 1 tachi hakko, Daiichigō/Published on 1 February 1889, vol. 1)" In *Nikki 1,* 431.
[546] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive*, 104.
[547] Ibid., 42.
[548] Spencer, *The First Principles,* Ibid.; See chapter two of this thesis for a broader discussion.
[549] Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics, or the Condition Essential to Happiness Specified, and the First of them Developed* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1851: 1892).

The publication argued how humans ought to be free from external constraints as a matter of ethics, and how this moral law coincided with the laws of laissez-faire capitalism.[550] What is more, the convergence of these laws within societies mirrored the organic laws of the survival of the fittest.[551] Therefore, in various chapters, he contended "The Rights of Life and Personal Liberty," "The Right to the Use of the Earth," "The Right of Property," and "The Right to Ignore the State," to name but a few.[552] These "rights" reinforced the grounds for exploiting humans and the non-human resources the European and Japanese empires held in their hands through industrialisation and colonialism: the social changes through which sociology and anthropology emerged.

Spencer's social sciences that embraced the above intellectual justifications *naturally* perceived European development as the forefront of social evolution within history. For Kumagusu, such an idea was "full of unreasonableness" in the light of history.[553] It neither facilitated people and their societies to civilise nor to get along with each other in wealth and happiness, in his understanding of the words.

The Historically Authentic Social Evolution

For sociology to articulate the structure and process of social evolution, it had to evidence its facts and ideas using arguments with abundant data on "societies of different types," both

[550] Ibid.
[551] Ibid.
[552] Ibid.
[553] "貴師よ、少しく気をつけよ。又西洋の開化とて、決して万年も相続するものにあらず。今日の西洋の開化は、無理なことばかりで成り上がったもの。史を案ぜよ。/ Kishiyo, sukoshiku kuwotsukeyo. Mata seiyō no kaika ha, murinakoto bakari de nariagatta mono. Shi wo anzeyo." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters*, 5.

"primitive" and "civilised" from "past and present," as Spencer explained.[554] The amassed data typically comprised anthropological sources of diverse societies that existed in recorded history. Arranged in the "societies of different types", he called this descriptive sociology. [555] The method and analysis of the data gathering as well as the theorisation based on the data required the scholar to equip themselves with correct suppositions on the nature of social evolution. Kumagusu recounted Spencer's account on sociology: "If [sociology] was about arguing winners and losers and the height and decline [of civilisation] according to selfish suppositions on the ancient Western history … it is not sociology at all."[556]

Kumagusu discerned Spencer's teleological and Westcentric notion of social evolution was historically inauthentic – and so were facts and ideas of Spencer's social sciences. For Kumagusu, Spencer was the one who exercised the "selfish suppositions." Social evolution happened centrelessly and non-hierarchically as in *henkaron* (The Theory of Change); not as in *shinkaron* (The Theory of Progress). Even the idea of contending who may be the "winners and losers" itself was irrelevant in the light of the former.

Their conflicting apprehensions of social evolution derived from their contrasting methods of arriving at their theories to which they applied on their social sciences. Spencer's sociology imposed *a priori* progress theory of social evolution on the anthropological data to argue its facts and ideas. Kumagusu's sociology instead examined the anthropological data through *a posteriori* theory of *henkaron* (the theory of change). As I discussed in

[554] Herbert Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology: or, Groups of Sociological Facts, vol.1: The English.* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1873), vi.
[555] Ibid.
[556] "又西洋古来の史はなにかえて勝手な推量で勝負盛衰を論じたものなれば、一向社会学に非ずといへり。/ Mata seiyō korai no shi ha nanikaete kattena suiryō de shōbu jōsui wo ronjitamono nareba, ikkō shakaigaku ni arazuto ieri." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive*, 204.

chapter two, Kumagusu arrived at *henkaron* (the theory of change) through his empirical observation of *mind-heart* and the microbes through his Buddhist epistemic lens. These sources of knowledge existed inescapably closely to any human being. Yet, Western scholars, including Spencer, did not care to pay attention – so he complained.[557] They instead employed established scientific suppositions without questioning them. [558] Suppositions of these theories had to be true and just; not selfish. *A priori* theory that did not derive from a rigorous empirical research was not true and just. Therefore, facts and Ideas generated through the social sciences with *a priori* theory were historically inauthentic.

Kumagusu knew that Spencer employed *a priori* theory of social evolution as the suppositions for his analysis as he set to create *The Descriptive Sociology: or, Groups of Sociological Facts* (1873-1919).[559] Spencer hired other scholars to work on this project on enormous volumes of the said data set in his preparation to write *The Study of Sociology* (1873) and *The Principles of Sociology* (1876). [560] Once his assistant-scholars gathered enough data, Spencer selectively used them as the evidence for his suppositions in *a priori* theory of social evolution in these publications. He did so while eliminating what appeared unique and peculiar without recognising such a decision as problematic. [561]

[557] Ibid., 209.
[558] Ibid.
[559] Herbert Spencer, *The Descriptive Sociology: or, Groups of Sociological Facts* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1873-1919); Spencer outsourced the majority of research work for the nineteen volumes by employing trained scholars. The lack of public support interrupted the process in 1881, completing total of eight volumes. His trustees resumed the project again as part of the philosopher's will after the death in 1903.
[560] Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1876).; Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*.
[561] Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* (New York: D. Appleton and Company 1873: 1888), 58-59. Minakata Kumagusu Archives. Yo 350.05.

As a result, Spencer's sociology illuminated social evolution as inherently hierarchical in structure and Westcentric and teleological in process. He justified this hierarchy of social evolution in his social sciences as a historical fact by referring to 'the founding father' of sociology Auguste Comte (1798-1857):

> "… even Comte and his disciples, believing in an entire transformation of society, nevertheless betray an incomplete emancipation; for the ideal society expected by them, is one under regulation by a hierarchy essentially akin to hierarchies such as mankind have known."[562]

Indeed, the social sciences in Europe emerged through the early 19th century positivist philosophy of science, most notably led by Comte. Positivism, the scientific study of the social world, generated its ideas and truths based on experiential understanding of what could be understood as natural phenomena. Spencer's ideas and truths of the social sciences emerged from his experiential knowledge of nature that seemed to resonate with the earlier thinkers and intellectual elites of his time. He developed the social scientific studies without turning to an empirical observation. Thus, he imposed his "selfish suppositions" on the anthropological data in his sociology.

One can observe another way in which Spencer tried to prove the truthfulness of his "selfish suppositions" from how he equated the ability to master science – of the particular culture of course – with his idea of being 'civilised' and therefore truthful in his sociology. He argued in *The Study of Sociology* (1873: 1888): "… If you compare savage with civilised … you find untruthfulness and credulity decreasing together; until you reach the modern man of science, who is at once exact in his statements and critical respecting evidence."[563] He

[562] Ibid., 120.
[563] Ibid., 117.

then noted that this evolutionary change is "even now startlingly presented in the East, where greediness in swallowing fictions goes along with superfluous telling of falsehood."[564] However, it was Spencer's Judeo-Christian derived modern Western science that delineated his "false" ideas of civilisational discourse and "false" suppositions of the social evolution in social sciences to Kumagusu's eyes.[565] The falsehood and selfishness belonged to the supposedly 'civilised' West.

Spencer did articulate this intellectual challenge himself as "objective and subjective difficulties" in the publication:

> From intrinsic natures of its facts, from our natures as observers of its facts, and from the peculiar relation in which we stand toward the facts to be observed, there arise impediments of in the way of Sociology greater than those of any other science.[566]

Spencer even brought up historical examples of European "bias of patriotism" towards Christian belief.[567] Yet, he remained unconcerned about his science's ingrained influence from the Christian epistemic lens that conceptualised the world in dichotomies and hierarchies.[568] The epistemic lens resulted in the suppositions that supported his Westcentric understanding of social evolution, which Kumagusu considered the very logic of the bias embedded in the normative intellectual paradigm. Instead, Spencer only considered the

[564] Ibid.
[565] As I discussed in chapter 3, Kumagusu was aware of the fact that modern Western science emerged as European scientists strove to justify their endeavour in the light of the New Testament during the Scientific Revolution. He read one of the pivotal texts of this kind, the English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561-1626)'s 1620 treatise *Novum Organum.* See Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum, sive Indicia Vera de Interpretatione Naturae,* (Oxford: e typographeo academico, 1855). Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Yō 130.01.; Francis Bacon, *The Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon* (London: George Bell and sons, 1888). Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Yō 130.02.
[566] Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1873), 72.
[567] Spencer, "The Bias of Patriotism" in *The Study of Sociology* Ibid., 180.
[568] Ibid.

patriotic bias to cause an issue in terms of cultural clash with other civilisations, which he of course regarded inferior to his own.

While Spencer remained oblivious to the Christian-derived culture of science embedded in his social sciences, both Western scholars and Japanese state scholars regarded Confucianism detrimental to social evolution. Kumagusu considered such an account an utter nonsense. He contended, writing on the page of Spencer's *The Study of Sociology* (1873: 1888):

> "When I was in the US, … [an American scholar] claimed the stagnant civilisational state of Japan was largely caused by harmful Confucianism. But the devastating impact of Christianity on the culture of supposedly most civilised Western nations in completely incomparable to that of Confucianism. The other day, too, I heard someone at the University of Tokyo assert that Confucianism delays the Japanese civilisation as a prominent theory. Such a theory has no deep reasoning behind it. It's just like how farmers claim the year's harvest would be a bad one based on a comet in the sky. It's not for a star to know why rice wouldn't grow by putting together a comet and harvest in their argument."[569]

Furthermore, Spencer's suppositions on the evolutionary narrative of human past were historically inauthentic; so were the facts and ideas asserted by his social sciences. One had to be careful, Kumagusu warned: "The Western civilisation is not something that continued for eternity. The Western civilisation today suddenly rose into power based on complete

[569] "在米ノ時…ニ語テ曰ク日本ノ開化渋滞セル理由ハ儒教ノ害大ナリシニヨルトイヘド実際今日開化最上ナル欧州各国ニ於テ耶蘇教ガ文化ニ対シテ為セル妨害ハ中々儒教ドコロノモノニ非ズト予曰ク、儒教ガ日本開化ヲ渋滞セシメシトハ過日モ東京大学ノ或ル人ノ卓説トシテ報知ヲ得シ所ナルガ之ハ是レ土百姓ガ彗星天ニ顕レシ故今年ハ凶作ナドイフニ同ジ何レ深キ理由有テ彗星ト凶作ト同時ニ出シナランガ稲ノ登ラヌハ星ノ知タコトニ非ル也/ Zaibei no toki …. Ni katarite iwaku nihon no kaika jūtaiseru riyū ha jyūkyō no gai dainari shini yoruto iedo jissai kyō no kaika saijō naru ōshū kakkoku ni oite yasukyō ga bunkani taishite suseru bōgai ha nakanaka jyūkyō dokoro no mononi hizu to yoiwaku, jyūkyō ga nihon kaika wo jūtai seshimentoha kajitsu mo Tokyo daigaku no aruhito no takusetsutoshite ninchi wo eshi tokoro naruga kore ha kore hyakushō ga suisei ten ni araware shi yue kotoshi ha kyōsaku nado iu ni onaji nan re fukaki riyū arite suisei to kyōsaku to wo dōjini dashinaranga inano noboranu ha hoshi no shitta kotoni hizurunari." Kumagusu's note on his copy of Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, 93, Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Yō 350.06.; The note as investigated by Matsui Ryūgo in *Minakata Kumagusu: Fukugan no Gakumon Kōzō,* (Tokyo: Keio Gijuku University Press, 2016), 76.

unreasonableness. Cogitate about the history."[570] Examining *changes* of diverse societies from past and present through suppositions of *henkaron* (The Theory of Change) proved such an account as true and just.

