

INOUE ENRYO'S MYSTERY STUDIES

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1. "A Pleasurable Pastime"

INOUE Enryō 井上円了 (1858–1919) was born at the end of the Tokugawa era and passed away in the middle of the Taishō period. Well known among his main achievements are the foundation of the Philosophy Academy 哲学館 (predecessor of present Toyo University), the dissemination of philosophy, the modernization of Buddhism, the establishment of the Temple Garden of Philosophy 哲学堂公園 (located in Nakano District 中野区, Tokyo), his nationwide lecture tours for the purpose of improving national morals, and his proposal of Mystery Studies 妖怪学 (*yōkai gaku*). Although individual research on each of these topics exists, no comprehensive research had been conducted before 1978. Since then Toyo University started comprehensive research on its founder by

⁰ The original Japanese article is an enlarged version of 「井上円了と妖怪学の誕生」 [Inoue Enryō and the birth of Mystery Studies] published in IS 21: 464–493. The author MIURA Setsuo 三浦節夫 is professor of Toyo University, editor of the *Annual Report of the Inoue Enryō Center* 『井上円了センター年報』 and vice president of the International Association for Inoue Enryō Research. The translation was done by Agustín JACINTO Z. and KAMBE Tamiyo 神部多美代, revised and edited by Rainer SCHULZER and Robert HUGHES.

collecting basic materials. This research, first carried out by a research group, continues today at the Inoue Enryō Memorial Academic Center.

The current state of research into Enryō's Mystery Studies is that, except for some attention in folklore studies, the Mystery Studies have passed largely unnoticed. One reason for this lack of interest lies in the low esteem held for Enryō's Mystery Studies after their first proposal during the middle of the Meiji era. This lack of appreciation is obvious in the collection of memorial essays *Master Inoue Enryō* 『井上円了先生』, published one year after his death. The number of contributors was 164, but the number of those who mention Mystery Studies does not reach ten percent. Almost no one refers to these studies in detail. This demonstrates that few of Enryō's contemporaries were aware of the important place Mystery Studies held in his life.

Among the references to Mystery Studies in the memorial essays, two perspectives are noteworthy. The first is the view of INOUE Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎, who was considered a leading authority in philosophical circles in Japan at that time. INOUE Tetsujirō wrote,

Doctor Inoue Enryō was a prominent scholar in our country. He was active from the years of the Meiji era up to the Taishō era, but I think that the major part of his activity was carried out during the Meiji era. Moreover, it seems that he was most active in the middle of the Meiji period.¹

As Enryō's masterpieces, INOUE Tetsujirō mentions first of all the *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism* 『仏教活論序論』 but also *Non-Orthodox Philosophy* 『外道哲学』. About the *Lectures on Mystery Studies* 『妖怪学講義』 he says the following:

And, as everybody knows, the doctor [i.e. Enryō] deeply investigated mysteries [妖怪], and published his *Lectures on Mystery Studies*, for which he has been applauded broadly in society. In this book he says that mysteries are superstitions, and he employed his full strength to eradicate those mysteries. However, among the general public there are many people who like enigmatic things [不思議なこと]. It seems that [his *Mystery Studies*] have been received with interest and were welcomed in the countryside.

INOUE Tetsujirō recognizes INOUE Enryō as a "scholar" and says that the *Lectures on the Mystery Studies* have received the "applause of society." However, he does not evaluate them positively as an academic endeavor.

¹ INOUE Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎. 「井上円了博士」 [Dr. Inoue Enryō], in 『井上円了先生』 [Master Inoue Enryō] (Tokyo: 東洋大学校友会, 1919), 140.

The second noteworthy text is from MIYAKE Setsurei 三宅雪嶺 who was a famous critic. He takes the same stand as INOUE Tetsujirō. MIYAKE Setsurei was senior to Enryō as a student of philosophy at the Faculty of Letters at Tokyo University. He knew Enryō's life well and made the following comment on the Mystery Studies:²

Still at school [Enryō] already had become involved in the constitution of the Philosophical Society and immediately upon graduation dedicated himself to writing *Living Discourse on Buddhism*. Then he established the Philosophy Academy, founded the Philosophical Publishing House [哲学書院], and participated in publishing the journal *The Japanese* [日本人]. In this manner, on the one hand, he continued to try to establish himself as a pure scholar through the publication of books such as *Living Discourse on Buddhism*, and on the other, he intended to renew Buddhism and be active in society. He still had not decided in which of these two directions he would advance. [...] However, apart from writing *Living Discourse on Buddhism*, he started the Philosophy Academy, and because he was busy in its administration, [...] he could not use his strength for writing. The Philosophy Publishing House that he had started with much effort was not going well either [...]. Furthermore, not being able to abandon the idea of writing books, it was very difficult for him to undertake everything he had planned early on. Trying to realize as much as he could, he became engaged in Mystery Studies Research. This was also research he had started as a university student and it was to some extent related to religious thought. We must say that at this time he began putting a comparatively great effort into it. Whatever his intention was, *Living Discourse on Buddhism* remained unfinished, and he put his energy into the *Recorded Lectures on Mystery Studies*. In the same way, although he had not yet completed the administration of the Philosophy Academy, he put his energy into the construction of the Temple Garden of Philosophy. [...] Be it *Living Discourse on Buddhism* or the Philosophy Academy, for the sake of society or civilization, it seems as if he sacrificed himself for [his projects]. Although his dedication did not disappear completely, the Mystery Studies and the Philosophy Hall were seemingly flavored pleasurable pastimes [趣味道楽]. This tendency for individual pursuits increased with his age.

MIYAKE Setsurei's viewpoint is clearer than INOUE Tetsujirō's. He characterizes Enryō's Mystery Studies as "pleasurable pastime" and "individual matter." The perspectives of the two scholars INOUE Tetsujirō and MIYAKE Setsurei seemingly continue to the present day. In contrast to widespread general appeal, the Mystery Studies did not

² MIYAKE Setsurei 三宅雪嶺. [without title], in 『井上門下先生』 [Master Inoue Enryō] (Tokyo: 東洋大学校友会, 1919), 204–206.

garner academic attention. There are many points that have not yet been touched upon in the research about Enryō's Mystery Studies. Here, I want to introduce the basic materials and give an account of their beginnings and development. All of Enryō's works related to Mystery Studies have been included and republished in volumes 16 to 21 of the *Inoue Enryō Selected Writings* 『井上円了選集』.³

2. Enryō's Early Education

Enryō did not write an autobiography. In his words, "people bequeath what they have to bequeath. I always advocated my principle to bequeath that I have nothing to bequeath. Even though some people asked for an autobiography, I did not respond."⁴ However, there are three passages in his writings that touch upon the process through which he became involved in Mystery Studies. Let us examine them in chronological order. The first is found in his *Dark Tales of Mysteries* 『妖怪玄談』 of 1887. He says,

As a child I liked to hear about mysteries, and with the passing of time I wanted to investigate their reasons [理]. The collection of occurrences has already taken me five years up to now. (19:15)

The next text is found in "A Fragment of Mystery Studies" 「妖怪学一斑」 published in July, 1891 in the magazine *Education Report* 『教育報知』. Here, Enryō expresses clearly that the idea of taking up mysteries as a research object was inspired by psychology.

Although it is said that academia nowadays has advanced, its extent is extremely narrow. Like in the case of mysteries, they have been investigated to some degree by psychology, but have not yet become a science on their own. Scholars are busy after all and really have no time for this. However, this came to my mind while I was studying psychology [...]. If mysteries are thoroughly investigated, I am sure they can also become a science on their own. (21:395–96)

In his *Lectures on Mystery Studies* 『妖怪学講義』 of 1893 he moreover writes,

³ INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 『井上円了選集』 [Inoue Enryō selected writings] (Toyo University, 1987–2004), vols. 16–21. Reprint as 『妖怪学全集』 [Collected works on Mystery Studies], 6 vols. (柏書房刊, 2001).

⁴ INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 「信仰告白に関して来歴の一端を述ぶ」 [Part of my biography concerning a confession of faith," first part of appendix in 『活仏教』 [Living Buddhism] (丙午出版社, 1912), 243. The author takes 「我以無伝為伝」 to be a misprint of 「我以無伝不伝」.

Altogether, it has now been ten years that I started with Mystery Studies. I began in the Summer of 1884. Later, I argued for the need of academic research [on mysteries] and proposed the establishment of a research center within Tokyo University. At this time, I invited colleagues and founded the Enigma Research Society [不思議研究会] in the university. (16:31–32)

Each of these three texts emphasizes different things. But put together, they give us the conditions, motives and actions that led Enryō to Mystery Studies covering the time from his childhood to his student years at Tokyo University. Let us examine this timespan according to the following chronological table.⁵

- 1858 INOUE Enryō is born in Jikō Temple 慈光寺 as the eldest son located in present Koshiji Town 越路町 in Santō County 三島郡 of Niigata Prefecture. His family temple belongs to the Ōtani Branch 大谷派 (Higashi Hongan Temple 東本願寺) of True School 真宗 Buddhism.
- 1868 He learns Chinese literature in the nearby school of ISHIGURO Tadanori 石黒忠憲, a doctor of Western medicine. After this, he proceeds to study Chinese classics for two years under KIMURA Donsō 木村鈍叟, a Confucian scholar of the old Nagaoka Domain 長岡藩.
- 1871 He is ordained as a priest of the Higashi Hongan Temple.
- 1874 He enters the First Niigata Branch School 新潟学校第一分校 (former Nagaoka School of Western Studies) and learns Western subjects and mathematics. After Enryō had studied there for two years, the school was again renamed becoming Nagaoka School. At that time, he becomes a teaching assistant to read Chinese.
- 1877 He is selected as a student of the English Teacher School of Higashi Hongan Temple in Kyoto. After studying for approximately six months, the headquarters of his sect grants him a scholarship and sends him to the new capital.
- 1878 He is accepted as a second-year student at the Preparatory School of Tokyo University 東京大学予備門.

