



SOURCEBOOK IN SHINTO

Selected Documents

Stuart D. B. Picken

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To Hongwen, William Daoyuan, and Lynnwen

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GUIDE TO THE ROMANIZATION OF JAPANESE WORDS

The *Chicago Manual of Style* (15th ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) is the basic guide for the English-language format of this text, including the bibliography.

I. Romanization

Romanization follows the Kenkyusha *New-Japanese English Dictionary* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1974), which uses a modification of the Hepburn system. The following exceptions to that system bring the text into line with the Kodansha *Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982).

1. *m* instead of *n* is used before *p*, *b*, or *m*, as in *shimbun*, *kampaku*, and *Kemmu*.
2. *n* is retained where there is need or it is customary to hyphenate a word, such as *Gen-pon* (instead of *Gempon*) or *han-batsu* (instead of *hambatsu*).
3. The final syllable **n** is distinguished with an apostrophe when it precedes a vowel or a *y*, as in **San'in** or **San'yo**.
4. Macrons are used to indicate the long vowels *a*, *u*, and *o*, except for the following:
 - a. The seven place names, **Tokyo**, **Kyoto**, **Osaka**, **Kobe**, **Kyushu**, **Honshu**, and **Hokkaido**

- b. Japanese words that have come into English usage, such as **Shinto, daimyo, and Shogun**
- c. Where established forms of romanization exist, such as **Motoori Norinaga**

II. Japanese Proper Names

1. General names

- a. Italicization is kept to a minimum in order not to become a distraction.
- b. The word *kami* is usually italicized, but the names of Japanese *kami* are not italicized, for example, **Ame-uzume-no-mikoto**. Only the first letter is capitalized.
- c. In the names of the *kami* and in technical expressions, hyphens are included to indicate Chinese characters where such indication would be helpful, such as **Honji-suijaku-setsu**.

2. Personal names

- a. For transliteration of Japanese names, the listings in the U.S. Library of Congress card catalog are the standard of reference. Where no reference exists, the most common form in use is given.
- b. The order of names is family name first and given name second, for example, **Hirata Atsutane**.
- c. Where more than one form is correct or there are simply two or more names, both may be listed, such as **En no Gyoja (also known as En no Shokaku)**.

III. Place names

- 1. Place names are romanized as under I. Romanization, and they are capitalized as in English, such as **Urawa City**.
- 2. English generic terms such as *lake* or *mountain* are capitalized when used as part of a proper name, such as **Mount Fuji** or **Lake Biwa**, but not **Fujisan** or **Biwa-ko**.
- 3. Where including English unnecessarily fragments the Japanese name, the Japanese is retained in full: **Dewa Sanzan, Kumano Junrei**.
- 4. Older place names may be identified by a modern name, for example, **Edo (present-day Tokyo)**.

IV. Dates

- 1. Western dates may be followed by Japanese dating: **1945 (Showa 20)**.
- 2. Solar dates are generally identified for dates before 1873. Western dates listed in Japanese reference works are often approximate or even incorrect. For example, Tokugawa Ieyasu was born in Tenbun

11.12.26; the solar equivalent of that date is January 31, 1543, not 1542, as is often incorrectly stated.

Editor's Note on Different Styles of Romanization

The romanization of Japanese in the passages quoted (with the exception of those I have translated) may appear highly inconsistent. No officially authorized system of romanization of the Japanese language has ever existed similar to the Hanyu Pinyin Zimu Biao system that was created by the Chinese government. The older Hepburn system was widely used by Western scholars until other variants appeared. In actual practice, authors tend to use whichever systems they prefer, and these usually reflect the era in which the authors lived. A name such as Sato, in the system used in this text, would be written with a macron over the *o* (*ō*). In older forms, it can be found as Satow, Satoo, Satou, and Satoh. All of these spellings reflect devices to lengthen the final vowel. Over the years there have also been changes in how Japanese is pronounced, and how it is related to English phonemes. In earlier texts, Mount Fuji was Mount Huji, and Edo, like Ebisu beer, included a *y* at the beginning, hence Yedo and Yebisu. In modern romanized dictionaries of the Japanese language, the letter *l* is conspicuous by its total absence. As editor, I hope that readers will not find too much confusion, but I can only point to the evolution of both romanization and the pronunciation of Japanese since the Meiji period (1868–1912).

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PREFACE

It may seem unnecessary to have both a preface and an introduction to a compendium of source texts. However, I have chosen to separate my own general overview of the experience of writing both *Essentials of Shinto: An Analytical Guide to Principal Teachings* and editing this volume, *Sourcebook in Shinto*, from the general issues pertinent to the sourcebook by itself.

I wish to make three simple points in this preface. First is an observation about one effective way to approach the mind or soul within Japanese culture. I have, perhaps because of inadequate experiences in literary education that date to my school days, like many of the “harder” mind-set, tended to consider poetry as the creation of the effete, the dilettante, or those incapable of rational discursive thought. It was not the work of profound minds. Able and imaginative minds, perhaps, but not profound or articulate ones. I confess, also, that anthologies of modern poetry, like most exhibitions of modern art, touch me even less. Working in the field of Japanese thought, however, has forced me to revise my view of poetry. I must, in all honesty, confess now that the simplicity and the purity of Japanese poetic style has moved me deeply, as it has others before me. Its aesthetic sensibility has opened wide the doors of understanding about the sentiments underlying Shinto. I think that it is not the poetry itself, as a creative, stylized activity, per se, that charms, but the sensitivities expressed therein. I remember being required

to memorize Wordsworth's poem about the daffodils. In one class I was even invited to paint a watercolor about it. It never touched my soul, not by a thousand leagues. But when I first read the *Man'yōshū*, I discovered that Japanese poetry in both written form (Chinese characters that suggest images) and concepts (that link images into meaning) has been the greatest rebuke I have ever experienced to my own shallowness of appreciation. The poetic efforts of Wordsworth to offer descriptions of nature are but the fumbings of an amateur observer as compared to the skills of those who understood the natural from within, who learned when nature was the guide. The Asian mind, particularly because of the characters of the Chinese language, is conceptually equipped to portray aesthetic concepts in a manner that makes most Western languages appear clumsy and grotesque. If I have acquired any intellectual by-product from my study of Shinto, it is an appreciation of the poetic character of the Japanese mind—it is not the elaborate metaphorical style of Chinese poetry and thought, but rather the marshaling of experiences and images to seek the pure and simple within which the richest qualities of life may be expressed.

The second lesson I have learned is that the best approach to Japanese culture in general, and to Shinto in particular, is phenomenological. To comprehend what is Japanese, it is necessary to engage in seeing and experiencing at levels rarely necessary in most cultures, and that certainly have not existed in any other culture I have ever studied. Poetry and art are essential. I think of the contrast with my earlier study of Semitic language and literature as a student of divinity in Scotland. "Hebrew roots take only in dry ground," I remember being told, an epithet that suggested the barren nature of the subject. I think I did come to understand a little the depth of the Hebrew tradition through those studies. My soul was indeed pierced ideologically and spiritually, but in a manner totally different from the aesthetic simplicity of the Japanese love of life and reverence for the natural order.

Finally, I must argue that anyone who claims to understand Japan by any means other than experientially, whether economic, sociological, anthropological, political, or through predetermined theories, is living in world of intellectual make-believe. Without grasping the meaning of concepts such as *oharai*, *mono no aware*, *kunigara*, *kokoro*, and *kansha*, the inner secrets of the culture remain concealed. People who make such claims are describing an invented Japan based on Western models. They are not speaking of the *Ding an sich*—the Japan itself as it really is. Such commentators often claim that Japan is changing, meaning that it is "becoming Western." The counter to this is the truism that the more

things change, the more they remain the same. Much of the surface of Japan is indeed changing. Much of what is fundamental and rudimentary still remains unchanged. It would be sad indeed if a whole civilization were to change merely to meet the requirements of one limited perception of the world. Claims that what moves the world is the overriding power of immanent economic forces over the weight of centuries of culture and thought, while *prima facie* persuasive, have but a brief history. The first signs of a "posteconomic age" have already appeared in the West. Rather than demand that Asia accommodate Western expectations, perhaps the West would benefit by listening to the voices of Asian experience.

There is no doubt that Western civilization, through its technological and scientific advances, has changed the face of the planet. But within the structures of that same Western civilization, anomie, alienation, revolution, and environmental destruction were first felt and seen. It is in the relatively gentler civilizations of Asia that the ancient virtues of humanity and culture, the aesthetic and the ethical, have best been preserved through the practice of social ideals such as harmony and human feeling. In our global village, indeed, our cosmic village of tomorrow, mere academic understanding, especially the species that is dependent upon Western models, must be replaced by authentic existential awareness, the true basis of mutual respect. To that ongoing process of exchange, I sincerely desire that this series, which grew from the greater vision of the late Professor Fu, along with my own modest contribution within it, will be an educational catalyst toward better mutual understanding. A human being comes to know himself or herself better only when he or she seeks truly to comprehend what is wholly other in whatever form is most challenging. For me, the study of Shinto is not only enlightening to the mind, but it is also an enrichment of life. I hope that this study will prove academically useful and existentially relevant to the better understanding of Asia in general and of Japan within that region. I hope also that it awakens some chords of sympathy and appreciation for what the Asian tradition can contribute to the emerging civilization of the twenty-first century.

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INTRODUCTION

In trying to assemble a set of texts that could be justifiably called a sourcebook in Shinto, any prospective editor is faced with the problem not of what to include, but what to leave out. For there is little in the general and cultural writings of Japan that does not pertain, in some way, to Shinto. The architecture and contents of such a book require enormous and careful thought, and the objectives of the text must be constantly borne in mind to maintain focus.

I have attempted to gather a broad selection of materials covering the principal areas of Shinto featured in *Essentials of Shinto*. However, even given that general parameter, what to include and what to omit will always be controversial. There are many minds on this subject, and I know that my own preferences will not please everyone's agenda on Shinto. However, I have examined many models, have been guided by other general sourcebooks on Japanese religions and Japanese culture, and have listened to many points of view. Nevertheless, I made my own selection, one that is very user-conscious. It is intended primarily to help newcomers, such as the undergraduate and the nonspecialist, enter the world of Shinto through the selective reading of significant texts. This does not mean it cannot be used by more advanced students and teachers, whose concerns I also have kept in mind. Therefore I have included some special material for those wishing to go the extra mile in inquiry. The principal of these is the list of ichi-no-miya shrine addresses, which I

consider to be indispensable to anyone trying to gain a general picture of Shinto in contemporary Japan. Those who know Japan are already familiar with the geographical spread and diversity of shrines. For those who rely on sources such as this, as well as those planning to visit Japan, it should prove helpful.

The general plan upon which this sourcebook was constructed is as follows. The order runs roughly parallel to the organization of *Essentials*. The early chapters provide materials from the mythology and history of Shinto. It would have been easier, of course, simply to put all the documents in chronological order, and some scholars might prefer that approach. That approach, like any other, has its limitations. Chronological order can blur distinctions between types of documents and categories of thought, as well as fail to display the relative importance of texts. The mythological materials and the historical documents in Japan, for example, have tended to be government inspired. The *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, in that regard, provide the basic materials of the early period, whereas other documents such as the *Shoku Nihongi*, through to the Allied Directive, chronicle the official status of Shinto in Japanese history. In contrast, shrine texts often take a quite different approach, requiring a great deal of sifting and sympathetic appreciation of context. There is also, among general writings, a large gap between those that seek to chronicle Shinto, either to defend the claims of a cult or to advance the cause of a shrine, and those that attempt to define Shinto or *kami* or to clarify the character of Japanese culture. It is not always possible to make the separation of types of material absolute, and where necessary I have been flexible in categorization. For example, the *Nakatomi Ohbarae* is an official text of the Engi period, but commentaries on it are the works of schools or individual scholars. I judged it more convenient to put these together and therefore elected to include both text and commentaries in chapter 2.

The words of the famous *norito*, the liturgical invocations of the *kami* that form the basis of all Shinto rituals, have little life in their printed form. Unfortunately, the visual and aural, the rituals themselves, the *kagura* (ritual dance), the *misogi* (purification rite), and the many dynamic elements that make up Shinto cannot be included in either a textbook or a sourcebook. Audiovisual materials are highly effective in explaining Shinto. Shinto is very photogenic, in a way that few religions are. My own first book on the subject, *Shinto: Japan's Spiritual Roots*, made that point abundantly clear through illustrations that complemented the text. Shinto proves the truth of the adage that a picture is worth a thousand words. I strongly encourage anyone teaching an introductory course on

Shinto to use good videos of events and rituals to add life to the substance of academic discourse. The transmission of Shinto, after all, has been more in its rituals than in its doctrines; as I quote in the introduction to *Essentials*, it is more about *agenda* than *credenda*, things to be done rather than things to be believed.

I have also included some writings about the New Religions. The *Essentials* text includes much of their teaching, in outline form, and therefore I thought that in this text, commentary and interpretation would be more useful, especially in view of the various controversies surrounding the understanding of them. These might form the basis of useful class discussions.

Finally, I have included some sources on Shinto thought ranging from the classical to the contemporary. I have tried to offer materials that present the ideas of individual thinkers who tried to interpret the meaning of the myths, the Imperial system, the nature of *kami*, and the elusive concept of *kunigara* (national character). I have added to this writings about Shinto from Japanese and non-Japanese scholars, clergy, professors, and practitioners of Shinto. Since the early 1980s, a small but steady stream of Japanese texts has begun to appear, reinterpreting the place Shinto holds within the culture and history of Japan. These continue to appear, and from them I have selected a few of the most influential and well known texts, such as those written by Katayama Nobuo, the High Priest of the Hanazono Jinja in Shinjuku, Tokyo; the late Yamamoto Yukitaka, 96th High Priest of the Tsubaki Grand Shrine, Mie Prefecture; and among the rising generation of academics, Professor Asoya Masahiko of Kokugakuin University. All these individuals have produced writings that raise the issue of Shinto and modern Japan—what it is and where it fits. That old taboos have been set aside and Japanese scholars and thinkers are not afraid to talk openly of Shinto, its traditions, and the culture of Japan is most welcome in view of the self-restraint that people felt imposed upon them by the abuse of State Shinto and after the long years during which the speaking of Shinto was as unpopular as it was unfashionable.

With regard to the actual selection of texts, I kept in mind four categories into which materials had to fit in order to be appropriate for selection. These categories do not correspond to the chapters but influenced the choice of all the items in each chapter. All materials had to fulfill the requirements of one or more categories. Category one was, of course, the standard texts without which the study could not be undertaken. The most important of these are represented, although that list could be infinite. I confined myself to classic texts, and I tried to balance the more

political classics with the poetic and popular ones in order to present personal sentiments alongside the officially sanctioned perceptions.

The basis for category two was the fact that the older and often valuable English-language texts (and some translations from Japanese) are becoming harder to find. When libraries have only single copies of these texts, if even that, these works become in effect inaccessible to large classes of students working through the ideas of Shinto. I picked useful or relevant passages for purposes of both preservation and illumination from important authors.

Category three consisted of selections from Japanese texts that are not widely translated or available but bring the reader as close as possible to the spirit of the Japanese view of Shinto. Selecting such passages, however, is more easily said than done. I have worked through many texts over the years, and I have read and assessed many translations of literature, *norito* (ritual invocations), and expositions of Shinto. The translations of many texts conceal as much as they reveal. This is not because of poor translation. It is because the English language cannot carry the connotations and suggestiveness (some might choose to say vagueness) of the original Japanese. I felt there was little point in filling the book with translations that would elicit criticism from those who disagreed with the manner of rendering or that might even mislead the reader into drawing dubious parallels with Western religion. Consequently, I selected short, important passages that included concepts and terms that demonstrate some conceptual continuity within the history of Japanese thought. This resulted in my frequently taking the view that paraphrasing is better than literal translation. Word-for-word equivalents do not exist in English for Shinto terms. *Kami* is not god in the Western sense, *yakubarai* is not exorcism in the Western sense, nor is *tsumi* the same as sin (see *Essentials*, chapter 10). In this connection, I would also add that where no sources are cited, the translations are mine, undertaken in accordance with the principles just described.

Categorization was again difficult, but I elected to include important documents authored by individuals who were working within the conceptual framework of a period or school under the category of Shinto thought. The unsigned documents I listed among the classic texts, along with important poetic materials. I added other sundry texts, relating to ordinances governing *kami* worship and liturgical materials, where I thought they fitted best.

I tried to keep the rendering of terms like *kokoro* (heart), *kami* (rendered as god only if a source in English so translated it), *makoto* (sincerity), and *kami-yo* (age of the *kami*), among others, consistent

throughout so that the stream of thought and its development becomes more apparent as the reader moves through the extracts. Although the individual writers may have their differences, I wished to convey the sense of the movement of thought over different periods of time to show an inner logic of development in the use and definition of concepts and in the goals being pursued.

The final category consists of materials that are unusual but potentially useful. The appendixes fall into this category. I have defended the inclusion of the addresses of shrines in the introduction to appendix II along with an explanation about its use. The *misogi* ritual also falls into this category because it demonstrates something that is close to the generic roots of Shinto in the most ancient parts of the mythology, and it is still regularly performed at many shrines. As noted in the Wei dynasty records of China, the Japanese have practiced purification for a long time, and Chinese observers identified it as one of Japan's distinguishing cultural features. The sense of need for and consequent purification of Izanagi-no-mikoto in the river Tachibana remains an archetypal paradigm of the culture.

The list of Imperial incumbents may also seem strange. It is essential, however, to see it to understand how the Japanese spoke of themselves as the *kami-no-kuni*, the land of the *kami* ruled over by a succession of emperors from past ages. The Chinese commemorate dynasties because their history has been dialectical, marked by revolutionary change from era to era. The dynasties have included Mongol and Manchu as well as Han. Of course, the vast continental scale of the nation readily explains this revolutionary change from era to era, as it does the complex dynastic wars in Europe and the abrogation of sacral kingship in the United States of America. Perhaps it is partly because of Japan's island character, but Japanese civilization, in its roots, still espouses the values of sacral kingship, where the Heavenly Son is the great High Priest of his people as well as the constitutional symbolic head of state. The Celestial Sons of China ruled as bearers of the Mandate of Heaven. The monarchs of Europe ruled, crowned with the wreaths of victory on their heads. The Japanese Heavenly Son merely ascends to the Chrysanthemum Throne as the result of his descent. Except in the early period, Japanese Tennō seldom ruled. They reigned only as models of the ideal and as links between past and future. These comments, incidentally, do not comprise a critical or comparative theory of sovereignty. I am simply trying to point out one vital dimension of the way in which the Japanese system functions. It is important in Japan to appreciate the importance of lineage. Emperor Heisei is the 124th Emperor. The High Priest of the Izumo

Taisha is the 95th. The present High Priest of the Tsubaki Grand Shrine is the 97th. Iemoto (the head person of a school) in flower arrangement, Kabuki, Kagura, and any important cultural fields have a number. Counting the generations is important in Japan, and that importance is also deeply ingrained in the cultural mind, from corporations to colleges. It is simply a feature of Japan and Shinto that students should keep in mind, and to that end, I felt that a list of shrines that represent Japan's oldest and primal institution should be included. It is quite different from the Western approach to religion and must be accepted as such. Perhaps a few passages from Tocqueville would strengthen the arguments for considering this to be important.

One final note: Although Shinto extends from the folk level to the Imperial level, I have not at all touched on the folk level. I have not taken up the subject of *bokusen* (divination), for example, which is important in all aspects of Shinto, even Imperial Shinto, where tortoise shells are still used in the Chinese style to determine propitious directions, dates, and destinations. That itself could be a separate book, as could many other aspects of folk religion and local customs that belong in other works. From my experience in teaching, I have looked back over the years at texts I used in class, texts that students found helpful, texts that enabled us to discuss different subjects meaningfully and in an informed way, and texts that bring some fresh perspectives to bear on the general topic of Shinto and its place in Japanese culture. I am sure my selections will not satisfy everyone, but I hope that they, along with *Essentials*, help to fill a gap and raise Shinto from the obscurity fostered by its inaccessibility and make it more transparent. As anyone reading this introduction will realize, I consider Shinto to be, all things considered, and as a configuration within Japanese culture, alive and well in Japan, a dynamic and energetic part of Japanese culture and still very much the spiritual root of the Japanese people.

I have many acknowledgements to make, especially to the late Professor Charles Fu for providing me the opportunity to engage in this project, and to his successor, Dr. Frank Hoffman, for continued encouragement. I am deeply indebted to the staff of Greenwood Press, especially Alicia Merrit (although she is no longer at Greenwood) for consistent support and assistance, as well as Suzanne Staszak Silva and Lynn Wilson for driving the project to the finishing line, and various staff members at the editing and production stages for painstakingly helping me to check and correct details that I otherwise would have missed. The staff at Greenwood were remarkable in both dedication and patience, and I am grateful to them beyond words. To the many people around

me who assisted with typing and in other ways, I am deeply indebted. My former assistant at International Christian University, Kinoshita Michiyo, helped in numerous ways throughout the project. I must also express my thanks to the publishers who permitted me to reproduce and adapt their materials and to individuals for permission to include their writings. It may hardly be diplomatic to say so, but there were several other sources I would have gladly included were it not for unreasonably high demands by a number of publishers for permissions fees. Some of these I considered quite outrageous. Critics of the contents should please bear this in mind! Had those with the publishing rights for certain older texts permitted extracts to be included, interest in these texts might have been stimulated. However, I was forced to abandon my proposed use because of budgetary constraints. Disappointing, but a fact. I would also like to make reference to the many shrines and priests who allowed me to make use of so many valuable materials. In that sense, this work is as much theirs as it is mine. To one and all, I bow my head in grateful appreciation.

It has been a wonderful experience for me to take part in the production of part of a series so significant and valuable for a better and more sympathetic understanding of Asia in general and Japan in particular. Writing about a favorite subject is always enjoyable, but to do so at length is a privilege indeed. To be part of a larger project is an even greater honor, and I have been all the while mindful of my responsibilities in this regard. I know there are those with whom I should have taken counsel more frequently. The constraints of time made this impossible. The problem also exists of reconciling different perspectives from different individuals in a sensitive manner. Consequently, I often simply made my own decisions in order to keep the work moving ahead. On the other hand, I can say with justification that the distilled discussions and experiences of more than 30 years lie in the background. The silent recollections of these years often came to my aid when I was reflecting and deciding on what to select or say, and how to say it. To these memories, I also owe a debt of gratitude, as I do to the people and places that helped to create them. This has been a kind of pilgrimage for me, a journey through the world of Shinto and a refreshing revisitiation of the conceptual geography of Japan. If something of the unique features of its landscape becomes visible through the mist of words, then the primary goals of these two texts will have been achieved.

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Chapter 1

MYTHOLOGY AND CLASSIC LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION: MYTHOLOGY AND CLASSIC TEXTS

This chapter contains some of the oldest known surviving texts that give us information about Shinto. The two original and most complete accounts of the mythology and early history of Japan are the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters, 702) and the *Nihongi* (The Chronicles of Japan, 712). These texts are the work of nameless seventh- and eighth-century documentalists who were very much concerned with expounding the divine origins and ancestry of the imperial household and the evolution of Japanese society from its beginnings in the *kamiyo*, the age of the *kami*. The style of writing is heavily overlaid with the ornate forms of classical Chinese, not simply making translation difficult, but making even more difficult the task of distinguishing the “Japanese” essence from the Chinese externals. The two extracts selected give an account of the birth of the Japanese archipelago through the work of Izanagi and Izanami-no-mikoto and the descent of Ninigi-no-mikoto, grandfather of the first emperor. To make the reading of these extracts more intelligible, I have included a passage from H. Byron Earhart’s discussion of the mythology as a preface. His balanced comments about the way in which Shinto ideas and concepts came to be formed provides an excellent preface to the narratives and to the entire chapter. Subsequent sections contain varied materials, including ritual songs from the classic period as well as

poetry. The *Man'yōshū*, for which I have written a separate introduction, in my view, and in the view of many scholars of Japanese literature, captures with more spontaneity and feeling the sentiments of the ancient Japanese, and de facto the mood of ancient Shinto.