History clearly evidenced the falsehood of Spencer's sociological accounts. Kumagusu recognised so, having analysed all the available eight volumes of *The Descriptive Sociology* (1873-1881), two different editions of *The Study of Sociology* (1873: 1888 and 1892), and *The Principle of Sociology* (1876: 1888).[571] Writing down his comments on the pages of these publications, he denounced how Spencer displayed the limited scope of knowledge while talking so much about the importance of observation.[572] In so doing, he asserted there was absolutely no need for Spencer to discuss examples from "barbarians" to make his Western supremacist arguments; one could find plenty of similar examples of barbarism in the West.[573]

Kumagusu perceived *henkaron* (The Theory of Change) as a historically authentic phenomenon. This assertion challenged another presumption maintained by Spencer and the Japanese jurist, political philosopher, and governmental beauracrat Ariga Nagao (有賀 長雄, 1860-1921). Kumagusu read Spencer's remark shortly before arriving in London: "… it was a matter of great pity that Japan possessed as yet no sociological history."[574] Ariga echoed

[570] "貴師よ、少しく気をつけよ。又西洋の開化とて、決して万年も相続するものにあらず。今日の西洋の開化は、無理なことばかりで成り上がったもの。史を案ぜよ。/ Kishiyo, sukoshiku kuwotsukeyo. Mata seiyō no kaika ha, murinakoto bakari de nariagatta mono. Shi wo anzeyo."Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 5.
[571] Herbert Spencer, *The Descriptive Sociology Vol.1-8* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1873-1881).; Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, Ibid. (1873: 1888 and 1892) Minakata Kumagusu Archives Yo 350.05.; Herbert Spencer, *The Principle of Sociology Vol 1 and 2* (New York: D. Appleton and co., 1888), Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Yō 130.19 and Yō 130.20.
[572] Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, 134.
[573] Kumagusu's notes on Ibid., 134.
[574] The original text in English. Kumagusu, *Letter to the British Museum,* Ibid., 2.

Spencer's observation in his 1883 publication *Shakai Shinkaron* (社会進化論: "The Theory of Social Evolutionary Progress").[575] Kumagusu lamented: "He asserted there is nothing in Sino-Japan from which one could observe changes of societies since the ancient times in this social progress theory, modelling it after [Spencer's] complete absurdity."[576] Ariga assumed that such sources of knowledge did not exist as he regarded *changes* of societies synonymous to the teleological *progress* of societies. As a result, both Spencer and Ariga delineated their sociological theories while assessing the historical data with the incorrect, *a priori* suppositions of the teleological progress theory. "[N]o sociological history" of Japan indeed existed in the normative historicity. Kumagusu proclaimed: "Whatever the Westerner says, it is not down to the Westerner to judge right or wrong."[577] Plenty of data that evidenced *henkaron* (the theory of change) existed in Sino-Japanese as well as European historical sources.

Altering the Science behind the Social Sciences

Kumagusu envisaged to create his own descriptive sociology through his research at the British Museum's Reading Room. He referred to this as the "descriptive sociology of Japan." He embarked on the project to evidence the social evolution of *henkaron* (The Theory of Change) as a historically authentic phenomenon across time and space. In so doing, he aimed to draw out its logic of first principles: the irrefutable, fundamental propositions on the queer

[575] Nagao Ariga, *Shakai Shinkaron/ The Theory of Social Evolutionary Progress* (Tokyo: Tōyōkan, 1883).
[576] "有賀などのベラボウ全く之を模範して、其社会進化論に、支那日本には古来社会変遷を見るべきものなしと喋々す。/ Ariga nado no berabō mattaku kore wo mohanshite, sono shakaishinkaron ni, shina nihon niha koraishakai henka wo mirubeki mono nashi to shaberisu." Kumaugusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 204.
[577] "洋人がなんといひたりとて、是非は洋人の私することに非図。/ Yōjin ga nanto iitaritote, zehi ha yōjin no shisuru kotoni hizu." Ibid.

nature of evolutionary reality. The "descriptive sociology of Japan" replaced the science of social science in Spencer's *The Descriptive Sociology* (1873-1881) with 'Japanese' science. Kumagusu did so while simultaneously consulting similar types of publications as its major sources. The difference in science that informed the social sciences created a radical difference between Kumagusu and Spencer's descriptive sociology. Kumagusu placed the strange and curious at the heart of his investigation while Spencer eliminated them.

Kumagusu's letter to the Museum board proves that he saw this work as a fundamentally scientific endeavor. In explaining his aim of completing "the descriptive sociology of Japan, he argued: "… there is no other object for my stay here than to accomplish my scientific research in the Museum."[578] In the meantime, the majority of publications Kumagusu used for his descriptive sociology resembled what Spencer's assistants used to create *The Descriptive Sociology* in disciplines and types. In other words, historical and anthropological studies of various religious, cultural and ethnic groups, and of myriad countries in the north, south, east, and west predominated in the notebooks.[579] These accounts were recorded by European historians, naturalists, geographers, and missionaries from the 16th century to the late 19th century.[580] Yet, out of the above sources at the Reading Room, Kumagusu's "descriptive sociology of Japan" focused on amassing records of encountering strange and curious people, incidents, and phenomenon. He indeed perceived these publications themselves strange and peculiar and therefore essential in his research. [581]

[578] Kumagusu*, Letter to the British Museum,* 6.
[579] Minakata Kumagusu *London Nukigaki/London Excerpts* Minakata Kumagusu Archives.; Matsu Ryūgo "'London Nukigaki' Mokuroku/The London Excerpts Catalogue" in *Compound Eyes,* Ibid., 33-74.
[580] Ibid.; Ibid.
[581] Minakata Kumagusu "Rirekisho (Yabuki Yoshio ate Shokan)/Résumé (A Letter to Yabuki Yoshio)" in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 7/The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu 7* (Tokyo: Hebonsha, 1971: 1974), 15.

There were three major reasons why his usage of 'Japanese' science resulted in this characteristic.

Firstly, in the microbial paradigm of queer nature inhabited by 'Japanese' science, experience of apprehending the reality *naturally* involved emotions. 'Japanese' science recognised *things* (*koto*), which can be considered the 'reality,' as phenomena that emerge as the result of symbiosis between one's *mind-heart* and *matters,* as I mentioned earlier. The notion of *kokoro* (mind-heart) within the former transcended the dichotomised division between 'rational mind' and 'emotional heart,' as I explicated in chapter one. Hence, 'emotional' experience existed as the integral part of the 'rational' and scientific comprehension of the reality.

Secondly, 'Japanese' science considered queer nature of *mind-heart* as the universal human nature essential in the civilising process of *henkaron* (The Theory of Change). Kumagusu contended, quoting the Chinese poet of the late Tang Dynasty Du Mu (杜牧: 803-852 AD): "one person's *mind-heart* is tens of millions of people's *mind-heart.*"[582] Furthermore, "within sciences, sociology and anthropology must also illuminate the developing nature of *mind-heart*," so he asserted.[583] As people civilised, queer nature of their *mind-heart* embraced desire for intimacy towards seemingly strange and peculiar others, regardless of imposed divides between race, sex, and nations, and operated with a belief in absolute equality.

[582] "一人の心は千万人の心なり、と杜牧之が賦にも見えたれば … / hitori no kokoro ha senman'nin no kokoro nari, to To Boku ga fu nimo mietareba … " Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 50.
[583] "ことに科学のうち、社会学、人類学ごときは … 心性発育をも説いて洩らさざるものなれば…/ Kotoni kagakuno uchi, shakaigaku, jinruigaku gotokiha … shinseihatsuiku womo toite morasazaru mononareba … " Ibid., 87.

Thirdly, records that captured such instances evidenced human engagement with what Kumagusu called wisdom-knowledge (智識: *chishiki*)," whose metaphysics I elucidated in the previous chapter. Active engagements with wisdom-knowledge enabled people and their societies to 'civilise' in Kumagusu's sense of the word through the social evolution of *henkaron* (The Theory of Change). When one occupied themselves with wisdom-knowledge, they enjoyed understanding strange and curious *things*.[584] He explained the more people and their societies became civilised, the more they became fascinated by curious and wondrous *things.*[585] He moreover asserted there ought to be no hierarchy among the lived experience of wisdom-knowledge being processed by the knower's *mind-heart*; it was "absolutely not appropriate" to even give a thought that there may be.[586] Recorded accounts of such instances, as a result, conveyed the civilising process and structures of *henkaron* (The Theory of Change). The evidences of social evolution through *henkaron* (the theory of change) illuminated the irrefutable first principles behind the queer nature of evolutionary reality.

