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## THE EMERGENCE OF PSYCHOTHERAPIES IN MODERN JAPAN: A JAYNESIAN INTERPRETATION

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### ABSTRACT

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It is argued that the Jaynes account of 'consciousness' (used with the particular meaning he ascribed to the word) is a useful vehicle for describing and explaining the evolution of psychological theories and treatments. This paper shows that, in spite of cultural differences, the evolution that has taken place in Japan closely resembles that observed in the West. From the perspective adopted, hypnosis may be seen as a remnant of an earlier mentality.

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*Key words:* bicameral brain, Jaynes's theory of consciousness, spirituality, history of Japanese psychology

### THE CULTURALLY ADAPTABLE PSYCHE

In his *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind* (1976), Julian Jaynes argued that before the first millennium BCE people were not conscious. Instead, individuals relied on automatic routines and patterned habit-schemas. When confronted with novel or stressful situations that scripted rituals could not handle, individuals 'heard' directives from gods or ancestors (sometimes they 'saw' their supernatural superiors). This nonconscious, hallucinatory form of decision-making transpired when the right hemisphere (commanding 'divinities') issued 'voice volitions' to the left hemisphere (obeying person) (for elaborations of Jaynes's theorizing see Kuijsten, 2006; McVeigh, forthcoming). Jaynes described this neurocultural arrangement as the bicameral mind, i.e. 'two-chambered' mentality. Beginning sometime in the second millennium BCE, as populations expanded and political economic complexity increased, the bicameral neurocultural paradigm broke down. Eventually a package of cognitive capabilities—that together constitute consciousness—replaced audiovisual hallucinations. This was a socio-cognitive upgrade, not a bio-evolutionary adaptation. Hypnosis, spirit possession, and other anomalous behaviour are vestiges of bicameral neurology.

Much of the criticism aimed at Jaynes's theorizing misses the target because of a serious misunderstanding about how he used the term 'consciousness'. In a section of his book often ignored, Jaynes clearly listed and explained the key features that constitute consciousness. He did not mean thinking, reasoning, perception, learning, or other cognitive processes typically associated with this vague and unhelpful word. For Jaynes, consciousness is a culturally constructed analogue of the real world, linguistically assembled by metaphors. It is the belief that a 'space' exists within the person where we can 'see' an inner, imaginary world which 'allows us to shortcut behavioral processes and arrive at more adequate decisions' (Jaynes, 1976). Given the confusion surrounding 'consciousness', for the sake of clarity I will substitute the word 'interiority'.

A crucial points needs mentioning at the outset: interiorization, as a long-term process, has not ended. In other words, interiority did not erupt on the historical stage three thousand years ago and then remained unchanged. Rather, as an adaptation to social, political, and economic vagaries, it is constantly evolving, in the same way technologies do. For example, from 19th-century industrialization emerged unprecedented economic arrangements and new classes of people (e.g. the 'worker', an interchangeable unit for economic production, and the 'consumer', the autonomous agent of economic liberalism). The individual acquired new significance—the independent citizen became a building block in national state construction and in the arts the individual was associated with an 'inward turn' to a unique, privileged self of the protagonist and as the narrating agent in literature (the modern novel).

In an attempt to understand and deal with these momentous changes, a new science of the mind, Psychology, emerged (I distinguish between the academic discipline of *Psychology*—with a capitalized 'P'—and the *psychological*—with a small 'p'—or what since the late 19th century has been called mind, emotion, perception, cognition, etc.). Eventually, Psychology would branch off in different directions—applications in education, child-rearing, business, government, therapy—in order to deal with an array of social problems caused by industrialization. From a Jaynesian perspective, the scholarly focus on the mind is a practical adaptation to evolving social circumstances (in the same way techno-sciences adjust to cultural changes).

#### EXPLAINING THE EMERGENCE OF PSYCHOTHERAPY IN JAPAN

In this paper I outline the origins of psychotherapy (as an aspect of Psychology) in Japan by applying a Jaynesian perspective. More concretely, I will show how, as in other industrializing societies, new views of the mind developed in response to the pressures of modernity, i.e. an academic attempt to 'scientize', investigate, and measure the mental space within the individual. Though an imaginary mental space existed in premodern times, it was not until the late 19th century that it was considered amenable to experimental investigation. Significantly, Psychology's ascent to a legitimate science followed a very similar trajectory in Japan, illustrating how, despite local cultural inflections, the human psyche has responded to modernity in a familiar manner.

In order to delineate these similarities, I first introduce the socio-externalization/psycho-internalization dynamic by examining several key aspects of interiorization that were enhanced by 19th-century modernization. Second, I treat a key aspect of Jaynesian psychology that interlinks the different parts of this paper: how we use metaphors to conceptualize the mind. Third, I historically contextualize the modernization of Japan's psychotherapeutic tradition. Fourth, I examine how Japan's modernizing view of the psyche dealt with hypnosis, a bicameral vestige. Fifth, I show how Japanese researchers attempted to disentangle the study of mind from mysticism and pseudo-sciences. Finally, I conclude with some observations about how alterations in psyche led to academic Psychology.

## THE SOCIO-EXTERNALIZATION/PSYCHO-INTERNALIZATION DYNAMIC

### *THE INDIVIDUAL, MODERNITY, AND A CHANGE OF MIND IN THE 19TH CENTURY*

Two long-term historical processes need to be explained in order to appreciate how psyche adapts to social changes: socio-externalization and psycho-internalization. The former describes the cultural, political, and economic forces impacting an individual from the 'outside', while psycho-internalization accounts for how the mind changes in response to external forces. Socio-externalization is driven by techno-economics that expand population as well as wealth. Increased resources and scientific advances expand populations, which in turn increase the size and number of social institutions. Consequently, political economic authorities come to see the need to integrate individuals into larger and larger aggregates (e.g. occupational groupings, corporations, state-defined territorial units, citizenship).

