

THE CAREER OF UTSUKI NISHŪ 宇津木二秀 IN HONG KONG DURING THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION PERIOD (1941–1945)

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In February 1942, two months after Japan occupied Hong Kong, Utsuki Nishū, a Nishihonganji priest with a remarkable track record of international collaboration and a professor of English at the Ryūkoku University in Kyoto, was transferred to the missionary unit of his temple and later dispatched to the former British colony. Utsuki then began his career as a representative of the local chapter of Nishihonganji, and was entrusted by the Japanese military government with oversight of local Buddhist affairs. Like many of his progressive co-religionists from the late-Meiji/Taishō period, Utsuki was keen to share his vision of brotherhood and solidarity with his fellow overseas Buddhists in the newly-minted Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. As the brutality of the Pacific War continued, leading ultimately to the defeat of Japan, the gap between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism proved to be too wide to be mended, and Utsuki's vision untenable. The legacy of Utsuki's effort nonetheless survived, most notably in the formation of the Hong Kong Buddhist Association, as well as the beginning of a long process of reconciliation between Chinese and Japanese Buddhists.

Japanese Buddhism in Hong Kong Prior to and at the Beginning of the Japanese Occupation

Prior to Japan's unannounced invasion of Hong Kong on 8 December 1941, Japanese Buddhism already had decades of presence in the British colony, largely serving the local Japanese expatriate community.¹ While Japanese Buddhist missionary activities of various sects began in Mainland China as early as the early Meiji Period, only two sects successfully established

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themselves in Hong Kong prior to the Japanese occupation, namely, the Nishihonganji-ha 西本願寺派 of the reformed Pure Land school (Jōdōshinshū 浄土真宗), and the Buzan-ha 豊山派 of the Tantric school (Shinghonsū 真言宗).² As early as 1902, the Nishihonganji priest Takata Seigan 高田栖岸 was engaged in missionary and reconnaissance works in Hong Kong, Macau and the neighboring regions.³ Takata was credited as the founder of the Shina nambu bukkyōkai 支那南部仏教会 (South China Buddhist Association). In 1924, he officially established the first Japanese temple, Jōdōshinshū Nishihonganji (JSNH) 浄土真宗西本願寺, in Hong Kong at 117 Wanchai Road 灣仔道 (see Appendix B).⁴

Following closure of Japanese activities and incarceration of Japanese nationals in 1938, due to the escalating military threat Japan posed to the region, Japanese business and activities quickly resumed after Hong Kong surrendered on 25 December 1941. Under the directive of Rensuke Isogai 磯谷廉介, appointed as the Governor-General of Japanese-occupied Hong Kong on 20 February 1942, Hong Kong was immediately subject to military law. Throughout the occupation period, civilian activities, including religious ones, were strictly controlled and monitored. By May 1942, British elements were largely replaced by Japanese, including the official language, street names and primary/secondary education. A rigorous scheme of re-registration of all business, land properties and organisations took place. Among the 71 religious organisations registered with the military government in June 1942, three were Buddhist and Nishihonganji was the only Japanese temple run by Japanese (Appendix A). It was under these circumstances that Utsuki was brought to Hong Kong to oversee not only the activities of his temple, but also Buddhist activities in Hong Kong at large.

Pre-war Career of Utsuki⁵



Utsuki Nishū ca. 1940

Utsuki Nishū (1893–1951) was born on 1 October 1893 (Meiji 26) in Saimen 西面 of the village of Sangamaki 三箇村, Mishima county 三島, Ōsaka prefecture (now Takatsuki 高槻). He was born to a priestly family of the lineage of the Nishihonganji branch of the Jōdō Shinshū sect. His father Utsuki Shu'itsu was the nineteenth abbot of Shōtoku temple 正徳寺 where Utsuki Nishū was born and which he was

later to inherit. In 1914, at the age of 21, he was enrolled in Bukkyō daigaku (Bukkyō University) in Kyoto (now Ryūkoku University). In the same year, his father passed away and he became the abbot of Shōtoku temple. In 1915, while in his twenties he founded, with two foreign Buddhists, the Mahāyāna Association, which Utsuki then helped to run.⁶ In 1917, Utsuki graduated from Bukkyō University and was dispatched by the Nishihonganji to study at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles from April 1919 to July 1920, followed by a year-long research trip to study English literature at University College London in the U.K. While in the U.S., Utsuki joined the Theosophical Society.⁷ After a European tour which gave him the opportunity to preach Mahāyāna Buddhism to the general public, Utsuki returned to Japan in 1922 and immediately became an assistant lecturer of the Ryūkoku University. From 1923 on, Utsuki began publishing English translations of various Japanese Buddhist works as well as of Chinese Buddhist sūtras such as the Amitāyuh-sūtra.⁸ In 1924, he got married and later had two sons and one daughter. In 1929, Utsuki was forced to resign from his lecturer's post together with other university staff due to their liberal stance in a factional conflict within the Nishihonganji. During the 1930s, while engaged in various jobs, Utsuki remained a prolific translator and writer. In 1936, he became the chief of the newly-founded translation department of the Nishihonganji. Throughout his early career, Utsuki demonstrated an exceptional talent for foreign communication and diplomacy, as well as skills in promulgating Mahāyāna Buddhism overseas, in particular, the teachings of Jōdō Shinshū.

Utsuki's career took a decisive turn when Imperial Japan's expansionist program accelerated, alongside a serious interest expressed towards Japanese missionary work overseas. In March 1940, he was sent by the Asian Development Buddhist Association 興亜仏教協会 to Thailand and French-occupied Indochina to conduct a five-month field research, partially funded by the military.⁹ It was during this trip to Indochina that Utsuki made his first visit to Hong Kong.¹⁰ Upon his return to Japan on 26 July, a confidential report was delivered to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and some of the findings of his field research were also later disseminated to the public through various channels such as radio and academic journals.¹¹ As we shall see, quite consistently throughout his career, Utsuki was enthusiastic in contributing to the agenda of the regime, which duly recognised his effort and achievement, as in general it did during that period toward scholars who acted as both informants and advisors on foreign affairs.¹²

On 7 January 1942, Utsuki was transferred from the Translation Department of Nishihonganji to its Asian Revival Division 興亜部, a strategic unit of the temple in charge of missionary works in Asia, which at the same time also collaborated closely with the Special Service Division 特務部 of the government.¹³ In February, he was officially appointed the Director of South China Missionary Works 南支開教監督 of his temple, as well as the Deputy Director of Nishihonganji Hong Kong 代理香港駐在.¹⁴ Shortly after, in February 1942, he arrived in Hong Kong on a military plane, the same month that Isogai Rensuke was appointed the Governor of Hong Kong.¹⁵

Utsuki's Activities in Hong Kong under Japanese Occupation

When Utsuki arrived in Hong Kong, the Nishihonganji was the most established Japanese temple in Hong Kong, founded by Takata almost 40 years previously. In the census and the list of registered religious organisations, Utsuki's name (together with Uzawa) was mentioned along with the Nishihonganji. Its number of followers was however not available, in contrast to the localised Japanese Tantric temple Kui Sze Lum 居士林 where a thousand Chinese members were mentioned (Appendix A). It thus appears that there were no Chinese Buddhists officially affiliated with the Nishihonganji temple at the time.¹⁶ The registration and census were reported only in English and Chinese newspapers, but not in the Japanese one.