On the contrary to Kumagusu's 'Japanese' science behind the "descriptive sociology of Japan," Spencer's science for the social science only paid attention to the physical aspect of social evolution. Spencer, as a result, only considered physical and material 'growth' as the reflection of social evolution. He contended this characteristic as the "nature of sociological science" in *The Study of Sociology* (1873: 1888).[587] This argument originated in *The Principles of Sociology* (1876: 1888) where he reasoned the significance of identifying the

[584] Kumagusu called this experience *myōsō* (妙想: inspirations and wise ideas) which, according to him, made the knower wondering "what a strange thing (妙なことじゃ/Myō na koto ja)." See Kumagusu, Ibid., 62.
[585] Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki," 298.
[586]"はなはだ不当と存じ候。/ Hanahada futō to zonji sōrō" Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 60.
[587] Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* (1873: 1888), 64.

'growth' in relation to how he defined 'society.' He asserted that a society constituted of what he called *super-organic* phenomena i.e. relations among organisms.[588] He even argued one can consider a society itself an organism that is distinct to an inorganic entity.[589] What societies and organisms had in common was growth, he explained.[590] Similar to organisms, "[s]ocial growth usually continues either up to times when societies divide, or up to times when they are overwhelmed."[591] Hence, societies "substantially distinguished themselves from inorganic world."[592]

For Spencer, societies primarily existed in a physical realm. Accordingly, Spencer's science of societies gave no role for emotional experience in lived experience of civilising people and their societies. He asserted: "[d]oubtless in nearly every field emotion is a perturbing intruder."[593] When it comes to passions and attractions, the pivotal emotion in Kumagusu's 'Japanese' science for the social science, he maintained such emotions were signs of greater credulity.[594]

After all, Spencer's sociological endeavor to uncover the structure and process of social evolution essentially lied in its assessment on how they meet these intrinsic needs for survival in the teleological social evolution.[595] Emotion, particularly of intimacy, merely

[588] Spencer, Herbert "Part I: The Data of Sociology – Chapter I: Super-Organic Evolution," "Part II: The Inductions of Sociology – Chapter I: What is A Society?," and "Part II: The Inductions of Sociology – Chapter II: A Society is an Organism" In *The Principles of Sociology Vol.1* (1876: 1888). Ibid., 3-5 and 435-450.
[589] Spencer "Part II: The Inductions of Sociology – Chapter II: A Society is an Organism" In Ibid., 437-450.
[590] Ibid.; Spencer "Part II: The Inductions of Sociology – Chapter III: Social Growth" In Ibid., 451-458.
[591] Spencer *The Principles of Sociology* Ibid., 437.
[592] Ibid.
[593] Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* Ibid., 74.
[594] Ibid. 76.
[595] Ibid.; Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology* Ibid.; This concern of Spencer came to influence the works of the French sociologist Emilie Durkheim (1858-1917), who known as the chief founder of modern social sciences together with the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920). See Jonathan Turner, "The Sociology of Herbert Spencer" in *The Emergence of Sociological Theory* 5th ed. Charles H. Powers, Jonathan Turner, and Leonard Beeghley (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Thomson Learning, 1981: 2001), 54-89.

became an obstacle for survival. Thinking in the light of this sociological analysis, he argued one should not pay attention to the historically strange and peculiar in studies of societies.[596] However, what happens after the burst of what he described as "overwhelmed" societies – moments for potential changes and turns – did not seem to concern him. Such a scientific analysis of social evolution indeed appeared "full of unreasonableness" to Kumagusu in the light of history.[597]

In the meantime, Kumagusu's concern for the civilising state of *mind-heart* bore resemblances to interests of British scholars in evolutionary theory and anthropology. For example, as Eriksen and Nielsen clarified, evolutionists and leading anthropologists of the time endorsed the idea of the 'psychic unity of mankind,' originally postulated by the German cultural historian-polymath Adolf Bastian (1826-1905).[598] Furthermore, as Matsui pointed out, Kumagusu paid attention to the naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913)'s argument on the psychic state of human being.[599] Wallace was instrumental in delineating the theory of natural selection along with Charles Darwin (1809-1882). Yet, unlike Darwin, he argued that there was a limit to the said evolutionary theory.[600] The science behind the theory especially faced its limit if one was to interrogate human psyche.[601] Thus, how Kumagusu regarded the civilising state of *mind-heart* as the foremost issue of human society resonated with wider scholarships on evolutionism and anthropology.

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[596] Spencer *The Study of Sociology* (1873) Ibid., 58-59.
[597] "無理なことばかり。/ Murina koto bakari." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 5.
[598] Eriksen and Nielsen *A History of Anthropology* Ibid., 28.
[599] Matsui *Compound Eyes,* 182-188.; Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 324.; Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-utan and the Bird of Paradise: A Narrative of Travels, with Studies of Man and Nature* (London, Mcillan and co.: 1883), Minakata Kumagusu Archives, Yō 280.086.
[600] Alfred Russel Wallace "The Limits of Natural Selection as Applied to Man" in *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection* (London: Macmillan and Co.: 1870), 332-371.; Matsui Ibid., 182.
[601] Wallace Ibid.; Matsui Ibid.; Wallace, as a result, moved onto devote himself to research spiritualism. See Peter Raby, *Alfred Russel Wallace: A Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

What essentially differentiated Kumagusu from these British scholars, however, was the fact that his thoughts process operated through the microbial paradigm of 'Japanese' science that illuminated the basis of truth as queer nature. This paradigm was rooted in the wider Sino-Asia, as I have demonstrated. As a result, he placed the concern for the state of *mind-heart* at the heart of the 'Japanese' science for his social sciences instead of separating the former from the latter. The "descriptive sociology of Japan" as a result interrogated *things,* the evidential records of civilising *mind-heart* attracted towards the strange and peculiar unbounded by imposed categories of race, sex, and nationality.

The serious enquiries into the curious and strange can also be observed in the ways in which Kumagusu explained to the Museum board what took him to create 'Japanese' science. Here, he did not expand on the metaphysics behind the science of wisdom-knowledge like he did to the Buddhist monk Toki Hōryū (chapter two). Instead, he adopted disciplinary languages familiar to British scholars of the time: "biological and ethnological studies."[602] In his knowledge formation, both of these studies interrogated curious and strange existences that illuminated understandings of nature. His biological study in America involved researches into the intrinsic nature of curious and strange microbes, as I discussed in chapter one. Similarly, in the 1890s Britain, ethnography emerged as a branch of anthropology that interrogated societies of people who anthropologists long neglected them as merely strange and peculiar. In fact, in line with this concern of the British ethnography of the time, Kumagusu most rigorously studied the third volume of Spencer's *The Descriptive Sociology* (1874) that covered "types of lowest races" and their "uncivilised societies".[603]

[602] Kumagusu *Letter to the British Museum,* 1.
[603] Kumagusu's notes on Spencer, *The Descriptive Sociology Vol.3* (1874) Ibid., pp.09b, 09c, 15b, 20b, 20c, 27a, 27b, 28c, 30c, 33a, 33b, 35a, 36a, 36c, 38a, 38b, 38c, 39a, 39c, 40a, 40b, 41b, 41c, 42a, 42c,43c, and 47c. Minakata Kumagusu Archives.; On another interpretation of Kumagusu's notes on this volume, see Matsui, *Compound Eyes,* 211-212.

Within ethnography, Kumagusu took a strong interest in works of the German geographer-ethnographer Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904) and psychologist-anthropologist Theodor Waitz (1821-1864), as Matsui pointed out.[604] He rigorously read and copied almost all of the texts from Ratzel's *History of Mankind* (1896) and Waitz's three volumes of *Anthropology of Primitive People* (1863) on over ten notebooks of his "descriptive sociology of Japan," along with other sources.[605] These publications particularly influenced the contemporaneous British anthropology.[606] These German pioneers of ethnography called for reconsideration of foundational logics behind the Western supremacist anthropology through interdisciplinary approaches. The current logic behind the anthropology caused scholars not to respect people who have been considered strange and curious. Kumagusu, highly informed of the emerging debate in the British anthropology of the time, nearly described what he articulated as "scientific researches" at the Reading Room as "Anthropological" in his letter draft to the Museum board.[607] Examining these German works Kumagusu read makes it clear their disciplinary concerns and corresponding arguments resonated with the 'Japanese' science behind the "descriptive sociology of Japan."

First of all, Ratzel, like Kumagusu, questioned the assumed hierarchy between 'the West and the rest' that Spencerian theory of social evolution reinforced. He asserted that people who have been regarded "strange" should not be called "savages" since they simply have a

[604] Matsui, *Compound Eyes,* 279 and 281.
[605] Friedrich Ratzel, *History of Mankind Volume 1,* trans. A. J. Butler (London: McMillan and Co., 1896), Kindle.; Theodor Waitz, *Anthropology of Primitive People,* ed. J. Frederick Collingwood (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1863).; Minakata Kumagusu *London Excerpts Vol.40 and 44-52*.
[606] Matsui Ibid.
[607] Kumagusu wrote: "… the ~~Anthropological~~ scientific researches in the Reading-Room, which is the sole object of my ~~stay in London from Japan coming over here~~ stay in England..." A draft of the letter to the British Museum trustees, written on Minakata Kuamgusu. An Empty Envelope of a Letter from the keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography H. Charles Reed (1857-1929), dated 31st July 1895. Minakata Kumagusu Archives. Raikan 0250.

relationship to the 'environmental' nature different from – not "lower" than – Western people.[608] Conversely, the idea of being cultured was "not to be sought in the degree, but in the kind of their association with Nature."[609] Similarly, practicing physical and material gains through exploitation of natural resources did not imply the exploiters' existential supremacy. He argued: "We do not become any freer of Nature by our more thorough utilisation and exploration of her (sic) … It is just by reason of our civilisation that we are actually today more dependent on her than any former generation."[610]

In the similar vein with this argument that questioned the assumed Western supremacy, Ratzel contended the lack of serious investigation on people whose societies appeared 'strange' was the "most profound problem" that derived from evolutionists.[611] He deemed the teleological notion of "upward effort, progress, development; no retreat, no decay, no dying out" was evidently "one-sided," and therefore selfish.[612] These contestations of Ratzel in anthropology resonated with those of Kumagusu: "what I find ridiculous is that there are people who assert Europeans as the most supreme humans of the world and English as the most supreme humans of Europe – while calling themselves anthropologists."[613]

Furthermore, like Kumagusu, Ratzel problematised the ways in which the Spencerian evolutionism presumed that people who have been considered "strange" neither had history

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[608] Ratzel. *History of Mankind*, Loc.1049.
[609] Ibid. Ratzel continued: "Culture is freedom from Nature, not in the sense of emancipation, but in that of a more manifold and wider connection."
[610] Ibid.
[611] Ibid.
[612] Ibid., Loc.1107.; The cognitive linguist-philosophers Lakoff and Johnson famously explored the similar metaphorical characteristics of languages and their impact on human cognition. See George Lakoff and Mark Johnson *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1980).
[613] "おかしきは人類学者と自ら称しながら、欧州人は世界中の人の最上なり、英人は欧州中の最上なり、故に英人は世界中人の最々上々なりといふものあり。/ Okashiki ha jinruigakusha to mizukara shōshinagara, ōbeijin ha sekaijū no hito no saijō nari, yueni eijin ha sekaijūhito no saisaijōjō nari toiu mono ari." Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive*, 205.

nor accountable records of it.[614] He asserted: "At no distant future, no one will write a history of the world without touching upon those people which have not hitherto been regarded as possessing a history … ."[615] Similar to how Kumagusu concerned human *mind-heart*'s inter*action* with *matters* and *things* concerning social evolution, Ratzel asserted that history consists of actions.[616] Ethnography illuminated "juster notions" of history that anthropology continued to neglect. [617] In other words, the social sciences had to re-evaluate the form and narrative structure of history: the nature of historicity.