This integration can be visualized, to use a metaphor, as wrapping more 'layers' around the individual. This accretion of layers—more social roles, specialized expertise, formal education, regulations, disciplinary practices, etc.—is not just an accumulation of more knowledge or social management. Socio-political wrapping impels psycho-internalization, or psychological adaptation to increasing pressures. Driving the speed of socio-externalization/psycho-internalization dynamics was the global dissemination of modernizing forces. These made the world a smaller place, i.e. advances in communication, transportation, and new sources of power. These dynamics began to pick up pace after the early part of the 16th century, but by the middle of the 19th century they had dramatically accelerated. Psycho-internalization enhances interiority (a sharp focusing of consciousness).

Below I comment on how interiority highlighted other cognitive processes in the 19th century: mental spatialization, introception, self-narratization, individuation, self-reflexivity, self-autonomy, and self-authorization. All these processes accelerated in Japan during the latter part of the century.

### *A NEW VISUALITY: SPATIALIZING THE MIND*

One aspect of interiority in particular—mental spatialization—deserves treatment. Throughout the centuries humankind has had to learn to 'see' in new ways in order to adapt to changing circumstances. For our purposes, such 'seeing' can be understood literally and metaphorically, i.e. 'seeing with the mind's eye'. Mental visualization occurs in a 'place', so spatiality must also be understood, since it delimits the boundaries of what is seen. Indeed, the 'spatialization of psyche'—metaphorically positing a space within the person in which agency and decision-making transpire—is the most elementary feature of interiority. Metaphoric linguistic expressions hollow out the body and internal organs (e.g. heart, stomach, brain) are assigned agency. Spatialization of psyche can be described as 'cavating' a place modelled on the perceptuo-physical world. Within this psychoscape one can experience an introceptive, quasi-sensory world in which dwells an 'I' (self as subject in control; analogous to one's physical person) that can 'observe' one's 'me' (self as object under control). Such processes are called introception in contrast to perception, though a more prosaic expression might be introspection. Strictly speaking, introspection—'seeing within'—is restricted to the 'mind's eye', while introception encompasses all quasi-perception.

Increased attention to introspection during the latter half of the 19th century can be thought of as due to enhanced interiority. Introspection, originally a mere phenomenon in and of itself, would become a means to an end for understanding the psychological. (Introspection has played a strange, ironic role in the history of Psychology: on the one hand, it was central to the very birth of Psychology, as both a method and a target of investigation; however, behaviourists would dismiss its significance in the early 20th century.) Concomitant with introspection was another new way of 'seeing' the psychological: researchers in laboratories would press into service devices borrowed from the natural sciences in order to measure and thereby visualize the 'contents' and workings of psyche. This novel scientific visuality illustrates how psychological experience was altered by Psychology. Introspection of the 19th-century variety and the instrumental measurement of psyche, then, transmuted the premodern 'introcosm' (images in a mysterious soul) into the modern 'introscope' (accounts of the experimentally measurable mind).

### *SELF-NARRATIZATION AND PROGRESS*

The 19th century was when new conceptions of time, which had been developing since at least the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, began to have a real-world impact. For example, consider the history of history. As a discipline history made important strides. The past became something that was objectively recoverable and that extended far into a very distant long-ago that challenged the human imagination. The 'origins' of all things, including humankind, were investigated. Time became not only linearized, but clearly partitioned into past, present, and future. Significantly, as political ideologies promised social re-engineering, a new 'place'—the future—was invented towards which the individual could aspire. In the sciences, transformation, change, and evolutionism became central explanatory concepts, which resonated with theories of social advancement, 'human progress', and social Darwinism.

Changes in notions of time impacted psychological processes by encouraging a hypothetical mind-set, thereby forming a linear temporality leading to future possibilities upon which one's 'I' could move as protagonist, viewing unrealized excerpts and mental sceneries. Once unmoored from the limitations of present circumstances, the 'I' became able to introspect upon not just a panorama of past and present events, but an imaginary psychoscape of 'could be's'. More than any other period, the 19th century became the age of the self-made man [*sic*] who assertively serialized his own advancement.

### *INDIVIDUATION AND SELF-REFLEXIVITY*

It is difficult for people living in the late modern era to accept that in previous centuries individuals were not particularly interested in the 'idiosyncratic inner life' of others (Lyons, 1978). 'Instead of connecting individuality with reflection, contemplation, or the inner world of feelings, it was rather identified with one's effect on the community' (Jansz, 2003). Note that, at least in England during the 17th century, one was most authentic and 'real' when performing and wearing a mask in public—not when expressing or introspecting upon one's self (Richards, 1992). Of course, individual accomplishments and personal characteristics were certainly given attention in times past, but these were not directly connected to the psychological. However, linkages between personal individuality and the elements of interior life came to the fore during the 19th century.

In the same way that the individual's personal traits were highlighted and privileged vis-à-vis larger collectivities, the individual's 'I' was differentiated and set against the backdrop of interiorized excerpts (i.e. edited narratives of one's life), thereby enhancing sentiments of personal uniqueness. Tightly associated with these processes of individuation is self-reflexivity. Difficult to describe, it occurs because the ability to mentally excerpt or 'see' one's self in an interiorized place and to narrate not-yet versions of our future selves generate an 'I' that introspects upon a 'me'. Such self-introspection causes a recursively regressive mirroring effect, i.e. self observing self. This leads to a keenly felt existentialist perspective of a highly individuated selfness that exists in opposition to others and the world.