As a priest of the temple, Utsuki performed funerary duties both for local Japanese Buddhists (apparently overseeing additional funerary service at the crematorium run by the Nishihonganji in Happy Valley) as well as for a number of official occasions associated with the military.¹⁷ From the government's viewpoint, it was not the Buddhist memorials *per se* which interested them, but rather the way Buddhists, both local and Japanese, would be mobilised and thus engaged in government-driven agenda. While Utsuki's official title remained throughout his sojourn in Hong Kong that of chief priest of the Nishihonganji and was known among the locals as the 'professor', his covert involvement in politics and his connection with the government may be seen by the way he was entrusted by the government to handle various religious affairs, as well as most notably by a series of news articles written by himself under the pseudonym Kōhō 香峰 (Appendix C). As we shall see, the Japanese government's policy on religions in Hong Kong followed closely the one established in mainland China since 1938, with the notable difference

that the religious scene in Hong Kong was overwhelmingly dominated by the Christians and not by Buddhists; Buddhism in Hong Kong at that time in fact played only a very minor role in local society.¹⁸ Nevertheless, at least during the early period of the occupation, Utsuki was considered an ideal candidate to act as a liaison between the Japanese government and the local Chinese, as well as leading the local Buddhist community. Moreover, at the ideological level, Buddhism was notably favored over Christianity, whose European connection the Japanese authorities distrusted.¹⁹

On 1 August 1942, the Sino-Japanese Buddhist Association 日華佛教聯合會/中日佛教聯合會 (SJBA) was founded by Utsuki Nishū and Motoyama Gijō, both from the Nishihonganji of Kyoto, together with local Chinese monks, at Tung Lin Kok Yuen 東蓮覺苑, a lay Buddhist centre located on Shan Kwong Road in Happy Valley which Utsuki would later frequent.²⁰ With the aim of 'furthering religious understanding of the two nations and to spread the spirit of the East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere', the formation of the SJBA was Utsuki's first attempt to bring together local Buddhists under the government directive. The formation of the SJBA, however, turned out to be abortive.²¹ A few weeks later, on 24 August, the eve of Ullambana, the Chinese Buddhist Festival known as Yulanpenjie 盂蘭盆節 (equivalent to the Japanese O-bon), possibly through the intervention of the military authorities, a new association under the name of the Hongkong Buddhist Association 香港佛教聯合會 (HKBA) was founded.²² The founding ceremony was held at 35 Garden Road, Central (The Helena May) with great pomp and was attended by about 400 participants, including local Japanese government officials and local Chinese Buddhists and representatives.²³ The event was preceded by a military memorial service dedicated to the dead Japanese soldiers, followed by Buddhist ceremonies including the recitation of the Chinese Amitāyuh-sūtra, the inauguration ceremony of the HKBA, speeches and finally, the election of its officers. Utsuki and Motoyama were the chief organisers of the event, with the assistance of the local senior monks such as Venerable Maofeng 茂峯, Abbot of Dongputuosi 東普陀寺, and Venerable Wanqing 浣青 of Xilinsi 西林寺.²⁴

In his inauguration speech, Utsuki said:

Today the inauguration ceremony of the Hongkong Buddhist Association is held in the Occupied Territory of Hong Kong. I

would like to express to you all [our] call for solidarity among us Buddhists. Our world is now in great turmoil, experiencing changes and opportunities unprecedented in history. For the past few hundred years, the European and American races have been dominating all over East Asia, usurping power. In order to revive the current state of all the people of East Asia, we must dedicate ourselves to the great endeavor of the East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere. We Buddhists, with the spirit of the religious teaching of the Buddha, shall lead the rest of the people, strive our very best so that the great plan will be succeeded. This is the purpose of the formation of our Association.

The speech was followed by a government representative from the Department of Education:

It has been less than six months since our Royal Army had entered the city and already we have the opportunity to unite the Buddhists of the two countries, Japan and China, together. This is indeed a great achievement. Religious organizations have always been factional and there are those who try to dominate, not knowing the current situation of the world that it cannot thrive with only one teaching. [The world] cannot be developed with only one teaching, but rather all the different sects should unite for the benefit of the nation. This is but natural. I have utmost respect for the ones with foresight among all the religions in Hong Kong, who with this understanding took the initiative of solidarity. Among the four hundred attendees here, you should think to yourself whether you can cooperate. If you can, that is of course good. If not, you should consult your leader for this purpose. Thus I hope you all fulfill the task of cooperation based on the principle and spirit of Buddhism.

Lastly, Venerable Wei'an 葦庵, who acted as the Chinese Buddhist representative delivered his speech:

Today is the greatest day for Hong Kong Buddhists in history. In the past when Hong Kong was under British rule, we Buddhists had no place in society. For example, according to the Land Ordinance

of the Northern Territory District Office, no Buddhist monasteries may be built on newly purchased land. Transgression would result in confiscation of land. The British have tried to undermine [us] in so many ways. As a result, we Buddhists have no choice but become scattered all over the remote places, practicing on our own and eking out our livelihoods, without the establishment of a respectable Buddhist monastery. Now thanks to our neighbour who started the Great East Asian War, chasing the British out of East Asia and establishing the Co-prosperity Sphere. By establishing a new order, the freedom of East Asian people is thus restored. And we Buddhists have been particularly favored. The occasion of our association was none other than Venerable Utsuki's great effort. By developing Buddhism in the southern region, Hong Kong is the first to benefit from such work of Dharma. Venerable [Utsuki] has the heart of the Bodhisattva and fearlessly made this Dharma Meeting of equality happen. Yet, we Hong Kong Buddhists should still take special note and understand the purpose of our association. We should not be negligent. Now that we are considerably recognized, we ought to fulfill the vow of deliverance of all sentient beings, by going into the world with the spirit of great fearlessness. We must make considerable contribution based of the needs of our time, for example, to help to establish the East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere and to work hard toward developing Buddhism. Internally, that includes Buddhist monasteries, Buddhist cemeteries, Buddhist institutes and so on. Externally, that includes, Buddhist hospitals, Buddhist free schools, Buddhist charity organizations and so on. Thus one benefits oneself as well as others.

Utsuki was initially and expectedly chosen among the attendees as the chairperson of the association. However, at the insistence of Utsuki, Maofeng was elected the Chinese co-chairperson, a position which he nonetheless appeared to have declined later on.²⁵

The formation of the HKBA in 1942 was in line with the Japanese government's policy on religious affairs established in Mainland China since 1938 and various pro-Japanese Buddhist organisations formed across China since then. The official stance toward Buddhism may be best summarised by the slogan: 'Same ethnic root and same writing.'