While Ratzel approached this challenge through the disciplinary framework of ethnography within anthropology, as I have shown, Kumagusu deconstructed and reconstructed the fundamental metaphysics of science through which social sciences as a whole operated. One could alter the nature of historicity within the social sciences only in doing so. Waitz's call for return to philosophy and need for interdisciplinary research to reconstruct anthropology shared an affinity with how Kumagusu turned to the metaphysics: the philosophical study on the nature of reality.

Waitz argued that anthropology had to aspire to be "the science of the nature of man (sic)" in the time when people who had been considered "inferior" deserved serious inquiry without prejudice.[618] He asserted so in the historical context where the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 had continued to increase the call for reconsidering the assumed hierarchy of human race and society – and the ongoing backlash against it. He hence maintained the

[614] The Ratzel's late 19th century call for reconsidering the notion of "people without history" was taken forward, consciously or unconsciously, by the anthropologist Eric Wolf's canonical work. See Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1982: 1997).
[615] Ratzel, *History of Mankind,* Loc.809.
[616] Ibid.
[617] Ibid.
[618] Theodor Waitz, Theodor *Anthropology of Primitive People Volume 1,* ed. J. Frederick Collingwood (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1863), 1 and 3-4.

necessity for divided endeavors of sciences to return to philosophy. [619] The problem was ingrained within the metaphysics of science, which could not be reached by scratching the surface of immediate politics and theological concerns. Yet, the "politico-theological rather than scientific tendency" permeated scholarly considerations.[620] What is worse, no faculty or professor was in charge of philosophy as it has "gone out of fashion."[621] "[A]dvancing the knowledge of human nature" – the aim of anthropology – required "united powers of the zoologist and geologist, the linguist, historian, and psychologist."[622] Like Kumagusu, he believed that he could not possibly conduct the scientific interrogation of social evolution in the established knowledge-making style of modern universities. These institutions of intellectual authorities increasingly segregated their research and education among disciplines without a place for philosophy: the study of the fundamental nature of knowledge, reality and existence without which other disciplines could not have emerged.

Kumagusu perceived these interests of German ethnography in the 1890s Britain went hand in hand with biological study under the 'Japanese' science required for the making of the "descriptive sociology of Japan." [623] His biological study interrogated the biology of microbes, as I discussed in chapter one. As I explicated in chapter two, his observation of microbes illuminated the nature of social evolution as queer. In this microbial paradigm of queer nature, people and their societies civilised through *henkaron* (The Theory of Change) as they embraced their *natural* attraction towards strange and peculiar. He needed to reconstruct metaphysical theories behind this science to create the more just social sciences.

[619] Ibid., 1.
[620] Ibid.
[621] Ibid.
[622] Ibid.
[623] "biological and ethnological studies." Kumagusu *Letters to the British Museum,* 1.

Contemporaneous ethnography, as I demonstrated, resonated with these scholarly practice and theories at which he arrived as the result of the biological study of microbes.

The Emergence of the Social Sciences of Queer Historicity

Kumagusu "copied either excerpts or all of approximately 500 strange and curious publications … across 10,800 pages" of 52 notebooks during the five-year independent research to create the "descriptive sociology of Japan."[624] Opened in 1857, the Reading Room housed the largest collections of books and manuscripts in the entire world.[625] The immense resource enabled him to consult "the knowledge of some other people for comparison's sake" in the "descriptive sociology of Japan" while he gained the access from spring 1895 to winter 1898.[626] Unfortunately, Kumagusu was not able to complete this project as he wanted to. "I have now nearly finished my intended work," so he explained to the British Museum board in December 1898.[627] The Museum however took away his readership when he involuntarily caused a disturbance in the Reading Room; he reacted to what appeared to be a racist incident inflicted on him by another reader. He had to plead for renewal of his readership. Unable to regain the permission, he moved on to the libraries of the Victoria & Albert Museum and the Natural History Museum until 1900. In 1900, he had to stop the work altogether due to financial difficulties and return to Japan. He did not complete the research as he wanted to. Despite the incompletion of his work, it is possible

[624] "… 抄出また全文を写しとりし，日本などでは見られぬ珍書五百部ばかりあり，中本大の五十三冊一万八百頁に渉り… / Shōshutsu mata zenbun wo utsushi torishi, nihon nadodewa mirarenu chinsho gohyakubu bakari ari, cūhondai no gojūsansatsu ichiman roppyaku ketsu ni watari … " Kumagusu "Résumé," 15.; Minakata Kumagusu, *London Excerpts.*; On the list of publications Kumagusu copied, see Matsui *Compound Eyes,* 33-74.
[625] Matsui *Compound Eyes,* 268.
[626] Kumagusu*, Letter to the British Museum,* 1.; Kumagusu, "London Diary," 56.
[627] Kumagusu *Letter to the British Museum*, Ibid.

to delineate both his intention and the research work's wider implications in the history of the social science by examining the surviving notebooks through the metaphysics of queer nature he arrived at prior to 1895-1900.

I argue Kumagusu envisaged to amass records of *things* from various times and places at the British Museum's Reading Room to create the "descriptive sociology of Japan."[628] *Things,* as I explained earlier, captured human attractions towards the strange and peculiar; the moments in which people engaged with wisdom-knowledge, and therefore, civilised through *henkaron* (the theory of change). He planned to draw out the logic behind the first principles of this evolutionary reality by examining the amassed *things*.[629] It was essential to examine as many of them as possible to prove them as universal, and accordingly, *natural*.[630] In the winter of 1893, about a year and half prior to gaining the access to the Reading Room, he declared: "I want to obtain all the wisdom-knowledge of these *things.*"[631]

The ambition to gather the wisdom-knowledge of *things* emerged shortly after Kumagusu's encounter with the British Museum's specialists of British ethnography and oriental studies whose research he began to assist. He had begun to work directly with the newly burgeoning fields that conducted the serious enquiries into societies of people who used to be merely considered strange and peculiar. A flamboyant Japanese art and antiquity dealer friend Kataoka Masayuki (life time unknown), a.k.a. "Prince Kataoka," introduced him to the keeper of British and medieval antiquities and ethnography Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897)[632]. With Franks, Kumagusu met two keepers with whom he came to work

[628] Kumagusu, *Letters to the British Museum,* 1.
[629] Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 48.
[630] Ibid., 61.
[631] "この事の一切の智識を得たしというなり。/ Kono koto no issai no chishiki wo etashi to iu nari." Ibid., 48.
[632] Kumagusu, "Résumé," 12-13.; Kumagusu "London Diary," 21.

closely at the Museum: The archaeologist Charles Hercules Read (1857-1929) who became the successor to Franks' position; and Sir Robert Kennaway Douglas (1838-1913) who took up the position of the first keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts when it was established in 1892. Read became the president of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1899. Douglas in the meantime served as the vice president of the Royal Asiatic Society. Neither Read nor Douglas had a university degree, just like Kumagusu.[633] Having assisted their research and gained their trust, Kumagusu gained his readership for the Reading Room in April 1895.[634] Freeing himself from the social stigma of not having a university degree, he independently embarked on researching the wisdom-knowledge of *things* here where he "yearned to be."[635]

My analysis of the existing "descriptive sociology of Japan" reveals the research's larger implications to the history of the social sciences. That is, the emergence of the social sciences of queer historicity. It surfaced through the following causes. Firstly, he mobilised 'Japanese' science that perceived the reality through the Buddhism-informed symbiotic epistemology to analyse the records of *things.* Secondly, because of this, he altered the hierarchical and West-centric power dynamic between the perceivers and the perceived embedded within European historical sources rooted in their colonial imaginations as he included them in the "descriptive sociology of Japan." Thirdly, as a result, the power dynamic became centreless and non-hierarchical in the ways in which one came to understand not only the evolutionary reality but also the reality itself. The historical records of *things,* in other words, anchored the centreless and non-hierarchical productions of facts

[633] Unlike Read and Douglas, Franks went to Eton College and studied at Trinity College, Cambridge.
[634] Kumagusu "Résumé," 14-15.; Kumagusu "London Diary," 56.
[635] Matsui, "Interviewing Minakata Fumie," Ibid.

and ideas as historically authentic in this research that involved both sociology and anthropology. Thus, he consequentially created the social sciences of queer historicity.

The "500 strange and curious publications" Kumagusu referenced belonged to diverse disciplines beyond these categories.[636] What interconnected them was that these all contained records of *things*. He noted his own disciplinary classifications:

> "*Chiri* (地理: Geography), *Fūzoku* (風俗: Public Morals), *Jishoruiten* (字書類典: Thesaurus), *Shi* (史: History), *Shūkyō* (宗教: Religion), *i* (医: Medicine), *Shoku* (植: Botany), *Jinrui* (人類: Humanity), *Dō* (動: Zoology), *Bungaku* (文学: Literature), *Kogaku* (古学: Antiquities), *Denki* (伝記: Biography), *Butsuri* (物理: Physics), *Bijutsu* (美術: art), *Horitsu* (法律: Law), *Chishitsu* (地質: Geology), *Shoseki* (書籍: Bibliography), *Zatsu* (雑: Miscellaneous)"[637]

The language of the publications he examined ranged from English, French, Japanese, classical Chinese, Italian, German, Latin, Spanish, and Portuguese.[638] This is because any field of studies in any language that "illuminates *things* by postulating logic was all science … there is nothing else other than science that deals with the everyday, every nation, and everybody," as he argued.[639]

Two kinds of *things* predominantly characterised Kumagusu's attention within these interdisciplinary and interlingual collections of references. Firstly, anthropological records of European encounters with foreign civilisations dominated the major part.[640] Secondly,

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[636] "珍書五百部/Chinsho ggohyakubu" Kumagusu "Résumé," 15.