#### *SELF-AUTONOMY, SELF-AUTHORIZATION, AND POLITICAL ECONOMIC LIBERTIES*

By the 19th century the dreams of classical liberalism (envisioned during the 17th and 18th centuries) began to be realized, at least partially. A focus on and faith in the inner reason of the individual, regardless of social status, began to solidify. That the interior contents of the person were given attention is apparent in social mechanisms designed to articulate such contents: civil self-expression (constitutionalism, basic human rights, and religious tolerance) and political self-representation (extension of the electorate, political parties, and the eventual political inclusion of women and minorities in the 20th century).

The psychological responded to these changes. The sense of immediate control experienced by the self—i.e. of one's own person ('I') over one's behaviour ('me')—was strengthened. This emphasis on self-authorization saw more intentionality and responsibility being attributed to the 'I' (inner person) rather than divine powers, cosmological forces, or communities. Individual narratization would lead to a sense of power over one's self and destiny—self-autonomy—that the political authorities were increasingly expected to accommodate. From an economic perspective, the intensification of interiority has afforded a uniquely personalized 'space' in which a self dwells that expresses its own individuality by pursuing consumerist desires.

#### *'FIGURATIVE' AND 'LITERAL' METAPHORS: THE LANGUAGE OF MENTAL PROCESSES*

In premodern times accounts of the psyche were described using 'literal metaphors', i.e. in many cultures psychological activities were believed to materially transpire in the heart, liver, gall bladder, kidneys, or brain. We moderns, however, do not actually believe mental activities take place in our viscera, though we regularly employ figures of speech—'figurative metaphors'—to describe emotional, intellectual, and volitional acts as if they do (McVeigh, 1996). (Note that while many of us believe that the brain is the seat of the psychological, strictly speaking, mental operations do not spatially occur 'in' our heads, i.e. our neurological system is associated with, but does not contain, the psychological.)

According to Jaynes, all languages use metaphors to describe mental events. And Japanese is no exception. An array of bodily organs is utilized. For example, 'heart' (*shin* or *kokoro*) prefixes well over 200 words that range in meaning from spirit, motive, idea, mentality, feeling, sincerity, sympathy, attention, interest, will, mood. The word for 'Psychology' is *shinrigaku*—literally 'study of the principles of the heart'. Even more ubiquitous than bodily parts is the word *ki*, a vital energy pervading the cosmos as well as the human body. *Ki* has both material and immaterial aspects, and still constitutes the most common metaphor for describing psychological activities and events in Japanese (McVeigh, 1996).

### SEISHIN: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AS SPIRITUAL

The psychological and the religious have been closely associated the world over because both knowledge forms share something of the difficult-to-define, enigmatic, strange, and mysterious. This is why the same idioms used everywhere to describe the mental and the supernatural are etymologically related. Arguably, they both partake of something interior, hidden, not easily discernible, connected to another world that, if not supernatural, is at least somehow quasi-spiritual.

A Japanese word that illustrates this is *seishin*. An etymological analysis of this term reveals two points. First, the modern, scientific, and secular definitions of *seishin* (mind or mental) is built upon its premodern, pre-scientific, and religious meanings (soul or spiritual). The second point concerns a universal process: bodily organs, external natural phenomena, or religious entities are metaphorically pressed into service to represent what we now call mental events. *Seishin* is a compound of *sei* (spirit, ghost, fairy, energy, vitality, purity, refined, polished, hidden, essence, quintessential nature) and *shin* (god, deity, soul) (note that the *shin* in *seishin* is different from the aforementioned *shin* for 'heart'). In Shintō terminology, *shin* denotes 'divine' or 'sacred', and it appears in terms such as *shinpi shugi* (mysticism) and *shinkon* (heart, soul). But note how *shin* also appears in *shinkei*—'*shin* passing through'—meaning 'nerves' or the prefix 'neuro' (e.g. *shinkeigaku*: 'neurology').

*Seishin* illustrated the blurring of science, pseudo-science, and superstition, and here we should note that in late-19th and early-20th century Japan, many emerging religious movements used the same idiom as did science. Similar to the German *Geist*, *seishin* can be translated, depending on the context, as mind, psyche, or spirit. It is used in a wide range of terms denoting the Psychological, mental, medical, religious, or philosophical (see Table 1).

Table 1. Meanings of seishin

Japanese	English	Notes
Seikōjutsu	Spirit communication	
Seishin bunsekigaku	Psychoanalysis	
Seishin butsurigaku	Psychophysics	Early term for 'Psychology'
Seishin byōgaku	Psychiatry	Literally 'pathology of seishin'
Seishin byōingaku	Psychopathology	
Seishin chiriyō	Spiritual therapy	
Seishin igaku	Psychiatry	Literally 'medicine of seishin'; used before 1940s
Seishin kagaku	Mental science	
Seishin kannō	Telepathy	
Seishin ryōhō	Psychotherapy	
Seishin ryōyō	Mental hospital	
Seishinshintai igaku	Psychosomatic medicine	
Seishin shugi	Idealism	
Seishin shugi or Seishinron	Spiritualism	

## THE ORIGINS OF JAPANESE PSYCHOTHERAPIES

*PROTO-PSYCHOTHERAPY IN JAPAN*

As in the Euro-American tradition, mental illness in Japan before the late 19th century was understood as either a supernatural (requiring shamanistic or religious treatment) or a bio-medical phenomenon. The idea that the psychological—something neither strictly spiritual nor physical—could account for mental problems was not as distinctly developed as today. Until the early part of the Meiji period (1868–1912), the 'treatment of mental patients still relied on exorcism and folk cures and was brutal. Atrocities were committed without much thought. Compared to the West, which had previously treated the mentally ill as witches, therapy had not been systemized' (Satō, 1997).