Same religious faith. East Asian co-prosperity. Spirit of Buddhism.’ 同種同文, 同等信仰, 東亞共榮, 佛教精神.²⁶ However, despite Wei’an’s enthusiastic speech, as we shall see, there appeared to be minimal participation among the Chinese monastics and their collaboration with Utsuki was at best described as lukewarm, if not evasive. This is in contrast to the agenda of Cantonese monk Tiechan 鐵禪 from Guangzhou, who under the title ‘South China Section Chief, International Buddhist Association’, went on a tour passing through Hong Kong to promote ‘peace and the construction of Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere with Buddhist spirit’.²⁷

How much the Hong Kong Buddhists were sympathetic towards the Japanese cause, whether out of genuine Buddhist goodwill to do good with the most expedient means, or due to the exigent circumstances where personal and Buddhist interests were at stake, will remain a question one cannot fully answer. The fact nonetheless remains that Japan was at the time still waging a bloody war against mainland China, the homeland of most Hong Kong Chinese. The rhetoric of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere was furthermore undermined by the series of drastic measures the Japanese government took, which included repatriation by force and the implementation of military currency and its subsequent devaluation to fund a war largely against China and other Asian neighbours. As a number of Japanese scholars have pointed out, such a religious alliance conceived by the Japanese government was first and foremost, ‘a pawn in an ideological warfare which was a part of Militarist Japan’s scheme to invade China’.²⁸ As a result, Utsuki’s goodwill might not have been sufficient to solicit genuine cooperation from the local Buddhists, that is, against the grim reality the locals had to endure daily. The politically docile outlook of Buddhism, however, might have made such collaboration less intolerable or even favorable, which guaranteed the HKBA’s continued though tenuous existence throughout the occupation period.

Utsuki, who had so far been sympathetic to the cause of the East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, envisioned not only solidarity among fellow Buddhists, but also participated in the government’s effort to build solidarity among all religions, once again following the precedent in mainland China. On 25 February 1943, Utsuki and Hidakawa Tadashi 平江貞 jointly organised a meeting of religious leaders in Hong Kong, on the ninth floor of the Hotel Matsubara (formerly the Gloucester Hotel) on Pedder Street, Central. Besides official representatives from the Japanese government, there were

representatives from the Protestants, Catholics, Hindus, Buddhists, Esoteric Buddhists, Pure Land Buddhists, Sōtō-shū, Rinzai-shū, Shinshū, Nichiren and others.²⁹ Such an interfaith meeting was the first of its kind in Hong Kong.³⁰ In contrast to the Chinese Buddhists, who had so far little and only awkward contacts with foreigners, let alone with those of other religious faiths, Utsuki's interfaith initiative was remarkably progressive, though *prima facie* a political one, doubtless harking back to the liberalism and internationalism in his early career.

The interfaith meeting did not lead to the formation of any interreligious league in Hong Kong, as in the cases of the Central China Religious League (CCRL) in China or the Great East Asian Religion Coalition in Japan.³¹ However, on 27 February 1943, the eighteen protestant churches were united into a single Hong Kong 'Christian' sect under government directive, following most likely the model of the HKBA over six months previously.

As the chairperson of the HKBA, Utsuki initiated a number of reforms within the local Buddhist communities, such as encouraging Buddhist monastics to engage in economic activities beyond the traditional monastic farming.³² Though rarely acknowledged, Utsuki promoted Buddhist education and charity.³³ Under Utsuki's supervision, Venerable Fake, Abbot of both Po Lin Temple and Ching San Monastery established a free school in the latter in 1942.³⁴ In June, 1943, Maofeng, the co-chairperson of the HKBA (by then retitled as a committee member), donated all the private land property belonging to the Dongputuosi temple to the HKBA. Utsuki accepted the land on behalf of the HKBA, with the intention of turning it into an open monastery (not under personal ownership) and a farm in order to increase its 'productivity'.³⁵ A Buddhist free clinic was set up at the initiative of the HKBA in January, 1944.³⁶ To a limited extent, the progress envisioned by Wei'an was realised, constrained by factors such as lukewarm participation of the local Buddhists, scarce resources during wartime Hong Kong, a shift of interest within the Japanese government and sectarian rivalry among the Japanese Buddhists.

While we have only scanty records concerning Utsuki's daily activities in Hong Kong, it appears that neither he nor the fellow priests at the Nishihonganji were actively involved in missionary activities within the local community. Unlike in China, where Japanese missionaries gained a great number of local converts,³⁷ the Japanese Buddhists in Hong Kong had an extremely low profile. The Japanese priests were likely occupied in serving

the local expatriate Japanese community which continued to expand from nearly nil just prior to the occupation into the thousands by 1943.³⁸ In the case of the Nishihonganji, their service included memorial services, funerals, Japanese/Cantonese language classes, kindergarten and even a proper Japanese language school which was later established at 22 Kennedy Road 堅尼地道. Utsuki appeared to have put more efforts in practical matters, in particular, to promote to the local Chinese Buddhists the teachings of his temple, namely Jōdo Shinshū.³⁹



Chan Ching-To ca. 1944 (UNA)

Among Utsuki's close local associates was the local lay Buddhist leader Chan Ching-To 陳靜濤 (1883–1967). Utsuki was said to be a frequent guest at Chan's household during the weekends.⁴⁰ Utsuki, given his connection with government officials, was able and also willing to offer assistance to fellow Buddhists in need as attested in correspondence.⁴¹ In contrast, the relationship between Utsuki and the local monastics might have been somewhat difficult due to the complicated relationship and general incompatibility between Chinese and Japanese Buddhism.⁴² Utsuki, who presented himself as both priest and professor, married (even twice) with children but who occasionally donned monastic garb, must have bewildered the orthodox monks in Hong Kong. Utsuki by the definition of Chinese Buddhism was a lay Buddhist and

his superiority over the local monastics, self-professed or sanctioned by the government, must have been considered a vulgar transgression against the traditional *vinaya* observed by the Chinese monastics. Thus, although the general rise of lay Buddhism was inevitable in Hong Kong as in the rest of

China, the monks who were still largely accepted as the leaders the Buddhist community, were reactionary and unsympathetic.⁴³ It may be also noted that meetings organised by Utsuki were not held in Buddhist temples, but rather in the lay Buddhist centre Tung Lin Kok Yuen.⁴⁴ The premises of the Nishihonganji, transferred later nominally to the HKBA after the war (as outlined below), were run for years by the local lay Buddhists Chan Ching-To and Lam Ling-Chen 林楞真 as a Buddhist free school, and not by any monastic representatives as one might have expected.