[637] Kumagusu *London Excerpts Vol.51*, the endpaper.; Matsui, *Compound Eyes,* 277.

[638] The list of languages in order of the largest number of references. On detailed breakdown of the number of references in these languages, see Matsui, *Compound Eyes,* 275-277.

[639] "… 理を推し、事を明らむは、みな科学なり… 科学の外に、日常一国一身を処するものは無きなり。/Ri wo oshi, koto wo akaramu ha, mina kagaku nari … kagaku no soto ni, nichi jō ikkoku isshin wo shosuru mono ha naki nari." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 129.

[640] Kumagusu *London Excerpts Vol1-52*. ibid.; Example of these excerpts and publications included Jean Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), "A treatise on China and adjoining regions written by

European accounts on non-heterosexual human relationships and love, eunuchs, bisexuality, pornography and prostitution occupied approximately one-third.[641] Spencerian social sciences would have situated these documents in the normative historical contexts of colonialism and biopolitical control of human bodies. However, Kumagusu gathered them as sources of logic that would evidence the social evolution of *henkaron* (the theory of change) upon cross-examination with records of *things* from other societies. Therefore, in so doing, he imbued the historical records with a completely different understanding of power dynamic among the perceiver and perceived to what the authors originally would have intended them to carry.

In the "descriptive sociology of Japan," the colonial records of European encounters documented the ways in which humans came to understand the reality through the epistemology of 'Japanese' science. European historians, naturalists, geographers, and missionaries inscribed their 'subjective' accounts on their moments of encounters with foreign civilisations in these publications.[642] In the social science of normative historicity, these would have been considered records of othering gaze towards strange and peculiar 'inferior' races. However, Kumagusu instead examined them through the 'Japanese' science. Therefore, these sources operated as the record of *things.* He expanded on this intention behind the research prior to its start:

Gaspar da Cruz, a Dominican Friar" in Samuel Purchas *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), *The Book of Sir Marco Polo*, trans. Henry Yule (London, 1871), and Giovanni Battista Ramusio, "Da Cochin, 14 Genaio 1549. del Padre Fra Francesco Xavier" in *Navigationi et Viaggi* (Venetia, 1588) in Kumagusu, *London Excerpts Vol.2.* Ibid.; Louis Deville, *Excursion dans l'inde* (Paris, 1860), and Victor Jacquemont, *Voyage dans l'Inde pendant les années 1828 à 1832* (Paris, 1841-1844) in Kumagusu *London Excerpts Vol.3.* Ibid.

[641] Ibid.; Example of these excerpts and publications included "Pédérastie" in Raige-Delorme and Dechambre, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales* (Paris, 1864-90) and "Pédérastie" in Larousse, Grand *dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1864-1905 in Kumagusu *London Excerpts Vol.3* Ibid.; Carl Ludwig Klose and Moritz Herrmann Eduard Meier, "Päderastie" in *Allgemeine encyclopedia*, ed. Ersch & Grüber (Leibzig: 1818-1889) in Kumagusu, *London Excerpts Vol.13* Ibid.

[642] On another interpretation of these records, see Matsui*, Compound Eyes,* 313.

> "When you see a Westerner for the first time, it's hard to make sense of what they are. However, if you suddenly see a Japanese person after living in a foreign country for a long time, the Japanese person, too, appears strange. If you conducted your observation on a land where both Westerners and Japanese live … you would be able to understand the *things* as a whole."[643]

What is more, I contend these records of *things* illuminated the nature of the knowers themselves as much as the nature of reality they perceived within this intellectual paradigm. After all, *things* emerged through symbiosis of the knowers' *mind-heart* and *matters* in the world with which they interacted. In other words, the anthropological records of *things* elucidated the strangely altering, queer nature of the observers' *mind-heart.* Here, the ways in which they cast their attention towards curious and strange revealed as strange – or 'queer' -- nature of themselves similar to the nature of reality they witnessed through the subjects they examined.

Similarly, the European records of non-binary sex, non-heterosexual human relationships and love, eunuch, bisexuality, pornography and prostitution bore historical significance paradoxical to the normative context in which they were published. I argue the records on human relationships based on non-binary sex and non-heterosexuality manifested *things* in the light of 'Japanese' science for Kumagusu. The publications dedicated to examining the characteristics of non-heterosexuality evidenced the civilising humans' attraction and desire for intimacy with others beyond the imposed categories of sex and sexuality across time and space.

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[643] "洋人を始めて見たときは何やらわけ分からず。されど外邦に久しくおりて、たちまち日本人を見れば日本人もまたおかしなものに見ゆる。これを要するに、一の洋人も日本人も居る地にありて観察すれば … 一体の事の知らるるものなり。/ Yōjin wo hajimete mita toki ha naniyara wakewakarazu. Saredo gaikoku ni hisashiku orite, tachimachi nihonjin wo mireba nihonjin mo mata okashina mono ni miyuru. Korewo yōsuruni, ichino yōjin mo nihonjin mo iru chini arite kansatsu sureba … ittai no koto no shiraruru mono nari." Kumagusu, *Exchanged Letters,* 46.

The late Victorian Britain highly regulated circulation of knowledge on these topics – particularly on so-called 'homosexuality.' Kumagusu was aware of the social and legal constraints surrounding this sexuality.[644] Kumagusu as a result found most of them in French medical research work, history books, and encyclopedias.[645] As Matsui pointed out, in addition to these publications, he found further accounts of this kinds in the colonial scholars' work as they witnessed them in Asia, Africa, and Mexico to name but a few.[646] The authors of these records regarded non-heterosexuality as abnormal, strange and even uncivilised phenomena that primarily ought to belong to facts and ideas concerning medical research and 'savage' race.

Kumagusu problematised these biased accounts in relation to the 18th century French philosopher Voltaire's understanding of sexuality and his account on the ancient Greek philosopher Socrates' notion of love.[647] Non-heterosexuality was viable in the history of philosophy, the discipline foundational to modern law and social management. However, the English translation of the same texts omitted Voltaire's philosophical truth inconvenient to the late 19th century Britain.[648] Kumagusu recalled this account later in his life: "… the British scholarships often get surpassed by other countries because they don't understand

[644] Matsui Ryūgo "Eikoku no Shimbunkiji kara miru Minakata Kumagusu no London jidai/Seeing Minakata Kumagusu's London Era through British Nuewspaper Articles" in *Kokusai Shakai Bunka Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 15 (2013): 155-163.
[645] Kumagusu *London Excerpts Vol.1-51* Ibid.
[646] Kumagusu *London Excerpts Vol.4* Ibid.; Matsui, *Compound Eye,* 320.
[647] Kumagusu *London Excerpts Vol. 2 and 3.* 1895.; Voltaire, "Onan, Onanisme" in *Dictionnaire Philosophique* (Paris, 1822).; and Voltaire "Amour Socratique" in *Dictionnaire Philosophique* (Paris, 1822).; On Matsui's account on this matter, see Matsui, *Compound Eyes,* 321-324.
[648] Kumagusu, *London Excerpts Vol.2,* 6; Kumagusu *London Excerpts Vol.3*, 54 and 56-57.; Matsui Ibid.

the truth, for they eliminated [these aspects] of …. Greek and Latin works … finding them difficult to translate."[649]

Things of non-binary sex and non-heterosexuality were scientifically *natural* and universal in the microbial paradigm of queer nature. How Kumagusu juxtaposed these accounts with studies on hermaphrodism within the transformations of human sex, beginning with the stage of embryo, further implies this understanding.[650] These sources contextualised the fundamental nature of humans as androgynous. Plenty of data from Europe to Asia, Africa, and Mexico proved the historical authenticity of non-binary sex and non-heterosexuality within this context.

Thus, Kumagusu created the "descriptive sociology of Japan" with a view to accumulate records of *things* across time and space. Amassed *things* evidenced universal human engagement with wisdom-knowledge where they were attracted towards strange and peculiar, civilising through *henkaron* (the theory of change). Through this data, he could draw out the logic behind the first principles of its evolutionary reality. Furthermore, this making of the "descriptive sociology of Japan" simultaneously brought about the social sciences of queer historicity as a result. It did so because Kumagusu examined *things* in the microbial paradigm of 'Japanese' science. As I have shown, this science undermined the Westcentric and heteronormative narratives of social evolution originally documented by

[649] "英国は … ギリシア・ラテンの古書 … 訳するにはなはだしく困難し、一切これを省くことが多きがゆえに、真意わからず、これがために学問が外国に先を越されしことすこぶる多し。/ Eikoku ha … girishia, raten no koshi … yakusuruni hanahadashiku konnanshi, issai korewo nozoku koto ga ooki ga yue, shini wakarazu, korega tameni gakumon ga gaikoku ni saki wo kosareshi koto sukoburu ooshi." Minakata Kumagusu, "Yanagita Kunio Shokan/Letter Exchanges with Yanagita Kunio [14th May 1914]" in *Minakata Kumagusu Zenshū 8 Kan/The Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu Vol 8* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972: 1975), 408.

[650] "Hermaphrodism" in Raige-Delorme and Dechambre, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales* (Paris, 1864-89) in Kumagusu, *London Excerpts Vol.31,* 39-44.

European scholars on their encounters with other civilisations, non-binary sex, and non-heterosexuality. Here, *things* revealed the very queer nature of the onlooker themselves as much as the queer nature of the evolutionary reality that drove human *mind-heart* to civilise through *henkaron* (the theory of change). Not only the *henkaron* (the theory of change) happened in centreless and non-hierarchical manner. The power dynamic among the perceiver and the perceived in the process of understanding the nature of evolutionary reality as well as the reality itself, became centreless and non-hierarchical. Consequently, *things* grounded centreless and non-hierarchical delineation of facts and ideas as historically authentic – creating the social sciences of queer historicity.