Despite the superstitious folk remedies we typically associate with the pre-scientific era, a cursory look at what might be called Japan's 'proto-psychiatrists' illustrates that even before the late 19th century, a number of Japanese thinkers investigated mental disorders from a surprisingly 'scientific' perspective (see Table 2).

*Table 2.* List of Japanese proto-psychiatrists and their works

Name	Japanese Title	English Title
Kagawa Shūtoku (1683–1755)	IppondōGyōyo Igen	My Extra Medical Commentary (1788)
Tamura Gensen (1737–1809)	Ryōji Sadan	Small Talks on Treatment (1808)
Wada Tōkaku (1744–1803)	Shōsō Zatsuwa	Small Talks by a Window Facing a Japanese Banana Plant (1818–1830)
Nakagami Kinkei (also called Seiseidō, 1744–1833)	Seiseidō Itan	Seiseidō's Commentary on Medicine (1795)
	Seiseidō Chiken	Seiseidō's Cases of Treatment (1804)
Komori Genryō (1781–1843)	Byōin Seigi	Treatise on the Cause of Disease (1827)
Imaizumi Genryū (1797–1874)	Ryōji Yawa	Night Talks on Treatment (1860)
Honma Sōken (1808–72)	Naika Hiroku	Memoir of Internal Medicine (1864)
Tsuchida Ken (dates unknown)	Tenkankyō Keiken-hen	Case Reports of Mental Illness (1806)
Kitamura Ryōtaku (dates unknown)	Tohō-ron	A Treatise on Emetic Treatment (1817)

Source: Hiruta and Beveridge (2002: 147).

Several traits characterize premodern attempts to explain and treat mental illness (as well as accounting for psychological processes in general). In premodern Japan a key concept was the aforementioned *ki*, the vitalistic, ethereal energy infusing and unifying the cosmos, natural processes, the body, and the soul. *Ki* functioned as a master metaphor, tying together different levels of reality. This preference for 'unitary' explanations, in the sense that all psychiatric conditions arise from a single cause, was evident in the 'theory that poison, produced within the body, causes various diseases' (*manbyō ichidoku-ron*) or the 'etiological principle that all disease is caused by stagnant vital energy or *ki*' (*ikki rutai-setsu*). We should note that some believed the brain (*nōzui*) played a role.

Despite its modern-sounding discourse, premodern thinking on mental illness was still rooted in a pre-scientific cosmology, i.e. note the use of metaphors such as spiritual fluid (*rei-eiki*), spiritual energy (*seiki*), divine spirit (*shinki*), and vital spirit (*seiki*). Common treatments included emetics, hydrotherapy, bloodletting, moxibustion, induced sleep, and herbal medicine in order to, in the therapy of Wada Tōkaku (1744–1803), 'move spirit, change vital energy' (*isei henki*). An idiom developed that clearly shows that thinkers took an empirical, medico-physiological approach to mental illness (though some believed in fox possession and other superstitions): *kan* (mental disorders), *ten* (epilepsy), *kyō* (madness), *kyō* (fright disorder), *shinshitsu* (heart–mind disease), *shinkibyō* (hypochondria), *utsushū* (melancholia), and *chigai* (mental retardation and dementia).

The reliance on literal metaphoric thinking ensured that the psyche was not as interiorized as it is today. What we refer to as psychological processes were highly somatized, i.e. they were conceived as concrete, almost visible events. In other words, a psychological realm, more or less clearly segregated from either our physicality or our divine natures, was weakly developed.

#### THE MODERNIZATION OF JAPANESE PSYCHOTHERAPY

Though the history of psychotherapy can be understood as having its roots in medicine—biologically oriented psychiatry and neurophysiology—other developments would shape its trajectory. In particular, it is within the historical context of 19th-century industrialism that the growth of psychotherapy, as broadly defined, must be understood. Arguably, as psychological processes adapted to modernity, some individual psyches, confronting novel political economic demands, buckled under the pressure, and what was called hysteria, neurasthenia, and ambulatory psychoneuroses became noticeably common ailments and caught the attention of various specialists. Eventually, this attention to mental health and its treatment—i.e. clinical Psychology—would spread and become implicated and institutionalized in psychiatric wards, social work, nursing, pastoral counselling, and school guidance. All these developments took place in Japan.

Two individuals did much to modernize the treatment of Japan's mentally ill: Sakaki Hajime (1857–1897) and Kure Shūzō (1865–1932). Sakaki, from Tokyo Imperial University, was dispatched by the Ministry of Education in 1883 to study psychiatry in Germany for four years. He became a student of the German neurologist Karl Friedrich Otto Westphal (1833–1890). When he returned to Japan, he became the first chair of psychiatry at Tokyo Imperial University's School of Medicine (in 1887) and the director of the Tokyo Public Asylum. He accepted the idea that mental illness is biological in origin and hereditary (as did Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Henry Maudsley).