Additional texts fill out the early period, chosen on account of their varied contents. There is very little formal history recorded until Empress Suiko is documented, and thereafter, records were kept more carefully. These texts include some historical materials produced by imperial command or by unknown authors trying to defend the imperial institution or a particular view of it. It is significant how central that institution is within the early writings that deal with *kami* and the state. The *Man'yōshū* is the earliest anthology of poetic materials, reflecting the Nara period and before. The *Shin Koku Waka Shū* is the eighth and final anthology produced by imperial command, being completed finally in 1205. Scholars of Japanese literature normally make the point that while the *Man'yōshū* is simple and relatively unsophisticated by comparison with poetry of later days, the *Shin Koku Waka Shū* contains poems that are highly cultured, extremely graceful, and rich in both subtlety of ideas and religious sentiment. While they belong to a later period, perhaps more baroque than earlier days, they embody religious feelings of the time. In chapter 6 on Shinto thought, the discussions of the sentiments of the early and later ages, through the medium of poetry, become a major issue in determining the character of what is Japanese and how *kunigara*, national character, should be defined.

Herein is one of the most interesting paradoxes of the early period, one that is illuminating for later ages. The custom of writing poetry was learned from China, as was much of Japan's early material culture. The custom of emperors composing poetry still continues, and to mark each New Year, there is an imperial poetry reading for which the emperor and empress compose poems. I have therefore included in chapter 1 a selection of imperial poems from different periods to illustrate the point. However, in spite of the long period of Chinese influence upon language and thought, the underlying sentiments and concepts that they cultivate express Japanese feelings. It was these sentiments that scholars of later ages tried to release and define in their search for what was the essence of Japanese culture. I refer in particular to the *Kokugakusha* scholars of the Edo period. They worked their way through imperial edicts, poetry, and the mythology in search of the elusive "pure" Japan and found it in simplicity and in ritual purity, in a manner somewhat similar to that in which Wordsworth rejected the conventional complex poetry of his day

for the simplicity of natural sentiment, taking nature and its seasons as his subject.

The writing of poetry suggests a culture that likes to capture the spirit of the moment in an empirical form. Japanese literature, especially its poetry, is not so much food for thought as banquet of experience. As I have stated already, I take the ritual purification of Izanagi in the Tachibana River as a very significant generic, and indeed paradigmatic, act of Japanese culture out of which emerged the resultant centrality of the concepts of brightness and purity. Perhaps as a prelude to the study of Japanese poetry as well as to the study of Shinto, the experience of purification in a river or under a waterfall might help to generate some of these feelings.

EARHART ON *KAMI* AND MYTHOLOGY

Text: H. Byron Earhart, *Japanese Religion: Unity and Diversity* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1974), pp. 17–18.

The Formation of Shinto

The Meaning of Shinto in Japanese Religious History

Shinto constitutes a unique contribution of Japan to the history of religions. It arose out of the prehistoric religious practices of the Japanese islands and tended to preserve these practices within modified forms. To a great extent the religious life within Shinto represents a continuity of ancient customs, and therefore enjoys a reputation of long historic association with the Japanese nation. However, it would be a mistake to see Shinto simply as the indigenous and national religion of Japan. A historical tracing of Shinto demonstrates that both its organization and also much of its content owe a great deal to Chinese and Buddhist influence. The blending of Japanese and foreign religious elements into one great national tradition is the distinctive contribution of Shinto.

Shinto forms the next subject for discussion because, historically viewed, it is the channel through which many of the earlier Japanese religious forms were handed down and preserved. However, in discussing Shinto at this point we must realize that we are making a chronological jump past the stimulus provided by the entrance of Buddhism. The time span and complex character of the emergence of Shinto can be appreciated just by looking at the word “Shinto.”

For long centuries the religious traditions and practices within the Japanese islands were loosely gathered around separate clans, with no central organization, without even a common name. Gradually the imperial clan and its traditions came to be considered supreme over all the clans, but still there was no name given to the larger or smaller traditions. Not until Buddhism and advanced Chi-

nese culture entered Japan (about mid-sixth century) was there any need to distinguish the old traditional practices from any contrasting cult. Then, because Buddhism called itself the "way of the Buddha" (Butsudo), the traditional religion set itself apart by the counterpart term Shinto, the "way of the *Kami*." The two Chinese characters forming the term Shinto originated in an earlier Chinese term (pronounced *shentao*), but in Japanese it is traditionally understood in the Japanese pronunciation of *kami no michi*, "way of the *kami*." The intention of these words is to indicate the "way of the *Japanese* divinities," even though we recognize various foreign influences upon Shinto as an organized religion.

Mythological Materials and Formative Shinto

A major difficulty in comprehending the formation of Shinto is that as soon as we pass from prehistory, Chinese cultural influence is already evident. In fact, foreign influence is most conspicuous in the written documents because the Japanese had no written language prior to the influx of the Chinese script. The first written records in Japan are the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* (the latter is known in the West as the *Nihongi*), chronicles compiled on court order and completed in 712 and 720 A.D., respectively. These earliest Japanese documents, as mixtures of cosmology, mythology, and chronicle, are the context in which the earliest forms of Shinto are recorded. Thus, there is good reason to begin an investigation of the formation of Shinto with these two writings.

Although the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* have often been considered as the watershed of myth from which all later Japanese religion (particularly Shinto) is derived, this general notion is inadequate at two points. In the first place, these scriptures reflect a combination of conscious political and religious motives for unifying Japan at that time. They were compiled by the court elite and did not necessarily constitute the faith of the country at large. In the second place, there is probably no such thing as a foundational myth in the history of Japanese religion. For the Japanese there is neither one sacred myth nor one set of sacred scriptures. Of course, within a primitive tribe there is a common myth which defines the worldview or the emergence of reality. In the so-called higher cultures, such as India, there is a similar function which sacred scriptures like the Vedas have; for the Vedas blend with indigenous Indian motifs to provide the religious base on which later scriptures, commentaries, epics, and even popular dramas are based. However, in Japan there is no common myth or body of religious scripture which pervades the whole religious scene. It is not a question of foreign influence, because almost all myths and scriptures are already synthetic statements; it is simply a fact that the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* were never that popular.

These reservations concerning the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* have been made, not to minimize their importance for Japanese religious history, but rather to set them in the proper perspective so that we may better understand them. Now perhaps we can see more clearly the complex character of these ancient writings and their relevance for comprehending the formation of Shinto. For example, the opening passage of the *Nihongi* is a story of creation which is not Japanese,

but a borrowing from a Chinese version of creation (in terms of the Chinese bipolarity of *yin* and *yang*—female and male). It appears that the Japanese writers sought prestige for their own traditions by prefacing them with a Chinese form of cosmology. Throughout Japanese history there has been a mixture of reverence and respect for the cultural tradition of China, to a much greater degree than Europeans glorify their cultural roots in the Greco-Roman tradition. From this point—the beginning of recorded history in Japan—all things Chinese tended to hold an exalted status in Japanese eyes. Even the notion of possessing a history or tradition and recording it in written form seems to have been borrowed from China. It is important to recognize that the first Japanese books begin with a Chinese note, and that Chinese elements are sprinkled throughout.

The Chinese cosmological element merely sets the stage for introducing the unorganized Japanese traditions. The Chinese contribution is the notion that the cosmos emerged out of “a chaotic mass like an egg,” which then separated into heaven (male) and earth (female). This preface serves as a general explanation for the origin of the world and all the divinities. The first two chapters of these writings, entitled “The Age of the Gods,” give a patchwork picture of various traditions concerning the generations of gods and founding of the Japanese islands. In this mythical period seven generations of divinities or *kami* culminated in the marriage of Izanagi (a male *kami*) and Izanami (a female *kami*). They brought about the appearance of the Japanese islands by thrusting the “jewel-spear of Heaven” from the bridge of heaven into the briny waters below. Then they descended to the land which had appeared, and produced other *kami* as well as other features of the universe.

One major theme of the mythology is the descent of the so-called Sun Goddess Amaterasu from this couple, because from Amaterasu comes the imperial line of Japan. Actually, this is only one of a number of themes or cycles which have been blended together into a combination mythology and chronology. In general the other themes have been subordinated to the tradition of an imperial line which descended from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. One purpose of the two chapters called “The Age of the Gods” is to justify the divine origin of the emperors and empresses whose reigns are recorded in the remainder of the book. As a matter of fact, these chronologies were written down on command of the imperial court. According to one tradition, a person who had memorized all the ancient traditions and genealogies recited these for transcribers (who wrote them down by using Chinese characters). Nevertheless, the records both in their intention and content favor the traditions surrounding the imperial line.

We noted earlier that in ancient Japan there were many clans independent of each other in their religious and political leadership. Probably the imperial line represents the clan (*uji*) which became dominant over the other clans, subsequently unifying the country both politically and religiously. To unify the religion in pre-Buddhist times apparently meant to orient all the competing traditions around the tradition of the ruling clan. After the entrance of Buddhism and advanced Chinese culture, this composite tradition was spiced with Chinese elements for prestige, and written down for the first time.

The *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* are very important in understanding Japanese religion and the formation of Shinto. These works illustrate two all-important religious notions: first, the divine (or semi-divine) descent of Japan and her people, and, second, the proliferation of *kami* intimately related to the land and her people. For example, even in these early records we can recognize the characteristic Japanese love of nature as a combination of religious and aesthetic emotion. These themes are not limited to the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*; rather, they persisted in the life of the people from prehistoric times onward. "Shinto" is the name applied to the organized religion which attempted to unify and perpetuate these and similar themes.

THE NARRATIVE OF IZANAGI AND IZANAMI IN THE *NIHONGI*

The complementary story of the origins of the Japanese archipelago, which precedes the incident of the divine descent, tells of how Izanagi and Izanami meet, procreate, and produce the islands. The narrative continues with the death of Izanami while giving birth to the *kami* of fire and of Izanagi's pursuit of her to the Yomi-no-kuni, the land of pollution. He is driven from there and escapes beyond a great rock, and afterward he purifies himself in the River Tachibana, thereby performing the first recorded act of *misogi*, a concept that, in its various practiced forms, I have claimed is paradigmatic to Shinto and distinctive to Japanese culture.

Text: W. G. Aston, trans., *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (London: Longman and Green, 1905; Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972), pp. 1–40. Page references are to the 1972 edition.

(I.1) Of old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the In and Yo not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs.

The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth.

The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty.

Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently.

Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them.

Hence it is said that when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water.

At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was

in form like a reed-shoot. Now this became transformed into a God, and was called Kuni-toko-tachi no Mikoto.

(I.2) Next there was Kuni-no-sa-tsuchi no Mikoto, and next Toyo-kumu-nu no Mikoto, in all three deities. These were pure males spontaneously, developed by the operation of the principle of Heaven.

In one writing it is said:—"When Heaven and Earth began, a thing existed in the midst of the Void. Its shape may not be described. Within it a Deity was spontaneously produced, whose name was Kuni-tachi no Mikoto, also called Kuni-toko-tachi no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto, also called Kuni no sa-tachi no Mikoto. Next there was Toyo-kuni-nushi no Mikoto, also called Toyo-kumu-nu no Mikoto, Toyo-ka-fushi-no no Mikoto, Uki-fu-no-toyo-kahi no Mikoto, Toyo-kuni-no no Mikoto, Toyo-kuhi-no no Mikoto, Ha-ko-kuni-no no Mikoto, or Mi-no no Mikoto, Ha-ko-kuni-no no Mikoto, or Mi-no no Mikoto.

In one writing it is said:—"Of old, when the land was young and the earth young, it floated about, as it were floating oil. At this time a thing was produced within the land, in shape like a reed-shoot when it sprouts forth. From this there was a Deity developed, whose name was Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji no Mikoto. Next there was Kuni no tokotachi no Mikoto, and next Kuni no sa-tsuchi no Mikoto.

(I.3) In one writing it is said:—"When Heaven and Earth began, a thing was produced in the midst of the Void, which resembled a reed-shoot. This became changed into a God, who was called Ama no toko-tachi no Mikoto. There was next Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-ji no Mikoto." It is further stated:—"There was a thing produced in the midst of the Void like floating oil, from which a God was developed, called Kuni toko-tachi no Mikoto."

The next Deities who came into being were Uhiji-ni no Mikoto and Suhiji-ni no Mikoto, also called Uhiji-ne no Mikoto and Suhiji-ne no Mikoto.

The next Deities which came into being were Oho-to nochi no Mikoto and Oho-to mahe no Mikoto.

One authority says Oho-to-no he no Mikoto, otherwise called Oho-ma-hiko no Mikoto and Oho-to-ma-hime no Mikoto. Another says Oho-tomu-chi no Mikoto and Oho-tomu-he no Mikoto.

The next Gods which came into being were Omo-taru no Mikoto and Kashiko-ne no Mikoto, also Aya-kashiko-ne no Mikoto, Imi kashikomi no Mikoto, or Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto, or Aya-kashiki no Mikoto.

The next Deities which came into being were Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto.

One writing says:—"These two Deities were the Children of Awo-kashiki-ne no Mikoto."

One writing says:—"Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto produced Ame kagami no Mikoto, Ame kagami no Mikoto produced Ame yorodzu no Mikoto, Ame yorodzu no Mikoto produced Aha-nagi no Mikoto, and Aha-nagi no Mikoto produced Izanagi no Mikoto."

These make eight Deities in all. Being formed by the mutual action of the Heavenly and Earthly principles, they were made male and female. From Kuni no toko-tachi no Mikoto to Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto are called the seven generations of the age of the Gods.

(I.5) Thereupon they thrust down the jewel-spear of Heaven, and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine which dripped from the point of the spear coagulated and became an island which received the name of Ono-goro-jima.

The two Deities thereupon descended and dwelt in this island. Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife together, and to produce countries.

So they made Ono-goro-jima the pillar of the centre of the land.

Now the male deity turning by the left, and the female deity by the right, they went round the pillar of the land separately. When they met together on one side, the female deity spoke first and said:—"How delightful! I have met with a lovely youth." The male deity was displeased, and said:—"I am a man, and by right should have spoken first. How is it that on the contrary thou, a woman, shouldst have been the first to speak? This was unlucky. Let us go round again." Upon this the two deities went back, and having met anew, this time the male deity spoke first, and said:—"How delightful I have met a lovely maiden."

Then he inquired of the female deity, saying:—"In the body is there aught formed?" She answered, and said:—"In my body there is a place which is the source of femineity." The male deity said:—"In my body again there is a place which is the source of masculinity. I wish to unite this source-place of my body to the source-place of thy body." Hereupon the male and female first became united as husband and the wife.

Now when the time of birth arrived, first of all the island of Ahaji was reckoned as the placenta, and their minds took no pleasure in it. Therefore it received the name of Ahaji no shima.

Next there was produced the island of Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima.

Here and elsewhere Nippon is to be read Yamato.

Next they produced the island of Iyo no futa-na, and next the island of Tsukushi. Next the islands of Oki and Sado were born as twins. This is the prototype of the twin-births which sometimes take place among mankind.

Next was born the island of Koshi, then the island of Oho-shima, then the island of Kibi no Ko.

Hence first arose the designation of the Oho-ya-shima country.

Then the islands of Tsushima and Iki, with the small islands in various parts, were produced by the coagulation of the foam of the salt-water.

It is also stated that they were produced by the coagulation of the foam of fresh water.

In one writing it is said:—"The Gods of Heaven addressed Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto, saying: 'There is the country Toyo-ashi-hara-chi-wo-aki no midzu-ho. Do ye proceed and bring it into order.' They then gave them the jewel-spear of Heaven. Hereupon the two Gods stood on the floating bridge

of Heaven, and plunging down the spear, sought for land. Then upon stirring the ocean with it, and bringing it up again, the brine which dripped from the spear-point coagulated and became an island, which was called Ono-goro-jima. The two gods descended, dwelt in this island, and erected there an eight-fathom palace. They also set up the pillar of Heaven."

Then the male Deity asked the female Deity, saying:—"Is there anything formed in the body?" She answered and said:—"My body has a place completely formed, and called the source of femininity." The male god said:—"My body again has a place completely formed and called the source of masculinity. I desire to unite my source of masculinity to the source of femininity." Having thus spoken, they prepared to go round the pillar of Heaven, and made a promise, saying:—"Do thou, my younger sister, go round from the left, while I will go round from the right." Having done so, they went round separately and met, when the female Deity spoke first, and said:—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" The male Deity then answered and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" Finally they became husband and wife. Their first child was the leech, whom they straightway placed in a reed-boat and sent adrift. Their next was the Island of Ahaji. This also was not included in the number of their children. Wherefore they returned up again to Heaven, and fully reported the circumstances. Then the Heavenly Gods divined this by the greater divination. Upon which they instructed them, saying:—"It was by reason of the woman's having spoken first; ye had best return thither again." Thereupon having divined a time, they went down. The two deities accordingly went again round the pillar, the male Deity from the left, and the female Deity from the right. When they met, the male Deity spoke first and said:—"How pretty! a lovely maiden!" The female Deity next answered and said:—"How pretty! a lovely youth!" Thereafter they dwelt together in the same palaces and had children, whose names were Oho-yamato no Toyo-aki-tsu-shima, next the island of Ahaji, next the island of Iyo no futana, next the island of Tsukushi, next the triplet island of Oki, next the island of Sado, next the island of Koshi, next the island of Kibi-no-ko. The country was accordingly called the "Great-Eight-Island Country."

(I.11) After this Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto consulted together, saying:—"We have now produced the Great-eight-island country, with the mountains, rivers, herbs, and trees. Why should we not produce someone who shall be lord of the universe?"

They then together produced the Sun-Goddess, who was called Oho-hiru-me no muchi. Called in one writing Ama-terasu no Oho kami.

In one writing she is called Ama-terasu-oho-hiru-me no Mikoto.

The resplendent lustre of this child shone throughout all the six quarters. Therefore the two Deities rejoiced, saying:—"We have had many children, but none of them have been equal to this wondrous infant. She ought not to be kept long in this land, but we ought of our own accord to send her at once to Heaven, and entrust to her the affairs of Heaven." They next produced the Moon-god.

Called in one writing Tsuki-yumi no Mikoto, or Tsuki yomi no Mikoto.

His radiance was next to that of the Sun in splendour. This God was to be the consort of the Sun-Goddess, and to share in her government. They therefore sent him also to Heaven.

Next they produced the leech-child, which even at the age of three years could not stand upright. They therefore placed it in the rock-camphor-wood boat of Heaven, and abandoned it to the winds.

Their next child was Sosa no wo no Mikoto.

Called in one writing Kami Sosa no wo no Mikoto or Haya Sosa no wo no Mikoto.

This God had a fierce temper and was given to cruel acts. Moreover he made a practice of continually weeping and wailing. So he brought many of the people of the land to an untimely end. Again he caused green mountains to become withered. Therefore the two Gods, his parents, addressed Sosa no wo no Mikoto, saying:—"Thou art exceedingly wicked, and it is not meet that thou shouldst reign over the world. Certainly thou must depart far away to the Nether-Land." So they at length expelled him.

(I.18) Thereafter, Izanagi no Mikoto went after Izanami no Mikoto, and entered the land of Yomi. When he reached her they conversed together, and Izanami no Mikoto said: "My lord and husband, why is thy coming so late? I have already eaten of the cooking-furnace of Yomi. Nevertheless, I am about to lie down to rest. I pray thee, do not thou look on me." Izanami no Mikoto did not give ear to her, but secretly took his many-toothed comb and, breaking off its end tooth, made of it a torch, and looked at her. Putrefying matter had gushed up, and maggots swarmed. This is why people at the present day avoid using a single light at night, and also avoid throwing away a comb at night. Izanagi no Mikoto was greatly shocked, and said: "Nay! I have come unawares to a hideous and polluted land." So he speedily ran away back again. Then Izanami no Mikoto was angry, and said: "Why didst thou not observe that which I charged thee? Now am I put to shame." So she sent the eight Ugly Females of Yomi (*Shikome, called by some Hisame*) to pursue and stay him. Izanagi no Mikoto therefore drew his sword, and, flourishing it behind him, ran away. Then he took his black head-dress and flung it down. It became changed into grapes, which the Ugly Females seeing, took and ate. When they had finished eating them, they again pursued Izanagi no Mikoto. Then he flung down his many-toothed comb, which forthwith became changed into bamboo-shoots. The Ugly Females pulled them up and ate them, and when had done eating them, again gave chase. Afterwards, Izanami no Mikoto came herself and pursued him. By this time Izanagi no Mikoto had reached the Even Pass of Yomi.

According to one account, Izanagi no Mikoto made water against a large tree, which water at once turned into a great river. While the Ugly Females of Yomi were preparing to cross this river, Izanagi no Mikoto had already reached the Even Pass of Yomi. So he took a thousand-men-pull-rock, and having blocked up the path with it, stood face to face with Izanami no Mikoto, and at last pronounced the formula of divorce. Upon this, Izanami no Mikoto said: "My

dear Lord and husband, if thou sayest so, I will strangle to death the people of the country which thou dost govern, a thousand in one day." Then Izanagi no Mikoto replied, saying, "My beloved younger sister, if thou sayest so, I will in one day cause to be born fifteen hundred." Then he said, "Come no further," and threw down his staff, which was called Funado no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his girdle, which was called Naga-chi-ha no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his upper garment, which was called Wadzurahi no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his trowsers, which were called Aki-gui no Kami. Moreover, he threw down his shoes, which were called Chishiki no Kami.

Some say that the Even Pass of Yomi is not any place in particular, but means only the space of time when the breath fail on the approach of death.

Now the rock with which the Even Pass of Yomi was blocked is called Yomi-do ni fusagaru Oho-kami. Another name for it is Chi-gayeshi no Oho-kami.

When Izanagi no Mikoto had returned, he was seized with regret, and said, "Having gone to Nay! a hideous and filthy place, it is meet that I should cleanse my body from its pollutions." He accordingly went to the plain of Ahagi at Tachibana in Wodo in Hiuga of Tsukushi, and purified himself. When at length he was about to wash away the impurities of his body, he lifted up his voice and said, "The upper stream is too rapid and the lower stream is too sluggish, I will wash in the middle stream." The God which was thereby produced was called Ya-so-maga-tsu-bi no Kami, and then to remedy these evils there were produced Deities named Kami-nawo-bi no Kami, and after him Oho-nawo-bi no Kami.

Moreover, the Deities which were produced by his plunging down and washing in the bottom of the sea were called Soko-tsu-wata-tsu-mi no Mikoto and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. Moreover, when he plunged and washed in the mid-tide, there were Gods produced who were called Naka tsu wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and next Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. Moreover, when he washed floating on the surface of the water, Gods were produced, who were called Uha-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto and next Uha-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto. There were in all nine Gods. The Gods Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, Naka-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto, and Soko-tsutsu-wo no Mikoto are the three great Gods of Suminoye. The Gods Soko-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, Naka-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto, and Uha-tsu-wata-dzu-mi no Mikoto are the Gods worshipped by the Muraji of Adzumi.