The Social Sciences of Queer Historicity: The Historical Roots

The social sciences of queer historicity had historical roots. It belonged to what Kumagusu delineated as the 'Japanese' i.e., Sino-Asian origins of all the academic disciplinary knowledge essential to formulate sociology. These were: philosophy and science as well as what can be understood as historical and anthropological studies of *changes* within societies.[651] Europe was indeed not the only civilisation that possessed these scholarly practices. He argued that 'Japan' long engaged with these scholarships, as he wrote to Toki Hōryū.[652] His argument challenged the normative belief of the social sciences' innate West-centricity, to which both Spencer and the Japanese state jurist and philosopher Ariga subscribed. Kumagusu's contention furthermore revealed the fact that Sino-Asian scholars

[651] Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki," 247-248.; Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive,* 142, 144, and 204-205.
[652] Ibid.

from the 400s BC to the 200s AD practiced early forms of these disciplines required for the social sciences of queer historicity to emerge.

First of all, 400s BC Mahayana Buddhism and the intellectual movement of China's Warring States period (475-221 BC) *Shoshi-Hyakka* (諸子百家: Hundred Schools of Thought) evidenced the existence of philosophy in 'Japanese' history.[653] Kumagusu delineated this so as to refute Spencer's account on the origin of philosophy; the English philosopher presumed that it solely belonged to the Greeks.[654] It was painfully clear to Kumagusu that 'philosophy' was not unique to the Western intellectual lineage "when you look at *tetsugaku* (哲学: philosophy) of the people who initiated the great, respectable *tetsugaku* (philosophy)."[655] Such was the case from Diogenes and Zeno of Elea to "Socrates, Socrates," whose name "they repeated, unbearably."[656] So, he explained, as if to mock contemporaneous Japanese scholars who studied the discipline as a West-imported branch of knowledge.[657] These Greek philosophers' ideas resembled those of the Mahayana Buddhism sutra *Kegongyō* (華厳経: Avatamsaka Sutra) and the Taoist philosopher Zhuang Zhou (荘子, a.k.a. Zhuangzi: Unknown – c. 286 BC) of the Hundred Schools of Thought, he argued.[658]

[653] Dominant schools of thought within the Hundred Schools of Thought movement included Confucianism, Taoism, jurisprudence, the divination study of yin and yang, and the now-lesser known *meika* (名家), the study of logic that envisaged to illuminate the relationship between naming of words and the truth of substantial reality. More on *Shoshi-Hyakka* (諸子百家: Hundred Schools of Thought), see A. C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*. (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1989: 2003).; and Kanaya Osamu *Chūgoku Kodai no Shisōka Tachi/ Thinkers of Ancient China* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Sha, 1966).

[654] Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki," 247.; Spencer, *The First Principles*, 128.

[655] "… そのえらいえらい哲学の原祖なりといわるる人々の哲学というを見るに…/ … Sono erai erai tetsugaku no ganso nari to iwaruru hitobito no tetsugaku toiuwo miruni …" Kumagusu, "Letters to Toki," 247-248.

[656] "ソクラテスソクラテスと滅法にいえど… / Sokuratesu Sokuratesu to meppō ni iedo …" Ibid., 248.

[657] Ibid., 247-248.

[658] Ibid.

Kumagusu did not agree with the Japanese translation of the term "philosophy," either. The philosopher and state bureaucrat Nishi Amane (西周: 1829-1897), who introduced the Western philosophy to the Japanese academia in the 1870s, had translated the term philosophy as *tetsugaku* and popularised the notion through public education. For Kumagusu, 'philosophy' was simply about applications of logic and reasoning.[659] Therefore, "it should be called *shoshi* (諸子)," so he explained, referring to *Shoshi* (Thought) of *Shoshi-Hyakka* (Hundred Schools of Thought).[660] He therefore asserted: "one should not put Greek and Roman philosophy on pedestal … as if the letter "*tetsu*" [(philo-)] radiates with a halo with a dazzling effect."[661]

The notion of a 'scientist,' too, belonged to the Hundred Schools of Thought. Kumagusu contended that the English term should be translated as *Hyakka* (Hundred Schools).[662] In other words, he recognised science (*Hyakka*) as a variation of philosophy (*Shoshi*: Thought) that existed in hundreds of different forms. After all, scientists practiced their work within and through a metaphysical paradigm elucidated by philosophy. What is more, as I delineated in chapter two, characteristics of metaphysical proposition that philosophy postulated became the basis of the characteristics of science. Science existed as *Hyakka* (Hundred Schools). It was never normative or singular as Spencer believed it to be.

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[659] Ibid., 248.
[660] "それは諸子というて可なり。/ Sore ha shoshi to iute kanari." Ibid.
[661] "故に小生は、ギリシア・ローマの哲学などいうものは、決してそんなにえらいものにあらずということをいいしなり。何やら哲の字にくらまされて、なにか後光のさしたもののように思うもおかしければ …/ Yueni shōsei ha, girishia・rōma no tetsugaku nadoiu monoha, kesshite sonnani eraimononi arazuto iukotowo iishinari. Nanyara tetsuno jinni kuramasarete, nanika gokō no sashita monono yōni omoumo okashikereba …" Ibid.
[662] Ibid.

The modern Japanese translation of the term 'scientist' hence appeared dissatisfying to Kumagusu. The term had been translated as *Rigakusha* (理学者), literally 'a scholar of logic,' and *Kagakusha* (科学者), literally, 'a scholar of taxonomy and classification.'[663] However, many of the people who called themselves as these were "selfish and no use," he maintained.[664] They "neither always discuss logics nor classified" knowledge of nature accordingly.[665] Philosophy that advocated the metaphysics of the normative nature, and thereby of evolution-as-progress, inevitably encouraged the scientists' self-interests. What this form of 'science' asserted as logic and system of classification was illogical within the microbial paradigm. Hence, Kumagusu had no friend in 'science' that obsessed over these, he explained.[666]

What was worse for Kumagusu was that the normative science neglected taking history -- particularly ones recorded by ancient and non-Western civilisations – into account. The indifference to the history of non-modern-West became detrimental when the social sciences operated through this science. He maintained: "Spencer and others say old history books are useless, but they are only useless to *Kagaku* (The Learning of Taxonomy and Classification)."[667] It was useless to *Kagakusha* (A Scholar of Taxonomy and Classification) because their metaphysical paradigm was a normative, West-centric one that classified and conceptualised the world in dichotomies and hierarchies. They disregarded records of history that appeared strange and peculiar within this intellectual paradigm. Spencer and his team of researchers hence only consulted historical records produced by European

[663] Ibid.
[664] "得手勝手な無用のものも多し/ Etekatte na muyō no mono ooshi." Ibid.
[665] "必ずしも理を論じ科を分かつにもあらず。/ Kanarazushimo ri wo ronji kawo wakatsu mono nimo arazu." Ibid.
[666] Kumagusu, *Kōzan Temple Archive*, 144.
[667] "スペンセルなどの従来の史書は無用といへど、それは科学に取て無用なるのみ。/ Supenseru nado no jūraino shisho ha muyō to iedo, sore ha kagaku ni totte myō naru nomi." Ibid., 142.

missionaries and colonialists that provided anthropological accounts of societies they witnessed when they worked on *The Descriptive Sociology.* Such records were useful to them in proving social evolution as teleological 'progress' that followed the Westcentric developmental model. Accordingly, ancient and non-Western historical records of human societies that illuminated social evolution as *henkaron* (The Theory of Change) were, to them, "useless."

Kumagusu asserted "one should not be misled and get confused by words of people like *Kagakusha* (A Scholar of Taxonomy and Classification)."[668] Examination of history – of not only modern Western accounts but also of ancient and non-Western – was absolutely necessary in order to remedy the civilising state of people and their societies in the present day.[669] People and their societies had to civilise – in his sense of the word – through *henkaron* (The Theory of Change). In the light of this effort, one had to recognise 'science' as one of *Hyakka* (Hundred Schools) that existed in multiple intellectual lineages, embracing non-normative understanding of 'philosophy.' The 'Japanese' science that informed the social sciences of queer historicity was indeed science of *Hyakka* (Hundred Schools) instead of *Kagaku* (The Learning of Taxonomy and Classification).

Moreover, what would be regarded as historical and anthropological studies in the social sciences, too, had a 'Japanese' origin.[670] For Kumagusu, these studies observed the *changes* within societies.[671] He maintained the existence of such studies in 'Japan' as he refuted Spencer and Ariga's assertion that such studies essential in the making of sociology did not

[668] "科学者などの言にまよひ一概に左様すべきに非ず。/ Kagaku sha nado no koto ni mayoi ichigaini sayō subeki ni hizu." Ibid.
[669] Ibid.
[670] Ibid., 204.
[671] Ibid.

exist in Japan.[672] Kumagusu contended them as the studies of *Shi* (志).[673] These were sources of knowledge from which one can observe *changing* – instead of *progressing* or *developing* – state of civilising people and their societies from the past to the present. He explicated: "Starting with *Shiki* (史記) after *Kanjo* (漢書) and leading to *Dai Nihon Shi* (大日本史: literally, 'The History of Great Japan'), there exists the studies of '*Shi*' (志).[674]" Within *Shiki* (104 BC), Sīmǎ Qiān, the 'founding father' of history writing in Asia, developed a new system of history writing called *Kidentai* (紀伝体).[675] *Kidentai* departed from the Hundred Schools of Thought's divided positions and managed to arrive at a synthetic method of producing records of changing world. It came to replace the pre-existing publication *Kanjo*'s official system of history that revolved around the authorities in the Han Dynasty period (202 BC-8 AD). *Shi* was one of *Kidentai*'s branches that recorded phenomena within and beyond human societies encompassing astronomy, geography, governance and punishment, and *reigaku* (礼楽) -- the studies of gratitude that stipulates social order, and of music that influences human *mind-heart.*[676] Scholars of the Shogunate families in Japan inherited this system of history writing in *Dai Nihon Shi* (The History of Great Japan) that continued to get published from 1657 to 1906.[677] All of these were sources of anthropological studies that illuminated the *changing* state of civilising people and their

[672] Ibid.
[673] Ibid.
[674] "『史記』を始め『漢書』以後『大日本史』に至る「志」といふものがある。/ "Shiki" wo hajime "Kanjo" ikō "Dainihonshi" ni itaru 'Shi' to iumonoga aru." Ibid.
[675] As the 'founding father' of history writing in Asia, Sīmǎ Qiān has been compared to the ancient Greek scholar Hērodotos (484 BC - unknown), the 'founding father' of history writing in Europe.; On Kidentai, see Naitō Konan *Naitō Konan Zenshū 11: Shinashi Gakushi/The Complete Works of Naitō Konan 11: The History of Chinese Historical Studies*, ed. Kanda Kiichirō and Naitō Ken'ichi (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969).; Ban Gu, *Kanjo* trans. Kotake Takeo (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1979).
[676]Naitō ibid.; On *Reigaku*, see *Kanjin Shakai no Reigaku Bunka to Shūkyō: Kamigami no Ashioto/The Cultures and Religions of Reigaku within Ancient Chinese Societies: Footprints of Gods* (Tokyo: Fūkyōsha, 2009).
[677] "大日本史/Dainihonshi" in *日本史年表/Nihonshi Nenpyō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:3644/lib/display/?lid=300301052960.

societies within the wider world from the past to the present. Kumagusu contended the existence of these historical works as the proof that sociology was nothing unique to the West.[678] In fact, all of the academic disciplines necessary to formulate sociology existed in 'Japan.'