Sectarian Activities and Rivalry

Although the Nishihonganji was the first to establish itself and thus remained the most influential Japanese Buddhist group in Hong Kong, other Japanese Buddhist sects soon followed suit. In particular, the Higashihonganji which had also been active in the South China region showed great keenness to establish themselves in Hong Kong. In June 1942, a nineteen-strong Higashihonganji delegation from Guangdong led by the Ōtani priest Fujinami Daien 藤波大圓 paid a visit to the Governor-General Isogai in Hong Kong and donated to the army 'comfort articles' including '400 cattles of laichi, 2000 fans, 2000 food items, 2000 magazines, dolls, toys and cigarettes'.⁴⁵ On the same day, Fujinami expressed the wish to establish a branch of the Higashihonganji temple in Hong Kong and requested approval from the government. From September 1942, Fujinami appeared to have taken the role from Utsuki as the head priest for the various memorial services.⁴⁶ Other Japanese Buddhist sects including the Nichiren Hokkeshū 日蓮法華宗, Nichirenshū Minobusan 日蓮宗身延山 and Sōtōshū 曹洞宗 also saw the opportunity to expand their influences in Hong Kong and by April 1943 all established their overseas branches there.⁴⁷

In September 1942, the Japanese government announced two grandiose construction projects, namely the Shinto Shrine 'Hong Kong Jinja' 香港神社 and the Japanese War Memorial, known to the Japanese as the Chūreitō 忠靈塔.⁴⁸ The latter was conceived as a 49-metre Buddhist stupa on Mt Cameron on Hong Kong Island overseeing the eastern entrance of the Victoria Harbor where the Japanese troops landed in December 1941.⁴⁹ The stupa was conceived to be the greatest in the region with a budget of one million yen and was scheduled to be completed by the anniversary of victory (December 8 1942).⁵⁰ Donations to fund the construction of the stupa were

sought among the Buddhists and among the most enthusiast respondent was the Higashihonganji.⁵¹ In September 1943, another grand construction plan was announced by the newcomer Nichirenshū, who was to construct an Indian-style reliquary-stupa for the 'welfare and prosperity of all countries in Greater East Asia'.⁵²

As different sects of Japanese Buddhism became established throughout Hong Kong, there arose a need to coordinate matters among the Japanese Buddhists, that is, without the involvement of the Chinese Buddhists. With the support of the Department of Education, a new 'Hong Kong Buddhist Society' 香港佛教會 was formed in July 1944.⁵³ Despite the name of the association, its membership was exclusively Japanese and the chairperson was to be selected among the Japanese Buddhist representatives of various temples on a rotational basis. At this point it became clear that the Japanese and Chinese Buddhists had very different interests. It may further be noted that Utsuki was not considered a leader among the Japanese Buddhists of different sects and that a degree of rivalry could be sensed among them as they vied for favours from the government while extending their influences locally.

Meanwhile, the status of the HKAB during much of 1944 until the end of occupation period in August 1945 was uncertain as news coverage on local Chinese Buddhists, or even on local Chinese affairs during this period was scanty.⁵⁴ The establishment of a Japanese 'Hong Kong Buddhist Society' sanctioned by the Japanese government coincided with the government's shift of interest to Japanese affairs as local Chinese affairs had largely stabilised and thus the HKAB's function as liaison between the Japanese government and the Chinese local had been fulfilled. Another reason for the apparent decline of activities of the HKAB is that the local population had dwindled to below 600,000 from nearly 1.6 million in 1941 due to war-associated death and the Japanese military government's repatriation policy.⁵⁵ While some monks returned to the Mainland for various reasons, those who remained experienced great difficulties due to widespread poverty, starvation and the hyperinflation of the military yen. There were some indications to suggest that the HKAB was renamed the Hong Kong Chinese Buddhist Association 香港中華佛教聯合會 to avoid confusion with the Japanese 'Hong Kong Buddhist Society'.⁵⁶ It was not until the end of the occupation that the HKAB was revived through the effort of its former local members such as Fake, Maofeng, Chan and Lam.

End of Occupation, Aftermath and Legacy

On 15 August 1945, Japan announced its unconditional surrender. The former British colonial government quickly resumed control over Hong Kong after Admiral Cecil Harcourt formally accepted the surrender of Japan on 16 September 1945 and all Japanese nationals were subsequently incarcerated. During the interim period, the Nishihonganji continued to perform Buddhist ceremonies, including the O-bon ceremony for local expatriate Japanese on 16 August and a military funeral service on 25 August.⁵⁷ According to the account of the HKBA, Utsuki 'fearing that the property of the Nishihonganji Temple would otherwise be confiscated by the British Government', transferred the property of the Nishihonganji on Wanchai Road to Chan and Lam, who accepted the relevant documents on behalf of the HKBA.⁵⁸ The transference was not immediately recognised by the government.⁵⁹ In a letter dated 12 December 1945, Utsuki while confined in Stanley Fort, acting on behalf of Nishihonganji, put together a formal statement of property transfer of the Nishihonganji temple to the HKBA:

The Executive Committee of the West Hongwanji Temple, 117, Wanchai Road, Hongkong, was formed to handle the affairs of the Temple. The persons shown as tenants of the premises were in fact the trustees for the Temple, though that does not appear on the lease. Of the six joint tenants only two are still alive—Rt Rev. Kozui Ohtani in Japan and Mr Isekichi Seki in Hongkong. Whereas it is now not possible to obtain the signature of the former owing to his being in Japan, a meeting of the present Executive Committee was held at the Stanley Barracks on December 9th, 1945, so as to arrange for the transfer of the premises. The Committee undersigned decided that the said Temple should be made over to the Hongkong Buddhist Association and that all necessary legal steps should be taken by Rev. Nishu Utsuki.

The Crown rent reserved in these premises to be the rent payable for occupation, but that be paid direct to the Crown by the representative of the Hongkong Buddhist Association.

Dated at Stanley Barracks
December 12th, 1945.

Among the names included in the undersigned of the letter are Nishu Utsuki (Representative of West Hongwanji) and five other executive members: Isekichi Seki, Imajiro Maruyama, Umejiro Nakao, Yuhachi Murakami and Ryoji Toyoshi.

After being detained for nearly a year, Utsuki was repatriated to Japan as a civilian on a British warship in 1946 and landed in Uraga Bay, Kanagawa, on 30 July, never to have the chance to return to Hong Kong before his death five years later in 1951. He was summoned by the seniors of his home temple, who allegedly reprimanded him for the unauthorised transference of Nishihonganji property to the HKBA. He was officially relieved of all his overseas duties in August of the same year.⁶⁰ Utsuki was engaged in some translation service before resuming his university position at Ryūkoku University in September 1946. From 1947 to 1951, he was elected the representative of his home village Sangamaki. On 17 July 1951, Utsuki passed away at the age of 57.

Back in Hong Kong, traces of Japanese rule in all spheres of life were quickly eliminated within months as British rule was restored. The four-storeyed former premises of the Nishihonganji, whose ownership to the HKBA was not recognised by the British government until 1963, was meanwhile turned into a Buddhist free school and was operated by Chan and Lam until 1951 with over 200 students.⁶¹ In 1945, a new founding ceremony of the HKBA took place at Tung Lin Kok Yuen and the HKBA was registered with the Hong Kong Government Chinese Affairs Office with Abbot Fake of Po Lin Temple as its founder and first chairperson.⁶² In February 1959, the HKBA was incorporated under the government's Company Ordinance with Fake as its first Director.