Thereafter, a Deity was produced by his washing his left eye, which was called Ama-terasu-no-oho-Kami. Then he washed his right eye, producing thereby a Deity who was called Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto. Then he washed his nose, producing thereby a God who was called Sosa no wo no Mikoto. In all there were three Deities. Then Izanagi no Mikoto gave charge to his three children, saying, "Do thou, Ama-terasu no Oho-kami, rule the plain of High Heaven: do thou, Tsuki-yomi no Mikoto, rule the eight-hundred-fold tides of the ocean plain: do thou, Sosa no wo no Mikoto, rule the world." At this time, Sosa no wo no Mikoto was already of full age. Nevertheless, he neglected to rule the world, and was always weeping, wailing, and fuming with rage. Therefore Iz-

anagi no Mikoto inquired of him saying, "Why dost thou continually weep in this way?" He answered and said, "I wish to follow my mother to the Nether Land, and it is simply for that reason I weep." Then Izanagi no Mikoto was filled with detestation of him, and said, "Go, even as thy heart bids thee." So he forthwith drove him away.

(I.25) In one writing it is said: "Izanagi no Mikoto followed after Izanami no Mikoto, and, arriving at the place where she was, spoke to her and said: 'I have come because I sorrowed for thee.' She answered and said, 'We are relations. Do not thou look upon me.' Izanagi no Mikoto would not obey, but continued to look on her. Wherefore Izanagi no Mikoto was ashamed and angry, and said, 'Thou hast seen my nakedness. Now I will in turn see thine.' Then Izanagi no Mikoto was ashamed, and prepared to depart. He did not however, merely go away in silence, but said solemnly, 'Our relationship is severed.' Again he said, 'I will not submit to be beaten by a relation.' And the God of the Spittle which he thereupon spat out was called Haya-tama no wo. Next the God of his purification was called Yomo-tsu-koto-saka nowo; two gods in all. And when he came to contend with his younger sister at the Even Pass of Yomi, Izanagi no Mikoto said, "It was weak of me at first to sorrow and mourn on account of a relation.' "

Then said the Road-wardens of Yomi, "We have a message for thee, as follows: 'I and thou have produced countries. Why should we seek to produce more? I shall stay in this land, and will not depart along with thee.' " At this time Kukuri-hime no Kami said something which Izanagi no Mikoto heard and approved, and she then vanished away.

(I.26) But, having visited in person the Land of Yomi, he had brought on himself ill-luck. In order, therefore, to wash away the defilement, he visited the Aha gate and the Haya-sufu-na gate. But the tide in these two gates was exceeding strong. So he returned and took his way towards Wodo in Tachibana. There he did his ablutions. At this time, entering the water, he blew out and produced Iha-tsu-tsu no Mikoto; coming out of the water, he blew forth and produced Oho-nawo-bi no Kami. Entering a second time, he blew out and produced Soko-tsutsu no Mikoto; coming out he blew forth and produced Oho-aya-tsu-bi no Kami. Entering again, he blew forth and produced Aka-tsutsu no Mikoto, and coming out he blew out and produced the various deities of Heaven and Earth, and of the Sea-plain.

(I.37) After this Sosa no wo no Mikoto's behaviour was exceedingly rude. In what way? Ama-terasu no Oho-kami had made august rice-fields of Heavenly narrow rice-fields and Heavenly long rice-fields. Then Sosa no wo no Mikoto, when the seed was sown in spring, broke down the divisions between the plots of rice, and in autumn let loose the Heavenly piebald colts, and made them lie down in the midst of the rice-fields.

Again, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was about to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, he secretly voided excrement in the New Palace. Moreover, when he saw that Ama-terasu no Oho-kami was in her sacred weaving hall,

engaged in weaving the garments of Gods, he flayed a piebald colt of Heaven, and breaking a hole in the roof-tiles of the hall, flung it in. Then Ama-terasu no Oho-kami started with alarm, and wounded herself with the shuttle. Indignant at this, she straightway entered the Rock-cave of Heaven, and having fastened the Rock-door, dwelt there in seclusion. Therefore constant darkness prevailed on all sides, and the alternation of night and day was unknown.

(I.38) Then the eighty myriads of Gods met on the bank of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and considered in what manner they should supplicate her.

THE INCIDENT OF THE AME-NO-IWATO IN THE *KOJIKI* AND THE DESCENT OF THE HEAVENLY GRANDSON

The narrative relates the famous incident in which Amaterasu, *kami* of the sun, hides in a cave after Susano-o-no-mikoto performs a series of offensive acts. As a result, the world is plunged into darkness, and Amaterasu has to be enticed out. Ame-uzume-no-mikoto performs a ribald dance that so amuses the other *kami* that Amaterasu comes out to see what is happening. Once she is out, the cave is sealed and she cannot return. This incident is often discussed in relation to solar eclipses as the phenomena for which the mythological explanation is created. Notice also that in keeping with Victorian mores, Chamberlain renders all sexual nuances into Latin. When Amaterasu decides that it is time for the Heavenly Grandson to descend, he finds a huge *kami* at the crossroads of heaven and earth. His name is Sarutahiko-no-mikoto. Once again, Ame-uzume-no-mikoto comes to the rescue, by descending, charming him, and eventually marrying him. The Imperial Grandson finally descends to the *Mifune-no-Iwakura* to found the nation of Japan. Thus the imperial line came into being.

Text: Basil Hall Chamberlain, trans., *The Kojiki: Records of Ancient Matters* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1982), pp. 62–65, 128–31.

Section XVI

But notwithstanding these apologetic words, he (the Impetuous Male) still continued his evil acts and was more and more [violent]. As the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity sat in her awful weaving hall seeing to the weaving of the august garments of the Deities, he broke a hole in the top of the weaving hall, and through it let fall a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying, at whose sight the women weaving the heavenly garments

were so much alarmed that *impegerunt privates partes adverset radiis et obierunt* [they struck their private parts on the looms and died].

Section XVII

So thereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, terrified at the sight, closed [behind her] the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, made it fast, and retired. Then the whole Plain of High Heaven was obscured and all the Central Land of Reed-Plains darkened. Owing to this, eternal night prevailed. Hereupon the voices of the myriad Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarmed, and a myriad portents of woe all arose. Therefore did the eight hundred myriad Deities assemble in a divine assembly in the sea of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and bid the Deity Thought-Includer, child of the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity think of a plan, assembling the long-singing birds of eternal night and making them sing, taking the hard rocks of Heaven from the river-bed of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and taking the iron from the Heavenly Metal-Mountains, calling in the smith Ama-tsu-ma-ra, charging Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me to make a mirror, and charging His Augustness Jewel-Ancessor to make an augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long]—of five hundred jewels, and summoning His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancessor-Lord and His Augustness Great-Jewel, and causing them to pull out with a complete pulling the shoulder [-blade] of a true stag from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and take cherrybark from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and divination, and pulling up by pulling its roots a true *cleyera japonica* with five hundred [branches] from the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and taking and putting upon its upper branches the augustly complete [string] of curved jewels eight feet [long],—of five hundred jewels,—and taking and tying to the middle branches the mirror eight feet [long], and taking and hanging upon its lower branches the white pacificatory offerings and the blue pacificatory offerings, His Augustness Grand-Jewel taking these divers things and holding them together with the grand august offerings, and His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancessor-Lord prayerfully reciting grand liturgies, and the Heavenly Hand-Strength-Male-Deity standing hidden beside the door, and Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female hanging [round her] the heavenly clubmoss of the Heavenly Mount Kagu as a sash, and making the heavenly spindle-tree her head-dress, and binding the leaves of the bamboo-grass of the Heavenly Mount Kagu in a posy for her hands, and laying a soundingboard before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, and stamping till she made it resound and doing as if possessed by a Deity, and pulling out the nipples of her breasts, pushing down her skirt-string *usque ad privates partes*. Then the Plain of High Heaven shook, and the eight hundred myriad Deities laughed together. Hereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity was amazed, and slightly opening the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, spoke thus from the inside: “Methought that owing to my retirement the Plain of Heaven would be dark, and likewise the Central Land of Reed-Plains would all be dark: how then is it that the Heavenly-

Alarming-Female makes merry, and that likewise the eight hundred myriad Deities all laugh?" Then the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke saying; "We rejoice and are glad because there is a Deity more illustrious than Thine Augustness." While she was thus speaking, His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancessor-Lord and His Augustness Grand-Jewel pushed forward the mirror and respectfully showed it to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, whereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it, whereupon the Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, who was standing hidden, took her august hand and drew her out, and then His Augustness Grand-Jewel drew the bottom-tied rope along at her august back, and spoke, saying: "Thou must not go back further in than this!" So when the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity had come forth, both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains of course again became light.

Section XXXIII—The August Descent from Heaven of His Augustness the August Grandchild

Then the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrity-Deity commanded and charged the Heir Apparent His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-I Conquer-Swift Heavenly-Great-Great-Ears[, saying: "The Brave, Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity] says that he has now finished pacifying the Central Land of Reed-Plains. So do thou, in accordance with our gracious charge, descend to and dwell in and rule over it." Then the Heir Apparent His Augustness Truly-Conqueror-Conquer-Conquering-Swift-Heavenly-Great-Ears replied, saying: "While I have been getting ready to descend, there has been born [to me] a child whose name is His Augustness Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty. This child should be sent down." [As for this august child, he was augustly joined to Her Augustness Myriad-Looms-Luxuriant-Dragon-fly-Island-Princess, daughter of the High-Integrating-Deity, and begot children: His Augustness-Heavenly Rice-ear-Ruddy and next His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty.] Therefore, in accordance with these words, they laid their command on His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty, deigning to charge him with these words: "This Luxuriant Reed-Plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-ears is the land over which thou shalt rule." So [he replied]: "I will descend from Heaven according to your commands." So when His Augustness Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty was about to descend from Heaven, there was at the eight-forking road of Heaven a Deity whose refulgence reached upwards to the Plain of High Heaven and downwards to the Central Land of Reed-Plains. So then the Heavenly Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating Deity commanded and charged the Heavenly-Alarming-Female-Deity [saying]: "Though thou art but a delicate female, thou art a deity who conquers in facing Deities. So be thou the one to go and ask thus: 'This being the road by which our august child is about to descend from Heaven, who is it that is thus there?'" So to this gracious question he replied, saying "I am

an Earthly Deity named the Deity Prince of Saruta. The reason for my coming here is that, having heard of the [intended] descent of the august child of the Heavenly Deities, I have come humbly to meet him and respectfully offer myself as His augustness's vanguard." Then joining to him His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His Augustness Grand-Jewel, Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, and His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor, in all five chiefs of companies, they sent him down from Heaven. Thereupon they joined to him the eight-foot [long] curved jewels and mirror that had allured [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity from the Rock-Dwelling,] and also the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword, and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer, the Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, and the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener of eternal Night, and charged him thus: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it were our august spirit, and reverence it as if reverencing us." Next did they say: "Let the Deity Thought-Includer take in hand our affairs, and carry on the government." These two Deities are worshipped at the temple of Isuzu. The next, the Deity of Luxuriant-Food, is the Deity dwelling in the outer temple of Watarahi. The next, the deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener, another name for whom is the Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, and another name for whom is the Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, this Deity of the August Gate. The next, the Deity Hand-Strength-Male, dwells in Sanagata.

Now His Augustness the Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord (is the ancestor of the Nakatomi Chieftains); His Augustness Grand-Jewel (is the ancestor of the Imibe Headmen); Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female (is the ancestress of the Duchesses of Saru); Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me (is the ancestress of the Mirror-Making Chieftains); His Augustness-Jewel-Ancestor (is the ancestor of the Jewel-Ancestor Chieftains).

EARLY RITUAL SONGS

As was stated in the introduction to this sourcebook, poetry forms a great part of Japan's early literature and has an important role throughout Japanese history. The following selection is composed of ritual songs taken from many sources, including the classic texts and some later ones. These songs may be classified in various ways. Those listed here share the common characteristics of having been composed either to celebrate the virtues of some illustrious person, such as an emperor, or to offer praise to a *kami*. They afford some insight into the spiritual disposition and religious sentiments of the ancient Japanese. They also illustrate some of the qualities later admired by scholars of the Edo period who used them as the source based on which they defined their concept of *kunigara*, the essence of the elegance of national character. Frequently they praised the early emperors as beings of supreme virtue. It should

also be noted that the general heading of songs in praise of people and *kami* underlines that the differentiation between human beings and *kami* is not, *simpliciter*, the human/divine antithesis that is found in Western religious conceptualization.

For easier comprehension of both content and purpose, I have included a brief explanatory note before each item. The numbering and subtitles are mine. The notes describe the context of the song and offer brief comments upon important aspects of the content such as key terms or concepts that are central to the development of Shinto thought of later days.

Text: Donald Philippi, trans., *This Wine of Peace This Wine of Laughter: A Complete Anthology of Japan's Earliest Songs* (New York: Grossman, 1968).

According to the myth, the *kami* Aji-shiki-taka-hikone, while attending the funeral of another *kami*, Ame-no-wakahiko, was mistaken for the deceased *kami* by both the parents and the widow of the Ame-no-wakiho. Aji-shiki-Taka-hikone drew his sword and chopped the funeral house into pieces, furious that he had been mistaken for someone who was dead. After trampling the building, he left. Just as he was leaving, his younger sister composed and sang this song in praise of him.

The idea that *kami* may die has already been noted, as well as that they may have humanlike outbursts of anger. The *kami* is portrayed as crossing two valleys at once. Kato Genchi described this type of thinking about the divine as *theastropoic*, an archetypal form in Japanese thought.

1. Ah, the large bead
Strung on the cord of beads
Worn around the neck
Of the heavenly
Young weaving maiden.
Like this is he
Who crosses
Two valleys at once,
The god Aji-shiki-
Taka-hikone.

A public official in Yoshino desired a sword that was worn by Prince O-sazaki. He composed this song to express his feelings. O-sazaki, in due course, became Emperor Nintoku. This is an early instance of the recognition of the importance of swords in the culture, of the mystique

they possess, particularly those swords that belong to members of the imperial tradition.

2. O-sazaki,
 O-sazaki,
 Sun-prince
 Of Homuda
 The sword which you wear
 Is worn as a sword at the hilt,
 But the end of the scabbard is shaking
 Like a small shrub
 Growing at the leafless trunk
 Of a winter tree.
Saya saya!

Iwa-no-hime, empress of Emperor Nintoku, according to the mythology, sailed upriver toward Yamashiro in 342 C.E. She was protesting the information that the emperor had married Princess Yata and refused to return to the imperial palace because of Iwa-no-hime's jealousy.

One feature of interest is the reference to the camellia, the flowering shrub favored by Emperor Nintoku. The lines are touching in their sadness, yet offer affectionate imagery of the emperor.

3. As I ascend,
 As I ascend the river,
 The Yamashiro river
 Of many mountain peaks,
 By the back of the river
 There is growing
 A *sashibu*
 A *sashibu* tree.
 Underneath it
 There is growing
 A wide-leaved
 Sacred camellia tree.
 Like its flowers,
 Shining brilliantly,
 Like its leaves,
 Wide and calm
 Are you, my great lord.

The *Kojiki* records this interesting piece attributed to the empress of Emperor Yuryaku. It contains symbols such as the name Yamato; the Hall of New Grain, presumably a reference to a building in which the

kami are revered, a prototype shrine building; and, oddly enough, another reference to camellia.

4. In this high place
 Of Yamato,
 In the slightly elevated
 Market place,
 By the Hall of the New Grain
 There grows
 A wide-leaved
 Sacred camellia tree.
 Like its leaves,
 You are wide and calm;
 Like its flowers,
 You shine brilliantly—
 Oh to the high-shining
 Prince of the Sun,
 Present
 The abundant wine!
 These are
 The words,
 The Words handed down.

Emperor Yuryaku ordered the construction of a tall building. The incident is dated to 468 C.E. An *uneme* (a lady at court) was watching the agility of the principal carpenter as he worked on the building. She collapsed very suddenly in the courtyard. Suspecting that this had happened because the carpenter had violated the lady, the emperor had the carpenter arrested and sentenced to death for his alleged crime, namely defiling an *uneme*. Hata-no-Sake-no-kimi, believing the innocence of the carpenter, tried to make the emperor understand this through a song. She played the *koto* (a classical Japanese-style harp) and offered these words. The emperor was moved by the music of the *koto* and pardoned the carpenter.

Of interest are the references to Ise and the expression “divine wind,” *kamikaze*, destined to reappear more than once in Japanese history.

5. Hanging up for endless years
 The flourishing branches
 Of the field of Ise,
 Of Ise
 Of the divine wind—
 Until they are gone,
 Would that my life

Were also this long,
 That my lord
 Faithfully
 I might serve—
 Ah, thus said the carpenter,
 Oh pity the poor carpenter!

The following piece is attributed to the seventh day of the New Year of 612 C.E. Empress Suiko is recorded as holding a banquet, at which Soga-no-Umako, the great minister of state, composed this song in praise of the empress.

The song contains the concept of the imperial rule lasting a thousand ages, again an image that recurs later in history.

6. Our great lord
 Is hidden
 Within the myriad rays of heaven;
 When we see
 Her emerge
 From the heavens, we wish:
 For ten thousand ages,
 May it be thus;
 For a thousand ages,
 May it be thus;
 For a thousand ages,
 May it be thus;
- That fearfully
 We might serve her;
 That worshipfully
 We might serve her,
 We present tribute in song.

The final two songs listed here were recorded as having been sung at a banquet given by Emperor Shomu in 743 C.E. The reference to the abundant wine is perhaps why Philippi chose his title for the anthology.

The wine, of course, is Japanese *sake*, a drink made from rice and offered to the *kami*. The underlying importance of rice, along with its religious nuance, is a vital but unspoken part of Japanese culture and a fundamental feature of the world of Shinto.

7. The grandchild
 Of the heavenly deities
 Takes in his hands

And awesomely consumes
This abundant wine.

8. Our great lord,
Ruling in peace,
Calm of heart
And long of life,
Consumes the abundant wine.

MAN'YŌSHŪ (COLLECTION OF MYRIADS OF LEAVES)

This work is a collection of poems in 20 volumes, assembled in its present form during the latter part of the Nara period. There are around 4,500 items altogether, some of which go back over 1,400 years, reaching deep into Japan's early spiritual culture. The majority (4,170) of the writings are *tanka* (short poems), with 262 *choka* (longer poems) and 63 poems, each consisting of 38 syllables, that have a parallel structure.

These poems are of interest because they are the work of people ranging from emperors to farmers and they are, in most cases, individually signed. The authors expressed deep emotions and displayed a spiritual vitality that came to be suppressed during the rigidity of the Edo period's moral and political surveillance. They were a source of inspiration for the National Learning Scholars of the Edo period, who felt that the *Man'yōshū* gave them direct access to the mood and mind of the ancient Japanese. They found in their words and sentiments the classic spiritual roots of the Japanese people. These poems were the writings of people who loved and lived spontaneously and who died naturally with little speculation and no interest in metaphysical explanations of life and death—people who were natural, simple, and, in the moral terms of Shinto, totally pure in their sentiments.

Of particular interest are the poems that describe the awesomeness of Mount Fuji, which obviously was very much active at the time of the composition of the poems in its honor. The last eruption was in 1707, and the volcano has been dormant ever since. The sight of that great mountain belching smoke and fire indeed must have been awe inspiring; judging by the accounts, the snows melted enough to make a river for people to use for transport, while birds were afraid to fly past the crater. It is hardly surprising that the Japanese sense of *kami* grew out of reverence at nature's majestic powers. The paraphrases/translations take account of earlier translations but try, through careful choice of words, to

highlight the important themes that were identified in the previous section on ritual songs.

A Selection of Poems from the *Man'yōshū*

Text: Free translation.

Riding through the purple field
Cordoned off for the imperial family,
you beckon to me. But, my love,
what will the watchman think?

(Number 20, composed by Lady Nukada)

From the great land ruled by our emperor,
he has chosen Akitsu for his villa.
Each morning and evening, courtiers enter and depart by boat.
How beautiful the hills and streams—
this town of cataracts!

(Number 36, composed at Yoshino Imperial Villa
by Kakinomoto Hitomaru)

These stones exist to speak
to the generations of their mysterious powers.

(Number 814)

Noble are those Shinto priests
who with flower garlands
present to the *kami* bamboo sticks
bearing paper offerings and sacred *sake*.
Since heaven separated from earth
Mount Fuji has been standing high
in Suruga's skies.

I look up and I see the sun
completely hidden by the summit; the moon also is obscured.
The white clouds do not pass in front.

Our songs of praise are endless:
O peerless Fuji, our *kami*!

(Number 3229, on Mount Fuji, by Yamabeno Akihito)

From the beach at Tago
I can see the summit of Mount Fuji
Now covered in white by
Snow that falls unseen.

(Number 318)

Lo! Mount Fuji, yonder in the sky
stands over the provinces of Kai and of Suruga.
Even the clouds bow lowly
afraid to pass its lofty brow;
in awe, even the birds do not fly to near its sacred peak.
The snowflakes struggle to subdue the fires
that rise from depths of the crater;
the flaring flames cut through and melt the snow.
Lake Seno Umi, as wide as the ocean
lies at the base of the divine mountain.
The river on which people travel
originates there from its pure snow
flowing over rocks and sand.
Are you the guardian *kami* of the country of Yamato
or did rise from the ground to bless us
as a mountain treasure so great?
O noble Fuji, never shall our eyes
cease to enjoy, in ecstasy, your fair form!

(Number 319, attributed to Takahashino Mushimaro)

The winter snows on Fuji melt by mid-June:
then at mid-June, the first snow falls again.

(Number 320)

Holding Mount Fuji in great awe,
even the clouds of heaven
hang before it like paper streamers
fearing to cross the sky.

(Number 321)

Of all the emperor's benignly ruled lands,
I hold dearest of all, the capital.

(Number 329, by Otomono Yotsuna)

After many wild stormy days he came at last to Iki;
and prayed that no accident would befall him,
He consulted a fortuneteller
who divined by burning a stag's shoulder-bones.
Alas, before he could leave the island death came to him.

(Number 3694)

A young, newly wed man was sent to a far province as an express messenger. The grieving bride became sick and bedridden. After many years, he returned to report his mission to find his wife dying. Tearfully, he then composed the following poem:

The wife who has awaited me for long is dying.
 Sadly, we may no more live happily together.

(Number 3804)

The following is a poem of a woman whose husband did not come to see her for a long time. She became bedridden and was dying when the husband was summoned. He came, but she was already demented. Before she died, she wailed these lines:

No message comes to me from my love
 and I lie on a bed of sickness.
 This is not a curse of gods.
 Fortunetellers cannot be asked,
 because I am forlorn because of unrequited love.
 I know I am approaching death,
 when neither prayers nor fortunetellers can help.

(Number 3811)

Since I have no opportunity to see you
 my dear one, I would now rather die.

(Number 3813)

The following three pieces were written by a man from Nara who was sent on coast guard duty in Osaka and who knew he would not see home for years, if he ever returned at all.

After offering reverence at Kashima's shrine,
 I set sail as a frontier guard.

(Number 4370)

I was conscripted as a coast guard.
 As I left home, my mother, holding me,
 together with my father,
 whose tears were streaming down his snow-white beard, said
 "We are sad to see our only son depart;
 we thought we would have you with us longer."
 My wife and children stood beside me weeping bitterly.
 They clung to me, and would not let me go.
 I took courage, and began my journey,
 looking back at each turn of the road
 to see my family standing still.
 I went to board a ship at Naniwa.
 and there prayed at the Suminoe Shrine*
 making an offering
 for the protection of my life by the *kami*

during many outward and homeward voyages
from isle to isle.

I then embarked on the perilous sea at dawn.