The intellectual contexts of the three main historical sources that grounded Kumagusu's above assertions highly resembled the ways in which the social sciences of queer historicity emerged in his life and work. Firstly, Shingon Buddhism that informed his epistemology belonged to Mahayana Buddhism. Buddhism, furthermore, upheld equality as the fundamental law of the world as he too believed. Secondly, the hundred schools of thinkers in *Shoshi Hyakka* (The Hundred Schools of Thought) refined their theoretical arguments in the systems of thoughts they postulated as they debated with one another, in a free and lively manner. [679] The contentions among the diverse schools of thought fed each other, discouraging them from becoming ideological purists.[680] In other words, how they formed their thoughts did not rely on singular, normative set of ideas or laws of metaphysics. Instead, the dynamic among them were centerless. Kumagusu, too, did not believe in normative ideology, as I mentioned in chapter one. He, too, finessed his thoughts as he argued against Spencer and Japanese state scholars' contrasting 'schools of thought' while contending theoretical concerns relevant to them all, such as the nature of reality, science, religion, and social evolution.

Finally, Sīmă Qiān, the creator of *Shi,* was one of major reference figures in Kumagusu's formation of thought. As I mentioned earlier and in chapter one, he was the one who,

[678] Kumagusu *Kōzan Temple Archive*, 204-205.
[679] Kanaya, *Thinkers of Ancient China.*
[680] Ibid.

according to Kumagusu, argued civilisational wealth as *jōsei* (affective human nature): the key idea that substantiated Kumagusu's civilisation theory. How he moved beyond the intellectual practice of the Hundred Schools of Thought and succeeded to create the synthetic system of interdisciplinary history writing based on abundant references resembled the ways in which Kumagusu matured his knowledge formation. Kumagusu processed his theories of metaphysics that I illuminated in chapter two further and began to delineate a totalising theory on the nature of everything in the universe after his return to Japan in 1900. Sīmă Qiān, too, became a historian as his father Sīmă Tán (司馬談: 110 BC-unknown), also a governmental official responsible for recording history, entrusted him to take charge of the cosmological imagination in compiling works of history. What is more, an emotional incident that stirred Sīmă Qiān to create *Shiki* resonated with what prompted Kumagusu to re-evaluate the nature of social evolution and arrive at queer nature as the basis of truths. The novelist and scholar of Chinese literature Takeda Taijun (武田泰淳: 1912-1976) famously argued what triggered Sīmă Qiān was an experience of castration imposed by the Han Dynasty authority in 98 BC.[681] He received the penalty for having defended the commander warrior Lǐ Líng (李陵: 74 BC-unknown) who surrendered to the Mongolian Huns.[682] In other words, he became androgynous as he extended his *jōsei* (affective human nature) in support of another. Kumagusu's *jōsei* (affective human nature) similarly defied the relational boundaries imposed by dichotomised sex and sexuality. As I mentioned in chapter one, the notion of platonic love, the state of androgynous intimacy discussed by Plato on his treatise on love, was one of the closest existing terms that Kumagusu used to describe the queer nature of evolution.

[681] Takeda Taijun, *Shibasen – Shiki no Sekai/Sīmă Qiān – The World of Shiki* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1943: 1965).
[682] Ibid.; On Lǐ Líng, see: Tomiya Itaru, *Gobi ni Ikita Otokotach – Riryō to Sobu/Mein who lived for the Gobi – Lǐ Líng and Sū Wǔ* (Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 1994).

The social sciences of queer historicity thus had 'Japanese' historical origins. All of the academic disciplines considered essential to formulate sociology existed in these intellectual roots. Kumagusu proved that sources and forms of modern disciplinary scholarships exist outside the Western intellectual paradigm. The intellectual contexts of the historical references he used to attest them clearly spoke to the ways in which he came to discern nature as queer and arrived at the sociological research. This formation of thought as a result brought about the social sciences of queer historicity.

Conclusion

Kumagusu departed London in the rain in the early autumn of 1900.[683] He wished to stay away from Japan; yet, he had to return.[684] He did not see himself in the elitist and institutionalised intellectual life of Meiji Japan.[685] Most people in Japan would not even recognise the value of his work, just because he did not obtain any university degree – so he thought.[686] He preferred to not only remain independent, but also free from the social stigma. London provided him with the setting where he can access sources useful for his research. He could carry on with his work while engaging with others by sharing his knowledge and intellectual concerns. He had to return, however. The monetary support from his younger brother who became in charge of the family finance after their father's death increasingly dissipated.[687]

[683] Kumagusu "London Diary," 229.
[684] Kumagusu, *Résumé*.
[685] Ibid.
[686] Ibid.
[687] Until then, Kumagusu's younger brother Minakata Tsunegusu (南方常楠: 1870-1954) regularly sent him funds and publications he requested throughout his life overseas. See Kumagusu *Résumé* Ibid.; and Minakata Tsunegusu, *Minakata Kumagusu ate Minakata Tsunegusu Shokan/Minakata Tsunegusu's Letter to Minakata Kumagusu,* Minakata Kumagusu Archives Raikan 4439-4619.

No historian had clarified a cohesive understanding of what Kumagusu aimed to achieve in London. His seemingly discursive work that freely moved through different disciplines did not make sense in the light of established norms in modern science and the social sciences practiced at both Japanese and British state-led research institutions. His intellectual paradigm inhabited the metaphysics of queer nature. I revealed his intentions behind his words and practice for the first time by analysing them through the epistemic lens of queer nature that interconnected them with his earlier knowledge formation. In so doing, I argued their wider implications for the history of the social sciences: the emergence of the social sciences of queer historicity.

This chapter thus contended Kumagusu created a form of the social sciences that generated their facts and ideas through what I called queer historicity. The social sciences of queer historicity elucidated their facts and ideas as historically authentic in a centreless and non-hierarchical manner. The social sciences of queer historicity emerged as a result of his research at the British Museum's Reading Room and other libraries in 1895-1900. He planned to create the "descriptive sociology of Japan," so he explained to the Museum board. The research involved knowledge beyond the discipline of sociology; it required anthropological and historical sources as well as those that can be classified into geography, ethnography, religions and more. What informed the research on the science of society was what he called 'Japanese' science whose metaphysics asserted the nature of reality as queer. He had applied the metaphysics of this science, elucidated in his letter exchanges with the Buddhist monk Togi Hōryū in 1893-1894, to his social scientific research in 1895-1900.

The social sciences of queer historicity radically challenged the established West-centricity of the social sciences. The existing historiography of the social sciences in modern Japan and the wider world considered the West-centricity was innate to the disciplines. Even if each modern nation created their own form of social sciences, they rarely left the intellectual paradigm that conceptualised the world in binaries and hierarchies – such as West-East and subject-object. The social sciences of queer historicity inhabited the microbial paradigm that regarded these notions in symbiotic, centreless, and non-hierarchical relations.

Conclusion

In what follows, I will firstly revisit the key discoveries of the thesis as a whole and of each chapter that substantiated the main contention. Secondary, I will discuss what other intellectual phenomena of Kumagusu can be analysed, developing on the findings of the thesis. Then, I will briefly introduce prolific varieties of concrete actions he undertook within the microbial paradigm during the years beyond the scope of this thesis. I will, finally, expand on recommendations for future research that builds on the thesis's method of historical analysis.

First and foremost, the thesis reopened the intellectual history of modern Japan by decolonising the paradigm behind its established narrative. It did so by contending the emergence of 'queer nature,' the naturalist-polymath Minakata Kumagusu (1867-1941)'s basis of truths in his early adulthood. What modern science delineated as the universal nature inspired modern thinkers to argue their 'facts' and ideas as truthful based on what they discerned as the nature of society. Kumagusu's knowledge formation based on queer nature resembled the microbe slime mould. Similar to slime mould's biology that transgressed the boundaries of plant-animal, male-female, and life-death, the process of knowing based on queer nature defied the conceptual dichotomies and hierarchies that conventionally defined modern intellectual paradigm. Similar to his experience of observing slime mould, the process of knowing based on queer nature 'attracted' the knower's fascination towards 'startling' and 'strange' existences and phenomena and induced greater desire 'to inquire' further, as the diverse meanings of the term 'queer' historically conveyed. Furthermore, Sino-Asian derived knowledge, particularly Buddhism, primarily informed the process of reasoning based on queer nature. Queer nature emerged in Kumagusu's life and work and shaped his knowledge formation and corresponding actions during the period when he became a naturalist and then a polymath in 1887-1900. Analysing abundant primary sources

through the lens of queer nature, I articulated a cohesive account on the underlining logic behind his transdisciplinary knowledge formation for the first time. The result revealed the microbial paradigm that had never been uncovered, until now.

The thesis fundamentally challenged the dominant historiography on the modern intellectual history that emerged in Japan, America, and Britain in the late 19th century – the multicultural intellectual landscape with which Kumagusu engaged. For the Meiji Japan in particular, the period witnessed its dramatic 'rise' as the modern nation state and emerging imperial power of the East. Within this narrative, the modernisation happened through the radical adaptation of the Western intellectual paradigm and move away from Sino-Asian knowledge. Scholars who closely worked with the state studied the knowledge behind the Western 'civilisational progress' to emulate the logic – and to eventually overtake them within the international competition for survival. The ways in which they conceptualised the world, as a result, increasingly became binary and hierarchical. However, Kumagusu's knowledge formation informed by his lived experience as an independent, non-state scholar in these nations brought about the microbial paradigm. Such was a modern yet not Western intellectual paradigm that existed in the history of modern Japan.