In the following decades, the Japanese occupation came to be seen as a hostile and evil regime and Japanese were largely vilified in the local media. Among the abundant memoirs which recalled suffering and local resistance against the Japanese brutality, Buddhist monks were practically all portrayed as victims or heroes, often entailing denial of any collaboration with the Japanese which might have implicated them as *hanjian* 漢奸 or traitors.⁶³ Thus this short-lived episode of collaboration between the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists came by and large to be forgotten within the local Buddhist community.⁶⁴ The memory of Utsuki nonetheless lived on among individual Buddhists, both lay and monastic.

In January 1965, a delegation of Hong Kong monks led by Youtan 優曇 toured Japan to foster relationships between the Chinese and Japanese monastics.⁶⁵ At the Nishihonganji in Kyoto, the delegation was warmly received by its representative Shigetō Kakuryō 重藤廓亮 who, together with Youtan, fondly remembered Utsuki's contribution to the Hong Kong Buddhist community. In a letter to Youtan, Shigetō wrote:⁶⁶

Venerable Youtan and all Venerable Masters, to all of you who come to Japan, I would like to wish the most sublime and boundless well-being of your dharma body. During our reception of your visit, I was most delighted to hear about your accounts of our teacher Utsuki, whose full name was Utsuki Nishū, from Shōtoku Temple, Takatsuki, Osaka. He passed away on 17 July 1951. I was particularly touched to learn about the deep historical ties he had [with the Hong Kong Buddhists]. In the past, our temple Honganji had established a branch in Hong Kong on Wanchai Road. We also operated a cremation ground for Japanese in Happy Valley, next to the racecourse. We had a long history of missionary work in Hong Kong and we pray that we shall have the opportunity to spread the teaching of Honganji in your land in the future...

Utsuki until his death maintained correspondence with a number of lay Hong Kong Buddhists.⁶⁷ Among Utsuki's most frequent and faithful correspondents was Chan, whose letters revealed a deep friendship, trust and mutual admiration between the two.⁶⁸ During Utsuki's latter years when he suffered from gastric cancer, Chan was deeply concerned. Understanding the difficult situation of post-war Japan, Chan continued to send packages of clothes, books, money, cigarettes and foodstuffs including milk powder and even tapioca to Utsuki, who by then had trouble consuming solid food. Utsuki's last letter of thanks to Chan, dated shortly before his demise was unfortunately left unsent.

As a major driving force behind the HKBA, Chan and Lam continued to play an instrumental role in local Buddhist affairs, realising many of the goals such as Buddhist primary and secondary schools, hospitals and charities, envisioned by Utsuki and other local founding members of the HKBA, who were brought together for the first time during the Japanese occupation period, overriding the parochialism typical among Chinese monastics and

the boundary between laity and monastics.⁶⁹ The formation of the HKBA may thus be seen as a legacy of such collaboration that had originated in extraordinary circumstances. Despite the latent factional tendency of the local Buddhist scene as evinced by the formation of the rival Hong Kong Buddhist Sangha Association in 1961, catering exclusively to monastics, the HKBA remains to date a functioning organisation representing local Buddhist interests and exerting various social and political influences on Hong Kong society.

Abbreviations

HDYP	<i>Heung Tao Yat Pao</i> 香島日報 (Chinese)
HKB	<i>Hong Kong Buddhists</i> 香港佛教
HKD	<i>Hong Kong Daily</i> (English)
HKMSLB	<i>Hong Kong Mantra School of Lay Buddhists</i> 香港真言宗居士林
HKYP	<i>Hong Kong Yat Pao</i> 香港日報 (Chinese)
HKNP	<i>Honkon Nippō</i> 香港日報 (Japanese)
JSNH	<i>Jōdō Shinsbū Nishibonganji</i> 淨土真宗西本願寺
NWYP	<i>Nam Wab Yat Pao</i> 南華日報 (Chinese)
UNA	<i>Utsuki Nishū Archive</i>
WKYP	<i>Wab Kiu Yat Pao</i> 華僑日報

Appendix A

Buddhist organisations in ‘Registration announcement’ on 17 June 1942 (HKD 19 June 1942; HKYP 17 June 1942)

Name	Address	Person-in-charge	Language	Membership
Nipponese Buddhist Shinshu Honganji Sect 日本佛教真宗 本派本願寺派	No. 117, Wanchai Road 香港灣仔道一一七號	K. Uzawa 宇津木二秀 ⁷⁰	Nipponese 日語	-
Kui Sze Lum Buddhist Society 真言宗居士林	9, Kwong Ming Terrace, Causeway Bay 香港銅鑼灣大坑光明台九號	張圓明	粵語	1,000 Chinese members
Hongkong Buddhist Society 香港佛教會	Main office at Lin Chi Temple, Tai Yu Shan, branch at 204, Portland Street, Mong Kok 總會香港大嶼山蓮池寺／支會九龍旺角砵蘭街二〇四號	式如	粵語	300 Chinese members 中國人三百

Appendix B.

Postwar premises of HKBA at 117 Wanchai Road.



Appendix C

Utsuki's writing in Hong Kong

'Realizing the Great East Asian Spirit—Living in Faith (1)' (HKNP 1942.10.9)

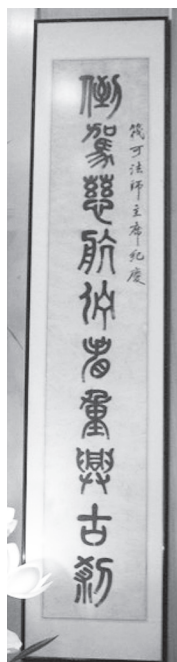
The article was authored under the name Kōhō 香峰, which was Utsuki's style name as seen in his calligraphy seal (Appendix D). The article describes the early missionary activity, as well as the reconnaissance works in Hong Kong of Takata Seikan. The article highlighted Takata's participation and contribution to a local underground anti-British group which gathered at the Taiwo Hospital on Babington Path (near the University of Hong Kong). The author praised Takata's spirit and dedication to the solidarity of Buddhists in Great East Asia and provided further biographical details of Takata which suggests that the

author was personally acquainted with Takata. There appears to be a part two of the article which I cannot yet locate. For the general background of Japanese intelligence and anti-British sabotage prior to the occupation of Hong Kong, see *Honkon Chōsa Sakusen* 香港・長沙作戰, edited by Hōeichō Hōei Kenshūjo 防衛庁防衛研修所戦史室 (東京: 朝雲新聞社, 1971) pp. 15–16. From the Japanese records, the first official intelligence officer was Miyazaki Shigesaburō 宮崎繁三郎, who was stationed in Hong Kong in 1923 and 1924. Hata, Ikuhiko, *Comprehensive Encyclopedia of the Japanese Army and Navy 1868–1945*, second edition (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2005) p. 410.

Appendix D

Seal-script calligraphy by Utsuki (left/centre). Anniversary dedication to Venerable Fake 筏可 (dated 1943?). Now kept in Po Lin Temple 寶蓮寺, Lantau Island. Photo courtesy of K.C. Tang. Utsuki's style name kōhō 香峰 in seal carving (right).