(Number 275, by Ohtomono Yakamochi)

*Suminoe is an older alternative reading of Sumiyoshi. The reference is to the *Sumiyoshi Taisha* in Osaka.

I came across the slope of Ashigara
and did not even look back
passing the barrier of Fuwa
where even the strong stop to catch their breath.
I reported for duty at Tsukushi,
and now, living at the cape, I pray for my family
as they pray for me.

(Number 437, by Shidoribeno Karamaro)

With joy in my heart,
I proudly set out for a distant field
as a shield of the emperor.*

(Number 4373, by Imamatsuribe no Yosofu)

*Mishima Yukio (1925–75), the famous author who committed *seppuku* within the headquarters of Japan's self-defense forces, used the expression *shield of the emperor* as the name for his private army, the *tate no kai*. For further details see Henry Stokes, *The Life and Death of Yukio Mishima* (New York: Noonday Press, 1995), pp. 9–13, 206–35.

I pray to the *kami* of heaven and earth,
and bearing my bow and arrows, I set off.

(Number 4274, by Ohbeno Aramimi)

SELECTIONS FROM THE *KOKINSHŪ*

After the *Man'yōshū*, the *Kokinshū* (or, in its full form, *Kokin Waka Shū*) is considered the most important anthology of early poems. It is also considered to have attained in style the highest level of elegance and art. The poems are *Tanka* in form, consisting of 31 syllables. This was a Japanese mode of writing that had been overshadowed by the influence of Chinese culture but regained prominence as a revived interest in indigenous things grew. The anthology was completed in 905 and was undertaken at the command of Emperor Daigo. The contrast between the *Man'yōshū* and the *Kokinshū* is the difference between spontaneous feelings that arose as individuals felt moved by what was before

them and those feelings that are expressed in the Chinese style of metaphor and indirectness, rich in meaning but concealed with art.

Of particular interest is the introduction by Kino Tsurayuki, chief editor, who tries to define the nature of the poetic as a means of expressing life and its meaning. It is not too difficult to see how his inquiries and ideas led to the later attempt of the Edo period (1615–1868) National Learning Scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) to explain the idea of *mono no aware*, the pathos of things, a concept that Kino Tsurayuki seems to understand and employ very effectively. His main point is that the songs that Japanese compose to express their feelings gain their inspiration from the songs recorded in the classic mythology. He laments what he calls the superficially gaudy, which is shallow and without meaning, and tries to show that the models of old have more purity and meaning. Although this collection has less direct bearing upon Shinto than either the *Man'yōshū* or the *Shinkokushū* of three hundred years later, they represent an attempt to free style from excess formalism that Chinese influences engendered. In spite of the overlay of Chinese style, much of what was visible in earlier and later writings remains, a little less visible but present and influential nonetheless within Japanese life and thought.

The Proem of Kino Tsurayuki

Text: This version of Kino's preface was taken from H. H. Honda, trans., *The Kokin Waka-Shū: The 10th-Century Anthology Edited by Imperial Edict* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1970).

The poetry of Yamato has sprung from the hearts of the people as seeds to grow into myriads of words . . .

Songs can move Heaven and Earth, induce the gods to feel the pathos of things, render men and women harmonious, and soothe the hearts of warriors.

The song came into being when heaven parted from earth. (This alludes to the verse composed by the god and the goddess upon the floating bridge of heaven.) Legend has it that in heaven it began with the verse of Princess Shitateru, wife to Prince Ame-wakamiko; and on earth with the song of Susano no Mikoto. In the age of the gods, the number of letters of the Tanka was not fixed. It flowed forth as the heart wished to sing, and it seemed the meaning was difficult to understand. Susano no Mikoto wrote in 31 letters. (He is brother of Goddess Amaterasu.) When he was building

a palace in the province of Izumo to live with his wife, he saw eight-colored clouds rise, and composed the following song:

Eight clouds arise
in Izumo, forming an eight-fold fence
for the spouses to live within
forming an eight-fold fence, eight-fold fence.

In this form many songs were written—on love of flowers, the happiness of birds, the beauty of mist and dew. Other forms too were introduced . . .

Though Hitomaro is dead, the making of anthologies still goes on. Time and tide come and go burdened with joys and sorrows, but if this anthology remains as fresh as the green willow branch and the pine needles, the reader will enjoy present-day verses by perusing these old and new songs as bright as the moon on high.

A Selection of Poems from the *Kokinshū*

Text: Free translation.

The poems reproduced here are in the form of free translations/paraphrases, taking account of earlier and recent scholarship. The choice seeks to highlight underlying Shinto concepts, still clearly visible in an era during which Buddhism had overtly established a very strong position in the culture.

A Song of the New Year

Although the snow still lies,
the joy of spring is with us
which will melt the frozen tears
of the songbird.

(Number 4, by Fujiwarano Takako, Empress Seiwa)

There was an inn at which the author stopped quite often, on his way to offer reverence at Hatsuse. After a long absence, his host made a pointed comment. The author then pulled a bunch of plum blossoms, and gave it, along with this verse, to the innkeeper.

I may not know how my village friend will greet me
but these old plum blossoms,
with their sweet, sweet scent still welcome me
as kindly as before.

(Number 42, by Kino Tsurayuki)

The author composed the following poem on seeing people stop and view a wisteria bower.

O wisteria flower beside my home,
people who pass you return to admire you!

(Number 120, by Oshikochino Mitsune)

Not a day has passed
since the first day of autumn
that I have not stood upon the bank
of the river of heaven.

(Number 173, Anonymous)

Does the weaver wait
for autumn so that she
can span the river of heaven
with a red bridge of maple leaves?

(Number 174, Anonymous)

Composed for a poetry reading in the residence of Prince Koresada.

Not for me alone
is the pathos of the autumn moon but I wonder,
who feels quite as I do?

(Number 193, by Oeno Chisato)

Among the congratulatory poems, the first one listed not only has a remarkable quality, but it is also echoed in the thought of the Japanese national anthem, *Kimigayo*. It is another example of a piece of ancient imagery not just surviving, but making its way into the distinguishing marks of modern culture.

May a thousand years,
eight-times a thousand, be your life
until the smallest pebble grows into a rock
covered in moss!

(Number 343, Anonymous)

The river Yoshino runs between the peaks of Man and Wife.
Human conjugality is like those mountains
divided, sadly, by the streams of rumor.

(Number 828, Anonymous)

This poem was composed when Empress Seiwa attended the shrine on Ohara field.

The *kami* of Mount Oshio must now call to mind
the long past glorious age of the *kami*.

(Number 871, by Ariwarano Narihara)

This poem is in honor of Nanmatsu, the chief priest of the Furu shrine,
who, although not a courtier, was awarded a court rank.

The sun shines warmly even on the bramble bush.
Now the village is all adorned by flowers.

(Number 870, by Furuno Inamichi)

In the reign of Emperor Montoku, Princess Akirakeiko, who held office at the Kamo Shrines in Kyoto, was to be transferred elsewhere at her mother's behest. This poem was written when the proposed transfer was abandoned.

If the moon is bright
as it crosses the sky,
even if sometimes obscured by cloud
her light soon beams through clearly.

(Number 885, by Ama Kyoshin)

The oak leaves remain on the branches until spring.
They are like old friendships that endure.

(Number 886, Anonymous)

The old spring in the field is no longer as fresh as it once was,
but those who remember it, still draw from it.

(Number 887, Anonymous)

I wish time could go back,
and bring past years again.

(Number 896, Anonymous)

I cannot prevent the passage of time.
I spend my forlorn days in idleness.

(Number 897, Anonymous)

This poem was addressed to a friend going to offer reverence at the Sumiyoshi Shrine.

Though fishermen may tell us of a place "good to live in,"
do not tarry, for "day lilies" grow there.

The word (place name) *Sumiyoshi* means “good to live in.” “Day lilies” make people forget.

(Number 917, by Mibuno Tadamine)

Some of the poems have a strongly Buddhist accent or nuance, but it is precisely these that convey not the Buddhist resignation to fate but rather an aesthetic perception of life that became identified as *mono no aware*. The remaining passages quoted are intended to convey this peculiarly Japanese way of describing life, ostensibly Buddhist but actually Shinto.

Everything is in flux here below,
like the Asuka River
where the pools of yesterday become
the rapids of today.

(Number 933, Anonymous)

Like the mist hanging on a peak
over which wild geese fly,
in this vale of sorrows, sadly,
my miserable heart is never carefree.

(Number 935, Anonymous)

We cannot abandon the world
each time misfortunes occur.
We can only feel sorrow.

(Number 936, Anonymous)

The dews resting on every leaf are the tears
of your sorrow
They remind you of sad things
that happened in years past.

(Number 949, Anonymous)

So sad and so forlorn is this world,
that only tears can console its grief.

(Number 941, Anonymous)

Is this world a dream or is it real?
I do not know which.
It could be either.

(Number 942, Anonymous)

I wish there was a monastery
amid the Yoshino mountains

to which I could retire
renouncing this miserable world!

(Number 950, Anonymous)

As I grow older, life becomes
more and more tiresome,
and so I will enter the Yoshino mountains,
following the rocky paths.

(Number 951, Anonymous)

The shrine at which
people with *sadness* pay reverence,
will finally be surrounded
by only *sad trees*.*

*There is a pun on *nageki*, meaning “sadness,” and on *Nage-ki*, meaning “sad trees.”

(Number 1055, by Lady Sanuki)

Alas, I have abandoned all hope.
All that is left now to me
is to see what I shall become.

(Number 1064, by Fujiwarano Okikaze)

The last section of the anthology is made up of court poems, some of which have Shinto liturgical significance. Four of these are cited.

Song in praise of Ohnaobi-no-kami
At the opening of the New Year,
I pile up the palace firewood.

(Number 1069)

This was a song chanted during the Yamato dance.

I love you as I do the snow that falls on Mount Katsuragi.
There we gather firewood and bind it with tree bark.

(Number 1070)

This was a song to please Amaterasu, the *kami* of the sun.

Please stop at the river and let your horse drink
so that I may see you longer before you depart.

(Number 1080)

This was a song of the *kami* winter festival.

Although ten thousand years pass,
the small pine tree at Kamo Shrine will never change its color.

(Number 1100, by Fujiwarano Toshiyuki)

RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS IN THE *SHIN KOKINSHŪ*

The *Shin Kokinshū* (full form is *Shin Koko Waka Shū*) dates to 1205 and was the eighth and final anthology to be completed in the style of Hitomaro. The battle of Dannoura led to the destruction of the Heike family by the Minamoto, which in turn established a new shogunate at Kamakura in 1192. Cloistered Emperor Go-Toba initiated the work and entrusted a group of editors to complete it. The authors are priests, aristocrats, and courtiers, so they do not necessarily represent the mood of ordinary people of the time in the same manner as did the *Man'yōshū*. However, as the persons responsible for religious ordinances, some of those writers did express ideas and feelings relevant to this study. The selection reflects these points. As in the case of the *Man'yōshū* and the *Kokinshū*, these poems are also signed by their authors. They likewise cover the spectrum of human feelings about life, love, and death, set against the seasons of the year and the corresponding beauty of nature. It is interesting also to read further poetic descriptions of Mt. Fuji emitting volcanic smoke. Here is an instance of direct continuity with the *Man'yōshū*, and indeed of the continuity that is a profound characteristic of Japanese culture throughout the ages.

A Selection of Poems from the *Shin Kokinshū* in Free Translation

Text: Free translation.

The following poem was written and presented to the Hiyoshi Shrine on a day of the rat (*Nezumi*).

So old are the pine trees on Shiga beach, one wonders,
on which day of the Rat were they planted?

(Number 16, by Fujiwarano Toshinari)

The winter snows on the mountain peaks
must have melted:

the River Kiyotaki now rages
with white foam.

(Number 27, by the priest Saigyo)

Mount Fuji's crater exudes smoke
with a cloud of mist.
Already hanging in the morning sky,
it reminds one of spring.

(Number 33, by ex-archbishop Jien)

Yearning for bygone days,
I lie in bed.
To my pillow
comes the scent of orange flowers.

(Number 240, by Princess Shikishi)

I do not know why,
but in autumn
feelings of pathos
come over me.

(Number 367, by Priest Saigyo)

This poem was written on the theme of the moon above the deep mountains and was given at the poetry reading on the night of August 15, presumably during a moon-viewing evening ritual.

In loneliness, I awake in my hut on a small hill.
How much more solitary must be they
who live in the mountains
and look at the moonlight peeping through the trees.

(Number 395, by Fujiwarano Yoshitsune)

At a similar poetry reading party, this time at Uji, in the first year of Kao, Fujiwarano Kanezane asked a group to write poems on the theme of the limpid river.

Old men guarding Uji Bridge,
have told me that since ancient times,
this limpid river has been flowing.

(Number 743, by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke)

O Keeper of the Isle,
consider the grains of sand

which take eight hundred days to cross,
as the number of our emperor's age.

(Number 745, by Fujiwara no Sanesada)

The next poem was written on the occasion of visiting the home of a dead lover.

The mattress where we lay and talked on autumn nights
remains as before.
But the one I loved is gone
like a fleeting dream.

(Number 792, by Fujiwara no Saneie)

The following poem was written on the death of Emperor Nara.

Mourning for the emperor
who is gone I keep year,
forgetting the passage of time

(Number 842, by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro)

The anthology runs through the seasons of the year, through congratulatory poems and elegies, samples of all of which have just been presented. The closing section is composed of sacred songs, many of which are concerned with Shinto and shrines. A selection of these should indicate the sentiments found in them.

This first song is said to have been sung by a Shinto priest sorrowing for the dilapidation of the Sumiyoshi Taisha, pretending it to be the oracle of the *kami*.

How cold I am!
Is it because of the night
or my poor clothes or the frost
falling from the broken roof?

(Number 1855)

This song is a reply to someone who wrote about worshipping at the Sumiyoshi Shrine.

Were they human,
I would ask them.
How often would the pines
at Suminoe be reborn?
The pines at Suminoe
were not very old,

but these young pines
now replace them.

(Number 1856)

The following words were said to be an oracle of the *kami* of the Kamo Shrine.

If I were unable to grant the prayer
of a worshipper,
I would return to the heavenly plain,
through the clouds.

(Number 1861)

This poem is composed about Sarutahiko-no-mikoto (the head of the earthly *kami*) who stood at the crossroads of earth and heaven, married Ame-uzume-no-mikoto, and guided Ninigi-no-mikoto, the grandson of Amaterasu, to Ise.

Across the eightfold clouds
in the vault of the heavens
the *kami* descended,
and I greeted him.

(Number 1866, by Kino Yoshimochi)

The author composed this poem after worshipping at the Outer Shrine (the Geku of Ise).

How happy I am to stand by the River Miya
praying to the *kami*
enshrined in the *Geku*.

(Number 1872, by Fujiwarano Sadaiye)

The imagery here is of the *gohei*, paper streamers, fluttering over the gifts of *sake*, rice, and fruit.

All is sacred in and around the shrine precincts,
even the paper streamers fluttering over the offerings.

(Number 1876, by ex-emperor Go-Toba)

The sentiments that inspired these poems should be read alongside the diary of the pilgrim who visited Ise (quoted in the final section of this chapter) and recorded his feelings. The sense of reverence that Ise inspires, recognized by the Japanese from times past, seems to linger as a haunting refrain in the minds of all who visit there and then try to express

their experience in poetry or prose. These poems were composed before the popularity of Ise was established in such a way that it became a center for pilgrimages. It was associated with the imperial family and as such was served by imperial envoys and courtiers, some of whom also recorded impressions of their visits. It should also be noted that these sacred songs are listed separately from songs that deal with Buddhist themes.

The pillars of the shrine
beside the Isuzu's river
must have been erected
to stand forever.

(Number 1882, by Fujiwarano Toshinari)

I offer homage at the Inner
and the Outer Shrines of Ise
praying for the long reign
of his Imperial Majesty,
offering a branch of *sakaki*.*

(Number 1883, by the Priest Ekei)

*The act of offering a *sakaki* branch completes the formal act of *seishiki sampai*, reverence at a shrine.

Not one day passes
but I pray
looking toward
the Outer Shrine of Ise.

(Number 1884, by Lady Echizen)

These words reflect the experience of offering worship at the Kamo Shrine in Kyoto.

I have paid homage at the shrine for years,
but the same sad countenance
is reflected
in the sacred river.

(Number 1888, by Lady Suwo)

The composer of this poem was a clerical assistant who went to offer reverence at Kasuga Taisha (Kasuga Jinja, as it was called then) and thereafter wrote this song, which he sent to Lady Suwano Naiji.

Prayer sashes worn
 over my shoulders flutter in the wind
 that sweeps down the mount of Kasuga.

(Number 1895, by Fujiwara no Sukenaka)

Kami of the house of Fujiwara,
 I live like the water that runs
 beneath the brambles.
 Hear my prayer, and permit me to prosper.

(Number 898, by Fujiwara no Toshinari)

Evergreen as are the pine leaves
 so is the grace
 of the *kami* of Mt. Oshio.

(Number 1900, by ex-archbishop Jien)

Visits by retired emperors (*Inzei*) to the Three Great Shrines of Kumano, the Kumano *Sanja*, were common. Emperor Go-Shirakawa made in all 23 pilgrimages to the Kumano *Sanja*. The following two poems commemorate visits to Kumano. The first celebrates the plum blossoms that created a fragrant atmosphere on the road to Kumano Shrine. The second was offered at the shrine.

I see the plum blossoms,
 sending forth fragrance.
 Before I reach the shrine,
 I feel the mercy of the *kami*.

(Number 1906, by Emperor Shirakawa)

I have come on pilgrimage,
 treading Kumano's mossy rocks.
 I pray that the *kami*
 will grant my prayer.

(Number 907, by ex-emperor Go-Toba)

This poem was composed along the Kumano River on the way to the Shingu, the New Shrine.

The boatmen using
 poles in the rapids,
 I go down the waters
 on my accustomed pilgrimage.

(Number 1098, by ex-emperor Go-Toba)

It seems that when Emperor Shirakawa went to the Kumano Shrine, his retinue composed poems at Shioya.

As the sea breeze wafts
 the smoke of boiling salt,
 so may my prayer
 move the *kami* to grant my wish.

(Number 1909, by Fujiwara no Saneyoshi)

On the occasion of an imperial visit to Kumano, members of the retinue scratched their names on the Iwashiro Shrine wall. This was inscribed on the beam of the *haiden*.

O *kami* of Iwashiro,
 I pray to you.
 Guide me through this dreamlike world.

(Number 1910, Anonymous)

When the wind blows
 upon the pines
 on Sumiyoshi Beach
 the spray of white waves showers thereon.

(Number 1913, by Fujiwara no Michitsune)

Worshipping the river *kami*
 I spread out many a robe;
 but oh, why
 do they not dry for days?

(Number 1916, by Mino Tsurayuki)

For complete English editions of the preceding texts, see *The Shin Kokinshū: A 13th-Century Anthology Edited by Imperial Edict*, translated by H. H. Honda (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1970).

IMPERIAL POETRY (*REKIDAI TENNŌ GYŌSEI*)

To close the exposition and discussion of poetry, and to demonstrate yet again continuity with the present, this section is composed of a selection of poems of emperors from the twelfth century to the twentieth century and includes some poems of the late emperor Showa. All of these relate to the culture of Shinto and are appropriate to this collection of source texts. They illustrate the primal place of the imperial institution as well as one of its important roles, namely, its poetic office. They are also touching in that they depict the purity and spirituality of the Japanese imperial incumbents who composed them. When one reads the simple words of the emperors, something of their Japanese aesthetic sense is imparted, and without a feeling for this, the spirituality of Shinto will remain phenomenologically inaccessible.

Text: Translation taken from Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai, *The World of Shinto* (Tokyo: Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai, 1985), pp. 87–98.

Emperor Go-Toba (r. 1183–1198)

The Gods

This heart that makes request
of the Isuzu River
Is deep;
surely it will be heard by
The heavenly shining goddess
in the sky
How happy!
O divine wind of Ise!
Reach even to the deep recesses of
This reverent heart.

Emperor Go-Saga (r. 1242–1246)

The Country

Land of the jewel-spear way
Descended from heaven—
Even such is this,
Our land of Japan

Secluded at Hachiman

Recalling the past
Hidden among the trees
at Iwashimizu
How my heart is refreshed!

Title Unknown

With the sacred tree
Planted firm,
And the bright shining mirror
Set thereon,
How august this land,
This divine land of Japan!

In Praise of the Shrine

The divine vow:
Clear like the waters of Iwashimizu
in the pure of heart—
How it fills me with hope!

Emperor Go-Fukakusa (r. 1246–1259)

Title Unknown

That the waters of Iwashimizu
Flourish

at their end—
 Might it be because
 The heart is clear
 at its depths?

Emperor Kameyama (r. 1259–1274)

Even the rough gods,
 Are not reluctant
 To give themselves for the world—
 Are not they, too, enlightened?
 Inherit the will
 Of the imperial gods,
 I think on each reign,
 Passing on to eternity.
 It is because this is not a world
 without crookedness,
 That I implore you, oh god
 of the unswerving sacred rope,
 of the upright grove at Tadasu.

Emperor Go-Uda (r. 1274–1287)

The Gods

By giving worship to the
 gods of heaven and shrines of earth,
 This, Our land of the reed plains
 Will surely be at peace.

Emperor Go-Fushimi (r. 1298–1301)

(From “Ten Poems Written When Performing Abstinence
 at the Iwashimizu Shrine”)

Flower

How reliable, how full of hope!
 It is just because the blessings of the gods
 do not wither,
 That the flowers of this august mountain
 have also come to bloom.

Memories

Recalling the mind of the *kami*
 that protects the realm,
 I am filled with shame for this body,
 so terribly inadequate.

The Gods

Even that shape, even those plants
 Are perfect;
 The mind of the *kami*—
 As always, full of life

Celebration

Descended traces, manifest avatars,
 The gods illuminate this,
 The land of sun's origin;
 Such firm bulwarks of Japan
 Shall never disappear.

Emperor Go-Ninji (r. 1301–1318)*The Gods*

O divine wind!
 It is I that prays for
 That ever-flowing purity
 Of the Isuzu River.

Emperor Hanazono (r. 1308–1318)*Title Unknown*

If there be no variance in
 The depths of the heart
 that makes the vow,
 Neither will there be disorder
 In the way of god and man.

The way that prevaricates
 and plays false,
 Will not find pardon
 In the bright heart
 Of the *kami*.
 If the Way of falsehood
 Were established in the world
 Who would be true to the righteous gods?

Emperor Go-Kameyama (r. 1383–1392)*Ise*

Gazing up at Mount Kamiki of
 the divine road,
 I see the light of the
 high-climbing sun,
 Radiant above all.

Emperor Go-Hanazono (r. 1428–1464)*Ise*

The stream of the Isuzu River
 May be clouded
 at its end,
 But guarded by the divine,
 Will it not become clear once again?

The Gods

Surely the gods will hear the heart
 That prays each morn,
 "Let no misfortune visit my people!"

Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado (r. 1465–1500)*Celebration*

Since the age of the gods,
 Passed down in perpetuity—
 Can I fail now in guarding
 those three treasures?
 To hear that the
 Hearts of the people
 are without care—
 What could give me
 greater pleasure
 Than this?

Emperor Go-Nara (r. 1526–1557)

May there be a Way!
 A Way in harmony with
 The spirit of
 each and every house,
 Passed down
 from age to age.

Emperor Ogimachi (r. 1560–1586)

Though the ages lead to myriad ages,
 Even to ten thousand generations,
 The only time forever eternal
 Is the present.