⁵ For further details, see 『東洋大学百年史』 [Centennial history of Toyo University] 8 vols. (1988–1995), *Tsūshi* 1; and TAKAGI Hiroo 高木宏夫, MIURA Setsuo 三浦節夫. 『井上円了の教育理念』 (Toyo University, 2013). Translation by MIYAUCHI Atsuo 宮内敦夫. *The Educational Principles of Enryo Inoue* (Toyo University, 2012).

- 1881 He enters the Philosophy Department of the Faculty of Letters of Tokyo University.
- 1884 During his studies, he establishes the Philosophical Society 哲学会.
- 1885 He graduates from Tokyo University.

Enryō himself reported, "When I was a child I liked to hear about mysteries." Therefore, when examining his interest in mysteries, we first have to mention the circumstances of his early education. Echigo 越後, the area in which he was born, is part of Japan's snow region. Through works such as *Strange Stories from Hokuetsu* 『北越奇談』 and *Snow Records of Hokuetsu* 『北越雪譜』 we know that there existed many strange things and stories about monsters and mysteries. Moreover, a temple is a place connecting human beings to life and death. It is an environment in which the after-world tends to become a topic of conversation (i.e., popular beliefs and customs concerning apparitions, ghosts and the like). It is conceivable that these were circumstances in which an interest for mysteries develops. However, Enryō's home was a temple of True Pure Land Buddhism. The sect's founder Shinran 親鸞 expressed in his *Japanese Hymns of the Dharma Ages* 『正像末和讃』, "Deplorable are the worldly ways of choosing good times and fortunate days, adoring the gods of heaven and the lords of earth, carrying out divination rites."⁶ There is a critical perspective on customs and superstitions in Shinran's teachings. It is therefore possible that this was the point of departure for Enryō's Mystery Studies.⁷ However, due to differences in character, individuals react differently in similar circumstances. About his character Enryō says the following:

While I was in my home county, I did not play with the children from my village. [...] I went out to the rivers and mountains, and seeing that the plants and trees grow thick and tall, and that the running water calmly passes never to return, deep in my heart I felt this was strange. And I returned home to think about the reason. If, thinking about it, I could not reach [any conclusion], I lost myself in a daze. And when I fortunately happened to find the reason, I smiled

⁶ 「正像末和讃」 [Japanese hymns of the true, sembling, and degenerating [ages]], in 『真宗聖典』 [Holy scriptures of the True School] (Kyoto: 法藏館), 568. Translation "Hymns of the Dharma-ages," in *The Collected Works of Shinran* (Kyoto: Jodo Shinshu Higashi Hongwanji-ha, 1997), vol. 1: 422. Hymn 101: "How lamentable it is that monks and laypeople / Select 'fortunate times' and 'auspicious days', / And paying homage to gods of the heavens and earth, / Engage in divination and rituals of worship."

⁷ This was suggested by TOKIWA Daijō 常盤大定. 「故井上門了博士」 [In memoriam of Dr. Inoue Enryō], in 『井上門了先生』 (see note 2), 306.

and reached a satisfied condition. [...] Ordinary people see the outward form of things and do not question the true reason that is embedded behind those forms. I just thought about the reasons without reflecting on their outward forms. This is why I have a feeling that is different from that of other people, and this is why I cannot have the same pleasures as the multitude. (*Prolegomena*, 3:332–333)

Enryō did not lose this character in his later years as TANAKA Jiroku 田中治六 tells us,

because [our] teacher was privileged with force of concentration, when his attention was wholeheartedly engaged in thinking about something, even a noise near him was not a hindrance. Even though someone talked to him, it was as if he did not hear at all and did not answer. Each time his wife saw this condition of concentration, she said 'This brooding has started again!'.⁸

In *The True Nature of Specters* 『おぼけの正体』 Enryō recounts that he was approximately ten years of age when he encountered a "paper wall ghost" 障子の幽霊 and when fifteen or sixteen when he heard "ghostly footsteps" 幽霊の足音. We can assume that from early on he had a character that sought to explain such experiences in a rational manner. As he himself admitted about these experiences, "grown up I endeavored to investigate their reasons."

The circumstances were also such that Enryō was not to remain just an amateur at mysteries. In the order of the True School, the eldest son of a temple priest was regarded as the "heir candidate" 候補衆徒 and successor to the ministry. In a general sense, the priest was an intellectual leader and a man of influence in his local community. He was expected to have appropriate opinions and thoughts as well as understand people to offer spiritual guidance. The fact that Enryō came to pursue Mystery Studies seems to have been born from this environment. However, he did not become an 'advocate' of Mystery Studies from this alone.

3. "No Longer the Old Japan"

From Enryō's biographical account in the *Prolegomena*, we know his boyhood views on Buddhism and his home temple immediately after the Meiji Restoration.

⁸ TANAKA Jiroku 田中治六. 「井上先生の性格」 [The character of master Inoue] in 『井上円了先生』 (see note 2), 184.

Originally, I was born in a Buddhist home and socialized inside its gates [仏門]. And even though before the Restoration I received a completely Buddhist education. Silently in my heart, I knew that there was no truth in Buddhism. Having shaved my head, with a rosary in my hand, I felt ashamed before the worldly people. Day and night I could not stop the desire to abandon as quickly as possible the [Buddhist] Gate [門] and go out into the common world. (3: 336)

The reason Enryō gave for his desire was, "Buddhism is practiced among foolish ordinary people. Being transmitted by the hands of bigot priests, there are many perverse customs. When seen from the outside, it cannot escape being labeled a savage doctrine." (3:328) This kind of view was identical with the view of society at the time. The following mock verse reflects the common view:

things unnecessary like
bows and arrows, [swords] long and short, tea utensils
priests, mountain ascetics, and officials.

Enryō's critical view reflects the change in zeitgeist from the Edo to the Meiji period. In the first, place it should be seen as a result of education and learning. Particularly the school of ISHIGURO Tadanori 石黒忠憲 (1845–1941), where Enryō's studies began, induced in him an intellectual curiosity and a concern for the future of Japan and the Western world. Ishiguro was a physician who had learned both medicine and Western learning at a medical school in Edo. Belonging to a highly intellectual world, Ishiguro might have influenced Enryō.⁹

Enryō moreover attended a School of Western Learning at the age of sixteen. This brought about a great change in his attitude towards Buddhism and its temples. Enryō made records of the studies and readings during his youth. Among the 108 volumes of Chinese, Japanese and Western books listed, we also find books by FUKUZAWA Yukichi 福沢諭吉, who is said to have greatly influenced the youth at that time. Between 1869 and 1872, Enryō read Fukuzawa's *Things Western* 『西洋事情』 in three volumes, in 1873 *All Countries of the World* 『世界国尽』 and *An Encouragement of Learning* 『学問勸』 and in 1874, *Junior Book of Ethics* 『童蒙教草』 and *Illustrated Explication of the Physical Sciences* 『窮理図解』 —all of them best-sellers.¹⁰ These books "in a word, are introduc-

⁹ ISHIGURO Tadanori later became medical Inspector General in the Army, and was also the head of the Japan Red Cross.

¹⁰ Enryō's childhood study records are reprinted in *Centennial History of Toyo University* (see note 5), *Shiryō* I, bk. 1: 6–8. The titles of the books are given according to Enryō's records.

tions to Western civilization" and belong to an epoch in which Fukuzawa "as an author was very forceful and as a researcher with utmost willingness made efforts to absorb and accumulate the most recent Western knowledge and thought."¹¹ It is very likely that the writings of Fukuzawa influenced the thinking and outlook of young Enryō.

In 1876, when Enryō was eighteen years old, he recorded the circumstances of the opening ceremony of the Nagaoka School. On the margin of his own "Congratulatory Speech," he noted: "Today Japan is no longer the Japan of the bygone era."¹² Enryō regarded Buddhism and mysteries as relics of old Japan. At the same time while in Nagaoka School, he studied and compared Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity. He considered "none of the teachings and theories of old Japan as credible truth any longer" (*Prolegomena*, 3:337) and looked for a new understanding of the world. However, it is likely that his childhood interest in mysteries ("When I was a child I liked to hear about mysteries.") to some extent remained blurred in his consciousness.

4. Japan's Civilization and Mystery Studies

In 1877, Enryō was selected to become a student at the Teacher School of the Higashi Hongan Temple in Kyoto. This was a great turning point in his life. The Ōtani Branch of the True School that managed 10,000 temples and had one million parishioner families, founded this teacher school as a response to civilization and enlightenment in Japan in order to educate the elite for this new age. Shortly after, Enryō was selected as the first student to advance on a stipend to the newly founded Tokyo University. The acquisition of the most advanced knowledge, triggered Enryō's interest in the problems of Buddhism and Mystery Studies from a new perspective. What follows next is an account of Enryō's studies at Japan's first university.

During Enryō's three years of study at the Preparatory School of Tokyo University, the curriculum included: English, Chinese literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, botany, zoology, geography, history, political economy, and drawing. In his first year in the Philosophy Department of the Faculty of Letters, he studied Japanese literature, Chinese literature, history of England and France (using François P. G. GUIZOT's *General History of Civilization in Europe*), English (language and literature), logic, general law, and the German language. In his second year he studied Oriental

¹¹ TOMITA Masafumi 富田正文. 『考証福沢論吉』 [Philology of Fukuzawa Yukichi] (岩波書店, 1992), vol. 1: 400.