Utsuki's seal on a book cover in UNA, Shōtoku Temple.



Notes

- 1 Although records are scanty, traces of Japanese Buddhism and Buddhists during Hong Kong's early colonial history may be seen from the old tombstones in the Hong Kong Cemetery in Happy Valley as well as the travelogues of early visitors such as Ōtani Kōzui 大谷光瑞. See Chan Cham-yi 陳湛頤 (ed.), *Ribenren fanggang jianwenlu* 日本人訪港見聞錄, 1898-1941 (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 2005) p. 20 ff.
- 2 See Yoshida Kyūich 吉田久一, *Nihon kindai bukkyō-shi kenkyū* 日本近代仏教史研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1959); Judith Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and the Columbian Exposition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003) pp. 115-54; Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, *Xichao you dongfeng: Wanqing minchu sixiang, zongjiao yu xueshu shijiang* 西潮又東風: 晚清民初思想、宗教与学术十讲 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2006). For a discussion of the missionary activities of the two sects of Jōdō Shinshū in Asia, see Dake Mitsuya 嵩満也, 'Senzen-no higashi/nishi-honganji-no ajia kaikyō' 戦前の東・西本願寺のアジア開教, *Journal of the Socio-Cultural Research Institute, Ryukoku University* 国際社会文化研究所紀 8 (2006) pp. 295-300; also Kan Zhenzhong 闞正宗, 'Mingzi shiqi (1873-1912) zhenzhong dagupai zai liang'an de huodong', 明治時期 (1873-1912) 真宗大谷派在兩岸的活動, *Yuanguang foxue xuebao* 圓光佛學學報17 (2011) pp. 99-125. The establishment of the Japanese Tantric school of Hong Kong together with similar overseas centres in Mainland China, Taiwan and Vietnam as part of the 'Tantric revival movement' was described in Serizawa Satoshi 芹澤知広, 'Japanese Esoteric Buddhism in Overseas Chinese Societies' 海外華人社会のなかの日本密教, *Bulletin of Research Institute, Nara University* 総合研究所所報 17:3 (2009) pp. 58-60. It should be noted that this centre consisted of mostly local Chinese converts, unlike the Nishihonganji which served mostly the Japanese expatriates (Appendix A).
- 3 Although known mainly for his missionary works in Korea and southern China, Takata's activities were multifaceted. According to *Nippon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 2001) p. 1100, Takata was a monk from Fukuoka and was known to have supported Sun Yatsen's revolutionary cause together with the Japanese ultranationalist Uchida Ryōhei 内田良平 (1874-1937). His reconnaissance works and underground political involvement in Hong Kong prior to the Japanese occupation were revealed in a newspaper article written most likely by Utsuki, his successor in the Nishihonganji (Appendix C). Takata's missionary activities in Hong Kong and neighboring regions were

widely noted also in: ‘Eikoku-Honkon-to Nishihonganji’ 英国香港と西本願寺, *Chūgai nippō* 中外日報 1902.11.12; ‘Honkon-no bukkyō’ 香港の仏教, *Chūgai nippō* 1905.6.14; ‘Honkon annai’ 香港案内, *Honkon nippōsha* 香港日報社, 1924—all quoted in Kojima Masaru 小島勝, ‘Honkon Nihonjin gakkō-no tōkō to Honkon Honganji’ 香港日本人学校の動向と香港本願寺, *Bukkyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 佛教文化研究所紀要 43 (2004) pp. 42–43.

- 4 Noted in *Honkon annai*, op. cit., quoted also in Kojima, op. cit., p. 43. According to the entry, the temple was under the jurisdiction of Nikka Bukkyōkai 日華仏教会 (Sino-Chinese Buddhist Association) presided by Ōtani Kōzui. Perhaps due to this association, Takata was thought mistakenly to belong to the Ōtani sect.
- 5 Much of the information on the life and works of Utsuki depends on the research done by Yoshinaga Shin’ichi, who was generous enough to share his database on Utsuki. I am thankful also to the family members of Utsuki who shared with me their memory of Utsuki and relevant materials kept in the archive of Shōtokuji in Osaka. The biographical account here replaces the one noted in Bill M. Mak, ‘Theravāda Teachings and Buddhist Meditation Training in Hong Kong’, *International Journal for the Study of Humanistic Buddhism*, 3 (2012) pp. 22, fn. 8, which contained a number of errors. For details of the life of Utsuki, see Yoshinaga Shin’ichi 吉永進一, Nakakawa Mirai 中川未来, Ōsawa Kōji 大澤広嗣, ‘Utsuki Nishu, an international-minded Buddhist, and his age’ 国際派仏教者、宇津木二秀とその時代, *Maitsuru kōgyō kōdo senmon gakkō kiyō* 舞鶴工業高等専門学校紀要 46 (2011) pp. 81–95.
- 6 On the transnational group of Buddhists in Kyoto during the 1910s, see Yoshinaga, Shin’ichi et al., ‘Three Boys on a Great Vehicle’, *Contemporary Buddhism: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 14:1 (2013) pp. 52–65.
- 7 For theosophy in mid/late-Meiji Buddhism, which played a role in Utsuki’s formative period, see Yoshinaga Shin’ichi, ‘Theosophy and Buddhist Reformers in the Middle of the Meiji Period’, *Japanese Religions* 34:2 (2009) pp. 121ff.
- 8 Utsuki Nishu, *Buddha-bhāṣita-amitāyuh-sūtra*, (Kyoto: Publication Bureau of Buddhist Books Hompa Honganji, 1941).
- 9 The Asian Development Buddhist Association was formed in 1940 in Tokyo by leaders of different Japanese Buddhist sects. Its goal was solely political, namely, to coordinate Buddhist efforts in support of the national agenda. See Ōsawa Kōji 大澤広嗣, ‘Religious Engineering and Field Survey by Utsuki Nishū and Kuno Hōryū in French Indochina during World War 2’, 戦時期フランス領インドシナにおける宗教工作, *Tōyō Bunka* 東洋文化 15 (2013) pp. 83–85. By September 1940, the Japanese Army had advanced into northern