Emperor Go-Yozei (r. 1586–1611)*Words of Praise*

Be thou the guardian
 Of a reign that with righteous Way
 throughout the land

Reveres the blessings
 of the gods.
 If I maintain my prayers
 To the gods,
 Even a thousand generations
 Will not see the end to
 A world at peace.

Emperor Go Mizuno (r. 1611–1629)

Ise

That shrine pillar,
 Base of unmoving stone—
 Is it not eternal pattern
 For those who would establish themselves
 in this world?

That which lays the foundation for
 The Way of unclouded mind—
 Is it not that first-laid pillar of
 The shrine by the Isuzu River?

Emperor Reigen (r. 1663–1687)

Words of Praise before the Shrine

Before the sacred fence
 That guards this world
 from falsehood
 I cast my prayers
 And find assurance
 in the future.
 The god of the River Isuzu,
 Whom I entreat,
 Will surely be Our guard,
 Even to the end of
 That eternal stream.

Emperor Sakuramachi (r. 1735–1747)

Memories

And what of this world,
 Where things don't always
 go as planned?—
 I would give solace
 To all people.
 How can there be concern
 About my own lot,
 In this heart that prays

each morn,
 "Land, be at peace"?

Following in the path of
 Deities who for long
 have ruled this land,
 I think only on
 The truth unchanging
 From age to age.

How Happy to Meet with an Age of Peace

How happy the spring
 In a world without waves,
 Borne on [the] clear stream of
 The River Isuzu.

In Celebration

From the age of the gods
 To the generations of men,
 The way of lord and servant
 has continued without change
 In this land of simple virtue,
 This land of Japan.

Emperor Meiji (r. 1868–1912)

The Gods

To commune with the
 Heart of the unseen divine
 Is naught but the truth of
 The human minds.

To lift one's face to
 The unseen divine
 Without shame—
 Such is true sincerity
 in the human heart.

To see such things
 Without precedent
 Unfolding in the world,
 Can only be due to
 The leading of the gods.

Night and day,
 Divine hands of protection
 Extend
 Even to the ends of the land
 My mind cannot reach.

The Unclouded
 Human heart
 Finds its clarity in
 the radiant light
 of the mighty god.

This land of Japan,
 Offspring of the gods—
 Let not the old ways
 of divine worship
 Be forgotten!

Emperor Showa (r. 1926–1988)

Snow before the Shrine (1931)

With heart purified
 In the falling snow,
 It is for world peace
 That I pray
 Before the gods

Upon Reaching the Age of Seventy

Even this morn,
 Reaching three score and ten,
 My prayers are for naught
 But peace in the land.

Upon Pilgrimage to the Inner Shrine on October 18 (1975)

Visiting the shrine
 On the serene Isuzu River,
 The morning is warm
 Even though winter.

THE OKAGEMAIRI (PILGRIMAGE) TO ISE

The texts in this chapter are intimately connected to and express the feelings and spirit of Shinto. The final passage quoted below comes much later, from the period when pilgrimages of thanksgiving to Ise (*okagemairi*) had become popular after the promotion of Ise from the twelfth century. The most famous of these pilgrimages took place during the Edo period in the years 1705, 1771, and 1830. The name appears to have come from the benefactors along the road who made it possible for people to eat and rest during the long journey. The modern journey from Tokyo takes two hours on the Tokkaido express (the Bullet Train) to Nagoya, followed by 90 minutes on a local train. It must have taken

months on foot in the Edo period, and consequently, support was needed on the way. The 1830 pilgrimage was marred by political and economic unrest because people actually abandoned their businesses to go on the pilgrimage and the country was thrown into chaos. The earlier pilgrimages seem to have been more spiritual affairs, however, and even the 1830 pilgrimage, for all its problematic influences, was not condemned because it was adding moral strength to the basic concepts of the social system, reverence for Ise and the imperial tradition.

While the passage quoted is much later than the early poetic writings, it does show some of the continuity of thought and feeling I have discussed. Two words come to mind when reading it. *Kashikomi* (reverence) and *kansha* (gratitude), central emotions of Shinto, are clearly expressed. The same sentiments toward the divine can be detected as in the earlier works. In that sense, it is a fitting text with which to conclude the chapter.

The passage describes the appearance of the Grand Shrines of Ise and the pilgrim's response. The shrines underwent their periodic reconstruction known as *Shikinen-sengu* in 1993. I was privileged to be among the first non-Japanese to be invited to lay the white stones within the fence of the *Geku*, the Outer Shrine, in the ritual of *Oshiro-ishii-mochi*. Being able to walk through the inner grounds and stand close by the buildings that thereafter are seen only by priests was a remarkable experience. While I am not Japanese, I can, in a modest way, sense the emotions of the pilgrim at the awe-inspiring sight the shrines present. The description provided by the author can be tested by anyone going to Ise and taking note of the details described. They are instantly recognizable from his words.

Text: From the translation by A. L. Sadler of *Ise Daijingu Sankeiki* (Diary of a Pilgrim to Ise) (Tokyo: Zaidan Hojin Meiji Seitoku Kin-en Gakkai [the Meiji Japan Society]), 1940.

When on the way to these Shrines one does not feel like an ordinary person any longer as though reborn in another world. How solemn is the unearthly shadow of the groves of ancient pines and *chamaecyparis*, and there is a delicate pathos in the few rare flowers that have withstood the winter frosts so gaily. The cross-beam of the Torii or Shinto gate way is without any curve, symbolizing by its straightness the sincerity of the direct beam of the Divine promise. The shrine-fence is not painted red nor is the shrine itself roofed with cedar shingles. The eaves, with their rough reed thatch, recall memories of the ancient days when the roofs were not trimmed. So did they spare expense out of compassion for the hardships of the people. Within the Shrine there are many buildings where the festival rites are performed, constructed just like those in the

Imperial Palace. Buddhist monks may go only as far as the Sacred Tree known as the Cryptomeria of the Five Hundred Branches (Ioe-no-sugi).

They may not go to the Shrine. This, too, is a ceremonial rule of the Imperial Court. . . .

When I went to worship at the Shrine of the Moon-Deity Tsukiyomi the fallen leaves in the grove covered my traces and the winter powered the foliage in the court. And the name of Tsukiyomi recalled so vividly the age of the deities that I was inspired to write:

How many long years
 Has this ancient shrine-fence stood
 Wet with countless dews,
 And the Moon of the God's Age
 Is this selfsame autumn moon.

I fear that my clumsy pen can hardly do justice to the road from Yamada to the Inner Shrine. Sometimes the spray over the hills seems to reflect their reversed silhouettes, sometimes the way is shrouded in cloud so that the countless peaks of the hills are hidden. As we approach the village of Uji the name is welcome to us with its suggestion of nearness to the Capital, and as it lies under the hills at the south-west of the Outer Shrine it is a place where you might imagine people would make cottages to live in retirement. As we went on deep in the shadow of the chamaecyparis groves there was not even the smoke of any habitation to be seen, and we felt as though we had suddenly transcended the bounds of this painful world, while the hills with their cloudcapped mystery transported us to the world of Taoist fairyland.

When I entered the second Torii or Shinto Gate Way to worship it was dark under the pines at the foot of the hill and the branches were so thickmatted that one could hardly discern "the Pine of one hundred branches." The cryptomerias within the Shrine precincts were so dense that even the oblique projecting roof-beams could hardly be made out. When I came to reflect on my condition my mind is full of the Ten Evils and I felt shame at so long forsaking the will of Buddha, yet as I wear one of the three monkish robes, I must feel some chagrin at my estrangement from the Way of the Deities.

And particularly is it the deeply-rooted custom of this Shrine that we should bring no Buddhist rosary of offering, or any special petition in our hearts and this is called "Inner Purity." Washing in sea water and keeping the body free from all defilement is called "Outer Purity." And when both these Purities are attained there is then no barrier between our mind and that of the Deity. And if we feel to become thus one with the Divine, what more do we need and what is there to pray for? When I heard that this was the true way of worshipping at the Shrine, I could not refrain from shedding tears of gratitude.

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Chapter 2

EARLY HISTORICAL AND LITURGICAL DOCUMENTS

INTRODUCTION: SHINTO AND EARLY BUDDHIST CULTURE

This section introduces a variety of texts that relate in part to the organization and administration of Shinto. The early civil codes of the Nara period, the Taika Reform, and the Taiho Reform, followed by the Yoro Code, were modeled on the legal system of Tang dynasty China, which the Japanese had studied and sought to emulate. Indeed, most of Japan's efforts during that period were designed to catch up with China and the high level of material civilization visible there, and to share the vision of the Chinese emperor for a *pax Buddhica* in Asia. To this end, the Todai-ji in Nara was constructed to house what was then the world's largest bronze cast Buddha. (See Professor Antonio Forte, "Some Characteristics of Buddhism in East-Asia," paper presented at the International Symposium on East Asian Culture and Korean Culture, Seoul, Korea, October 21–23, 1986 [Seoul: Institute of Korean Human Sciences], pp. 46–61.)

The Japanese desire not to be left behind has energized the culture to emulate whatever may be greatest in its day. In the Meiji period, Tokyo Tower was built to be taller than the Eiffel Tower in Paris, and in the post-1945 period, Tokyo Disneyland was built to be larger than the original in the United States. From data such as these, it is often assumed that the Japanese easily succumb to the seductive powers of alien cultures

if they are sufficiently impressed. Japan certainly tries to come to terms with alien cultures quickly and is not afraid to learn and adopt new ways, particularly if these contain new skills and techniques. Lest it be thought, however, that Japanese culture is merely a succession of foreign imports, the Japanese have traditionally managed to acquire much of the form of the alien cultures while being affected less by the substance. As Nakamura Hajime observed, Buddhism was introduced in the Nara period not to save the people's souls, but rather to strengthen Japanese tribalism (Nakamura Hajime, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples* [Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1964], p. 457). In the Meiji period, the slogan *wakon yosai* aptly sums up the principle "(Eastern) Japanese spirit, Western techniques."

The Nara period is indeed closely linked with Buddhism, as was the subsequent Heian period. Nevertheless, the traditional religious rituals and activities of the Japanese were preserved in the various legal codes promulgated during these periods. In some of the liturgical formulae (*norito*) designed to be intoned at the performance of specific festivals or rites, Chinese styles were used in costume and in language, but underneath, certain things Japanese remained to surface at a later date. At the psychological level, it is a major question as to what extent Buddhism did actually permeate the Japanese soul. I have pointed out elsewhere (Stuart D. B. Picken, *Buddhism: Japan's Cultural Identity* [Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1980], p. 60) something that has been noted by experts in the field of the fine arts, that Japanese Buddhist statuary represented a transformation of the image of the Buddha into something more benign and gentle, more round-faced and mellow than the Chinese and Korean figures on which they were modeled. Stated in other terms, they transformed the image of the Buddha into the appearance their artists judged appropriate to a *kami*. It is intriguing to wonder what these ancient Japanese were like, and how they really viewed the immigrant culture. It is tempting, as some scholars have done, depending on how evidence is presented, to suggest that Japan was indeed consumed by Chinese civilization, especially Buddhism, and thereby Japan was actually transformed. But there were reactions to Chinese civilization and rejections of Chinese rites, especially those sacrificial rites associated with Taoist ceremonies.

Perhaps the point might be argued from the Chinese perspective. Chinese dynastic records offer occasional insights into Japan, and in them we can see that the Chinese regarded the Japanese as quite different from themselves, identifying traits of national character that appear, in some

instances, to have survived into the twenty-first century. The following passage is one such example.

A CHINESE VIEW OF JAPAN

The oldest written records about Japan are documents known as the *Wei Chih* (The History of the Kingdom of Wei). The earliest description of the Japanese found in the *Wei Chih* includes the following interesting observations.

Text: Ryusaku Tsunoda, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich (South Pasadena, Calif., 1951), pp. 8–16.

Father and mother, elder and younger brothers and sisters live separately, but at meetings there is no distinction on account of sex . . . it is their general custom to go barefoot.

Respect is shown by squatting down. They are much given to strong drink. They are a long lived race, and persons who reach 100 are common.

All men of high rank have four or five wives; others two or three. The women are faithful and not jealous. There is no robbery or theft and litigation is infrequent . . . they practice divination by burning bones, and by that means, they ascertain good and bad luck.

When they undertake voyages, they appoint a man whom they style the "fortune keeper." He is not allowed to wash, eat meat or approach women. When they are fortunate and return safely, they make him valuable presents; but if they fall ill or disaster comes, they set it down to the fortune keeper's failure to keep his vows, and together they put him to death.

In the Queen country . . . the men both small and great tattoo their faces and work designs on their bodies . . . they use only an inner and no outer coffin. When the funeral is over, the whole family go into the water and wash. They have distinctions of rank, and some are vassals to others. Taxes are collected. There are markets in each province where they exchange their superfluous produce for articles which they need.

When men of the lower class meet a man of rank, they leave the road and retire to the grass. When they address him, they either squat or kneel with both hands to the ground. This is their way of showing respect. They express assent by the sound A!

I would point out that several items listed constitute a profile of the modern Japanese, such as the hierarchical system, the deference to rank, the proclivity for alcohol, the practice of bowing, and the penchant for the use of fortune tellers, even by people of rank and education. Propitious days for starting a business, traveling, or commencing a new ven-

ture are often calculated meticulously from a cosmic calendar, not infrequently by a Shinto priest. And of course, the tattoo marks on the backs of Edo period personalities through to the modern *yakuka* (gang member) is another sign of continuity. Towns whose names indicate a specific market day, such as Yokkaichi and Itsukaichi, still exist. For anyone interested in pursuing these themes visually, I recommend Fosco Mariani's brilliant work *Patterns of Continuity* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1978), especially the photographic section at the end.

Of all the points noted by the Wei dynasty historians, the one to which I would draw the attention of skeptics is the habit of ritual lustration after touching any object of impurity. A whole family would bathe in the river after attending funeral rites. About this I wish to make three observations. First, this custom still exists in the form of scattering salt in the *genkan* (entranceway) of one's own home after attending a funeral. Mourners at a funeral receive a small sachet of salt for this purpose. Second, people who have been contaminated by death, such as having recently attended a funeral, will usually decline to attend a celebratory event for fear of bearing impurity or misfortune with them that would work ill for others. Genuine taboos on this matter exist and survive in a way that, if the records are accurate, is quite traditional. Finally, the act of washing in a river, as I suggested in chapter 1, is the generic ritual of Shinto, going back to the *misogi* performed by Izanagi-no-mikoto in the Tachibana River. The fact that *misogi* is still practiced appears to confirm the point that in spite of all the Chinese influence, certain ways of thinking and behaving have survived that may justifiably be called purely Japanese and pure Shinto.

In modern times, the distinction between the generic Japanese and the imported can still be distinguished in the manner of reading *norito*. I have observed at a shrine that was formerly a *Jingu-ji*, a shrine and temple combined, where Shinto and elements of esoteric Buddhism were traditionally mixed, an interesting way of marking the difference. When the priest was reciting the *norito* before waving the *haraigushi* (a wand of paper streamers that symbolizes purification) to address the *kami* of heaven and earth, he used the *yamato kotoba* (classical Japanese terms), namely *Amatsu-kami Kunitsu-kami* and *Yao-yorozu no kamitachi*. When he was holding a *suzu* (a Buddhist-style bell that originated in India as a device of exorcism), he chanted *Ten-shin Ji-shin*, which was the Japanese version of the Chinese reading of the same characters.

There is little point in extensive quotations from these codes, because they are primarily preoccupied with setting up a modern state on the Chinese model of the age. But even here are some points to bear in mind

for later reading. Another large part of the Chinese heritage was Confucian ethics, the values that were the basis of Shotoku Taishi's Seventeen Clause Constitution, the moral order upon which Japanese society was to be based. The National Learning Scholars of the Edo period frequently made the point that while China invented Confucianism, it never really worked there except in theory, because Chinese history was a model not of harmony, but of dynastic wars and revolutions. Japan alone, they claimed, was peaceful and harmonious, and Confucianism worked there because Japan was ruled over by a line of emperors, unbroken and descended from the *kami* of the sun. Japan was indeed the *kami no kuni*, the land of the *kami*. The nation's spiritual roots were deeply related to the *kami* and to the imperial succession. The early thinkers who came to this conclusion did so out of their study of literature and history. Later thinkers saw the political merits of the idea and used it effectively in the modernization process, which will be discussed later.

A second point to note is that there were attempts to link Confucian values and Shinto ideas directly, particularly in the work of Yamazaki Ansai in the seventeenth century. The distinction was being drawn between Buddhist, Shinto, and Confucian systems of thought, a point made earlier in Japanese history by Toyotomo Hideyoshi in the sixteenth century, defined by Ninomiya Sontoku in the nineteenth century, and finally embodied in the Meiji Constitution of 1899. These latter expositions of the idea were not fabrications of the moment but rather the logical outcome of a process of thought that goes back much further and that depends ultimately on Japanese awareness of what is Japanese and what is Shinto.

EARLY LEGAL CODES AND SHINTO

Before the first great systematization of Japanese political life, the status of Shinto seems to have been closely related to the protective *kami* of the various clans that were uniting to form the nation. According to the records of the *Nihongi* (Aston's translation, pp. 145 and 177), during the reigns of emperors Sujin and Suinin, shrine guilds were formed to serve shrines, known as *kanbe*, and shrine lands called *kandokoro* were provided as sources of income. Religious rituals were put into the hands of an office known as the *kanzukasa*. Even as Buddhism was making headway in the court and in the country, we still find concern about *kami* worship surviving. Empress Suiko promulgated the following rescript,

the terms of which are reminiscent of the rescript issued by Emperor Meiji in 1870.

Text: From Aston, *Nihongi*, p. 135.

Our Imperial Ancestors, in their government of the world, reverently paid respect to the gods of heaven and earth, worshipped mountains and rivers, and were well adjusted to nature. In our reign shall there be any remissness in the worship of the gods of heaven and earth? Let our ministers with their full heart do reverence to the gods of heaven and earth.

The Taika Reform of 645 was aimed primarily at creating a central government, with Buddhist and Confucian values as the moral basis of society. Shinto rites, however, were not totally neglected, as a few extracts from the *Nihongi* will show.

Text: Soga Kurayamada, Taika Year 1 (645), Aston, *Nihongi*, p. 199.

First of all, the gods of heaven and earth should be propitiated by worship: thereafter the affairs of government ought to be considered.

The emperor spoke, in the course of issuing a decree to the court messengers of the Eastern provinces in 646, about presenting offerings to the *kami*.

Text: Aston, p. 216.

With regard moreover to Kuni no Miyako who have disobeyed Our edict by sending presents to the Governors of their provinces, and at length joining with them in the pursuit of gain, constantly conceive of foul wickedness, repressive measures are indispensable. But although such are our thoughts, we have only begun to occupy Our new palace, and are about to make offerings to all the Kami, both which matters belong to the present year.

An imperial rescript a few years later demands reverence for the *kami*.

Text: Imperial rescript, Hakuchi Year 1 (650), Aston, p. 239.

Let all from ministers down to functionaries, with pure hearts reverence the gods of heaven and earth, and one and all accepting the glad omen, make the Empire to flourish.

In 659, the provincial governor of Izumo was given instructions to repair the great shrine of Istuki. This was followed by an omen.

Text: Aston, p. 263.

In this year, the Kuni no Miyakko of Idzumo was commanded to repair the shrine of the Itsuki God. A fox bit off the end of a creeper which a labourer of the district of Ou held in his hand. Moreover a dog brought in his mouth a dead man's hand and forearm and laid it in the Ifuya shrine. (Signs that the Empress was about to die.)

In 670, new shrines were built on the mountains near Mii, and offerings were made to them.

Text: Aston, p. 293.

3rd month, 9th day. Close to Miwi, on the mountain, Shinto places of worship were laid out, and offerings of cloth distributed to them. The litany was pronounced by Nakatomi no Kane no Muraji.

The image of Buddhism totally swamping the worship of *kami* is not completely true to the extant records of the time. It should also be remembered that the earliest use made of Buddhist sutras was to please the *kami* of rain so that the harvest would be successful.

The first systematization of shrines and their classification was undertaken in the Omi Code, promulgated in 665 by Emperor Tenchi. It was revised in 689 in the Tenmu Code and in 701 in the Taiho Reform. The provisions of Taiho have been lost, but the Yōrō Code remains. The *Jingikan* (Office of Shinto *Kami*) dates to this period, as does the *Dajokan* (Council of State). The *Jingikan* is always named before the *Dajokan* (see Umeda Yoshihiko, *Nihon Shukyo Seido Shi (History of the Organization of Japanese Religion* [Kyoto, 1962], pp. 128–29). This would lend some credibility to the claim of Emperor Meiji that the foundation of the state was indeed *saisei itchi*, the unity of worship and government.

YŌRŌ-RYŌ (CIVIL CODES OF THE YORO PERIOD, 718)

Following the model of Tang dynasty China, laws were drawn up relating to the worship of the *kami*. These were called the *Jingiryō* and prescribed in detail the manner in which religious observances were to be carried out. Like the two previous sets of regulations, and the other ordinance in between, such as the *Omi no Chotei-ryō* of 668 and the slightly later *Asuka no Kiyomihara no Chotei-ryō*, they are of interest because they show the manner in which Japanese sacral society was

formed and how it was expected to function. They are usually recognized as important texts. The following brief extracts indicate the attitude toward Shinto rituals. Brief passages are offered here in a free translation. They focus on forms of abstinence required before the performance of important rituals, rules that are still observed today.

Text: Modern free translation.

At the time of an imperial accession, all the *kami* of heaven and the *kami* of earth must be shown due reverence. Preceding these acts of worship, there will be periods of abstinence. *Ara-imi* (partial abstinence) will be observed for one month. *Ma-imi* (total abstinence) will be observed for the three days immediately preceding worship. *Mitegura* (offerings) shall be presented to the *kami* within three months.

The next section quoted relates to some of the acts from which priests should abstain. These practices are also still observed. Some of the taboos I noted in the introduction to this section appear again.

Priests and officials officiating at the worship of the *kami* may attend to their duties as normal during the period of *ara-imi*. However, they should scrupulously avoid the following: taking part in a funeral ritual, visiting the sick, and eating animal meats. They should not be involved in legal matters, pronouncing the death sentence, and officiating at an execution. Music must be avoided and likewise all other forms of impurity.

When the actual worship of the *kami* is taking place, officials should concern themselves with that alone, and avoid any other activities. The period of *Ma-imi* should be followed by a second period of *ara-imi*.

SHOKU NIHONGI (FURTHER CHRONICLES OF JAPAN)

This text is usually dated as 797 and is attributed to Sugano Mamichi, who compiled the materials by imperial order as a continuation of the narratives of the *Nihongi*. It deals with the reigns of Emperor Monmu to Emperor Kanmu (697–791) and is a 40-volume work. From the viewpoint of a sourcebook of Shinto, it contains many *senmyō*, imperial edicts written in ancient Japanese that have the status of classics in the history of Shinto. The key to understanding why these edicts have such importance lies in the kind of terminology they use. The reference to the *kami* of heaven and earth became basic forms of address for all later *norito*, and the Yuki and Suki provinces gave their names to the two buildings used in the *Daijōsai*, the accession rite of a new emperor. The term

matsurigoto, sacral government, appears frequently, as do words such as “pure,” “bright,” and “direct,” all terms of Shinto ethics. Indeed, some scholars have claimed that the basic moral consciousness of classical Shinto and the ancient Japanese is enshrined within these edicts. The National Learning Scholars of the Edo period also returned frequently to these edicts to seek the spirit of the classical era and to discover the true character of the imperial institution that commanded so much of their time in thought and study. The passages are likewise in free translation, designed to highlight the points made previously.