¹² Reprinted in the collection of source materials 「長岡学校開業一条」 [A Chapter in the founding of Nagaoka School], *The Study of Inoue Enryō* 『井上門了研究』 7 (1997): 169.

philosophy, Western philosophy with Ernest F. FENOLLOSA (reading Herbert SPENCER's *Social Statics*, Lewis H. MORGAN's *Ancient Society*, and Kantian philosophy using Albert SCHWEGLER's *History of Philosophy*), Western philosophy with TOYAMA Masakazu 外山正一 (reading Alexander BAIN's *Psychology*; William CARPENTER's *Principles of Mental Physiology*; Herbert SPENCER's *First Principles*), history, Japanese literature, Chinese literature, English literature, and German. In his third year he studied Chinese philosophy, Indian philosophy, Western philosophy (from Kant to Hegel; Hegel's *Logic*), physiology, Japanese literature, Chinese literature, and German. Due to the absence of a university calendar for the academic year 1884 / 1885, Enryō's exact curriculum during his fourth year cannot be known. It likely included courses on Oriental studies (Indian and Chinese), psychology, Western philosophy (ethics and aesthetics), Chinese literature, and a graduation thesis.¹³

The *Lectures on Mystery Studies* in which Enryō compiled his complete mystery research consisted of the following parts: general theory, scientific section, medical section, genuine philosophy section, psychological section, religion studies section, education studies section, and a miscellaneous section. Looking at this list of content, we can understand that the knowledge Enryō acquired at university became the basis of his research about mysteries. The seven years of education at the Preparatory School and the Philosophy Department of the Tokyo University led to a broadening of Enryō's views and ways of thinking. About Buddhism, for example, he stated the following:

Having already discovered the bright moon of truth within the world of philosophy, I reconsidered the other ancient teachings [Confucianism, Buddhism, Christianity]. [...] I realized that only Buddhist theories were consistent with philosophy. [...] Who would have thought that the truths reached through the investigation of several millenniums in Europe were already present from an early antiquity, three thousand years ago, in the East. [...] It was here that I first abandoned my long-cherished intention of founding a new religion and finally decided to reform Buddhism in order to make it into the religion of an enlightened world. Really, this happened in 1885. (Prolegomena, 3:337)

While studying psychology, Enryō also developed a new interest in mysteries. "Modern Japanese psychology had no relationship at all to the knowledge of man or the psychology contained in traditional Buddhism, Confucianism, or in the Heart Learning of Ishida Baigan [石田梅岩]." It started out with "the introduction of modern science from

¹³ This summary is based on *Centennial History of Toyo University* (see note 5), *Tsūshi* I: 42–45.

Europe."¹⁴ Enryō was someone who very early noticed the importance of psychology. About the significance of research into mysteries he says,

At the present time people everywhere, eight or nine out of ten, blindly believe in mysteries not knowing what the reason is; in the last instance, they cannot escape being savages. This is due, on the one hand, to their lack of education and, on the other, to the fact that there has been no one who examines mysteries. This is what I feel and it is my desire to bring about a rational explanation of mysteries in order to eradicate people's superstitions, so that they are not the opposite of civilized people.¹⁵

Enryō's new interest in Buddhism and mysteries reflected the problems of Japan around 1887. Fukuzawa, in his text "The Benefits of Technological Civilization are Nothing Private," characterized the condition of Japan thirty years after the arrival of Commodore Matthew C. Perry and the opening of the country as follows: "[W]hat has brought about a surprising change of our world" are the effects of a "civilization of material [有形] things" such as the telegraph, the post, railroads, and trains. The effects and influence of the civilization of the "non-material" 無形 equally originating in the West, such as learning, education, and politics, are not yet sufficient.¹⁶ The same opinion is also expressed by Enryō who thought, "The Meiji Restoration in our country has been accomplished only half way. The other half has not been carried out. Material and technological civilization has already arrived, but non-material and mental civilization has not."¹⁷

Conscious of this situation, Enryō envisaging a reform of the Japanese mind started social activities towards this end. He proposed two methods for achieving it. The first was to establish a school for the education of youth and the second was to animate the public through the publication of books. Concerning the second method, he said that the great writers of the past "must be our teachers, friends and models." He mentions Shaku Gyōnen 釈凝然 for Buddhism, HAYASHI Razan 林羅山 for Confucianism, and HIRATA Atsutane 平田篤胤 for Shintoism. To these he added FUKUZAWA Yukichi as a

¹⁴ Historical Research Section of Society for Scientific Research of Psychology 心理科学研究会歴史研究部会, ed. 『日本心理学史の研究』 [Research about the history of psychology in Japan]. (法政出版, 1998), 1. Enryō's works related to the spread of psychology in Japan are 『通信教授 心理学』 [Correspondence course. Psychology], 『心理摘要』 [Synopsis of psychology], 『東洋心理学』 [Oriental psychology], 『仏教心理学』 [Buddhist psychology], and 『心理療法』 [Psychotherapy] reprinted in IS 9–10.

¹⁵ INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 『通信教授 心理学』 [Correspondence course. Psychology], IS 9: 289.

¹⁶ FUKUZAWA Yukichi 福沢諭吉. 「文明の利器に私なきや」 [The benefits of technological civilization are nothing private], in vol. 11 of Keiō Gijuku 慶応義塾, ed. 『福沢諭吉全集』 [Complete works of Fukuzawa Yukichi] (Tokyo: 岩波書店, 1970), 452.

¹⁷ INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 「能州巡回報告演説」 [Speech reporting about my travels in Nōtō], IS 12: 112.

modern westernizer and said, "I greatly respect Mr. Fukuzawa for his sharp sightedness [活眼] in digesting European civilization in a way that its appeal could be appreciated by ordinary society. [...] I took him as my model in spreading philosophy among the people."¹⁸

Enryō, with a new mindset, graduated from Tokyo University in 1884. However, he did not return to the religious order in Kyoto that had dispatched him, nor did he choose a career as a government official. Instead, he became a private citizen like Fukuzawa and dedicated himself to the enlightenment of Japanese society and the reform of the Japanese mentality by applying and spreading academic knowledge under his motto "Protection of Country and Love of Truth" 護国愛理. He wrote the best-seller *Prolegomena to a Living Discourse on Buddhism* which provided the basis for the modernization of Buddhism and established the Philosophy Academy as an educational institution. Then he addressed the problem of superstitions believed by the masses. Let us now concretely examine the manner in which he approached the problem and developed it into his Mystery Studies.

5. From Enigma Research to Mystery Studies

According to the *Lectures on Mystery Studies*, the period in which Enryō began his project was "the summer of 1884." At this time he was a 26 year old fourth-year student of Tokyo University. In 1884, Enryō accomplished several things: in January he initiated the Philosophical Society 哲学会, of which he became a central member; in March he began a series of articles in the *Journal of the Missionary Society* 『令知会雑誌』 about the "Essentials of Philosophy" 「哲学要領」 which mark the beginning of historical writing about Western philosophy in Japan; in October he started another series of articles titled "Are there Reasons for Repudiating Christianity?" 「耶蘇教を排するは理論にあるか」 published in the Buddhist newspaper *New Journal for Enlightened Teaching* 『明教新誌』.¹⁹ These projects were the early beginnings of Enryō's later social activities.

MITSUKURI Genpachi 箕作元八 recorded in 1885 in his article "Research about the Strange Enigmatic" 「奇怪不思議ノ研究」 that mystery research also started at the same

¹⁸ INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 「漢字存廢問題に就て」 [Concerning the problem of continuance or discontinuance of the Chinese script], in 『甬水論集』 [Hosui collection of papers] (博文館, 1902), 359–362.

¹⁹ The series in 『令知会雑誌』 [Journal of the missionary society] was later published as 『哲学要領』. The series in 『明教新誌』 [New journal for enlightened teaching] (previously 『教会新聞』 [Newspaper of the teaching society]) was later published as 『真理金針』 [Golden needle of truth].

time.²⁰ MITSUKURI Genpachi, who was a pioneer of Western historiography in Japan, introduced in his article the study of strange phenomena pursued by the Psychological Society in England. After establishing the need for such research in Japan, he wrote, "Even though in the past I heard that Mr. Inoue Enryō of our university planned to study strange phenomena [奇怪], he still has not published anything and we cannot know what results he will obtain." Although we do not know about Enryō's investigations at that time in detail, it is thus certain that he had planned his research into the strange and enigmatic in 1884 or at the beginning of 1885.

As the foundation of the Philosophical Society in 1884 indicates, this period belongs to the onset of academic activity in Japan. In order to promote mystery research, Enryō organized the Enigma Research Society 不思議研究会, which began January 24, 1886. The records of this Society are described in abbreviated form in the *Lectures on Mystery Studies*. The original text from Enryō's notes is given below:

Enigma Research Society

First meeting. Convened on the fourth Sunday of January (the 24th) in the conference room of Tokyo University; following a discussion, the rules for research and for membership in the Society were determined.

The same day the following members were decided:

Miyake Yūjirō [三宅雄二郎], Tanakadate Aikitsu [田中館愛橘], Mitsukuri Genpachi [箕作元八], Yoshitake Einoshin [吉武栄之進], Inoue Enryō [井上円了], Tsubouchi Jirō [坪井次郎], Tsuboi Shōgorō [坪井正五郎], Sawai Yasushi [沢井廉], Fukuya Umetarō [福家梅太郎], Tanahashi Ichirō [棚橋一郎].

The rules are written elsewhere.

Second meeting. Convened at the same place on February 28.

Rule twelve was revised.

There was a lecture by Mr. Tsuboi Jirō and a report by Mr. Sawai Yasushi.

The same day it was decided to include the following two persons as members of the Society:

Satō Yūtarō [佐藤勇太郎], Tsubouchi Yūzō [坪内勇藏]

Third meeting. Convened at the same place on March 28.

Mr. Inoue Enryō made a first presentation on the theory of dreams.²¹

In this manner, the Enigma Research Society began. The records moreover indicate that a membership fee of "50 Sen per year" was collected. Then, as Enryō wrote, "For a long time I was ill and could not carry out any administrative work. Finally, the Society

²⁰ MIZUKURI Genpachi 箕作元八. 「奇怪不思議ノ研究」 [Research about the bizarre enigmatic], 『東洋学芸雑誌』 [Journal of oriental literature and arts] 24 (March 1885): 33–38.