- French Indochina ready for a southward advance and the religious studies of Utsuki and others were the basis on which policies toward local religious affairs were developed (Ōsawa, op. cit., p. 107). According to the archive record (UNA #11087), the official expense of the trip was ¥3100. The main contributions from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Asian Development Buddhist Association and his home temple Jōdō Shinshū Honganji-ha were ¥700, ¥900 and ¥1500 respectively (Yoshinaga et al, op. cit., p. 90).
- 10 On 12 March 1941, Utsuki boarded the Ōsaka freighter *Hōraimaru* 蓬萊丸, passed through Keelung 基隆, Amoy 廈門, Swatow 汕頭, and Hong Kong before reaching Hanoi, with a side visit to Canton from Hong Kong. While in Canton, on 23 March, he was asked to conduct a military memorial service by the Japanese army.
 - 11 The original document, 'Report of local preliminary survey on religious works in Indochina' 対仏印宗教思想工作ニ関スル現地基礎調査報告' was dated 1 August, 1941 (Shōwa 16), from [参謀本部第二部] 第八課編: 対仏印宗教思想工作ニ関スル現地基礎調査報告 (1941).
 - 12 On 29 January 1941, Utsuki's essay titled 'The great contribution concerning the Buddhist service of our headquarters and the China Incident' 本山法要並ニ支那事變ニ関シ功劳不少 was distinguished with a special first-class award. A review and analysis of Utsuki's military report may be found in Ōsawa, op. cit., pp. 103–109.
 - 13 On *Tokumubu* 特務部 (Special Service Division) and *Kōain* 興亜院, see Hata, Ikuhiko, *Comprehensive Encyclopedia of the Japanese Army and Navy 1868–1945*, second edition (2005) pp. 402–760. See also, Matsutani Yōsuke 松谷暉介, 'Japan's Religious Policies during its Occupation of China : "Central China Religious League" and related Issues' [in Japanese] 日中戦争期における中国占領地域に対する日本の宗教政策—中支宗教大同連盟をめぐる諸問題. *Social System Study* 社会システム研究 26 (2013) pp. 49–82.
 - 14 Utsuki's curriculum vitae dated 15 November 1949 (UNA #11266).
 - 15 Although the exact date of arrival is uncertain, based on UNA #11266, *ibid.*, his official appointment in Hong Kong lasted four years and seven months, from February 1942 to August 1946. Utsuki's arrival in Hong Kong on a military plane was noted in an interview (9 March 2013) we made with the Utsuki's daughter at the Shōtokujji.
 - 16 For the example of Chinese Buddhists converting to Nishihonganji-ha, see the case of Ho Sui Ting, purportedly Sir Robert Hotung's sister (HKNP 1942.10.11).

- 17 HKNP 1942.8.3.
- 18 As the census of June 1942 indicated, the majority of religious organisations were Christian. For the Chinese population, a syncretic form of local beliefs was predominant, as seen by the 44 temples registered by the Japanese government in July 1943 (WKYP 1943.7.11).
- 19 Matsutani, op. cit., pp. 50–1, 64–5.
- 20 WKYP 1942.8.2. On the early history of Tung Lin Kok Yuen, the lay Buddhist center founded in 1935 by Clara Ho 張蓮覺, eminent Buddhist patroness and wife of the famed Eurasian tycoon Sir Robert Hotung 何東, see Holmes Welch, 'Buddhist Organizations in Hong Kong', *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1961) p. 107.
- 21 The SJBA was later explained or assumed to be a preparation for the HKBA (WKYP 1942.8.24). The reasons for the name change and the association with government officials of the latter cannot be fully accounted for, although this may suggest either a change in policy or conflict of interests among different powers within the Japanese government and Army at different levels.
- 22 While the reason for the change of name was never given, it appears that there was some attempt to enact the government religious policy established by the Special Service Department on 18 November 1938. The policy titled 'Memorandum of religious works in China' 中支宗教工作要領 may be summarised under the following three points: 1. To appeal to public sentiment and to transform it in favor of Japan through various religions in China; 2. With regards to Christianity, in order to remove concepts dependent on Europe and America, one should inject Japanese forces gradually and to replace them with those dependent on Japan; 3. As the individual advance of various religions may have negative repercussions with respect to national policy, the religions should be advanced with control. (Based on declassified document JACAR C04120655800, cited in Matsutani, op. cit., p. 50). *The Chusbi shūkyō daidō renmei* 中支宗教大同連盟 or 'Central China Religious League' (CCRL) was formed in Shanghai in February 1939 under these principles. As Japanese Buddhism had practically no presence in Hong Kong at that time, the HKBA might have been considered more appropriate than the SJBA.
- 23 WKYP 1942.8.25.
- 24 Ibid. The event appeared to be a curious compromise between Chinese and Japanese practices. In the first place, the local Chinese date of the Ullambana Festival was chosen. The choice of the Amitāyuh-sūtra to commemorate the dead Japanese soldiers must have struck the Chinese Buddhists as most unusual.

- 25 Ibid. The executive committee consisted of eleven persons, six Chinese and five Japanese. The constitution of the association consisting of six articles was most likely drafted by Utsuki himself (WKYP 1942.8.24). By June 1943, Maofeng was retitled as committee member instead of co-chairperson of the HKBA.
- 26 WKYP 1942.8.23.
- 27 The Guangzhou-based monk Tiechan (1864–1946) was associated with Wang Jingwei's pro-Japan puppet government in Shanghai and was active in promoting 'peace activities' throughout China in the 30s and the 40s. After the defeat of Japan, Tiechan was tried in June, 1946 and was sentenced to a fifteen year jail-term as a traitor. He passed away in September the same year while still in prison at the age of 81.
- 28 Matsutani, op. cit., p. 70.
- 29 HKYP 1943.2.26. The event was noted also in the diary of the Chinese Pastor Liu Yueheng 劉粵聲 who reported the number of participants to be around fifty (19 Protestants, 19 Buddhists, 5 Catholics, 1 Daoist, 3 Hindus, 2 Muslims and 1 Konkōkyō 金光教 priest). See Li Jinqiang 李金強, 'Liangguang mingmu liuyuesheng jiqi riji—yuesheng shiji 1918–1955 de kanyin' 兩廣名牧劉粵聲及其日記—粵聲事記 1918–1955》的刊印, *Fieldwork and Documents: South China Research Resource Station Newsletter* 田野與文獻：華南研究資料中心通訊 29 (2002) pp. 7–8.
- 30 Li, *ibid.*
- 31 For CCRL, see footnote 20. The Great East Asian Religion Coalition (*Daitōa shūkyō renmei* 大東亞宗教聯盟) was formed in Tokyo on 28 June 1943 under the directive of various Japanese government and military bodies, with representatives from Shinto, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam (WKYP 1943.6.30).
- 32 An article describing the 'new monastic movement' 新僧運動 and 'production within Chan monastery' 禪林生產 appeared in the newspaper on 1942.8.25, just the day following the founding of the HKBA and probably contains Utsuki's ideas. According to one staff member of the TLKY (personal communication), Lam Ling-Chen recalled Utsuki's proposal to the nuns at TLKY to generate extra income by knitting socks.
- 33 UNA #11266. According to Utsuki's own description, he was the founder of a Buddhist clinic and free school in Hong Kong.
- 34 Yu Lingbo 于凌波, 'Fake fashi' 筏可法師, <http://hk.plm.org.cn/gnews/2006729/20067296149.html> (accessed May 3 2012).
- 35 WKYP 1943.6.2.
- 36 HDYP 1944.1.12.