Text: Modern free translation.

In the eleventh month of the first year of Tenpyo Shingo, Emperor Shotoku issued the following edict:

We do now proclaim this day to be the day of the feast of Toyoakari, following the Festival of Great Thanksgiving. This occasion shall, however, be different from all such previous events, since, as a follower of the Buddha, we have received the bodhisattva teachings. Therefore, above all, we serve the Three Treasures, and then we worship the *kami* of heaven and the *kami* of earth. We then may take thought for those of noble birth, lords, appointed officials, and the people. Thus we may turn back to the matters of state. Mark this festival, and drink the black rice wine and the white rice wine made from the sacred fields of the provinces of Yuki and Suki.

The emperor also declared, “The *kami* are believed by the people to avoid contact with Buddhas. But if one reads the sutras, it is clear that it is the myriad of *kami* who protect the Buddha’s law and revere it. It is not strange that Buddhist monks and ordinary people should join together in reverence of the *kami*. Thus we shall take part in the festival of Toyoakari after the Great Thanksgiving with no taboos against the Buddha.”

(From Book 26)

In the first year of Hoki, Emperor Konin was enthroned in the *Daigokuden* (Great Hall). Thereupon he renamed the year the Era of the Jeweled Tortoise (Hoki) and enunciated the edict in these terms: “Hear now, those of noble birth, lords, officials and people: In the eighth month, we revived the imperial rescript of emperor Shotoku, whose very name we utter with awe. Thus there passed to us the imperial authority. Now, let all know that we have respectfully accepted that authority without venturing to the right or left.

The task of this reign is, we believe, to be achieved with tranquility and peace of mind by the grace of the *kami* of heaven and the *kami* of earth. The emperor may govern the realm if he is blessed with ministers

who are wise and competent. Although weak and frail, we shall see to the business of sacred government (*matsurigoto*) in this land entrusted to us

...

Therefore, with a pure and bright heart and with direct words, we would effect the government of this realm for the true well-being of all. Hear this edict which we do by these presents proclaim to you all.

(From Book 26)

KOGO SHŪI (GLEANINGS FROM WORDS OF ANTIQUITY)

This text was originally assembled by Imbe no Hironari around 807 and presented to Emperor Heizei (r. 806–809). The Imbe and the Nakatomi clans were two of the most important Shinto families of the early period. The Nakatomi, particularly Nakatomi no Kamatari (614–669), rose to great prominence in the field of Shinto rituals, as the presence of their name in the *Engishiki* demonstrates. The Imbe, by contrast, went into a minority position, in spite of their protests about the neglect of traditional practices. When Emperor Heizei was seeking to understand the background to the situation he faced, Imbe no Hironari used the occasion to compose a history of the clans from mythological times to the present. He tried to establish an orthodox line of Shinto based on the Imbe to counteract the influence of the Nakatomi family. The text contains information and events not recorded in either of the two principal classics and therefore belongs to the literature of early Shinto. The passages quoted are a free rendering of explanations of important events in history and mythology.

Text: Modern free translation.

In commenting upon the incident when Amaterasu Omikami hid in the Ame-no-iwato after being affronted by Susano-o-no-mikoto, and from which she was enticed by a ribald dance performed by Ame-uzume-no-mikoto, the text has a description of what happened when the light of the universe again began to shine:

Once again, the heavens were filled with light and the *kami* were again able to see each other's features, their faces shining brilliantly. All the *kami* were filled with great joy and began to sing and dance, exclaiming with outstretched hands, "How wonderful and joyous, how pure and clean."

Of the *kami* of the sun, it notes:

Amaterasu Omikami is the ancestor of the imperial line. The imperial family is her progeny. She is the parent and master of all the *kami*, and there is none greater than she. Can any *kami* challenge her? No, not one.

Taking a rather literal line toward the amazing tales of the *kami-yo* (the age of the *kami*), the text presses home the meaning of Japan as the *kami no kuni*, the land of the *kami*, by pointing to some of the unique aspects of that age:

The narratives in the classics of the *kami-yo* may seem like the unsystematic and disordered account of the beginnings of the world as told in the Chinese accounts of it. So they appear to be simply stylized fabrications. However, in the same way that it would be difficult to convince a summer insect that ice exists, so is it also difficult to convince the skeptical of the truth of these legends. Nevertheless, in Japan, there are many traces of evidence of the amazing deeds of the *kami* during the *kami-yo*. These items of evidence point to the reality behind the narratives and, if studied in detail, should prevent people from seeing these tales as merely stylized fabrications.

I would draw attention yet again to the preoccupation with the imperial succession, the importance of the rituals related to it, and the strong belief in Japan as the *kami no kuni*. However much Japan was emulating Chinese culture, there was a deep concern to maintain what was traditionally Japanese, and to speak of it in a manner that was unambiguously affirmative of its uniqueness and quality. How literally they believed in the mythology is highly debatable, but the defense of it as being the explanation of Japan's unique origin and destiny seems deeply rooted in the Japanese mind and in Japanese history. It is not, as some have contended, the invention of modern times. The evidence from the seventh century seems indisputable. It corresponds to a type of awareness that I would associate with Shinto of the imperial household.

SENDAI KUJI HONGI (AUTHENTIC RECORDS OF PAST AGES AND ANCIENT MATTERS)

This is an undated anonymous text usually attributed to the Mononobe family, who, like the Imbe, wished to establish their own authority and prestige. The Mononobe family at one time rivaled the imperial family in power and authority but went into decline over the years, as other

important groups began to show ascendancy. The principal manner in which arguments were set forth on the subject of authority and rights was seeking to derive the family line from a mythological origin and to have this authenticated by a person of known authority. The Mononobe looked to Umashimaji-no-mikoto as their progenitorial *kami*, who is identified in the text.

To authenticate the claims in the text, a contemporary rumor attributed it to Shotoku Taishi (574–622), whose authorship was questioned in view of the fact that some events supposedly recorded by him happened after his death in 622. Nevertheless, the Yoshida family of Kyoto and the Watarai family of Ise found some of the material significant. Indeed, they placed it on a par with the classics on account of its content.

The Edo period *Kokugaku* scholars found it particularly valuable in their own research into the origins of Japanese culture. They also took the view that some of the information about ancient beliefs and rituals appeared to have come from some much older source that had been lost or had been expanded into a new text by the Mononobe. At any rate, in spite of questions about its historicity as such, there is no doubt that the text contains material of authentic antiquity, and with its ten volumes it has to be considered a significant text in the history of Shinto.

In book 7, which deals with the origin of the *Mitamashizume no Matsuiri*, known also as the *Chinkon-sai* (the festival of calming of the soul), the text tries to attribute the origin of numerous important rituals to the ancestral *kami* of the Mononobe. The discussion also includes reference to the imperial regalia, the mirror, jewel, and sword. This is particularly interesting in that the identification of the imperial regalia with the Grand Shrines of Ise was not claimed until the fourteenth century. The narrative, offered in free translation, cleverly attributes imperial authority to the ancestral *kami* of the Mononobe.

Text: Modern free translation.

Within the Imperial residence, Umashimaji-no-Mikoto served the imperial jewels that authenticated the sovereignty of the Heavenly Grandson, and prayed for the long life of the emperor while pacifying his soul.

The heavenly jewels, symbols of divine origin, are the 10 items that Umashiji-no-Mikoto's father, Nigihayahi-no-Mikoto, received from Amaterasu-Omikami in the high plain of heaven. These bear witness to the legitimate succession of the Heavenly Grandson, as descended from the *kami* of heaven. They are as follows: a mirror of distant shores, a mirror of near shores, a Yata sword, a jewel to inspire life, a jewel to give health and strength, a jewel to revive life from death, a jewel to protect the roads

from ill fortune, a scarf to chase snakes, a scarf to scare bees, and a scarf with various other powers.

In the event that the *kami* of heaven experienced any ill fate or misfortune, they were to invoke the jewels of heaven accompanied by the incantation “Hi, fu, mi, yo, i, mu, nana, ya, kokono, tarito.” Gently shaking the jewels, they were to perform the divine rituals. It was thought that if this were done correctly, even the dead could come back to life. This is the ritual of *furu no koto*, or word shaking, which was handed down within the Mononobe clan. On the day appointed for the *hinkon-sai*, the shrine maidens of Sarume would lead other maiden singers as they chanted the word-shaking incantation while performing *kagura*, the sacred dance.

It is interesting to note the antiquity of the *furitama* (soul shaking), a prerequisite for waterfall purification, and *chinkon*, the calming of the soul after the purification is complete. If this seventh-century account is to be believed, we again have paradigmatic forms of Shinto present in the liturgical texts. There have been arguments that aspects of Shinto are a Meiji period invention. For example, Susan E. Tyler, in “Is There a Religion Called Shinto?” (in *Rethinking Japan*, vol. 11, ed. Andriana Boscaro, Franco Gatti, and Massimo Raveri [Kent, England: Japan Library Ltd., 1990], pp. 261–70), claims, “In truth, there is little left of pre-Meiji Shinto” (p. 269).

The late professor Toshihito Gamo of Kokugakuin University used the metaphor (similar to one used by Professor Hirai) of a doll that could wear many clothes to describe the culture of the Japanese, which, he suggested, was why at first sight, many people found it natural to think of Japan as in some way “Buddhist.” In view of the transformation that Buddhism had to undergo to be accepted, including accommodation to pre-Buddhist ideas, according to the Rev. Fr. Thomas Imoos (see chapter 9), whose paper “Jungian Archetypes in Shinto Rituals” is most illuminating, it is equally possible to ask the question “Is there such a religion as Buddhism in Japan?” The test question for this is simply how much of Japanese Buddhism is identifiable as Buddhism outside of Japan. Regardless of the answer, the problem perhaps cannot be solved indisputably, since the question of what would count as overwhelming evidence is not easily answered. Even if Shinto were to be, in some way, unreal, we still need to posit the existence of something like it to explain the changes that took place in Japanese Buddhism over the centuries.

ENGISHIKI (ORDINANCES OF ENGI, 901–903)

The *Engishiki* (The Ordinances of Engi, 901–923) dates to the early Heian period (796–1185), when the capital was located in Kyoto. In

contrast to the *ritsu* (which dealt with matters of criminal law) and the *ryō* (which were concerned with civil matters), the government also published *shiki*, which were ordinances on how the codes were to be applied. The Emperor Daigo (r. 897–930) was responsible for the creation of the *Engishiki* by ordering Fujiwara Tokihira to update the earlier *Konin-shiki* of 820 and the *Jogan-shiki* of 871, which in turn had updated earlier codes. Of the 50 volumes of documents he collated, 20 percent, or 10 volumes, are devoted exclusively to Shinto rituals, *norito*, and imperial accession rituals.

Text: Robert S. Ellwood, *The Feast of Kingship: Accession Ceremonies in Ancient Japan* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973), pp. 100–159.

This text is a translation of those portions of the *Engishiki* that deal with the rituals surrounding the accession of heirs to the imperial heritage. It can be read in connection with the section on imperial household Shinto but fits better here because it can be linked with other literature of ritual and liturgical significance. Many questions exist about the *Daijōsai*, for example, whether every emperor performed the ceremony or whether some were unable to do so, for various reasons. History suggests that it was not uniformly observed. Nevertheless, the *Daijōsai* did take place on the accession of the majority of emperors, and certainly since the Meiji period has meticulously followed the rites described below, including divination to determine locations and the erection of sacred pavilions for the rituals in which the new incumbent truly becomes the emperor. The meaning of the *Daijōsai* is complex; its interpretation is discussed separately in a different context in chapter 4.

Whenever the accession to the throne takes place by the 7th month of a given year the *Senso Daijō-sai* is held in that year; if in the 8th month or later, then the festival is held in the following year. (This refers to accession after abdication and does not mean enthronement after national mourning for the death of a Sovereign.)

In the given year, the officials in charge determine by divination beforehand the provinces and districts for the *yuki* and *suki*. When the announcement has been made the orders are handed down according to precedent, and then they determine who shall supervise and who shall conduct the ceremonies.

At all times, there are Imperial Messengers for the Great Purification. In the first decade of the 8th month these are selected by divination and then dispatched: one to Left and Right Capital Offices, one to the five inner provinces, one for each of the seven circuits. In the second decade once more Imperial Messengers are selected by divination and again dispatched: one to Left and

Right Capital, one to the five inner provinces, one each to the provinces of Oomi and Ise. On the last day of the month the civil officials residing in the capital assemble and perform purification as they do for the ceremony for the two seasons. (31:1245)

At all times, there is to be one month of partial abstinence (starting the first day of the 11th month and lasting through the last day); total abstinence is for three days (starting on the ox day and ending on the hare day). This month of abstinence is announced in advance to the officials in charge, and when the order is handed down to the inner provinces no one may participate in Buddhist feasts or maigre feasts. The language to be used is: death is called "getting well," illness is called "slumber," to weep is "to shed salt," to strike is "to caress," blood is called "sweat," meat is called "vegetables," and a tomb is called "clod of earth." (31:1247)

In the first decade of the 8th month the [*Jingi*]-*kan* is asked to send one chief diviner and three urabe diviners, who are to be dispatched two to each of the two provinces. One of them is named the diviner of the rice-ears and one is named priest diviner. Upon reaching the respective provinces they each go to the sacred district, where they perform purification rites . . . That completed, they select by divination the rice paddies and the various functionaries for the sacred area. (Men and women singers are not determined by divination.) One *sakatsuko* (an unmarried daughter of the prefect or assistant prefect of that district is selected by divination for this). One honorable *sakanami*, one sifter of flour, 2 helpers, one *tametsu sakanami* (the foregoing all women); one lord of the rice-ears, one ash-burner, four firewood-cutters, 20 singers, 20 women singers.

[Then] the sacred area is propitiated. For this [the symbolic offerings are . . . [list omitted] . . . For all these Treasury goods are to be used. (But the sake and food for the propitiation festivals are furnished by the respective provinces.) (31:1248)

. . . all to be made of unpeeled wood and thatched with grasses; the side walls to be made of grasses. One well is to be dug (a roof built over it). There are to be 16 square *jo* within the compound; within this sacred compound numerous *kami* are to be worshipped (Mitoshiro-no-kami, Takami-musubi-no-kami, Niwatatsu-no-kami, Oomikestu-no-kami, Oomiya-no-kami, Niwatakatsuhi-no-kami, Oomikestu-no-kami, Oomiya-no-me-no-kami, Kotoshironushi-no-kami, Asuha-no-kami, and Haigi-no-kami). (31:1249)

At all times, for plucking the rice plants the diviners lead the governor of the province, the prefects of the districts and on down to lower functionaries to the rice paddies to pluck the grain. First the *sakatsuko*, then the lord of the rice-ears, then the *sakanami*, then the lower functionaries, then commoners, in succession pluck the grain. Then it goes to the sacred compound where it is dried and stored. Then they begin to divide it up, taking the first 4 *soku* which were plucked (4 bundles making a *soku*). They measure the amount for the august cooked-rice offerings, the rest they measure for the two kinds of sake both dark

and light. The baskets make a load; supports are put under each load. Covers are made from woven reeds, and on them *sakaki* branches are inserted and bark-cloth festooned.

Diviners, governors, and prefects lead the lower functionaries and others. Forward and backward they supervise the transportation. In the procession the rice-in-ear for the august cooked rice is carried first, the remainder follows this. The lord of the rice-ears wears a bark-cloth headdress and shows the way. They reach the capital in the last decade of the 9th month. Divination is done outside the limits of the sacred area. A temporary shelter is built beforehand and the august rice is stored therein for a while.

At all times, in the *yuki* and *suki* provinces the districts selected by divination must apportion and furnish 30 *koku* of *tametsu* rice (for *tametsu* sake), 40 short *tatami* mats, 70 seat-mats, 70 long mats, 50 split-bamboo mats, and 300 workers on foot who are sent to transport this rice and are to be urged on in the same way as those for the plucked rice plants.

At all times, the mountains where materials for the *Daijo* buildings and oak leaves for sacred food offerings are to be gotten, as well as the moors where reeds for thatching are to be cut, and ground to be used for the sacred areas, are all to be selected by divination by the members of the *Jingi-kan* and the governors of the provinces together in the first decade of the 8th month. In divining the sacred area, first it is exorcised; required articles for this are announced to the *Jingi-kan*. And the prefect in whose district the mountains and moors are situated is made to keep them under taboo and prevent any defiled person from entering them. The mountain from which materials for the august *koto* for the Pacification of August Spirits are gathered is subjected to the foregoing procedure; there are to be four kite-tail *koto* which the *Jingi-kan* orders the Bureau of Skilled Artisans to construct and send up. (31:1250)

1 shelter for food offerings, 1 sake shelter, 1 shelter for offering to the *kami*, 1 for utensils, 1 for Palace cooks, 1 for serving the august foods, 1 for cooking the different kinds of fish, and 1 for preparation of foods for the foregoing shelter: the number and dimensions of them may vary according to the demands of the affair. All are to be built of boards and thatched. One well is to be dug. The compound is to have a gate opening on each of the four sides. When the building of these is done, the diviners of the rice-ears enter the compound and perform exorcism. Articles required for this are sent up by the respective provinces. (31:1251)

The sacred area in the capital is set up in advance and divided in two: the *yuki* is to the left and the *suki* to the right. The two provinces are to send the plucked grain. When it has reached the capital, first the ground is hallowed. When that is done the *sakatsuko* first takes the sacred spade; then they begin to sweep the ground; then holes for the posts at the four corners of the enclosure are dug. The diviners lead the provincial governors and prefects of the districts and all those down to laborers. They go into the mountain selected by divination and cut the wood; then they worship the *kami* of the mountain, and, that done,

the *sakatsuko* first takes a sacred axe and commences to chop a tree. After this the different laborers lay hands to the work. (Cutting the timber for the Daijō-gū duplicates this.) [The Jogan ritual again mentions the Mononobe as having a part in this rite, as well as five children.]

Again, the diviners lead the prefects and lower functionaries to the moors selected by divination to cut the reeds. Then they worship the *kami* of the moors. That done, the *sakatsuko* first cuts the grass, then the various others lay a hand to it. (Cutting the grasses for the Daijō-gū duplicates this.) (6-71:1251-52)

The sacred enclosure is divided into inner and outer compounds, for which brushwood is used to make the fences and wood to make the gates. In the inner compound the Hall of Eight *Kami* is to be built, 1 shelter for the rice-ears, 1 shelter each for dark sake and light sake, and 1 storehouse, 1 shelter for sacred food offerings, 1 for mortars, 1 for Palace cooks, and 1 fermenting room. In the outer compound a shelter is to be built for *tametsu* sake, 1 storehouse, 1 shelter for cooking august offerings, 3 shelters for *tametsu* cooking, and 1 fermenting room (dimensions for the foregoing buildings are according to need). For all of them unpeeled wood is to be used, and reeds for thatching. The screening is done with reeds (but, for the fermenting rooms, walls must be painted). For the interiors, lengths of straw matting are to be used; for the sake shelters and fermentation rooms, straw matting is used for the ceilings and bleached cloth for interior. For the two wells: when the divining has been completed the *sakatsuko* commences to dig the well which is for the *sakatsuko*. When the building of the two compounds is completed the august rice-ears are gathered into the rice-ear shelter, but the grain for the august cooked rice is separately stored on shelves built for it. The Eight *Kami* of August Food are to be worshipped inside the inner compound. (The symbolic offerings for this are the same as those preceding.) (37:1252)

At all times, for the weaving of deity raiment, the *Jingi-kan* dispatches one shrine chief of the shrine of the Kanhatori in the first decade of the 9th month, and giving him a post-station bell, sends him to Mikawa Province, where he gathers together members of the deity households. Then two chief weavers of deity raiment and six weaving women and two artisans are selected by divination. When that is done, the shrine chief leads the ten persons, from chiefs downward, and carrying 10 skeins of tribute silk-thread that the Kanhatori of said province have forwarded, he returns to the sacred area in the capital. First a worship service is held at the weaving house; after that they commence to weave. For building they need: 4 axes, 4 chisels, 4 knives, 4 planes, 3 gimlets, and 3 fire-kindling sets (required for the foregoing: 3 *tei* of iron), 2 deerhides, 3 *kin* 4 *ryo* each of bark-cloth and hemp, 1 quiver, 4 mats, and 4 *tan* 8 *shaku* of tribute cloth for lustrous robes for the 10 men and women, all to be supplied from official goods. As for the halls for Kanhatori, there is 1 for each province, and 1 resthouse each for the men and the women, 1 resthouse for *hafuri* (dimensions of these are according to need), all to be built of unpeeled wood and thatched with reeds.

Messengers from the three provinces of Kii, Awaji, and Awa take the ceremonial utensils. On the day they go to the capital, the streets in the provinces on the way are swept and a welcome is given. At all times, the rice for dark and light sake is to be pounded. The *sakatsuko* commences this and then the other women join in the pounding. When it is done the *kami* of the wells are worshipped, then the *kami* of the stoves. On the day they begin the brewing of the sake the *kami* of sake are again worshipped.

At all times, seven days before the festival, those who build the Daijo-gū, two officials, a Nakatomi and an Imbe of the *Jingi-kan*, in order of rank, lead the governor of the *yuki* province and the various functionaries, forming a single line. Again, the Nakatomi and Imbe separate from them and lead the governor of the *suki* province and those under him in manner similar to the others, all in a single file. These lines start from the east- and west-side gates of the Chodo-in and arrive at the palace ground (in the south garden of the Ryubi-do), then the lines divided to left and right (*yuki* to the east and *suki* to the west). That ground is ceremonially pacified.

[Offerings are listed] . . . The *sakatsuko* from both provinces take *sakaki* branches, deck them with bark-cloth, and set them up in the four corners of the enclosure and at the gates. When that is done they take the consecrated spades (4 for each province, wrapped in cloth bags and tied with bark-cloth). They commence to dig the holes for the posts at the four corners of the hall, eight spades to each hole; afterwards the various workers take over the digging at one time. That palace measures 21 *jo* 4 *shaku* from east to west, and 15 *jo* south to north. In the middle of the east side is the *yuki-in*, and on the west side is the *suki-in*. In the palace fence due south there is a gate. Within it there is a brushwood fence. On the east there is a gate; outside there is a brushwood fence to be built (the *yuki* province builds this). Again, there is a gate due north, inside it a brushwood fence; and there is a gate to the west, outside it a brushwood fence (the *yuki* province builds this). The middle fence between the two structures is built by the two provinces. On the south end of the central fence 1 *jo* from the brushwood fence is a small gate (built by the two provinces). For the fences brushwood is used. Spears are planted in the eight fence-ends. Into them the branches of oak (*shii*) are inserted. (In ancient language they are called *shii no wae*.) The various gates are 9 *shaku* in height, 8 in width (small gate less). *Shimoto* is woven to make the doors. The *Yuki* hall is to be built with one main hall (4 *jo* long, 1 *jo* 6 *shaku* wide), ridge going south to north. The 3 *ken* to the north form one room and the 2 to the south a chamber. On the south is a door. Screen matting forms the door. Across the roof-ridge are placed eight crossbeams and the gable boards are extended. For construction unpeeled wood is to be used, and for thatching, green miscanthus. Beams of cypress are used for the ceiling, . . . and the partitions are of miscanthus. Straw matting is used over the exterior and interior. On the ground tufted grasses are spread. Added to the foregoing are coverings of split bamboo, and in the chamber straw matting is spread over the covering of split bamboo. On top of the straw matting are

laid white-aged august *tatami*. On the *tatami* are placed triangular pillows. (*Tatami* and pillows are installed by the Bureau of Housekeeping; the making of them is in the procedures for that Bureau.) Curtains of ordinary cloth are hung before the doorways (to be hung by the Bureau of Palace storehouse). On the east, south, and west sides of the building are hung reed blinds on the outside, and on the inside are sliding doors of straw matting. But for 2 *ken* on the west sides the blinds are furled up, leaving an open interval. In the northeast corner of the enclosure the house for the kitchen is built. (Length and width thereof are the same as for the main sanctuary.) The eaves run east to west. The eastern eaves are screened with oak brushwood. Under the east wall shelves are constructed. . . . the mortar house is built (1 *jo* 4 *shaku* long and 8 *shaku* wide). It is screened with oak brushwood and has a door on the west side. On the south and west sides of the two structures brushwood fences are to be built, making this a separate enclosure. To the southeast of the main sanctuary an august privy is to be constructed (1 *jo* long and 8 *shaku* wide). Its walls are like those of the main sanctuary. On its west side is a door.