²¹ Preserved at the Inoue Enryō Memorial Academic Center. Italics added by the editor.

was adjourned" (16:32). After the third convention, the Society ended without further meetings. However, Enryō's individual research did not end here. Four months later, in July, Enryō published the following announcement in the *Journal of the Missionary Society*:

There are many things in the world that people call mysterious or enigmatic [妖怪不思議]. Ordinarily, they end up being made into gods or devils. Even though it is difficult to determine whether this is the case or not. [These phenomena] are simply taken as deeds of gods or devils [魔神], about whom, today, we do not yet even know if they exist or not. Moreover, not [even] to ask what mysteries are, cannot in any way be the conduct of a scholar. Therefore, in the free time of my daily schedule I investigate what [these phenomena] are. I try to ascertain whether they really are gods or devils, or whether there are grounds to consider them differently from the viewpoint of natural science or psychology. If there is reason to think of them from the viewpoint of psychology, then not only a comparison with Buddhist mind-only theory would be worthwhile, but also a demonstration of varieties of consciousness-only philosophy would be of great benefit. This is why I ask the fellows of the Missionary Society, to give, if possible, detailed reports about the most credible instances of the items listed below:

Ghosts, foxes and tanukis [狐狸], strange dreams, reincarnations, coincidences [偶合], prophecies [予言], monsters [怪物], witchcraft [幻術], insanity, and so on.²²

As can be seen from this announcement, Enryō's Mystery Studies from the beginning included a wide range of matters from ghosts to insanity. In order to collect materials, he asked the readers of journals or magazines to contribute to the investigation by reporting about mysterious events.²³ Enryō continued this kind of investigation until later times. If we look at the *Catalog of Books and Articles related to Mystery Studies* 「妖怪学関係著作論文目録」, we can follow the process how the collection of material and the research on mysteries developed (21:669–688). The first article in the bibliography is "Discussing [the Book of] Changes" 「易ヲ論ス」 which was published in the *Grove of Academic Endeavor* 『学芸志林』 on July 25, 1885. This was followed by "Table-Turning Talk" 「こっくり様ノ話」 published in the *Journal of the Philosophical Society* 『哲学会雑誌』 on February 5, 1887. Hereafter, he continued writing books, papers and reports on this theme until his death in 1919.

²² 『令知会雑誌』 [Journal of the missionary society] (July 21, 1886): 46–47.

²³ Such announcements were published in 『哲学会雑誌』 [Journal of the philosophical society] on December 5, 1887; 『通信教授 心理学』 [Correspondence course. Psychology] (普及舎, December 1889); 『哲学館講義録』 [Philosophy Academy lecture records], 1st period, 3rd year (February 18, 1890).

As previously mentioned, Enryō from the beginning, researched a wide range of phenomena. However, he did not use the term "mystery" 妖怪 in the beginning. If we look through the above-mentioned catalog for changes in terminology, we find that for the research group of 1886, Enryō was using "enigma" 不思議. The terminological change from "enigma research" to "mystery research," and then to "mystery studies" evidence the development of his research. In "Table-Turning Talk" he used the terms "mysterious thing" 妖怪物 and "mysterious spirit" 妖怪の霊 in the following way: "Kokkuri [table-turning], written [phonetically with the characters for] "foxy racoon-dog" [狐狗狸], is a mysterious thing like a fox or a racoon-dog [*tanuki*], that haunts according to a certain setup. [...] When we ask Sir Kokkuri to come [...] we are calling a mysterious spirit that exists in another place."²⁴ In "Psychology (Application and Explanation of Mysteries)" 「心理学（応用并妖怪説明）」 dated January 18, 1888 Enryō uses the term "mysterious enigmatic" 妖怪不思議 and defines it as follows:

What are mysteries? What I call mysteries are occurrences and phenomena which are strange and different, and which cannot be explained by way of usual reasoning. This means that they cannot be explained with the normal laws of the manifold objects and unlimited phenomena: they belong outside the laws of reason. In other words, they cannot be comprehended and known [思議了知] by usual reasoning and thinking. This is why they are called 'incomprehensible' [or 'enigmatic' 不思議]. I also join these two names and speak of 'mysterious enigmatic.' However, discussing the terms in detail, it should be known that my use of the term 'mystery' [妖怪] is wider than the ordinary meaning [of monster, phantom, etc.]. And my use of the term 'enigma' [不思議] is somewhat more restricted than the meaning of its ideograms.²⁵

In his text, Enryō distinguishes "mystery" and "enigma" and sums them up in the composite "mysterious enigmatic." This terminology appears also in the lecture "General Theory of Mysteries" 「妖怪総論」 of 1890. "What I call mysteries, in a wide sense can also be termed the mysterious enigmatic."²⁶ Accordingly, this usage did not change until 1890. In the title of "A Fragment of Mystery Studies" 「妖怪学一斑」 (21:381–396) from July 4, 1891 the term "Mystery Studies" appears for the first time. In this text Enryō examines coincidences, astrology, "divination" ト筮 (*bokuzei*), "charms" 呪い,

²⁴ INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 「こっくり様ノ話」 [Table-turning talk], 『哲学会雑誌』 [Journal of the philosophical society] 1.1 (February 1887): 29–30.

²⁵ INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 「心理学（応用并妖怪説明）」 [Psychology (application and explanation of mysteries)], in 『哲学館講義録』 [Philosophy Academy lecture records], 1st year, n. 2 (January 18, 1888): 3.

²⁶ INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 「妖怪総論」 [General theory of mysteries], in 『日曜講義 哲学講演集』 [Sunday lectures. Collection of philosophy lectures], vol. 1 (June 23, 1890): 1.

and more, which he until then had treated separately using the term "enigmatic." In this text, however, he explains all phenomena under the term "mystery".

Thus, we can say that the Enigma Research of 1884 later advanced to become Mystery Research. By 1891, the prospect to systematize his Mystery Research as "studies" 学 had further developed and Enryō seems to have planned to standardize the terms "mystery" and "Mystery Studies." However, he did not to speak of Mystery Studies formally as an independent science before his *Lectures on Mystery Studies* of 1893.

6. Mystery Studies in the Philosophy Academy

This investigation now turns to the question, how Mystery Studies were pursued as classes at the Philosophy Academy. Enryō founded the private Philosophy Academy, the predecessor of present Toyo University, in September 1887 by borrowing the facilities of Rinshō Temple 麟祥院 at Yushima 湯島 in Tokyo. The primary purpose of the Philosophy Academy was the training of religious persons and educators. The curricula, the responsible teachers, and the schedules of the time are recorded in the *Centennial History of Toyo University* 『東洋大学百年史』. Along with the archives of the Inoue Enryo Memorial Academic Center, a clear picture emerges.

Four curricula from the early Philosophy Academy exist. The earliest program, published in the first year of the Academy in February 1888, shows a class called "Psychology (Application and Explanation of Mysteries)." Hence, from the time of its foundation there existed a class on mysteries at the Philosophy Academy. In the curriculum it is recorded that the instructor responsible for this course was the "Master of Literature Tokunaga Manshi" 徳永満之 (i.e., KIYOZAWA Manshi 清沢満之),²⁷ but according to the transcript of the same course published in the *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records* 『哲学館講義録』, Enryō appears to have been responsible for the "Explanation of Mysteries" and KIYOZAWA Manshi for the psychology part.

The second curriculum was published in October 1889, but like the case of the other early curricula it is uncertain to which semesters it exactly applied. However, in this schedule the term "mystery" does not appear. Although we find the course "Applied Psychology – Inoue Enryō," we cannot be sure whether the subject of Mystery Studies was covered.

²⁷ 「私立哲学館第一年級科目・担当講師」[Private Philosophy Academy. First year courses. Responsible lecturer], in *Centennial History of Toyo University* (see note 5), *Shiryō* I, bk. 2: 3.

The curriculum published in July 1890 for the first time presents a complete program for all three grades. The model for general education offered by the Philosophy Academy was the School of Humanities of the Imperial University (successor of the Faculty of Letters of Tokyo University). While focusing on Western and Eastern philosophy, the courses covered the whole breath of civilization and society. The list goes as follows: Japanese studies, Chinese literature, Indian studies, logic, psychology, sociology, ethics, pedagogy, metaphysics, natural history, history, economics, political science, Greek philosophy, modern philosophy, aesthetics, and religion studies. Additionally, "extracurricular courses for all three grades" were offered. Among these extracurricular courses were anthropology, linguistics, law, politics, physiology, geography, and evolution. There was also one class on "Mystery Studies."²⁸ In the next course program, published only two years later in September 1892, the term "mystery" does not appear.

The *Philosophy Academy Report* 『哲学館報告』 of the academic year 1893 announced that "this school year the *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records* are published twofold, comprising the regular courses and the Mystery Studies." The same fact is also apparent from another reference in the same report. "Starting from November 5 of this year [1893], apart from the regular courses, the *Mystery Studies Lecture Records* were to be published. The profits are used as funds for the specialized department."²⁹ Whether these *Mystery Studies Lecture Records* were indeed records of a given course remains in doubt. Reference to this will be made later. So far, it seems that Mystery Studies existed in the Philosophy Academy after the academic year 1893 in the form of written lectures only for correspondence education.

Precisely then, Enryō's Mystery Studies first appeared as a publication in the *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records* in 1893. Some explanation about this gazette may be warranted. The Philosophy Academy was not the first private school to spread its education and scholarship through the publication of its lectures. The English Law School 英吉利法律学校 (predecessor of Chuo University) began to published its lectures in 1885, and the Professional School 専修学校 (predecessor of Senshu University) in 1887. The lecture records of the Philosophy Academy were published after these. Professional law schools continued to print their lectures, but lectures in the humanities were only published by the Philosophy Academy. Through these lectures the Philo-

²⁸ *Centennial History of Toyo University* (see note 5), *Shiryō* I, bk. 2: 5.