The contrasting paradigms indeed derived from contrasting characteristics of nature at which Kumagusu and state scholars arrived. Nature, the basis of truths, became the foundation for the intellectual paradigms within which scholars generated truthful 'facts' and ideas for civilising societies. Yet, what historians of modern Japan rarely enquired into was the inescapably cultural process of 'scientifically' determining this nature. Interrogation of the cultural nature was critical. Ideas on what it truly meant to civilise, too, depended on the understanding of this nature.

Chapter one foregrounded the thesis' contention by illuminating Kumagusu's fundamental questioning of nature and civilisation theory in 1887-1892 America. He realised the West was not 'civilised' in his eyes as he relocated to the supposedly civilised nation. He turned to examine the evolutionary nature that determined the meaning of what it truly meant to civilise with his own eyes, independent of educational institutions. I argued nature emerged as queer when he observed microbes through Buddhism-influenced epistemic lens – a way of perceiving and knowing the world. Queer nature appeared *natural* in the light of Sino-Asian derived knowledge he absorbed during his formative years in his home region Kii – what came to represent his understanding of 'Japanese' knowledge. What it meant to 'civilise' based on queer nature went against the Spencerian notion of the survival of the fittest endorsed by the West-centric civilisation theory. Here, civilising subjectivities became simultaneously independent and collective through cooperation, instead of competition, with absolute equality and desire for intimacy with each other regardless of imposed racial, sexual, and national divides. The chapter, thus, opened the thesis' argument by interrogating the nature that determined the course of 'civilised' knowledge and human actions.

Chapter two delineated the fundamental metaphysics that constituted the microbial paradigm. To begin with, people and their societies had to learn through *changes* and *turns* of their lives for them to 'civilise' in Kumagusu's sense of the word. So he came to argue in his evolutionary *henkaron* (The Theory of Change) in 1893-1894, the early years of his life in London. Microbes, history of ancient societies, and human *mind-heart* (心: *kokoro*) illuminated how they all evolved accordingly. The teleological notion of 'progress' no longer had its place in his intellectual paradigm. Chapter two delineated the ways in which

he deconstructed and reconstructed Herbert Spencer's theories of metaphysics – the philosophical study on the nature of reality – whose science inherited Judaeo-Christian epistemology that conceptualised the reality in binaries and hierarchies. Instead of following Spencer's unconsciously cultural lead, Kumagusu merged Buddhism's ontology and epistemology with fundamental logics of modern science. He did so to create what he called wisdom-knowledge: 'science' that enabled people and their societies to 'civilise' through *changes* and *turns* of their lives. The resultant metaphysical theories became the foundation through which modern disciplinary knowledge emerged within the microbial paradigm.

Chapter three contended Kumagusu's creation of the social sciences within the microbial paradigm. It did so by arguing he rooted the social sciences in what I call 'queer historicity' in 1893-1900 London. The notion of historicity – the historical authenticity – asserts ideas and what seems like a fact have a historical origin. The social sciences of queer historicity yielded their 'facts' and ideas in a culturally centerless and non-hierarchical manner. He needed to alter the Westcentric characteristic of Spencerian social sciences that justified 'uncivilised' human acts and consciousness such as imperialism and racial hierarchies. The social sciences emerged with evolutionism that asserted the ways in which people and their societies evolved. The social sciences of queer historicity recognised the evolutionary *henkaron* (The Theory of Change) as the nature of civilising societies. The wealth of intellectual sources gathered in London, particularly the British Museum's Reading Room, provided him with the open possibility to invent the social sciences of queer historicity. He amassed an enormous amount of data that evidenced the social evolution of *henkaron* (The Theory of Change) with the aim to illuminate the irrefutable principles behind the theory. As a result, he created the social sciences of queer historicity. These modern disciplinary studies derived from the Sino-Asian intellectual lineage he understood as 'Japanese.' The

social sciences of queer historicity simultanrously unravelled the microbial paradigm: an intellectual paradigm that was modern but not Western.

The thesis thus opened up the microbial paradigm where queer nature operated as its basis of truths. From here, through this methodology and paradigm, it would be possible to analyse other seemingly disparate intellectual phenomena as part of the cohesive account on Kumagusu's knowledge formation. These are: his 51 *Nature* articles and simultaneously emerged interest in mythologies and folklore studies in 1893-1913; his advisory work on Japanese and Oriental Studies in 1893-1900; his advanced theories on the nature of the universe and resumed research work in microbiology in 1900-1903; and his activism and theory of ecology in 1909-1912.

No one could illuminate the underlining logic behind the concrete actions because, I argue, he was living according to *henkaron* (the theory of change) himself. Queer nature that drove him to live without following the linear progress narrative of the Meiji state resulted in the forms of essays in academic journals in both science and the humanities, intellectual magazines, and newspapers, advisory work and the 'environmental' activism. His prolific outputs in wide ranging disciplinary fields and types of audiences left a fragmented impression. Yet, he neither published a singular treatise, created an educational institute, belonged to a university, nor worked for the government like his contemporaneous Japanese scholars. He left none of what often illuminates a cohesive vision behind a historical actor's activities.

For example, in the prolific contributions to the science journal *Nature,* Kumagusu introduced Japanese and Sino-Asian lineages of natural science and history. He additionally

published approximately 1,000 essays in the field of the Humanities, most notably folklore studies, from 1899 onwards. A major part of the 400 works in English appeared in the folklore journal *Notes & Queries* where he introduced folklore myths of Japan and Sino-Asia that resembled European myths. Working with the British Japanologist F.V. Dickens, he created an English translation of Hōjōki (方丈記： 1212), the popular work of the Kamamura period (1185-1333) Buddhist poet and author Kamono Chōmei (鴨 長明：1153 or 1155-1216) – although his name was not properly acknowledged in its published version. 600 Japanese essays on folklore studies from around the world, in the meantime, frequently appeared in intellectual magazines widely distributed across Japan. These included *Dorumen* (ドルメン)*, Fuji* (不二)*, Minzoku* (民族)*, Gendai* (現代)*,* and *Dainichi* (大日) to name but a few.

From 1909 to 1912, Kumagusu devoted himself to stopping the Meiji government's Shrine Amalgamation Policy that particularly put the local ecology of his hometown Wakayama under a serious threat. He wrote numerous opinion pieces calling for the end of people's critical awareness and support. These articles most notably appeared in the political thoughts and discussion magazine *Nihon Oyobi Nihonjin* (日本及日本人) as well as local newspapers Kii Mainichi Shimbun (紀伊毎日新聞) and Muro Shimpō (牟婁新報). He continued to despise elite institutions and remained independent throughout his life. Yet, he actively gained supports in this activism from scholar-friends who closely worked with the government, most notably the plant pathologist and mycologist Shirai Mitsutaro (白井光太郎: 1863-1932) and 'the founding father' of folklore studies in Japan Yanagita Kunio (柳田國男: 1875-1962).

After all these activities, Kumagusu did actually try to create what he called the Research Institute of Botany (植物学研究所: *Shokubutsugaku Kenkyūjo*). In 1921-922, he aimed to do so not in the state's scholarly epicentres of Japan Tokyo or Kyoto, but in his residential town of Tanabe in Wakayama Prefecture in the Kii region of southwest Japan. He was at the late age of 54-55. Supporters for his fundraising campaign ranged from then-Prime Minister of Japan Hara Takashi (原敬 a.k.a. Hara Kei: 1856-1921) and former Prime Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu (大隈重信: 1838-1922) to his old friend Toki Hōryū (土宜法竜: 1854-1923) who then served as the head monk of the Shingon Buddhism at the Mt. Kōya. The plan however fell through as Kumagusu struggled with his own family relationship and finance. What kind of knowledge and research did he, someone who intentionally stayed out of institutionalised research for his lifetime, envision to institute under the name of 'botany'? A little can be known about his detailed vision from limited historical sources he wrote on the project.

The thesis created the intellectual tools to understand the interlinkage between Kumagusu's scholarly theories of his early adulthood I illuminated and actions he undertook in his mid to late adulthood. It opened up the possibility to uncover how the theories and actions correspond with one another, and how seemingly unrelated outputs in different areas of concerns were clusters of light reflecting the same *Kongō* (金剛: varja or diamond) – the Buddhist symbol of unbreakable truths. The analysis will call existing assumption over established disciplinary divides into radical questions.

Moreover, the novel method of analysis I created for the thesis opened a new horizon for future research beyond Kumagusu. Namely, the contention of queer nature as the basis of truths in historical analysis invites other historians and scholars to re-examine the very

characteristics of intellectual paradigm through which their subject matter emerged. As I demonstrated in chapter one, doing so enables us to rediscover the very meaning of what it meant to civilise and be civilised in multiplicity, beyond the realm of the modern West. As I revealed in chapter two, doing so may facilitate us to uncover other historical forms of modern knowledge-making driven by experience away from 'survival of the fittest' competition. What is more, as I indicated in chapter three, doing so would require us to undo the ways in which we generated 'facts' and ideas in the social sciences. These are all because processes of discerning nature, the basis of truths for these concepts, was inescapably cultural. The interrogations of nature in intellectual history of multicultural human past anticipates research into reconstruction of modern intellectual paradigms and of various disciplinary frameworks within them.

If the intellectual history illuminated multiple understandings of such notions that long dictated modern human consciousness, for example, what could happen to disciplines such as Development Studies, Women's Studies, and Black History? There would no longer be a singular understanding of what this 'development' implies. It would also call the fundamental motive and mechanism behind the emergence of the latter two studies into question. These subdisciplines appeared to endorse agencies of marginalised humans. Yet, the studies of these humans under the pre-existing frameworks of identity politics fixated their narratives as existences of struggle under the white male heteronormativity, albeit unconsciously. One of the prominent historical studies on such categories of knowledge notably addressed the unspoken force that operates in our process of knowing. Michele Foucault explicated in *Histoire de la Sexualité* (The History of Sexuality, 1976-2018): "The object [of the research] was to learn to what extent effort to think one's own history can free

thought from what it silently thinks, and so enable it to think differently."[688] Further research into the intellectual history of multiple natures may emancipate academic research from this silent consciousness embedded within modern disciplinary studies.

[688] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Vol.2 The Use of Pleasure*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1985), 9.

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