Kure Shūzō, the 'father of Japanese psychiatry' and the 'Japanese Pinel', studied overseas (1897 to 1901) under Emil Kraepelin and Franz Nissl. Kure, who became a professor at Tokyo Imperial University's School of Medicine, was also the director of Sugamo Hospital and instrumental in training a generation of Japanese mental health specialists. Along with the physician Miura Kinnosuke, he established the Japan Neurological Society (Nihon Shinkei Gakkai) in 1902. He also founded the Charity and Cure Society for the Mentally Ill (Seishinbyō-in Jizen Kyūji-kai). Together with Kashida Gorō he researched the conditions of the mentally ill from 1910 to 1916. Their endeavours resulted in *The Situation of Mental Patients Confined in Their Homes and Its Statistical Inspection* (1918). In 1900 the state promulgated the Mental Patients' Custody Act which allowed the confinement of mentally ill patients by a family at home. But Kure was stridently critical of officialdom's attempts to burden families with the care of the mentally ill and argued that psychiatric problems were a public concern (Satō, 1997).

Other legislative landmarks in the social management of the mentally ill began in the early 1870s when exorcism was outlawed. In 1900 and 1919 the Mentally-Ill Patient Confinement and Protection Law (Seishinbyō-sha Kango Hō) and the Mental Illness Asylum Law (Seishinbyō-in Hō), were passed, respectively. By the early 20th century the mentally ill were either sent to psychiatric hospitals, private facilities, or were confined at home in a locked room.

#### VESTIGIAL BICAMERALITY AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ABNORMAL

It needs to be stressed that, for the most part, mainstream research Psychology focused on one mental state—waking consciousness. However, the more specialists, experts, and officialdom attempted to delineate what was psychologically 'normal', the more an entire array of odd and strange behaviours stood out. Meanwhile, some explorers of the psyche had an interest in the 'pathological' and 'transcendent' (Taylor, 2000), and for them, clinical Psychology overlapped with the paranormal—clairvoyance, telepathy, mediums, apparitions, dreams, visions, dissociation, hallucinations, and particularly vivid, though otherwise normal, mental imagery (i.e. introceptive interiority).

Even those with a strict rationalist, materialist, and empirical bent had to acknowledge that numerous psychological activities and events, despite their linkage by some to the supernatural, had to be scientifically confronted. Indeed, as early as 1890, Mōtōra Yūjirō (considered to be the first Japanese psychologist) wrote on issues that fall under the rubric of abnormal Psychology (Satō, 2002).

#### SPIRITUALISM IN JAPAN

Spiritualism and occultism gained in popularity in the late 19th century and spread around the globe. Though beliefs centring on ghosts and shamanism had existed in Japan for centuries, such notions were reinforced at the turn of the 20th century when foreign works on spiritualism began spreading among Japanese thinkers. Many attempted to explain the spiritual via the scientific:

*A mixture of positivism and mysticism opened the curtains on the twentieth century. Spiritualism [shinreigaku], a science that tried to clarify and conduct experimentation on the phenomena of necromancy [kōreijutsu], clairvoyance [tōshi], and spirit photography [nensha; literally 'thought photography'] was attracting interest. For a while, it could be said that spiritualism was the science of the twentieth century. (Mizoguchi, 1997)*

As in other parts of the world, well-regarded intellectuals and researchers were interested in the border area between science and the spiritual, e.g. the Kyoto Imperial University psychiatrist Imamura Shinkichi (1874–1946) pursued studies in parapsychology. Yamakawa Kenjirō who studied physics at Yale University and would become a well-known physicist in his own right as well as a historian, was intrigued by the possibility of psychic phenomena.

Eventually, organizations such as Society for the Study of the Spirit (Seishin Kenkyūkai), Society of the Mind (Nihon Shinsōkai Japan), and Spiritual Science Institute (Seishin Kagakusha), were established. Meanwhile, works that relied heavily on American writings about spiritualism appeared, such as Hirai Kinzō's *The Phenomenon of the Spiritual* (*Shinrei no Genshō*, 1909), Takahashi Gorō's *The Theory of the All-Powerful Spirit* (*Shinrei Bannō-ron*, 1910), and Hirata Motokichi's *The Mystery of Spiritualism* (*Shinrei no Himitsu*, 1912). We should also mention Meiji University's Oguma Toranosuke (1888–1978), who authored *Issues of Spiritual Phenomena* (*Shinrei Genshō no Mondai*, 1916) and *The Science of Spiritual Phenomena* (*Shinrei Genshō no Kagaku*, 1924) (see Hardacre, 1998 for a treatment of Japanese spiritualism in early 20th-century Japan).

A key figure in attempts to merge science with spirituality was the healer Kuwabara Toshirō (1873–1906), who wrote *Spirit Movements* (*Seishin Reiō*, 1910) and founded the Society for the Study of the Spirit (Seishin Kenkyūkai) in 1903 (Yoshinaga, 2007). For Kuwabara, *seishin* was a type of energy that lacked personality, and he believed that hypnotism could release the mind's power and cure disease. As Yoshinaga points out, during the first several decades of the 20th century the power of *seishin* to heal illness gave rise to a number of groups and movements (Yoshinaga, 2007). Another important figure was Asano Wasaburō (1874–1937). A graduate of Tokyo Imperial University and famous as a translator of Shakespeare, he authored *Psychic Research and Its Direction* (*Shinrei Kenkyū to Sono Kishu*, 1934). In 1922 he founded the Society for Scientific Research on Psychic Phenomena (Shinrei Kagaku Kenkyūkai). Here we might note that during the war even Japanese navy officials employed Mizuno Yoshito, who used the pseudo-science of physiognomy to assess candidates for the naval aviation corps.