²⁹ 「哲学館正科講義録第七号々外」[Philosophy Academy regular course lecture records. Extra number 7], in 『哲学館報告』 [Philosophy Academy Report] (January 9, 1894).

sophy Academy secured many extramural students and grew into a professional school on a national scale. The printings were,

as the name indicates, transcriptions of lectures given at the Philosophy Academy. The lectures of teachers at the Philosophy Academy were transcribed and published without further editing. In the beginning, besides the lecture topic and the name of the teacher, the name of the recorder was also given. Binding half sized Suruga [駿河] paper breadth-wise, Sakaino Tetsu (Kōyō) [境野哲 (黄洋)] and others went around recording each lecturer.³⁰

In this way, three issues were published each month, normally adding up to a yearly total of 36 issues. Publication started in January 1888. During the early years until 1891, the numbering of the issues was not consistent, so the interpretation of periods, years, and numbers presents some problems.³¹ One issue – e.g. first period, third year, number seven – included lectures on advanced psychology, modern philosophy, historiography, Indian studies, pedagogy, report on mysteries, and notices from the Philosophy Academy. The transcription of each lecture was approximately ten pages long.

Next, the references to Mystery Studies in the *Philosophy Academy Lectures Record* have to be examined. The first time that a lecture about mysteries was published in the *Philosophy Academy Lectures Record* was the already mentioned course "Psychology (Application and Explanation of Mysteries)" which appeared on January 18, 1888 (1st year, n. 2). At the beginning of the lecture, Enryō explains that "Psychology is divided into two parts: theoretical and applied. In the applied part I will mainly give explanations of mysteries. There are many kinds of mysteries. Although there might be some not related to psychology, eight or nine out of ten originate from mental activity." On this topic, Enryō's lecture is over sixteen pages. However, he suspended the course for the following reason: "I am sick and I asked Mr. Tokunaga [i.e., KIYOZAWA Manshi] to substitute for me. From now you should look at the transcription of his lectures." KIYOZAWA Manshi also lectured on mysteries and enigmas as applied psychology.

Next, a "Mystery Report" 「妖怪報告」 was published in six parts starting on March 8, 1890 (3rd year, 1st period, n. 7). These texts were not lectures given by Enryō, but "reports to the members of the Philosophy Academy about the search for mysterious occurrences and its results." Starting from December 5, 1891 (5th year, n. 4) something

³⁰ *Centennial History of Toyo University* (see note 5), *Tsūshi* I: 113. The editor interpreted the character 雷 in the quotation as misprint of "breadth-wise" 横 and modified the translation accordingly.

³¹ See the table in *Centennial History of Toyo University* (see note 5), *Tsūshi* I: 109.

close to what eventually became the *Lectures on Mystery Studies* was published. These early lectures were already titled "Mystery Studies" 「妖怪学」 and published on nine occasions for a total of 111 pages. These might have been related to the above mentioned extracurricular course announced in July 1890. However, in the preface Enryō did not declare the establishment of Mystery Studies as an academic discipline. Instead he wrote,

I am teaching Mystery Studies as part of applied psychology. Although I use the character for 'studies' [学], this does not necessarily mean that [this topic] constitutes a full academic field. It is not more than a collection of mysterious occurrences and the attempt to explain them by psychological means. [...] Perhaps, another day [this topic] will be taken as an independent field of studies. [...] Because at present I am still in the middle of the search for occurrences, I cannot give an explanation for each one of them. I will only explain two or three occurrences from my preceding research. (21:13)

He discusses table-turning, the "secret art of cudgel playing" 棒寄せの秘術, "methods of conjuring mysteries" 妖怪を招く法, "collections of secret formulas" 秘法彙集, "psychotherapy" 心理療法, "theory of imagination" 夢想論 and theory of coincidences, but the establishment of Mystery Research as an academic form of studies had not yet been realized.

7. The Birth of Mystery Studies

Enryō eventually came to establish his Mystery Studies in 1893. In the prologue of his *Lectures on Mystery Studies* he recounts the process of his research since the Enigma Research Society.

At the time, I announced to interested people throughout Japan the object [of Mystery Studies] and asked for correspondence about occurrences. The number of cases that have been communicated to me up to now reaches as many as 462. In the meantime, I also made field research on table-turning, cases of hypnotism [催眠術], sorcery [魔法], white foxes [白狐], and others that amounted to several dozen. Furthermore, since 1890, I saw and heard not just a few cases on my rounds throughout the country. The items relating to mysteries that I have found by searching in ancient and modern writings for several years moreover amount to as many as 500. (16:32)

Enryō began his research on mysteries in the summer of 1884, continued for almost ten years, investigating and accumulating research, before completing the *Lectures on Mystery Studies* in 1893/94. Apart from the general introduction, the work has seven sections: natural science, medicine, metaphysics, psychology, religious studies, educational studies and miscellanea. The purpose of *Mystery Studies* was, as previously pointed out, to promote the "non-material [無形] and mental civilization." Enryō explains this point in the following way:

Nowadays our country has steamships on the seas, railroads on the continent, as well as telegraph and electric light throughout the country. If we compare this to the condition some decades ago, it is as if a completely different world has opened up. It should be, in fact, admitted that the people acquired many comforts. It is only to be lamented that not all of the sciences have been applied fully yet. Foolish people are still lost in superstitions just as before and many groan in their misery. This is why I said before that present day civilization is technically progressing in the material [realm], but not mental development in not-material [realm]. If we put the heart of the foolish people on the railroad of science, and turn on the electric light of knowledge, then we can first say that the great work of Meiji [lit. "enlightenment politics"] has been fully accomplished. In order to reach this end, the application of the various sciences and *Mystery Studies* in particular must truly be pursued. (16:19–20)

This is the purpose for which Enryō's *Mystery Studies* were undertaken, but there are scant sources about the formation process of the work. Currently, we only have "The Character of Master Inoue" 「井上先生の性格」 by TANAKA Jiroku in the memorial collection *Master Inoue Enryō*. Tanaka, who was the recorder of the psychology section, recounts the formation process as follows:

The most remarkable feature of the Master was his rich gift for structured thinking and synthesis [構想統合]. His memory was also very good. (He probably used some kind of secret technique.) He remembered surprisingly well the names of persons and places that were difficult for us. Yet, instead of the inevitable weak point of those who have an encyclopedic memory, the Master not only remembered well the most diverse items, but also devised new schemes that integrated and arranged those materials. Producing original and creative thought was maybe his strongest point. [...] When I helped him with the *Lecture Records on Mystery Studies*, I particularly felt that the Master's ability for structured thought [構想力] was enormous. The lectures were divided into several sections such as philosophy, religion, ethics, astronomy, and natural science. Each one of them was in turn divided into chapters and paragraphs. They were delivered within two years and became quite a large volume. First, the

Master organized the mountain of materials he had collected over the years, arranged them in sections, chapters and paragraphs, and registered the items one by one in the respective sections. Then, starting with the exposition of each section, he lectured successively while letting us students transcribe his talks. When he included the various materials at their proper place he proceeded accurately without the least disorder. Not only that, even the number of pages for the recorded lectures was measured from the beginning to the end within a set limit, so there were neither too many nor too few. This can be attributed to his long experience as an author, but it was certainly also due to his amazing ability of structured thinking and synthesis, for which I cannot but admire him greatly.³²

Doubt has been raised on whether or not the *Lectures on Mystery Studies* were delivered as a course in the Philosophy Academy, and this matter should be clarified. As pointed out, in the calendar contained in the *Philosophy Academy Report* for the school year 1893, there was no mention of a course on Mystery Studies. In fact, lecture notes made by students exist to prove that the course was given.

Two persons, KAWAGUCHI Ekai 河口慧海 and NŌMI Yutaka 能海寛, who had studied at the Philosophy Academy, later went to Tibet in order to search for Buddhist texts. Unlike KAWAGUCHI Ekai, NŌMI Yutaka could not accomplish his goal. It is believed that he was killed while traveling in China. Members of the NŌMI Yutaka Research Society that convenes in Nōmi's hometown Haza 波佐 (Kanagi Town 金城町 in Naka District 那賀郡, Shimane Prefecture 島根県) have discovered NŌMI Yutaka's materials in his birth place, the Jōren Temple 浄蓮寺, which belongs to the Ōtani Branch of True School Buddhism. Those materials contain notes from 1893 of Enryō's Mystery Studies lectures. The source material is titled, "Mystery Studies, dictated by Inoue Enryō, beginning April 1893, my notes." This confirms that the course on Mystery Studies really took place. NŌMI Yutaka notes begin, "First session. Introduction. I was absent." The records start from the second session.

Are mysteries an academic field? To which field do they belong? Because academic principles are applied in order to explain that which is unclear, it is an academic discipline. It needs order and organization. In this regard, it was not an academic field up to now, but it will become a proper one in the future for that reason.

³² TANAKA 田中, 「井上先生の性格」(see note 8).

This is followed by the note "At noon, May 12, 1893, the Master of the Philosophy Academy lectured from two to three o'clock." This second session was transcribed in its entirety on four pages of lined paper. Through comparison with the *Lectures on Mystery Studies*, we can determine the scope of the transcription ranges from the First Section, Chapter 2, Paragraph 7: "Mystery Studies is not an Established Science" up to Chapter 6, Paragraph 45: "The Relationship between Knowledge and Mystery."

Moreover, in the curriculum vitae of KANAMORI Jūken 金森從憲 (priest of the Ōtani Branch Zenryū Temple 善竜寺 in Tatsuno Town 龍野市, Hyōgo Prefecture 兵庫県) a Philosophy Academy student of the first generation, it is recorded: "From September 1893 until September 1894, I did studies on the science of mysteries at the Philosophy Academy."³³ In terms of content, only the partial notes of NŌMI Yutaka exist. However, both sources prove that the lectures on Mystery Studies indeed took place.

8. Enryō's Research Notes

Let us now refer to Enryō's manuscripts that were the basis of his lectures. As previously quoted, TANAKA Jiroku, one of the transcribers, recounts, "First, the Master organized the mountain of materials he had collected over the years, arranged them in sections, chapters and paragraphs, and cataloged the items one by one in the respective section." Those handwritten materials are preserved at the Inoue Enryō Memorial Academic Center and are introduced here.