The hall of the suki-in is made to conform to the foregoing. The construction of it is to be completed within five days. The Nakatomi and the Imbe lead the Sacred Maidens and others in consecrating the buildings and the gates . . . [Offerings are listed].

The Bureau of Carpentry builds the main sanctuary of the Kairyu-den to the north of the Daijo-gū (4 *jo* long, 1 *jo* 6 *shaku* wide, the ridge running east to west; 3 *ken* of its west side are straw matting; doors are on the east and south). It is built of unpeeled timbers and thatched with rushes. The horizontal timbers are covered with straw matting.

4 august shields are put up at the south and north gates of the Daijo-gū (each 1 *jo* 2 *shaku* long, upper width 3 *shaku* 9 *sun*, middle width 4 *shaku* 7 *sun*, bottom width 4 *shaku* long). The Left and Right Outer Palace Guards request these from the Jinggi-kan in the first decade of the 9th month. The Bureau of Military Storehouses is caused to fashion and prepare them according to precedent. (Shields by the Imbe Uji of Kii Province. After the celebration is over they are gathered up by the Outer Palace Guards.)

On the appointed day the Nakatomi officials lead the diviners to the Ministry of the Imperial Household to determine by divination who from the various departments shall be under particular taboo. That done, they return to their respective quarters. They perform ablutions and don their sacred robes and gather together. Besides them, one Nakatomi and one Imbe official are sent to lead officials of the Needlework Bureau and the Ministry of Treasury in placing the quilts and underlined garments in the Yuki-den of the Daijo-gū and to lead Palace Storehouse officials in placing the divine raiment and silken coronets in the Kairyu-den. Members of the Bureau of Palace Caretakers offer the august hot water three times. One time is for personages under general taboo at the usual place in the Palace; then hot water is offered twice to those under particular taboo (both times in the Kairyu-den). The various guards stand up their staves

and various officials line up the articles for solemn presentation in the same way as for New Year's Day ceremonies. Two persons each from the Isonokami and Enoi Uji, wearing court dress, lead 40 of the Inner Mononobe (dressed in unlined tunics of dark-blue cloth). They set up shields and spears for the *kami* at the north and south gates of the Daijo-gū (2 shields and 4 spears at each gate).

The *sakatsuko* begins to pound the rice for the august cooked rice; next the *sakanami* women together finish the pounding without changing hands. The Court chieftains kindle the fire. Members of the Office of the Sovereign's Table lead the Court chieftains of various *uji*, who respectively assist the members of the Office in cooking the august foods. Officials of the Imperial Household Ministry divide into left and right columns and lead the members of the Office of the Palace Tables and Imperial Sake Office, who each line up in that palace and make ready the articles to be offered to the *kami*.

Then the ceremonial garments are assumed [by His Majesty] and he enters the Daijo-gū. As for the route thither, the Ministry of Treasury beforehand lays a double width of unlined ordinary cloth on the route. The Bureau of Housekeeping prepares leaf-matting, and also lays it on top of the cloth runner where the august footfall will tread, rolling it out before and rolling it up after. (Two persons, vice-Minister of the Imperial Household or above, spread it, and two persons, Secretaries of the Bureau of Housekeeping or above, roll it up.) No one shall dare to step on it. On the return the same procedure is followed. As for the route in the Palace and through the garden, 8 layers of ordinary cloth 8 widths wide are laid. One Great Minister or Great or Middle Counselor and one Nakatomi and Maidens and Sarume on left and right proceed in line. (The Great Minister stands in the center, the Nakatomi and Imbe lead the lines to left and right on the street outside the gates.) The Sovereign deigns to come forth; two of the Caretakers carry the lights and worshipfully approach, one Court noble who is carriage attendant carries the royal sedge umbrella; one Kobe of *sukune* rank and one kasatori of atae rank together carry the cords of the umbrella and push themselves forward on their knees as they perform their duty (the same is done on the return).

As the progress is made to the august *yuki* communion hall, the group of officials under particular taboo each take their seats therein (the group of officials under general taboo may not enter the Kairyu-den enclosure or into the Daijo-gū). When that is done two persons each of the Tomo and Saeki Uji open the south gates of the Daijo-gū. The Outer Palace Guards open the south gates of the Chodo-in. Officials of the Imperial Household Ministry lead 12 persons of the Kuzu of Yoshino Province and 12 Nara flute players (all wearing tunics of blue-printed cloth). They enter from the east side gate of Chodo-in, and on reaching their places they play an ancient air. The governor of the *yuki* province leads the singers and enters through the same; on reaching their places they sing an ancient air. One Tomo of *sukune* rank and one Saeki of *sukune* rank each lead 15 Narrators (wearing blue-printed tunics). They enter from the east and west side gates, and on reaching their places they recite ancient legends.

The Heir Apparent enters from the southeast side gate. The Imperial Princes enter through the west gate; Great ministers and down to 5th Rank countries enter through the south gate. All take seats under the awning. Those of 6th Rank and below remain behind the kisho and Shushiki buildings. They stand in line in order of rank. When the host of officials first make their entrance the Hayato raise their voices. When everyone is standing in place they cease. They proceed to a point in front of the shields. They clap their hands; they sing and dance. Those of 5th Rank and above rise together and go to the hands posting-board in the middle courtyard. They kneel and clap their hands four times. Each time there are eight claps (in sacred language this is known as *yahirade*). The Heir Apparent first claps hands and steps back, then those of 5th Rank and above clap their hands. Those 6th Rank and below clap hands in concert and repeat it in the same way (but those under particular taboos do not enter this procession).

When this is completed, the *yuki* feast is presented (it is presented at the beginning of the boar [10 P.M.] and retired at the fourth). The order of succession (in presentation) is that in the very front are the chefs of the Office of the Sovereign's Table, 1 Court chieftain (who carries the fire-kindling set) and 2 *Uneme* of *ason* rank from the Office of *Uneme* (forming left and right vanguards), next a chief diviner (wearing the bark-cloth headdress and sleeve-ties and carrying a bamboo rod), next 1 water-carrier of *muraji* rank from the Office of Water (who carries the ritual water-pitcher), then 10 *uneme* (1 carries the box of brushes, 1 the box of towels, 1 the food-mats for the *kami*, another the food-mats for the Sovereign, 1 the box of august leaf-dishes, 1 the box of cooked rice, 1 the fresh seafood, 1 the dried foods, 1 the chopstick box, and another the box of fruits). Next comes a Takahashi of *ason* rank of the Sovereign's Table Office (who carries the seaweed sauce pickle), 1 Azumi of *sukune* rank (who carries the seaweed sauce pickle), 5 chefs (1 carries the vessel of hot abalone soup, 1 the vessel of hot seaweed soup; but the one who guards the shelves does not enter the procession), 4 sake brewers (2 carry on their shoulders the offering-table for sake and 2 carry the tables for dark and for light sake). All are in prescribed order and stand for the presentation. As soon as it is over everything is taken away in like manner.

At the hour of the rat [12 midnight], *Jingi-kan* officials lead the chefs of the Sovereign's Table Office and move to the *suki* Food Hall to cook the sacred food-offerings for the *kami*. The Sovereign returns to the Kairyu-den. (This ceremony is the same as the first one.) The august hot water is proffered. That done, the august garments are changed and [the Sovereign] progress to the *suki* Food hall. The ceremonial for this is the same as for the *yuki*. Again, the Kuzu perform an ancient air, and the clapping of hands by the Heir Apparent and those below and the other procedures are all the same as in the *yuki* ceremonies. At the first moment of the tiger hour [4 A.M.] the *suki* august feast is presented. The procession and recession are as before. (For the affair see the *Gishiki*.)

On the dragon day in the first quarter of the hare hour [6 A.M.] the return to the Kairyu-den is made. (This ceremony is the same as the first one.) The august

garments are changed and [the Sovereign] returns to the Palace. The warning to clear the road and the military guard are the same as for ordinary ceremonies. When the festival affairs are finished the host of officials severally withdraw. The members of Tomo and Saeki Uji close the gates. At the second quarter hour the Nakatomi and Imbe of the *Jingi-kan* lead the sacred Maidens in the festival of propitiation of the buildings of the Daijo-gū. Symbolic offerings for this are the same as at the first ceremony. This completed, the people of the two provinces are ordered to break the ground and then retire, after which the area of the propitiation ceremony is leveled; then they ceremonially pacify that ground. . . . The august garment, quilts, tunics, narrow *tatami*, seats, and the things for offerings at the Kairyu-den and august hot water are bestowed on the Imbe and various articles which have had contact with fire are bestowed on the chief diviners. The remainder of multiple articles and the various buildings are all bestowed on the Nakatomi. (52:1273)

At the 4th quarter-hour the officials of the *Jingi-kan* according to precedent worship in the Jiju-den. Again, the various articles of the portable storehouse of *yuki* and *suki* provinces are lined up in the garden of the Buraku-in. The officials in charge will have already cleansed the Buraku-in before this. Both *yuki* and *suki* provinces provide and hang august curtains in the palaces (the *yuki* on the east and the *suki* on the west). The arrangement for the host of officials inner and outer is the same as for ordinary ceremonial. (53:1274)

In the 2nd quarter-hour of the dragon [8:30 A.M.], the Imperial carriage approaches the Buraku-in and the Sovereign progresses to the *yuki* curtain. The disposition of the various guards is as for ordinary ceremonies. The Heir Apparent enters from the gate on the northeast side. (From Imperial Princes on down, their highness wait until rank have been conferred and then enter.) Those of 5th Rank and above enter through the south gate and each goes to the posting board. Those of 6th Rank and below make their entrance in double file. They stand in their places and the *Jingi-kan* Nakatomi bear the *sakaki* branches and carry batons. They enter through the south gate and go to the posting-board. They kneel and recite the congratulatory words to the deities of heaven.

The Imbe now enter and present the items of divine regalia: the sacred mirror and the sacred sword. When that is done they withdraw. (If rainy or wet, they may present them while standing.) (53:1274)

The Heir Apparent first claps his hands, then withdraws. Then those of 5th Rank and higher all clap their hands. Those of 6th Rank and below clap their hands in concert. The whole is like the precious ceremony. Then they withdraw and go out. (Officers of Ceremonial take the posting-board and go out.) Officers of the Imperial Household lead the staffs of Palace Tables and of Imperial Sake to go and inspect the tables and flat dishes which were made ready in the garden. That done, they are led away. At this hour the Great Ministers who are attending the palace summon those of 5th Rank and above (first they call the *toneri*, then the Lesser Counselors, as in the case of ordinary ceremonies). Then together with them they enter and take places in the two halls—Ken'yo and Jōkan. Those

of 6th Rank and below make their entrance. They arrive and enter the Kantoku and Meigi halls. That completed, the separated tribute goods from the *yuki* province are brought in.

In the first quarter-hour of the snake [10 A.M.], persons of the *yuki* province offer the meal and serve the banquet to those of 5th Rank and above. (*Yuki* province personnel serve it to nobles under particular taboo and the Office of Palace Tables serves those under general taboo.) This is done in the same way as ceremonial for palace banquets. The *tametsu* foodstuffs from the two provinces are distributed by the Controllers to the host of officials. The *yuki* province persons offer at the proper time the delicacies of fresh seafood. Then the governor of the province leads out the singers, who render a provincial air. When they finish, the morning food offering is presented. In the 2nd quarter-hour of the goat [2:30 P.M.], His Majesty removes to the august *suki* curtain. The Heir Apparent and those under him go to their *suki* seats. The separate tribute offerings are brought in. At the appropriate time the delicacies of fresh seafood are offered. The august feast is offered. The performing of provincial airs and so forth is all the same as for the previous ceremony. When it is finished, emoluments are bestowed on the *yuki* province personnel. On the day of the snake, in the 2nd quarter-hour of the dragon [8:30 A.M.], the Imperial Progress is made to the *yuki* curtain. In the 3rd quarter-hour [9 A.M.] the august feast is offered. Next, the *Yamato-mai* is performed. All those of 5th Rank and above are invited, and a banquet is bestowed. All those of 6th Rank and below make their entrance. Popular music and dance is performed. All is the same as on the dragon day. In the 2nd quarter-hour of the goat [2:30 P.M.], the Imperial Progress is made to the *suki* curtain. August food is offered and after that the *Ta-mai* is danced. The various details are the same as in the previous ceremony. When it is finished, emoluments are bestowed on the *suki* province personnel.

On the day of the horse in the first quarter-hour of the hare [6 A.M.], the curtains of each province are taken away. The officials in charge set up the usual august curtains. At the 2nd quarter-hour of the dragon [8 A.M.] the Imperial Progress is made to these curtains. Nobles of 5th Rank and above as well as those of 6th Rank and below are invited. They all make their entrance as on the preceding day. In the 4th quarter-hour [9:30 A.M.] Court Rank is conferred on the governors of the two provinces and titled families. (The number of persons for rank conferral is according to disposition of Imperial Command.) At the 2nd quarter-hour of the snake [10:30 A.M.], the officials in charge present the august food offering. (As utensils for this and the various sacred articles, utilize as convenient those provided by both provinces for august food offerings on the preceding day.) The *Kume-mai* and *Kishi-mai* are performed.

At the first quarter-hour of the monkey [4 P.M.], the grand chorus sings, and the *Gosechi* dances are performed. In the 3rd quarter-hour [5 P.M.] the depuration dance is performed. Kanhatori women perform first (number limited to four persons). Next the Nakatomi and Imbe of the *Jingi-kan* as well as chamberlains under particular taboo, and down to guards, enter divided into left and right

columns. They bestow oak leaves on each of the members of the Imperial Sake Office. Thereupon they receive sake and drink it. When that is done, they don headdresses and perform the dances. (55:1276)

In the 2nd quarter-hour of the cock [6:30 P.M.], the Heir Apparent and all nobles down through the 5th Rank are given emoluments, each being different. Moreover, on the host of officials of 6th Rank and below, and on the personnel from both provinces down to the outrunners, are bestowed emoluments (the chief and assistant chief of the *Jingi-kan* and on down to vice-chieftains of sacred districts each receive one horse also). The 4th-class officials of the *yuki* and *suki* provinces and on down to the prefects and 4th-class officials of the districts all carry batons and are recipients of Court Rank by Imperial Command, by extraordinary disposition. (The host of officials from 6th Rank down receive emoluments; on 4th-class officials and below of both provinces rank is conferred; it may be done on the day of the goat. See the *Gishiki* for the affair.) On this day the chamberlains and below under particular taboo advance to the Imperial Household Ministry and carry out deputation. The singing and dancing is as usual. To chefs, cooks, and brewers, and to personnel of both provinces, sake and food are given. When that is done, they doff their ceremonial robes and return to the usual. At all times, when the celebration is finished the various structures in the sacred area of the north moor are destroyed.

At all times, when the *Daijo* Festival is over, two persons, *negi* and diviner, are dispatched to two sacred provinces to worship the eight kami of august food. Then they carry out deputation. The following day they burn the sacred area. Offerings to the kami are to be supplied by the two provinces respectively. [At all times,] on the last day of the month the host of officials in the capital gather for purification ceremony. This is done the same as purification at the two times of year.

Text: Ellwood, *The Feast of Kingship*, pp. 159–60.

The Eight Kami of the *Jingi-kan*

1. Kami-musubi-no-kami (“Divine Creator God”). One of the three creator gods of the official myth.
2. Takami-musubi-no-kami (“High Creator God”). A creator and high god with a much more flourishing mythology than any of these other *musubi* deities, hence doubtless the original. One feels that he is as well the original sovereign god of the Yamato tradition.
3. Tamatsume-musubi-no kami (“Spirit Woman Creator God”). Also called Tamaru-masubi-no-kami. Not found in the official mythology. Said by Kato in his notes on the *Kogoshui* to be a “divine spirit who takes charge of a person’s soul and prevents it from going astray, leaving its body behind.” Hence, he says, the *Mi-tamashizume no matsuri*, or *Chinkon-sai* rite. However, I per-

sonally know of no evidence that this *kami* had any special relation to the Chinkon-sai, or “Soul Pacification rite” of the Palace.

4. Iku-musubi-no-kami (“Life Creator God”). Not in the *Kojiki* or *Nihon-shoki*.
5. Taru-musubi-no-kami (“Increase Greater God”). Not in the *Kojiki* or *Nihon-shoki*.
6. Omiya-no-me-kami (“Great Palace Lady Goddess”). This female deity is also not found in the *Kojiki* or *Nihon-shoki*, although according to the *Kogoshui* she was appointed to serve before Amaterasu, and Satow states that she is a personification of successive female attendants in the palace. She has something of a cultus of her own, having shrines throughout the Palace and the Saigu, special mention in the *norito* (especially the *Otono-hogai* prayer, where she is represented as the divine coordinator of all the work of the Palace), and a festival day with Kotoshironushi on the second of the 11th month. She seems to have a special relation to the Imbe.
7. Miketsu-no-kami (“Food Goddess”). Found in the *Kojiki* in the Chuai reign section, as a shrine deity in the *Izumo fudoki*, and as the deity of several shrines in the *Engi-shiki*. However, Miketsu, or Omiketsu, is also generally believed to be identical with Toyoke, the food deity of the Outer Shrine at Ise.
8. Kotoshironushi-no-kami (“Thing-implement-master God”). The son of Okuninushi, who advised his father to surrender his claim to the land of the Imperial Grandson. He would thus be a representative of the “vanquished” Izumo tradition within the Palace. But Kotoshironushi also delivered the oracle to Jingu, which encouraged her to go to Korea, and another on the return trip advising her to “worship me in the land of Nakata.” This suggests he may have a non-Izumo tradition as well.

Although the content of the preceding text may sound strange to modern ears, certain features are significant and should be noted in relation to understanding the meaning of imperial accession rituals. I would like to draw attention to three. First, the entire ritual is focused on the cultivation of rice (see Picken, *Essentials of Shinto*, pp. 84–86). This fact alone gives the ritual much of its unique character, since it is probably the only surviving instance of the amalgamation of accession rites with a harvest festival. This is also a key point in the understanding of the characteristics of Japan’s sacral society. The emperor functions as a high priest of the nation by placing the first rice plants in the appointed field and, subsequently, by being the first person to harvest them. By com-

binning these acts, the emperor is expressing thankfulness to Amaterasu, *kami* of the sun, and his divine ancestress for providing sustenance for national life. This stands in sharp contrast to those cultures in which accession rites are little more than the religious blessing of what was acquired by conquest. Whether or not this may have been the case, nothing of this is preserved in the rituals, giving substance to the image of Japan as the “peaceful land of reed plains.”

A second point is that only the public aspects are detailed, what individuals must do and how they must behave. The ceremonies within the *yuki den* and the *suki den* are the province of the Imperial Household and concern none except the emperor himself.

Finally, and because of the stress on the public aspect, it becomes apparent that the meaning of the ritual is not extrinsically definable; rather, the meaning lies in the performance of the ritual itself, along the lines of Mircea Eliade’s idea in *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Or, Cosmos and History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974, pp. 11–27, 73–92) of reconstructing or reaffirming the cosmos in the central rituals of a culture. (See *Essentials of Shinto*, chapter 2, on mythology.)

NORITO FROM THE *ENGISHIKI*

The *Engishiki* contains numerous liturgical forms associated with festivals and shrines. The manner of celebrating these events is detailed along with the form of words to be used at the time. Two examples are included.

On the subject of *norito*, the examples given are interesting as models for *norito* still used at present. First, they are addressed to the *kami* of heaven and earth and the myriad *kami*. Second, they go into great descriptive detail. This is still the case when farmers report their rice crop at their tutelary shrine. Third, they specify a date on which the offerings are made, the purification takes place, and the *norito* is recited. This follows the pattern shown by the *norito* listed in the *Engishiki* and is yet another continuing facet of Shinto rituals.

Reading *norito* in translation, in itself, reveals little. The theology they imply is simple, if articulated in propositions derived from the study of the content. However, the ritual acts that surround the occasion on which they are intoned, the liturgical appliances, the apparel of the priests, and the atmosphere these generate combine to create an aesthetic pleasing to the *kami*. The idea of an informal Shinto ritual, with the priest wearing a lounge suit instead of robes, is as unthinkable as it would be improper.

This in itself tells a great deal about the meaning, role, and function of ritual in Japanese society as a whole.

Various *norito* are quoted here, and though understanding these in detail may be difficult, the common elements identified become apparent. The full text of the *Ōbarae no Kotoba* is presented as the ultimate model of the *norito*.

Toshigoï no Matsuri (*Engishiki No. 1*)

This *norito* was appointed to be intoned at the Toshigoï Matsuri in Kyoto. It was to be celebrated on the fourth day of the second month in a sacred area within the Palace courtyard and using buildings erected for the purpose. The offering to be placed within those buildings are described in minute detail. Once all preparations had been completed, Jingen officials, ministers of state, and Shinto clergy assembled and in procession took their places. Once in position, according to the directions, a Nakatomi was to intone the following *norito*. It is extremely long, and therefore only excerpts are quoted.

Text: Translation from W. G. Aston, *Shinto: The Way of the Gods* (Tokyo: Logos Press, 1968), pp. 281–85.

Hearken all ye assembled Kannushi and Hafuri.

I humbly declare in the presence of the Sovran Gods, whose praises are fulfilled as Heavenly Deities and as Earthly Deities, by command of the Sovran, dear, divine ancestor and ancestress who divinely dwell in the Plain of High-Heaven.

In the second month of this year, the Sovran Grandchild is graciously pleased to pray for harvest, and I, therefore, as the morning sun rises in glory, offer up his plenteous offerings, thus fulfilling your praise. (Note: The text indicates that at this point, the officiating priests concerned remove the offerings.)

I will humbly declare in the presence of the Sovran Gods of the harvest.

If the Sovran Gods will bestow in ears many a hand's breadth long and ears abundant the latter harvest which they will bestow, the latter harvest produced by the labour of men from whose arms the foam drips down, on whose opposing thighs the mud is gathered, I will fulfil their praises by humbly offering first fruits, of ears a thousand, of ears many a hundred raising up the tops of the sake-jars, and setting in rows the bellies of the sake-jars, in juice and in ears will I present them, of things growing in the greater-moor-plain, sweet herbs and bitter herbs, of things that dwell in the blue sea plain, the broad of fin and the narrow of fin, edible seaweed, too, from the offing and seaweed from the shore, of clothing, bright stuffs

and shining stuffs, soft stuffs and coarse stuffs—with these I will fulfil your praises. (In the meantime), having furnished a white horse, a white boar and a white cock with things of various kinds before the Sovran Gods of the Harvest, I fulfil their praises by humbly presenting these plenteous offerings of the Sovran Grandchild.