#### SPIRITUALIZING THE PSYCHOLOGICAL: FUKURAI TOMOKICHI

Originally from Gifu, Fukurai Tomokichi (1869–1952) graduated from Tokyo Imperial University's Philosophy Department in 1899 and then studied under Matora as a graduate student (Hagio, 2001; Satō, 2008). He received his doctorate from the same institution and wrote his dissertation on hypnotism and was interested in hypnosis and abnormal Psychology and clinical Psychology. Fukurai played an important role in introducing William James to Japan and also wrote on education. From 1905 he began lecturing on abnormal Psychology at Tokyo Imperial University and three years later became an associate professor. Eventually, however, he turned his attention to spiritualism and related phenomena, particularly clairvoyance (*tōshi*, 'seeing through' or *senrigan*, 'long-distance eye'). Imamura Shinkichi from Kyoto Imperial University would work together with Fukurai on these topics.

Fukurai began working with the famous clairvoyant Mifune Chizuko (1886–1911), a woman he believed possessed special powers. In 1910 Fukurai performed a series of experiments with Mifune in front of a panel of distinguished scholars from different disciplines. She appeared to be able to read messages written inside envelopes sealed in special lead containers (Matsuyama, 1993; Yokota, 1995; Suzuki, 1997; Satō 2002, 2007; Satō and Satō 2005). In 1911

more experiments were held, though these did not go so well. The disappointing results apparently deeply troubled Mifune. The press took the involved academics to task for pursuing such questionable activities, and Mifune, apparently unable to deal with the negative publicity, committed suicide, as did Nagao Ikuko (1871–1911), another clairvoyant with whom Fukurai had carried out experiments (Nagao's husband would also kill himself). Despite these tragedies and setbacks, Fukurai would later work with other clairvoyants, such as Takahashi Sadako and Mita Kōichi.

Fukurai believed that Nagao could project the contents of her mind onto a dry plate of photographic film. He described this as *nensha* or 'thoughtography' (*nen* means 'sense' or 'feeling' and *sha* 'picture'). In 1913 Fukurai published *Clairvoyance and Thoughtography* (*Tōshi to Nensha*, translated into English in 1931) which was heavily criticized due to its perceived lack of scientifically objective standards. Ten years later Fukurai would publish *Spirit and the Mysterious World* (*Shinrei to Shimpi Sekai*).

Many of Fukurai's colleagues seriously doubted the existence of parapsychological phenomena and concluded that he was not practising genuine science. Consequently, he was ordered to take a leave of absence in 1913 and was eventually forced to resign two years later. He became president of a woman's school and then in 1926 took a position at Kōyasan University, a Buddhist institution. After his retirement in 1940, he continued to pursue his interest in the paranormal.

Fukurai was the most famous Japanese researcher specializing in abnormal Psychology. Given the prominent status of Tokyo Imperial University, Fukurai's departure from the institution had grave consequences for the future development of Japan's clinical and abnormal Psychology. His resignation left a vacuum, and with no one to replace him, the discipline in Japan suffered a serious blow. The upshot was that before 1945 clinical Psychology in Japan became the purview of psychiatrists and non-academic psychologists (Satō, 2002).

#### MORITA AND NAIKAN THERAPY: HARNESSING INTERIORITY

Two psychotherapies indigenous to Japan are Morita and Naikan. Both heavily rely on a keen recognition of the saliency of a certain aspect of interiority: self-reflexivity. The more famous therapy is Morita. This Zen-inspired treatment was developed by Morita Masatake (1874–1938), a psychiatrist who is also credited with recognizing the need for social psychiatry in Japan (Satō, 1997, 2002, 2008; for a recent work in English see Ozawa-de Silva, 2006). Morita attended lectures given by Fukurai Tomokichi and studied under Kure Shūzō. He became an assistant at Tokyo Imperial University, and then worked as a doctor at Sugamo Hospital. Morita would become a professor and chair at Jikei University's School of Medicine and he also worked in Negishi Hospital. Eventually he started to treat those with anxiety-based disorders and published his ideas. Dr Kōra Takehisa continued his work.

Morita, who had suffered from some type of neurosis symptoms from the age of 16, was interested in treating neurasthenia (*shinkeishitsu*), a popular term during Taishō (1912–1926). This was an illness that supposedly appeared during periods of progress in civilized lifestyles, i.e. it can be understood as one type of a 'disease of civilization' (Satō, 2008). Morita's treatment was premised on the importance of *arugamama* ('taking things as they are') and the Buddhist notion of mindfulness, i.e. being fully aware of each moment in order to appreciate its positive potential. Such attitudes help one to obtain self-insight by moving from a feeling-

centred to a purpose-focused perspective, thereby harmonizing one's approach towards life within the cosmos.

Naikan was developed by Yoshimoto Ishin (1916–1988), a follower of the Jōdo Shinshū Buddhist sect (True Sect of the Pure Land), who through ascetic practices realized the power of concentrated self-reflection. Naikan ('introspection') builds upon metaphoric spatialization of psyche since it literally means 'looking inside'. It is a method that acknowledges the therapeutic potential of a focused self-reflexivity, a key feature of interiority that has become more intense in modern times. Yoshimoto introduced his ideas to young criminals, but eventually Naikan spread to different settings. Naikan practice involves a series of self-probing questions in which the patient comes to realize how he or she is embedded in complex social relations, particularly those concerning their mother. It is now employed throughout Japan (and elsewhere) in a variety of settings: mental health counselling, addiction treatment, prisoner rehabilitation, educational settings, and businesses.