In the Prologue to the *Lectures on Mystery Studies* there is a detailed classification of the previously mentioned eight sections (16:28–31) of his work. Each section is again subdivided into various chapters, which correspond to certain types of mysteries. In Enryō's handwritten notes, there are corresponding classifications. At present, the classification from Section 2, Chapter 2 until the end, i.e., Section 8, Chapter 3 are extant. The classification system of Enryō's notes, also contain bibliographic information of classifications, literature, and more. For example, in the classification of the *Lectures on Mystery Studies*, it states, "Section 2, Chapter 8 (Transformations): metamorphosis, sickle-weasel [*kamaitachi*], river kobold [*kappa* 河童], kettle squeak [釜鳴り], seven conundrums [七不思議]." In the notes, we find, "Section 2, Chapter 8 (Transformations): Collection 3-172 (seven conundrums), Shō[nai] 2: sickle-weasel; Shō[nai]

³³ 「哲学館第一期生 金森從憲氏」[First period students of the Philosophy Academy. Kanamori Jūken], 井上門了研究』[Inoue Enryō research] 3 (1985): 69.

3: river kobold." We can see that the catalog for the notes and the classification of the published lectures coincide to a great extent.

An examination of the notes reveals the word "collection" in "Collection 3-172" a shortened reference to certain materials. The number is either the number of the notebook or the ordinal number of the item. At the end of Enryō's notes, there is a list of abbreviations, e.g., "«Myst. 1» corresponds to Mystery Studies I", and "«Collection I» refers to the Collection of Field Notes I." "Mystery Studies I" is the notebook in which he arranged selected observations and quotations from the research of hundreds of old and new documents. Of these notebooks, number one to five are extant. The "Collection of Field Notes I" is a notebook in which he arranged things observed and heard on-site while traveling nationwide. Of these notebooks, number one to three are extant.³⁴ Moreover, "Shō[nai] 2" refers to volume two of the *Collection of Ghost Stories from Shō[nai]* 『荘内怪談集』 (today the Shōnai 庄内 region). Apart from private notes and books the list of abbreviations also provides names of journals and other references such as: *Collection of Experiments in Psychology* 『心理学試験集』, "my writings on Mystery Studies" 「自著妖怪学」, *Journal of the Anthropological Society* 『人類学会雑誌』, *Journal of the Philosophical Society* 『哲学会雑誌』, *Dictionary of Society* 『社会事彙』, *Journal of the Scholar's Academy* 『学士会院雑誌』, Imperial Classics Research Institute 「皇典講究所」, *Grove of Academic Endeavor* 『学芸志林』, *Literary Journal* 『文雑誌』, *Gazette* 『会通雑誌』, *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records* 『哲学館講義録』, and *Rules of Heaven* 『天則』.

The following is an example of the relationship between the explanations in the *Lectures on Mystery Studies* and in Enryō's hand-written research notes.

Section 2: Science, Chapter 17: Volcanoes and Hot Springs

Hereafter, theories of earthquakes from Western antiquity are mentioned. First, around 500 B.C. there was Anaxagoras who said that earthquakes originate from electricity under the earth. Rocks are pressed into a cavity which generates electricity. Through the shock of the discharge, the rock cavity is eventually disrupted. (16:352)

This description is based on the following excerpt from notebook "Mystery Studies I":

³⁴ The second and third of Enryō's 『実地見聞集』 [Collection of things seen and heard in the field] have been reprinted in 『井上円了センター年報』 2-3 (1993-1994). The first notebook seems to be lost.

Anaxagoras [said] that within the earth there is electricity, rocks are in a cavity, when electricity is generated there, the discharge [causes a] shock, which disrupts the rock cavity.

Quoting memos and materials in this manner, Enryō began to publish his *Lectures on Mystery Studies* in November 1893 in the *Philosophy Academy Lecture Records* (year 7).³⁵ The first two "numbers" 号 were put together in one "volume" 冊, which was published on November 5, 1893. Thereafter, always two numbers per month were published until October 20, 1894 when volume 24 (number 47 and 48) was finished. Yet, Enryō did not teach the eight sections of his *Lectures on Mystery Studies* in consecutive order. As is clear from the contents in volume one, in each number he treated several chapters of different sections. In number one he lectured about chapters of three different sections, in number two about chapters of six different sections, and so on. Each number has 52 pages. As TANAKA Jiroku reported, "even the number of pages of the recorded lectures was measured within a set limit, so there were neither too many nor too few." In this way, Enryō proceeded while keeping the contents organized.

When the recorded lectures were reprinted on July 14, 1896 they were collected in six volumes totaling approximately 2,500 pages. This edition is today the best known. On February 16, 1897 the work was appreciated by the Minister of Education and six days later, on February 22, presented to the Meiji Emperor by the Imperial Household Minister. The evaluation by the Education Minister reads,

Needless to say, this book is rich in collected materials and versed in the application of theory; above all, many superstitions are current among the people and often are an obstacle to the advancement of common education. [...] Insofar as it gives a detailed academic explanation of each one of them, it is tremendously beneficial. [...] If this work is made public throughout the country, from today, it will help to eradicate step by step old superstitious customs.³⁶

By August 5 of the same year, the third edition had already been published. Although the recorded *Lectures on Mystery Studies* had been collected and distributed in book format since 1896, in 1902, a new edition published as *Mystery Studies Journal* 『妖怪学雑誌』 was started for the following reason:

³⁵ The same month, November 1893, Enryō also established the Mystery Studies Society 妖怪研究会. There is a report on the establishment in 『天則』 [Laws of heaven] (November 17, 1893) and a notice in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* 『読売新聞』 on November 3, 1893. The year 1891 given in 『東洋大学五十年史』 [Fifty years history of Toyo University] is not correct.

³⁶ 『哲学館規則』 [Philosophy Academy regulations] (September, 1897).

Because the entire recorded lectures on Mystery Studies were published in large volumes, it became difficult to read through them at one time; moreover, because the price was more than 3 yen, we presume it was difficult for poor students to buy and read the books. Considering the convenience of the reader, we decided to print the documents successively, two numbers per month, so that all lectures are released over a period of thirteen months. Apart from the lectures, reports as well as questions and answers about mysteries from throughout the country are published.³⁷

9. Characteristics of Mystery Studies

The basis of Enryō's Mystery Studies was philological research of old and new documents. This point is highly valued by present-day researchers of folklore studies. However, until the publication of volume 21 of the *Inoue Enryō Selected Writings*, there was no catalog of the literature used by Enryō. YAMAUCHI Eiichi 山内瑛一 completed an *Annotated Bibliography of Mystery Studies Reference Books* 「妖怪学参考図書解題」 that gives us the whole picture (21:495–668). Most of the texts Enryō used were preserved in the "Philosophy Hall Library" 「哲学堂文庫」 which is today kept in the library at Toyo University.³⁸

The annotated bibliography contains reference texts as well as literature that was directly or indirectly quoted. If the journals and periodicals of the Meiji period are added, the total amounts to more than 1,640 texts. It includes Japanese, Chinese and Indian (Buddhist) texts from antiquity to the Edo period. There are books to investigate official customs, origin of traditions, and etymology. The texts relate to heaven, earth, people, things, and tasks including astronomy, topography and medicine. They touch on "omens of weal and woe" 吉凶禍福 or good and evil as well as relate to "mountain wizards" 神仙, "divination" 卜筮, dreams, "demons" 鬼, "spirits" 靈魂, plants, insects, and so on. Enryō's broad philological research comprised general customs, "rumors" 巷談, disciplinary teachings, critical biographies, travelogues, famous sayings, "secret

³⁷ 『哲学館館外員規則即講義録規則』 [Philosophy Academy regulations for external students and lecture records] (rev. September, 1902). The 『妖怪学雑誌』 [Mystery studies journal] was the last publication of the *Lectures on Mystery Studies* by the Philosophy Academy. After Enryō's death, a publishing company printed the *Lectures* in 1923. There were four such editions during the pre-war period.

³⁸ The Philosophy Hall Book Collection 哲学堂文庫 established by Enryō mainly contains publications from the Edo period. The Japanese and Chinese books as well as Buddhist texts of 6792 different genres add up to 21,193 books. A bibliography was published by the library of Toyo University 『新編哲学堂文庫目録』 [New Edition. Catalog of the Philosophy Hall library] (Toyo University, 1997). The "section of books about mysterious tales" 「怪談草紙部」, which directly relates to Mystery Studies, comprises 172 texts both printed and hand-written copies of Japanese and Chinese literature. These works remain as testimony to the extent of Enryō's philological research.

arts" 秘術, "novels about phantoms and strange occurrences" 怪異小説, "ghost stories" 怪談, "strange hearsay" 異聞, "odd rumors" 奇聞, "metamorphosis" 変化, "folk tales" 民話, "fables" 說話, "popular tales" 俗話, "miscellaneous tales" 雜話, "adventure novels" 伝奇小説, "strange talks" 奇談, "uncanny things" 奇事, "curious stories" 珍説, pleasant stories and more. Regarding tradition, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Shintoism and Shugendō 修験道 were subjects of investigation.

If we consider philological research as the primary characteristic of Enryō's Mystery Studies, a second feature that has to be mentioned is his field work. While traveling through the whole country, he documented his on-site observations and experiences.³⁹ The records of this travels can now be found in volumes 12 to 15 of the *Selected Writings*. The report of his first round nation trip from November 2, 1890 to February 8, 1893 was edited in the already mentioned *Collection of Things Seen and Heard in the Field* 『実地見聞集』. These travel diaries were basic materials for the *Lectures on Mystery Studies*. The time he spent traveling amounted to 44 days in 1890, 153 in 1891, 154 in 1892, and 39 in 1893. The cumulative total during these four years amounts to one year and one month. He visited 32 provinces (missing most of the Kantō 関東, Kōshinetsu 甲信越 and Hokuriku 北陸 Regions). He visited 36 cities, 3 districts, and 230 towns and villages.⁴⁰ Once Enryō finished this first series of lecture tours throughout the country on February 8, 1893, he completed his Mystery Studies in one go.