- 37 Ge 2006: 63–66; Chen Xuefeng 陈雪峰, 'Minguo shiqi chaoshan jushi fojiao de xingqi ji zuzhi' 民国时期潮汕居士佛教的兴起及组织, *Sbantou sheke* 汕头社科 3 (2012); Yang Dachun 杨大春, 'Lunriben fojiao de qingguo kaijiao yu zhongguo shehui de dizhi' 论日本佛教的清国开教与中国社会的抵制, *Anhui shifandaxue xuebao (renmin shehui kexue ban)* 安徽师范大学学报(人文社会科学版) 29:3 (2001) pp. 437–43.
- 38 According to the Japanese census, the number of Japanese residents in Hong Kong as of October 1943 was 6,347, together with 842,219 Chinese and 7,322 foreigners (total 855,888). 香港戶數人口調 (昭和十八年十月末, reproduced in Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong, 1941 to 2001, Visions and Revisions* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004) pp. 108–11.
- 39 UNA #10226. In Utsuki's own words, 'with respect to the general public, the understanding of the Chinese Buddhist toward Nishihonganji has not changed a bit'. 一般民衆ことに中華仏教徒の本願寺に対する認識は些かも変わらない。Although as Utsuki himself noted, his colleague Ogasawara Shōshin 小笠原彰真 had thought differently.
- 40 Interview (9 March 2013).
- 41 UNA #10469.
- 42 The concept of *vinaya*-observing monastics had largely dissipated in Japan and been replaced by lay hereditary priesthood, a phenomenon that did not take place and remained unimaginable in China. At the same time, Japanese Buddhists became much more culturally enlightened and cosmopolitan as a result of the education reforms within most Buddhist sects in Japan since the Meiji Period, while Chinese Buddhism largely lagged behind in its medieval setup despite efforts of reformers such as Yang Wenhui and Taixu.
- 43 For discussion on the rise of lay Buddhism in Hong Kong, see Mak 2012, op. cit., pp. 20–24.
- 44 During the occupation period, TLKY was under the supervision of the lay Buddhist Lam Ling-Chen, whose maternal side had Japanese ties. See also a brief biography of Lam in *Xianggang fojiaolianbehui huikan ji chuangli wushi zhounian jinxi jinian tekan* 香港佛教聯合會會刊暨創立五十周年金禧紀念特刊 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Buddhist Association, 1995) p. 141.
- 45 HKYP 1942.6.20, HKNP 1942.6.20.
- 46 HTPY 1942.9.17.
- 47 Headquarter of Hong Kong Occupied Territory Notice No.11 香港占領地總督部公告第十一號, 16 April 1943. HKNP 1943.4.17.
- 48 HKNP 1942.9.9, NWYP 1942.10.17.

- 49 I thank Stephen Davies for pointing out to me that the stupa was to be built not on the top, but on a lower summit to the NW of Mt Cameron.
- 50 HKNP 1942.11.17. WKYP 1943.6.9.
- 51 HKYP 1943.4.21.
- 52 Citing other similar multi-million projects in other Chinese cities, the Nichiren priest Fujii Nittatsu 藤井日達 argued for the importance for such extravagant Buddhist monuments, namely, Manchuria (3.5 million yen) and Nanking (2.5 million yen). WKYP 1943.9.9.
- 53 WKYP 1944.7.25, NWYP 1944.7.25.
- 54 The last mention of the HKBA which I am aware of was the establishment of the HKBA free clinic in January 1944. See note 36.
- 55 Sweeting, op. cit., p. 82.
- 56 Chengzhen in the inaugural issue of *Hong Kong Buddhist*, the official magazine of the HKBA, recognised the Chinese Buddhist Association 中華佛教會 as the predecessor of the new HKBA. Chengzhen 釋澄真, 'Xianggang fojiao dansheng le' 香港佛教誕生了, *Hong Kong Buddhist* 香港佛教 1 (1960) p. 15. While I have not so far located any documented record of this title, a similar title, namely the Hong Kong Chinese Buddhist Association 香港中華佛教聯合會, is noted in Utsuki's calligraphy work dedicated to Fake of Po Lin Temple (Appendix D). This name appeared in a calligraphy by Utsuki, who dedicated the work to the Abbot of Po Lin Monastery on the latter's anniversary (1943?).
- 57 Cheng Po Hung 鄭寶鴻, *Hong Kong during the Japanese Occupation* 香江冷月: 香港的日治時代 (Hong Kong: University Museum and Art Gallery of the University of Hong Kong, 2006) p. 97.
- 58 香港佛教聯合會會刊暨創立五十周年金禧紀念特刊, op. cit., p. 152.
- 59 Ibid. Chan submitted the legal document to a lawyer on 5 September 1945, and put together a nominal rental agreement with the HKBA. The ownership of the property was not recognised until 1963.
- 60 According to the daughter of Utsuki, the case was defended by a fellow Hong Kong expatriate who knew five languages (香港のバイヤーで五国語を話せる人に弁護してもらった) and no subsequent action was known to have been taken. This person is most likely to be Hirakawa Tadashi, with whom Utsuki organised the multi-faith meeting. Hirakawa who had decades of experience living in Hong Kong, was probably the most respected member within the Japanese expatriate community there and was referred often to as senpai in the meeting organised by Kaizōsha held in Hong Kong, 1937.
- 61 香港佛教聯合會會刊暨創立五十周年金禧紀念特刊, op. cit., p. 152.

- 62 According to the official account the HKBA, Utsuki was merely mentioned as the monk from whom the Hong Kong Buddhists received the Higashihonganji property (sic) after Japan's surrender; there is no mention of any former HKBA. (op. cit., pp. 152–3). See also official website of the HKBA: <http://www.hkbuddhist.org> (accessed 15 May, 2014).
- 63 Matsutani, op. cit., pp. 70, 79 fn. 103.
- 64 Anti-Japanese sentiments are noted in the accounts of Abbot Fake and the nun Lijian in Guoqiang 李國強 and Zhang Peixin 張佩新, *Xianggang zai kangri qijian 香港在抗日期間* (Hong Kong: Xianggang wenshi chubanshe 香港文史出版社, 2005) pp. 181–200. In one account, Fake was said to have rejected the offer, most likely Utsuki's, of the position of vice-chairperson of the Chinese Buddhist Association 華南佛教會. Accounts of various monks enduring hardship and protecting Buddhist temples against havoc caused by Japanese were given in Ko Wing-siu 高永霄, 'Xianggang fofjiao yuanliu' 香港佛教源流, *法相學會集刊* 3:6 (1991), web version—<http://www.brightpearlhk.org/ShowNews.asp?newsid=309> (accessed 1 April, 2013).
- 65 Qingdu 清度, 香港佛教僧伽聯合會訪問團訪問日本導遊記, *Buddhism in Hong Kong* 香港佛教62 (1965), pp. 22–3 and 63 (1965) pp. 34–6.
- 66 Letter dated 18 January, 1965. Qingdu, op. cit., p. 35.
- 67 Based on interview on 9 March, 2013, op. cit.
- 68 UNA #10443 (1949.3.11 with Lam's letter dated 1949.3.28), #10470 (1951.3.21), #10471 (1951.3.13), #10473 (1951.4.30).
- 69 香港佛教聯合會會刊暨創立五十周年金禧紀念特刊, op. cit., p. 140.
- 70 Originally 宇澤木二秀. It is not certain whether K. Uzawa was a corruption of N. Utsuki or reference to another priest.