#### HYPNOTISM: MYSTICAL PHENOMENON OR HEALING PRACTICE?

Researchers interested in anomalous behaviour had a long menu of mysterious phenomena from which to choose: necromancy (*kōshinjutsu*), *kokkuri* (a form of divinization popular during the Meiji period) (Foster, 2006), dream revelations, prophetic visions (*reimu*), fox possession, and parapsychology (*chō-shinrigaku*, e.g. extrasensory perception and psychokinesis) (Satō and Satō, 2005). Few regarded these as events and experiences that could be objectively investigated. But one phenomenon, due to its ubiquity, stood out: hypnosis.

From a Jaynesian perspective, hypnotism is a vestige of an earlier mentality and can be explained as the temporarily willed interruption of interiority (in particular, self-autonomy and introceptive capabilities). Despite attempts to use the persuasive metaphor of 'sleep' to explain and describe it during the 19th century, it is unrelated to this neurophysiological state (note that Mesmer's earlier imagery of 'animal magnetism' relied on a completely different trope). During hypnosis, one voluntarily abdicates one's assumptions about self-control and suspends belief in the metaphoric interiority encased within the head (trancing). This suspension evaporates the elements of introspectable mind-space; in particular, notions about how an 'I' (active agent) controls a 'me' (passive recipient). The locus of agency temporarily shifts from internal to external control, so that one's 'I' is replaced by an outside controller (hypnotist). That beliefs about self-control can be so easily arrested suggests psychic malleability, i.e. how easily self-authorization (decision-making) can be altered. It also indicates how volition may be thought of as an interiorized version of social interaction between an agent and a recipient (though a hypnotized person is always ultimately in control).

In the first decade of the 20th century Japan experienced a 'hypnosis boom', suggesting that concerns about self-autonomy and self-control were on the rise as the individual became increasingly interiorized. The word coined for hypnotism means 'technique for sleeping' (*saiminjutsu*), indicating how the misleading metaphor of sleep was pressed into service to account for this strange phenomena. Numerous publications appeared about this vestige of bicameral mentality, such as Fukurai Tomokichi's *Outline of the Psychology of Hypnotism* (*Saimin Shinrigaku Gairon*, 1905) and *The Psychology of Hypnotism* (*Saimin Shinrigaku*, 1906). In 1904 the *National Journal of Medicine* (*Kokka Igaku Zasshi*) published a special issue on hypnotism, with contributions by Kure Shūzō. Note that the German physician and physiologist Erwin von

Bälz (1849–1913) treated hysterics with therapies of suggestion at Tokyo Imperial University's School of Medicine. Relevant research groups were also established. These included the Imperial Society for the Study of Hypnotism (Teikoku Saimin Gakkai founded in 1902 by Yamaguchi Minosuke), the Japanese Society for Hypnosis Philosophy (Nihon Saimin Tetsugakkai), and the Japanese Society for the Practice of Hypnotism (Dai-Nihon Saiminjutsu Kyōkai). Additionally, numerous training academies were set up to teach hypnotic methods and therapies.

What we today call hypnosis would over time follow two very different trajectories. The first can be characterized as spiritual and mystical. The second trajectory adopted a more scientific stance that recognized the therapeutic potential of briefly arresting interiority. As elsewhere, the intellectual response to and treatment of hypnotism in Japan illustrates well how the 'abnormal' was bifurcated into the supernatural and the clinical.

### SCIENTIZING THE SOUL

As it attempted to break free from the gravitational pull of physiology, physics, and pedagogy, Psychology also had to resist the pull of powerful religiously tainted speculations that found justification in mysterious powers. Psychology, with its roots in earlier religious traditions, not surprisingly became a 'magnet for cultural anxieties about the hazy borderline between science and pseudoscience, between the natural and the supernatural' (Coon, 2000). For some Psychology was a 'secular theology' (Reed, 1997). The explosive popularity of spiritualism in Europe, the United States, and Japan illustrates this well.

Interestingly, it is crucial to note that Psychology, metaphysics, and paranormal and psychic phenomena were often used interchangeably in the late 19th century. Indeed, Wilhelm Wundt, by most accounts the founder of modern Psychology, probably changed his journal's name, *Psychologische Studien*, to *Philosophische Studien*, because of the aforementioned associations. Many embraced Psychology as the science that could analyse the mind in the same manner that physics, chemistry, astronomy, and physiology explored the natural realm. However, the mystical and mysterious still characterized interiorized conscious experience in a way that seemed to challenge scientific naturalism. As Coon points out, between 1880 and 1920, Psychology battled the pseudo-scientific notions of spiritualism and other psychic phenomena (Coon, 2000).

Nevertheless, a number of prominent individuals, including psychologists, believed that science could objectively answer questions about the afterlife and anomalous behaviour (though eventually the majority of experimental psychologists would distance themselves from what they regarded as superstition: William James, G. S. Hall, James M. Baldwin, Henri Bergson, William McDougall, Christine Ladd-Franklin, George Fullerton, Alfred Russel Wallace, Oliver Joseph Lodge, Gustav Fechner, and Simon Newcomb expressed varying degrees of interest in spiritualism). Spiritualist events became a serious research target. In Japan a positive development from all the attention given to questionable 'scientific research' were contributions that investigated the difference between the real and easily imagined, such as Nogami Toshio's *Descriptions and Superstitions (Jojutsu to Meishin, 1912)*.