On the basis of his philological research of numerous texts and his nationwide investigations, Enryō drew the following conclusion about mysteries in Japan:

Many of the mysteries in our country came from China. There are only a few that can be called truly peculiar to Japan. According to my estimation, among the various types of mysteries now [orally] transmitted in Japan 70% come from China, 20% come from India, and only 10% are peculiar to Japan. Therefore, to the extent of my limited abilities, I have examined Japanese and Chinese documents. The Western texts I have consulted do not exceed a few dozen. (16:41)

³⁹ The nation-wide travels that started in November 1890 served several purposes. The first was to collect funds for the establishment of a special department in order to develop the Philosophy Academy into a university. A debt from the construction of the new building also existed. The second purpose was social education through lectures and talks at various places in order to spread modern science. The third objective was field work for Mystery Studies.

⁴⁰ See MIURA Setsuo 三浦節夫. 「解説 井上円了の全国巡講」 [Commentary: Inoue Enryō's nationwide lecture tours], in IS 55.

Enryō's Mystery Studies were disseminated in the form of publications like the *Lectures on Mystery Studies* and during his later years through his ongoing nationwide lecture tours as a form of social education.⁴¹ Spreading his Mystery Studies for many years through education, publications and lectures, Enryō himself came to be nicknamed "Mystery Doc" 妖怪博士 (*Yōkai Hakase*) or "Doctor Specter" お化け博士 (*Obake Hakase*). He had such an impact, that the term *yōkai* became very common in Japanese society.

These remarkable results were due to the development of Enigma Research into Mystery Studies as a form of academic inquiry. What stimulated Enryō to abruptly widen the horizon of the perceived problem, were his observations in Western countries. Enryō founded the Philosophy Academy in September 1887 and embarked on his first inspection tour abroad in June 1888. The results of one year of his observations were published as *Journal on Religion and State in Western Countries* 『欧米各国政教日記』. Because this book is a report on the relationship of politics and religion, Enryō did not describe in detail what influence the observations abroad bore on himself. However, in the text "About the Purpose of the Philosophy Academy" 「哲学館目的について」 published immediately after his return, he writes,

[Traveling there] is very different from quietly sitting in Japan [only] imagining the Western countries. About the fact that each one of those countries loves its own sciences and technologies, and that each one is filled with a mentality of independence, our imaginations most easily err. What constitutes the independent spirit [独立風] of a country, is the result of a combination of numerous elements. But what is most necessary is the rise of independent spirit. In order to produce such independent spirit, it is not enough to desire the amenities of one or two [elements] such as politics or law. It can only be achieved through the interaction of science, technology, sentiment, customs, habit, and so on.⁴²

At the time, the people of the island nation Japan did not know Europe or the world. They were prey to superstitious beliefs, their way of life lacked scientific rationality,

⁴¹ Enryō took up his lecture tours again in 1896 and continued until his death in 1919. Of his lectures during the academic year 1895, there are traces in 53% of the cities, towns and villages he visited. Concerning the content of the lectures, there are statistics that cover 1909 through 1918. From among a total of 3,706 lectures, 877 (i.e., 24%) dealt with "mysteries and superstitions." In his 『旅行必携簿』 [Indispensable travel notebook] Enryō made records of his impressions and observations. The second of these notebooks, reprinted in 『井上円了センター年報』 *Annual Report of the Inoue Enryō Center* 4 (1995), contains notes about the general theory of mysteries, psychological mysteries, ghost stories 幽霊談, theory of superstition, and the notion of the True Mystery. These records provide some insight into the content of his lectures.

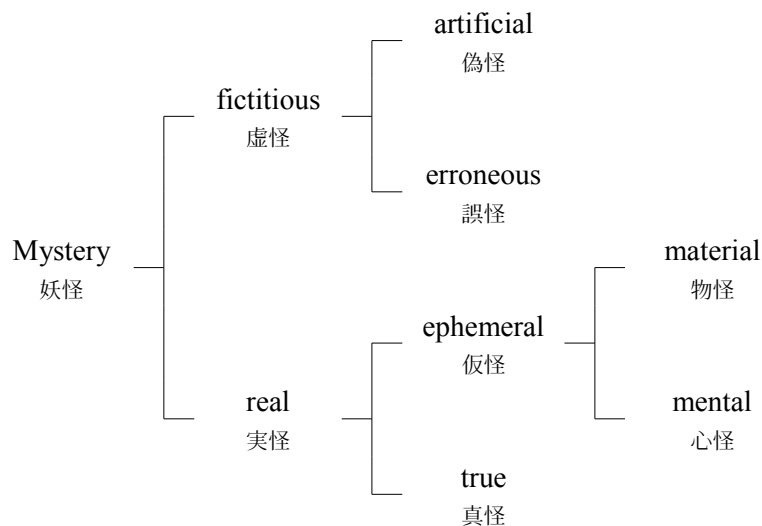
⁴² INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 「哲学館目的のニツイテ」 [Concerning the purpose of the Philosophy Academy], in *Centennial History of Toyo University* (see note 5), *Shiryō* 1, bk. 2: 103.

and their life experience was confined to small societies. Enryō frequently deplored the foolishness of the masses, but it has been rightly pointed out that for him, these people were precisely the target of his educational activities.

Having observed a great difference between Japan and the West, Enryō believed that "even though research into mysteries seems like a despicable affair, it has in fact a broad impact and a huge influence." In order to fundamentally reform the consciousness of the Japanese people, Enryō envisioned Mystery Studies as "an approach to religion and a prelude to the advancement of education" (16:41–42). About this point, NITTA Kōji 新田幸治 wrote in his *Introduction to Mystery Studies* 『妖怪学入門』,

Around the second decade of the Meiji era [1887–1896] Master Inoue Enryō began his inquiry into mysteries as [academic] 'studies'. At a time when still few Japanese had traveled around the world, the Master, in order to know in detail the reality of other countries, went abroad on his own initiative. But the Master's enterprising spirit was also focused on the way of life of the Japanese. The investigations on his tours through the whole of Japan and research into many texts became the basis of the Mystery Studies he proposed.⁴³

From this insight, we may understand that Enryō's Mystery Studies were neither to obtain the "applause of society" as INOUE Tetsujirō claimed, nor were they a "pleasurable pastime" as MIYAKE Setsurei suggested. To conclude, it is worthwhile to introduce Enryō's classification of mysteries (16:282):



⁴³ NITTA Kōji 新田幸治. 「あとがき」 [Postscript], in 『妖怪学入門』 [Introduction to Mystery Studies] (すずさわ書店, 2000), 185.

In simple terms, artificial mysteries are generated arbitrarily or by means of some device. They are of two kinds: individual and social. Erroneous mysteries are "coincidental" 偶然的 events which are interpreted as mysteries by mistake. They are of two kinds: external or objective mysteries, and internal or subjective mysteries. Both the artificial and the erroneous mysteries are fictitious mysteries and cannot be called true mysteries. They originate from human deception or error.

In contrast to fictitious mysteries there are the real mysteries. The first of this type are the ephemeral mysteries which are neither artificial nor coincidental, but natural in origin. Among these, material phenomena and mental phenomena can be distinguished. Material mysteries are physical and mental mysteries are psychological. Besides the ephemeral mysteries among the real mysteries there is the "True Mystery" 真怪. The True Mystery is the veritable arcanum, also called the "Infinite Absolute" 絶対無限. If we investigate the ephemeral mysteries among the real mysteries and understand their rationale, we can explain them based on the same principles as ordinary logic. We expect that those phenomena which are considered mysterious according to present human knowledge, can be explained rationally in the future. In contrast, the True Mystery is "that which ultimately cannot be known no matter how far human knowledge progresses. This is the transcendent [超理的] mystery," the Unknowable Enigma.

Moreover, the universe has: (1) the world of the Infinite Absolute, (2) the finite and relative world, and (3) the human world. The human world extends over the two others and fully permeates them. These are called the Three Great Worlds. There are three kinds of mysteries corresponding to the Three Great Worlds. They are the True Mystery of the absolute world, the ephemeral mysteries of the relative world, and artificial mysteries of the human world. Because erroneous mysteries come into being coincidentally due to human or natural events, no corresponding world exists. Moreover, it should be noted that, rather than in the sense of ephemeral mystery, Enryō uses the term *kakai* 仮怪 also as umbrella term for all false mysteries in contrast to the one True Mystery (19:60).

The definition and classification of various kinds of mysteries are the ultimate achievement of Enryō's Mystery Studies. Through philosophy, Enryō employed natural science, medicine, and psychology in order to explain mysterious occurrences. As has already been pointed out, his magnum opus consists of eight sections: general theory, science section, medical section, genuine philosophical section, psychological section, religion studies section, education studies section, and miscellaneous section. The preface to the *Lectures on Mystery Studies* contains a table with several examples for each

section (16:27–28). The list, which is translated in the appendix, gives a good impression of the wide range of phenomena Enryō covered. In the whole work we can find more than 270 cases. In contemporary Japanese, *yōkai* normally refer to "ghosts" 幽霊 or "specters" お化け. However, Enryō included many things that are ordinarily not considered as *yōkai* ranging from natural phenomena to incantations. Treating an extremely broad range of occurrences as mysteries is one of the characteristics of the academic field of Mystery Studies as proposed by Enryō. In addition to Enryō, YANAGIDA Kunio 柳田国男 can also be cited as a founder of Mystery Studies in Japan. But Yanagida's starting point was folklore studies and he did not systematize his findings like Enryō. For Enryō, philosophy was central to beginning enigma research. Creating Mystery Studies as an original and independent science is his achievement.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ See MIURA Setsuo 三浦節夫, 『井上円了と柳田国男の妖怪学』 [The Mystery Studies of Inoue Enryō and Yanagita Kunio] (教育評論社, 2013).