### NAKAMURA KOKYŌ AND THE ABNORMAL

An important theorist of the abnormal (*hentai*) was the physician and writer Nakamura Kokyō (1881–1952) (Satō, 2002; Satō, 2008; see also Oda et al. 2001). A graduate of Tokyo Imperial

University, he attended Fukurai Tomokichi's lectures on hypnotism and was acquainted with Kure Shūzō's ideas on therapy. With a younger brother afflicted with mental illness, he had a personal stake in psychiatry and opened up a private psychiatric clinic. Nakamura was a vociferous critic of spiritualism and religious superstition. He established the semi-academic Japan Seishin Medical Society (Nihon Seishin Igakkai) in 1902, edited the semi-academic *Abnormal Psychology* (*Hentai Shinri*, established in 1917) (Oda et al. 2001; Satō, 2002). (Note that *seishin igaku* can mean 'psychiatry'; however, in actual usage a measure of ambiguity surrounded *seishin* and it could be associated with hypnotism, the unconsciousness, or spiritualism. Thus, in order to maintain these connotations, I translate *Seishin Igaku* as 'Seishin Medicine'.) Nakamura wrote about the first case of multiple personality in Japan in 1917, pursued an interest in hypnotism, and helped introduce psychoanalytic theory into Japan, e.g. he translated Jung's *On Psychic Energy* (*Seimeiryoku no Hatten*) in 1931 (see Table 3 for an idea of how he categorized abnormal psychological phenomena). Among Nakamura's works is *Abnormal Psychology* (*Hentai Shinrigaku*, 1919).

Table 3. Various types of abnormal psychological phenomena according to Nakamura Kokyō

Episodic abnormal phenomena (Ichiji-teki hentai genshō)	Chronic abnormal phenomena (Jizoku-teki genshō)
Sleep and dreams (Suimin oyobi yume)	Personality transformation (Jinkaku henkan)
Optical illusions and hallucinations (Sakkaku oyobi genkaku)	Hysteria (Hisuterī)
Sound, colour, and number synaesthesia (Shikichō oyobi kazuzō)	Weak mindedness (Seishin hakujaku)
Hypnosis (Saimin genshō)	Nervous exhaustion (Shinkei suijaku)
Automatisms (Jidō genshō)	Epilepsy (Seishin tenkan)
Spiritualism (Kōshin genshō)	Various mental disorders (Shoshu no seishinbyō-tō)

Source: Satō, 2002: 521. See also Nakamura, 1918.

A few words about the Japan Seishin Medical Society and its publication, *Abnormal Psychology*, are in order. Membership of this society was not limited to doctors and psychologists, and it attracted a variety of speakers, such as Morita Masatake, the founder of Morita Therapy (Satō, 1997). The journal attempted to take a 'scientific' approach to psychotherapy and attacked 'superstitions' and religious groups, particularly the new religion Ōmotokyō and its practice of spirit possession (Hyōdō, 2005). Besides medical specialists and psychologists, so-

cial critics and intellectuals also contributed to *Abnormal Psychology*, which ran articles on criminal Psychology, psychopathology, sex crimes, sex education, and psychic phenomena.

#### CONCLUSION: HOW CHANGES IN PSYCHE PRODUCED ACADEMIC PSYCHOLOGY

I conclude with a few observations. First, what does Japan teach us about the emergence of Psychology and psychotherapeutics as modern knowledge forms? The lesson here is that changes in psychological processes are grounded in external forces (e.g. politics and economics). During the 19th century the 'operations of the individual mind become a delimitable target of investigation' (Richards, 1992) in the industrializing world, of which Japan was a part (though it was a 'late industrializer'). The shadowy, indistinct images seen only with the mind's eye would come to constitute a parallel world, a psychoscape rich in colourful details. Focusing attention on the introcosm was not mere attending to one's thoughts, but a pensive introspection tinted by nuanced self-conscious reflexivity. By the 19th century the introcosm had become a privileged place implicated in jealously guarded individuality, politically protected privacy, and a highly personalized identity. New psychological states and experiences would become the target of the Psychological. Before a non-philosophical experimental Psychology could emerge, religious and biomedical discourses had to be disentangled and a scientifically motivated 'objectification of subjectivity' was required. This freeing of the purely psychological from other intellectual realms also occurred in Japan.

However, Psychology was more than just an adaptation among intellectual pioneers to the pressures of modernity (increasing socio-externalization). It was also more than just an investigation of the mental along secular and scientific lines. *Psychology, in how it revealed the workings of psyche, evidenced a transformation of the very psychological processes it claimed to be exploring.* This change involved enhanced conscious interiority. We routinely and intensively self-reflect in ways that, except for a small circle of the highly literate and the theologically minded, would have been considered an eccentric behaviour several centuries ago, if not downright mad. Compared to our predecessors, we have all become psychologists now. In the same way that the birth of sociology was a scholarly attempt to come to terms with the new fabric of society woven by the industrial revolution (i.e. the erosion of guilds and castes that led to the emergence of class identities), Psychology was an attempt to understand a mentality adapted to new political economic structures.

Another lesson concerns how Psychology has, for the most part, swept vestigial bicamerality—such as hypnosis—under the rug of research. Significantly, the manner in which Japanese Psychology would eventually ostracize anomalous behaviour from the purview of Psychology parallels a similar development of what is acceptable scholarly enquiry in the Euro-American Psychology tradition. Nevertheless, the fact that certain strange phenomena (e.g. hypnosis, shamanism, spirit possession) exist in all cultures offers important clues about the workings of psyche, and Jaynes's theories account for such behaviour.

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