Appendix: Mystery Studies Glossary

A. Classification of Mysteries (16:27–28)

理学部門 Science Section	天変	<i>tenpen</i>	celestial events	
	地異	<i>chii</i>	geological abnormalities	
	奇草	<i>kisō</i>	odd plants	
	異木	<i>iboku</i>	abnormal trees	
	妖鳥	<i>yōchō</i>	marvelous birds	
	怪獣	<i>kaijū</i>	unearthly monsters	
	異人	<i>ijin</i>	abnormal humanoids	
	鬼火	<i>onibi</i>	will-o'-the-wisp	
	竜灯	<i>ryūtō</i>	[natural] dragon lights	
	蜃気楼	<i>shinkirō</i>	mirages	
	竜宮	<i>ryūgū</i>	[myth of the] dragon palace	
	医学部門 Medicine Section	人体異状	<i>jintai ijō</i>	anatomic abnormalities
		癲癇	<i>tenkan</i>	epilepsy
ヒステリー		<i>hisuterī</i>	hysteria	
諸狂		<i>shokyō</i>	insanity, madness, etc.	
仙術		<i>senjutsu</i>	wizardry	
妙薬		<i>myōyaku</i>	wonder drugs	
食い合わせ		<i>kuiawase</i>	food mixtures	
マジナイ療法		<i>majinai ryōhō</i>	magic healing	
純正哲学部門 Genuine Philosophy Section	前兆	<i>zenchō</i>	omens	
	予言	<i>yogen</i>	prophecy	
	暗合	<i>angō</i>	inscrutable coincidences	
	陰陽	<i>onmyō</i>	ying and yang	
	五行	<i>gogyō</i>	five elements	
	天気予知法	<i>tenki yochi hō</i>	weather prediction	
	易筮	<i>ekizei</i>	[Book of] Changes stalks	
	御鬮	<i>omikuji</i>	fortune slips	

	淘宮	<i>tōkyū</i>	palace clearing [divination]
	天源 ⁴⁵	<i>tengen</i>	heavenly source [divination]
	九星	<i>kyūsei</i>	nine stars [divination]
	幹枝術	<i>kan gijutsu</i>	[divination] art of earthly branches
	人相	<i>ninsō</i>	physiognomy
	家相	<i>kasō</i>	architectural geomancy
	方位	<i>hōi</i>	geomancy
	墨色	<i>bokushoku</i>	ink color [divination]
	鬼門	<i>kimon</i>	demon gate
	厄年	<i>yakudoshi</i>	unlucky years
	有卦無卦	<i>ukemuke</i>	auspicious and inauspicious [periods]
	縁起	<i>engi</i>	dependent arising
心理学部門 Psychology Section	幻覚	<i>genkaku</i>	hallucinations
	妄想	<i>mōsō</i>	delusions
	夢	<i>yume</i>	dreams
	奇夢	<i>kimu</i>	strange dreams
	狐憑き	<i>kitsune tsuki</i>	fox possession
	犬神	<i>inugami</i>	doggod [possession]
	天狗	<i>tengu</i>	goblins
	動物電気	<i>dōbutsu denki</i>	animal electricity
	コックリ	<i>kokkuri</i>	table-turning
	催眠術	<i>saimin jutsu</i>	hypnotism
	察心術	<i>sasshin jutsu</i>	mind-reading
	降神術	<i>kōshin jutsu</i>	spiritualism, necromancy
	巫覡	<i>fugeki</i>	mediums
	宗教学部門 Religion Studies Section	幽霊	<i>yūrei</i>
生霊		<i>ikiryō</i>	living spirit
死霊		<i>shirei</i>	departed soul
人魂		<i>hitodama</i>	human soul

⁴⁵ The homophone character 元 instead of 源 (16:27) seems to be a mistake by the recorder. Cf. IS 17:198, 213–221.

	鬼神	<i>kishin</i>	demonic spirits
	悪魔	<i>akuma</i>	devils
	前生	<i>zenshō</i>	previous existence
	死後	<i>shigo</i>	afterlife
	六道	<i>rokudō</i>	six roads [of reincarnation]
	再生	<i>saisei</i>	reincarnation
	天堂	<i>tendō</i>	heaven
	地獄	<i>jigoku</i>	hell
	祟	<i>tatari</i>	curse
	厄払い	<i>yakuharai</i>	exorcisms
	祈禱	<i>kitō</i>	prayer
	守り札	<i>mamori fuda</i>	amulets
	呪詛	<i>juso</i>	spells
	修法	<i>shuhō</i>	austerities
	靈驗	<i>reigen</i>	miracles
	応報	<i>ōhō</i>	retribution
	託宣	<i>takusen</i>	oracles
	感通	<i>kantsū</i>	telepathy
教育学部門	遺伝	<i>iden</i>	heredity
Education	胎教	<i>taikyō</i>	prenatal care
Studies	白痴	<i>hakuchi</i>	idiocy, imbecility
Section	神童	<i>shindō</i>	prodigy
	記憶術	<i>kioku jutsu</i>	mnemonics
雑部門	妖怪宅地	<i>yōkai takuchi</i>	haunted houses
Miscellania	怪事	<i>kaiji</i>	mysterious things
Section	怪物	<i>kaibutsu</i>	monster
	火渡り	<i>hiwatari</i>	walking over fire
	魔法	<i>mahō</i>	sorcery, magic
	幻術	<i>genjutsu</i>	witchcraft

B. Mystery Studies Terms⁴⁶

<i>bokuzei</i>	卜筮	divination, fortunetelling
<i>bōyose</i>	棒寄せ	approaching rods (see IS 17:574–577)
<i>bukkai</i>	物怪	material mystery
<i>byakko</i>	白狐	white fox
<i>chinsetsu</i>	珍説	curious story
<i>denki shōsetsu</i>	伝奇小説	adventure novel
<i>Fushigi Kenkyū-kai</i>	不思議研究会	Enigma Research Society
<i>gikai</i>	偽怪	artificial mystery
<i>gokai</i>	誤怪	erroneous mystery
<i>gūgō</i>	偶合	coincidence
<i>henge</i>	変化	metamorphosis
<i>henji</i>	変事	transformation
<i>hihō ishū</i>	秘法彙集	collection of secret formulas
<i>hijutsu</i>	秘術	secret art
<i>ibun</i>	異聞	strange hearsay
<i>jikkai</i>	実怪	real mystery
<i>kaidan</i>	怪談	ghost story
<i>kaii shōsetsu</i>	怪異小説	novel about the strange and abnormal
<i>kakai</i>	仮怪	ephemeral mystery
<i>kamaitachi</i>	[鎌鼬]	[slash of the] sickle-weasel
<i>kamanari</i>	釜鳴り	kettle squeak
<i>kappa</i>	河童	river kobold
<i>kibun</i>	奇聞	odd rumor
<i>kidan</i>	奇談	strange talk
<i>kiji</i>	奇事	uncanny things
<i>kikai</i>	奇怪	strange phenomenon
<i>kikkyō kafuku</i>	吉凶禍福	omens of weal and woe

⁴⁶ The glossary was added by the editor. B and C only list terms and titles that occur in this article.

<i>kokkuri</i>	狐狗狸	table-turning (lit. "foxy racoon-dog")
<i>kori</i>	狐狸	fox and tanuki
<i>kyokai</i>	虚怪	fictitious mystery
<i>minwa</i>	民話	folk tale
<i>musō ron</i>	夢想論	imagination, daydreaming
<i>nana fushigi</i>	七不思議	seven conundrums
<i>noroi</i>	呪い	curse, charm, spell
<i>obake</i>	お化け	specter
<i>Obake Hakase</i>	お化け博士	Doctor Specter
<i>oni</i>	鬼	demon
<i>reikon</i>	霊魂	spirit, soul
<i>shinkai</i>	心怪	mental mystery
<i>shinkai</i>	真怪	True Mystery
<i>shinri ryōhō</i>	心理療法	psychotherapy
<i>shinsen</i>	神仙	mountain wizard
<i>tenmon</i>	天文	astrology
<i>yōkai butsu</i>	妖怪物	mysterious thing
<i>yōkai fushigi</i>	妖怪不思議	mysterious enigmatic
<i>Yōkai Hakase</i>	妖怪博士	Mystery Doc
<i>Yōkai Kenkyū-kai</i>	妖怪研究会	Mystery Studies Society
<i>yōkai no rei</i>	妖怪の霊	mysterious spirit
<i>yōkai wo maneku hō</i>	妖怪を招く法	method of conjuring mysteries
<i>zokuwa</i>	俗話	popular tale

C. Inoue Enryō's Works on Mystery Studies

<i>Obake no shōtai</i>	『おぼけの正体』	<i>The True Nature of Specters</i>	IS 20: 13–126.
<i>Shinrigaku (Ōyō narabi ni yōkai setsume)</i>	「心理学（応用并妖怪説明）」	"Psychology (Application and Explanation of Mysteries)"	『哲学館講義録』1st year, no. 2 (January 1888).

<i>Yōkai gaku ippan</i>	「妖怪学一斑」	"A Fragment of Mystery Studies"	IS 21: 381–396.
<i>Yōkai gaku kōgi</i>	『妖怪学講義』	<i>Lectures on Mystery Studies</i>	IS 16–21.
<i>Yōkai gaku zasshi</i>	『妖怪学雑誌』	<i>Journal of Mystery Studies</i>	(reprint of 『妖怪学講義』)
<i>Yōkai gendan</i>	『妖怪玄談』	<i>Dark Tales of Mysteries</i>	IS 19: 13–61.
<i>Yōkai hōkoku</i>	「妖怪報告」	"Mystery Report"	『哲学館講義録』 3rd year, 1st period, no. 7 (March 8, 1890).
<i>Yōkai sōron</i>	「妖怪総論」	"General Theory of Mysteries"	『日曜講義 哲学講演集』 vol. 1 (June, 1890).