I humbly declare in the presence of the Sovran Gods whose praises the chief priestess fulfils, and I fulfil your praises, namely Kami-musubi, Takami-musubi, Iku-musubi, Taru-musubi, Tama-stume-musubi, Oho-miya no me, Oho-mi-ketsu no kami and Kotoshironushi. Because you bless the Sovran Grandchild's reign as a long reign, firm and enduring, and render it a happy and prosperous reign, I fulfil your praises as our Sovran's dear, divine ancestor and ancestress by making these plenteous offerings on his behalf. . . .

(The *norito* continues in similar form, with each section commencing in the same way:)

I humbly declare in the presence of the Sovran Gods, whose praises the priestess of . . . fulfils. (The names are repeated and the same pledge is made of being first fruits in return for a rich harvest.)

More especially I do humbly declare in the mighty presence of the Great Heaven-shining Deity who dwells in Ise. (Amaterasu Omikami) . . . therefore will the first fruits of the Sovran Great Deity be piled up in her mighty presence like a range of hills, leaving the remainder for him tranquilly to partake of.

Moreover, whereas you bless the Sovran Grandchild's reign as a long reign, firm and enduring, and render it a happy and prosperous reign, I plunge down my next cormorant-wises in reverence to you our Sovran's dear, divine ancestress, and fulfil your praises by making these plenteous offerings on his behalf.

I will humbly declare in the presence of the Sovran Gods who dwell in the Imperial lands and name your august names. . . . I fulfil your praises by making these plenteous offerings on his behalf.

The liturgy concludes with an invocation to all to hear and witness the making of the offerings and with an injunction to the officials in charge to take the offerings and offer them in due form. It is of interest also that white horses are still considered special offerings to *kami*. The famous white horses shaped of white stones, found on British hillsides, for example, seem to confirm the known link between white horses and female solar deities. There is always a white horse at Ise, and during the mid-1980s the government of Australia presented one to the *Nikko Tō-shōgū*. It was from the custom of giving horses to the *kami* that the *ema*

(picture of a horse) evolved. When horses were expensive, a picture would suffice, and such pictures are now, of course, used in place of a horse offering for writing prayers to a *kami*. The *ema* is a small tablet made of wood, depicting, usually, some scene that is reminiscent of the shrine concerned, its name, and the current year of the oriental zodiac. Individuals purchase one from the shrine office, write their prayers on it, and hang it in the *ema-den*, the hall of *ema*, which is usually located outside the main building within the shrine precinct. Ritual offerings are made at all shrines nationwide on a daily basis, and these are, in some cases, specially prepared in a kitchen devoted only to that task. This is the case in Ise. The provisions of the *Engishiki* are still observed, particularly those related to the Imperial Household, especially the accession rites, which were fulfilled in the cases of Emperor Heisei in 1988 and in the removal of the Grand Shrines of Ise to adjacent sites every 20 years (*Shiki-nen-sengū*), in 1993.

The Tsukinami no Matsuri (*Engishiki No. 16*)

The Tsukinami no Matsuri was a lunar festival that was performed only twice a year, on the 11th day of the 6th and 12th months.

Text: Modern free translation.

I will humbly declare in the presence of the Sovran Gods who dwell in the Imperial lands and name your august names. . . . I fulfil your praises by making these plenteous offerings on his behalf.

By the great command of the Emperor, I humbly declare in the mighty presence of the Great Deity whose praises are fulfilled (in the shrine built) upon the nethermost rock-roots on the bank of the River Isuzu in Watarahi. I, of such a rank (which he announces), of such a name (which he announces), humbly repeat his commands, as his envoy to convey hither and make offering of the customary great offerings of Praying-for-Harvest in the second month (or whatever date my be applicable).

Norito Relating to the Grand Shrines of Ise

The following selection of *norito* relates to the Grand Shrines of Ise. Of greatest interest is the *norito* used on the occasions of the removal of the *kami* from the one site to the adjacent site that occurs in the ritual of *Shikinen-sengu* performed every 20 years. (See Picken, *Essentials of Shinto*, pp. 28, 49.)

The title of the text from which the translation is taken refers to *norito* as ritual prayers. I would take gentle issue with the use of the term

“prayer,” which in English has clear nuances of addressing a divinity for a specific purpose. While this is a part of *norito*, it will be obvious that there are many other elements included, often the rehearsal of mythological events. Either “liturgical invocations” or simply “Liturgical Formulae” would perhaps be more accurate designations.

The *Engishiki* already quoted is also a source of records for *norito* used in official occasions. It was part of a major codification of imperial rituals as well as a standardization of the terminology used in major rituals in shrines nationwide at the time. Much of the ritual as well as the dress of Shinto priests dates to that period and remains as it was to the present. The translations of the *norito* are from two sources. One is the work of Donald Philippi, and the other is that of W. G. Aston.

Text: Translation from Donald Philippi, *Norito: A Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990; originally published by the Institute of Japanese Culture, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo, 1959), pp. 58–71.

The Grand Shrine of Ise: Toyo-Uke-no-Miya

By the solemn command of the Emperor,
I humbly speak before you,
Toyo-uke-no-sume-gami,

Whose praises are fulfilled

In the bed-rock below

Of the field of Yamada in Watarahi:

I humbly speak his solemn command

To bring and present the great offerings

Habitually presented at the Grain-petitioning of the second month

At the regular festivals merely replace with the words:

at the regular festival of the sixth month

Sending me (office, rank, surname, name) as his messenger.

Thus I humbly speak.

The Grand Shrine of Ise: Divine Garments Festival of the Fourth Month (*Uduki no Kami-miso no matsuri*)

I humbly speak in the solemn presence

Of Ama-terasi-masu-sume-oho-mi-kami,

Whose praises are fulfilled,

Where the great shrine posts are firmly planted

And the cross-beams of the roof soar towards the High
Heavenly Plain,

In the upper reaches of the Isuzu river

At Udi in Watarahi:

I humbly say that the presentation is made
 Of the woven garments of plain cloth and coarse cloth
 Habitually presented
 By the people of the Hatori and the Womi.

Grand Shrine of Ise: Same Festival at Toyo-Uke-no-Miya

By the command of the Sovereign Grandchild,
 I humbly speak before the Sovereign Deity
 Whose praises are fulfilled
 In the field of Yamada in Watarahi:
 I humbly speak his great command
 Concerning the great offerings
 Which are habitually presented at the Divine First-fruits
 Banquet of the ninth month:
 [To the effect that] prince (office, rank, name) and I (office, ranks, name)
 of the
 Nakatomi, be sent as his messengers
 And that [the offerings] should be brought by the Imibe,
 Hanging thick sashes over their shoulders,
 Be purified and presented. Thus I humbly speak.

Norito on Moving the Grand Shrine Building (to the Adjacent Site) (*Shikinen-sengu*, also used for the Toyo-uke-no-miya)

By the solemn command of the Sovereign Grandchild,
 I humbly speak in the solemn presence of the Great Sovereign Deity:
 In accordance with the ancient custom,
 The great shrine is built anew once in twenty years,
 The various articles of clothing of fifty-four types,
 And the sacred treasures of twenty-one types are provided,
 And exorcism, purification, and cleansing is performed.

Dedicating an Imperial Princess to Serve at the Grand Shrines of Ise

Text: Translation from W. G. Aston, *Shinto: The Way of the Gods*
 (Tokyo: Logos Press, 1968), p. 278.

More especially do I humbly declare: The offering of a Sacred Princess of the Blood Imperial to serve as the Deities' staff, having first, according to custom, observed the rules of religious purity for three years, is to the end that thou mayst cause the Sovran Grandchild to live peacefully and firmly as long as Heaven and Earth, the Sun and Moon, may last. I, the Great Nakatomi, holding the dread spear by the middle with deepest awe, pronounce this dedication of her by the Mikado to the end that she may serve as an august staff.

ŌBARAE NO KOTOBA

The most famous of all *norito* is the *Ōbarae no Kotoba*, which appears in the *Engishiki*, book 8, as *norito* number 10. It was to be recited by the Onakatomi, the head of the Nakatomi family who specialized in Shinto rituals, and was initiated by imperial command to be performed twice a year, at the end of June and at the end of December. It is still performed on behalf of the nation at the Meiji Jingu in Tokyo (Picken, *Shinto: Japan's Spiritual Roots*, Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1980 p. 39). The words of the *Ōbarae*, however, are also used at many shrines simply as an act of worship in the normal course of shrine rituals. It is most impressive to hear a group of priests chanting it in unison, or to hear a senior priest intone it by himself in the traditional manner.

I include two translations here. One is by W. G. Aston and is the first English version ever produced. It follows the original text quite strictly and renders it in, albeit rather dated, English without attempting any interpretation. In this respect, it can be understood in translation in several ways. According to some opinions, it should be read as referring exclusively to Japan and as an article of national faith. However, it can also be read in a wider sense as deriving from a solar myth of creation. This latter and somewhat more universally appealing approach is taken in the second and, it must be added, very free translation/paraphrase. Comparing the two translations will verify this point. A more recent but equally literal translation may be found in Donald Philippi, *Norito: A Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990, pp. 45–49). While I have great respect for the overall fidelity to the original of Philippi's translation, I feel uncomfortable about his use of words such as "exorcism" and "sin," which belong very much to a Western and Judeo-Christian dualistic metaphysic. This is why I believe that some interpretative improvisation is necessary in translation. I therefore elected to include the older translation of Aston and an abbreviated free translation to illustrate the point.

Text: Translation from W. G. Aston, *Shinto: The Way of the Gods* (Tokyo: Logos Press, 1968) pp. 296–302.

He (the officiating Nakatomi) says: "Give ear, all ye Imperial Princes, Princes, Ministers of State, and functionaries who are here assembled, and hearken every one to the Great Purification by which at this year's interlune of the sixth (or twelfth) month he deigns to purge and absolve all manner of faults and transgressions which may have been committed by those who serve in the Imperial Court, whether they wear the scarf or the shoulder-strap, whether they bear on

their back the quiver or gird on the sword, the eighty attendants or the attendants, including moreover, all those who do duty in the various offices of state."

He says: "Hearken all of you. The Sovran dear ancestors, who divinely dwell in the Plain of High Heaven, having summoned to an assembly the eight hundred myriads of deities, held divine counsel with them, and then gave command saying: 'Let our August Grandchild hold serene rule over the fertile reed-plain, the region of fair rice-ears as a land of peace.' "

But in the realm thus assigned to him there were savage deities. These were called to a divine account and expelled with a divine expulsion. Moreover, the rocks, trees, and smallest leaves of grass which had power of speech were put to silence. Then they despatched him downward from his celestial and everlasting throne, cleaving as he went with an awful way-cleaving the many-piled clouds of Heen, and delivered to him the Land. At the middle point, of the lands of the four quarters thus entrusted to him, Yamato, the High-Sun-Land, was established as a peaceful land, and there was built here for the Sovran Grandchild a fair Palace wherewithall to shelter him from sun and sky, with massy pillars based deep on the nethermost rocks and upraising to the Plain of High Heaven the cross timbers of its roof.

Now of the various faults and transgressions to be committed by the celestial race destined more and more to people this land of his peaceful rule, some are of Heaven, to wit, the breaking down of divisions between rice-fields, filling up of irrigation channels, removing water-pipes, sowing seed over again, planting skewers, flaying alive, flaying backwards. These are distinguished as heavenly offences.

Earthly offences which will be committed are the cutting of living bodies, the cutting of dead bodies, leprosy, kokumi, incest of a man with his mother or daughter, with his mother-in-law or step-daughter, calamities from creeping things, from the high Gods and from high birds, killing animals, bewitchments.

Whensoever they may be committed, let the Great Nakatomi, in accordance with the custom of the Heavenly Palace, cut Heavenly saplings at the top and cut them at the bottom, and make thereof a complete array of one thousand stands for offerings.

Having trimmed rushes of heaven at the top and trimmed them at the bottom, let him split them into manifold slivers.

Then let him recite the mighty ritual words of the celestial ritual.

When he does so, the Gods of Heaven, thrusting open the adamantine door of Heaven and cleaving the many-piled clouds of Heaven with an awful way-cleaving, will lend ear. The Gods of Earth, climbing to the tops of the high mountains and to the tops of the low mountains and the mists of the low mountains will lend ear.

When they thus lend ear, all offences whatsoever will be annulled, from the Court of the Sovran Grandchild to the provinces of the four quarters Under-Heaven.

As the many-piled clouds of Heaven are scattered by the breath of the Wind-

Gods; as the morning breezes and the evening breezes dissipate the dense morning vapours and the dense evening vapours; as a huge ship, moored in a great harbour, casting off its stern moorings, casting off its bow moorings, drives forth into the great sea-plain; as yonder thick brushwood is smitten and cleared away by the sharp sickle forged in the fire, so shall all offences be utterly annulled. Therefore he (the Mikado) is graciously pleased to purify and cleanse them away. The Goddess called Se-ori-tsu-hime who dwells in the rapids of the swift streams whose cataracts tumble headlong from the tops of the high mountains and from the tops of the low mountains will bear them out into the great sea-plain. Thereupon the Goddess called Haya-ki-tsu-hime, who dwells in the myriad meetings of the tides of the myriad brine-paths of the myriad ways of the currents of the boisterous sea, will swallow them up. And the God Ibukidonushi, who dwells in the Breath-blowing-palace, will puff them away to the Root country, the Bottom-Country. Then the Goddess Haya-sasura-hime, who dwells in the Root-country, the Bottom-country, will banish and abolish them. When they have been so destroyed, every one, from the servants of the Imperial Court to the four quarters of the Under-heaven, will remain void of all offences whatsoever.

Attend, therefore, all of you to the Great Purification, by which he is graciously pleased at sunset on this interlunar day of the sixth (or twelfth) month of this year to purify and cleanse you, having led hither a horse as an animal that pricks up its ears to the Plain of High-Heaven.

He says: "Ye diviners (Urabe) of the four provinces, remove them to the great river-way and abolish them."

Text: *Ōbarae no Kotoba*, modern free translation.

In accordance with the will of the Great Spirit by whom the universe is brought into being through the cosmic forces generated by the *kami* of birth and growth and through which the solar system finds being through harmony, the myriad of *kami* sat in council and conferred until a consensus had been reached on how to bring the rule of peace and order to the earth so that it would be free from anxiety as the Great Spirit wishes.

In the dynamics of creation itself where peace and stability is to be established, the greatest impediments to harmony arise from the excesses of some *kami* as well as those of some rocks, trees and herbs. Once they are calmed and have discovered their true mission, the world can be brought into a state of harmony. To maintain the state of harmony, the causes of malfunction in the process of creation must be repeatedly analyzed and controlled to enable the Great Spirit to descend in heavenly light with resplendent power through the multitude of problems as though cleaving a way through thick layers of cloud.

The Great Spirit resides in those sacred places which unite the earth and the cosmic plain of the heavens. Thus rooted on the earth, the *kami* are entrusted a mission to achieve peace and stability and human beings, born with the power

of reproduction, are able to survive by receiving guidance from the heavenly and the earthly *kami* as well as to sustain life by receiving energy from the sun.

Human beings are liable however either through carelessness or on purpose to generate *tsumi* of which there are two kinds. Heavenly *tsumi* disrupts the natural processes of nature such as breaking down the ridges between the rice fields so that the rice dries up, cruelty to animals, or over-tillage of the soil. Earthly *tsumi* include any acts of brutality or indecency that disrupt the natural relationship between parent and child, man and society or human beings and their natural environment along with those unexpected ravages of nature on agriculture over which man has no control.

When such *tsumi* comes into being, the mediator (*O-Nakatomi*) will celebrate the cosmic ritual to remove all offenses. When the Great Purification *Norito*, the *Ōbarae no Kotoba*, is recited, the heavenly *kami* and the earthly *kami* can hear and can co-operate in removing the *tsumi*. Man may then faithfully follow again the Law of Great Nature, and the Great Spirit will deign to fill the world again with light by removing the clouds that cover the mountains both high and low in defiance of all obstacles.

To live free of obstructing mists, problems of the morning should be solved in the morning and those of the evening should be solved by evening. Wisdom and knowledge should be applied like the sharpness of an axe to the blinding effect of the mists of obstruction. Then may the *kami* purify the world and free it of *tsumi*.

The *tsumi* thus purified will be borne to the sea by the *kami* known as *Seoritsu-hime* who lives in the rapids that rush from the high mountains. The *kami* known as *Haya-aki-tsu-hime* who lives in the whirlpools where the oceans meet will swallow the *tsumi*. Then they are blown by the *kami* known as *Ibuki-donushi-no-kami* to the nether world. They are finally absorbed by the *kami* of the nether regions known as *Haya-sasura-hime* and removed.

After this has been completed, the heavenly *kami*, the earthly *kami* and the myriad of *kami* can recognise man as purified and everything can return to its original brightness, beauty and purity as before since all *tsumi* has wholly vanished from the world.

Commentaries on the *Ōbarae no Kotoba*

The text was held in great esteem, and as time went by, many commentaries on it were written, and consequently, many interpretations of it were produced. Among the earliest was the *Nakatomi no Harai Kunge*. Many others followed. *Nakatomi no Harai Shusetsu* (A Compendium of Commentaries on the Nakatomi Ritual of Purification) was written by Tachibana Mitsuyoshi (1635–1703), who belonged to the Yoshida school of Shinto. He conducted a lecture tour of all the *Ichi-no-miya* (regional

first shrines) nationwide, giving lectures on the *Ōbarae no Kotoba* based on the book he wrote in 1662.

The Edo period scholar Motoori Norinaga discussed it in great detail and concerned himself with its exposition as a generic text of the written Shinto tradition. After him, and closer to the Meiji period, was Okuni Takamasa (1792–1871), a disciple of Hirata Atsutane. His work, *Amatsunorito no Futo-norito Ko* (Thoughts on the Heavenly and Great *Norito*), was a five-volume study of the *norito* with a commentary on the *Ōbarae no Kotoba*.

Two very brief excerpts are included here to serve as examples of different approaches to a document that is central to the historical and liturgical tradition of Shinto. It will probably become obvious that the second, liberal translation of the *Ōbarae no Kotoba* was constructed under the influence of, and in deference to, the esoteric elements of Shinto; hence the style of terminology employed.

The first text is from the *Nanatomy no Harae Kunge*, which is also titled *Nakatomi no Harai Ryobusho* (Exposition of the Nakatomi Ritual of Purification). The work belongs to the very end of the Heian period or the very beginning of the Kamakura period. It approaches the meaning of the text through the medium of esoteric Shinto/Buddhist thought, trying to show their underlying relationship.

The second text is from the *Amatsu-Norito no Furo-Norito Ko* (Thoughts on the Heavenly and Great *Norito*). In contrast to the preceding *norito*, this interpretation by Okuni Takamasa stresses what I call the national aspect of the *norito*, due at least in part to Takamasa's close relationship with Hirata Atsutane and Restoration Shinto. The tone is quite different from that of the earlier work, with the ideal of Confucian virtue being presented. For the identification of these key passages, I am indebted to the work of Professor Kamata Jun'ichi, whose sensitive research on ancient texts focused on the most meaningful sections from the perspective of understanding the philosophical outlook of their authors. It would be a valuable contribution to the better understanding of philosophical Shinto if a scholar, or group of scholars, were to compile a translation of all the major commentaries on the *Ōbarae no Kotoba*, exposing and clarifying the different schools of thought on the subject. A matching compilation of all known English translations would also be a valuable appendix to such a study.

Text: Modern free translation.

***Nakatomi no Harae Kunge* (Exposition of the Ritual of Purification)**

The great *norito*, the heavenly *norito* is beyond comprehension, no matter how deeply we may think. The human mind should be understood as that

which can commune with Heaven and Earth, with great nature, with the cosmos. Therefore, we can be aware that the *kami* of the cosmos may be found within the individual mind. In turn, this leads to the purification of no-mind (*mu-shin*). When the *kami* encounters this no-mind state, man and *kami* become united and all of my thoughts and aspirations become one with the *kami*. . . . This means that through the union of myself and the *kami*, I return to my true and original self (note: which is the *kami* from whence I came.)

This text should be considered alongside the account of *misogi* in the appendixes to this text because the rituals therein described have behind them the concepts that are implied here of *shinjin goitsu* (literally, *kami*-person-meeting-one) and *shinjin kiitsu* (literally, *kami*-person-return-one), the idea of human beings as children of the *kami* who lose their purity, but, by restoring it, return to their divine origin. The symbol of the frog, among other things, is sometimes used to express the idea of returning to the *kami*, incorporating a play on the word *kaeru*, which can mean “I return” as well as “frog.” The expression *Ningen-Shinka* (Human-Divinity) is also used to express the concept.

Text: Modern free translation.

***Amatsu-Norito no Futo-Norito Ko* (Thoughts on the Heavenly Great Norito)**

Shinto is nothing less than three great virtues—to establish the beginnings, to assist the imperial country and to save humanity. The essence of these is selflessness. . . . People should have loyalty, filial piety, and tireless performance of their duties as the foundations of their actions. At the same time, they must regulate themselves, behaving themselves with propriety and, in this way, progress through life.

The Confucian elements are explicit and strong in this text, and all this points to the change in mood that had occurred from the late Heian period to the late Edo period. By that time, Shinto thought had moved into a more nationalistic phase, appropriate to the great changes that were about to take place after the Meiji Restoration of 1868.

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Chapter 3

STATE SHINTO AND THE POST-1945 SITUATION

INTRODUCTION: SHINTO AND JAPAN'S MODERNIZATION

The controversial period of State Shinto covers three modern imperial eras, namely Meiji (1868–1912), Taisho (1912–1926), and early Showa (1926–1945). The remainder of Showa (1946–1989) was part of Japan's postwar reemergence as a major economic power. To understand why Shinto was manipulated and how it was abused, it is necessary to have a clear grasp of the important role of ideological thinking in the process of modernization.

Modernization, in all its aspects—political, economic, social, educational, cultural, or religious, among others—has been widely discussed since the mid-1960s, when various theories were formulated that tried to explain the process by which a traditional agricultural society could transform itself into a modern industrial society. A raft of theories advanced by Black, Eisenstadt, and Jansen, in the company of others, assumed that the experiences of Western nations would be adequate models to explain the modernization of emerging nations, even those in Asia, although they possessed totally different cultural histories. (Principal reference texts include C. E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History* [New York: Harper and Row, 1966]; S. N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Growth and Diversity* [Bloomington: Indiana University, 1963]; C. E. Black et al., *The Modernization of Japan and Russia* [New York: Free Press, 1975]).

Since the 1970s, and in view of developments in Asia and elsewhere, it has become clear that Western models apply less readily than was at first thought. Failure to recognize this has led to inadequate understanding of the modernization of Japan and China. Both these nations (particularly Japan) retained much of their traditional culture in the process, much more so than their Western counterparts. (Eisenstadt later gave a lecture in the International House of Japan (IHJ) in Tokyo, titled "Modernization and the Dynamics of Civilization," conceding this point. See *IHJ Bulletin* 5, no. 1 [Winter 1985], 1–3.) This basic point by itself is a large and continuing source of misunderstanding between Asia and the West. Beyond that, however, the central importance of ideological slogans in Japan and China, used to stimulate public imagination, has also been underestimated. The leaders of Meiji Japan invented many of these, such as *fukoku kyōhei* (a prosperous country, a strong army), *bunmei to kaika* (civilization and enlightenment), and *wakon yōsai* (Eastern spirit, Western techniques), to name but three. The last one implies that modernization was being "managed" along Japanese cultural lines.

The role of ideology also looms large in popularizing modernization, particularly in the cases of Russia and China. Japan had a relatively peaceful revolution in the Meiji Restoration, which was cosmetically presented as a return to ancient ways, whereas in fact it was heralding some of the greatest changes Japan had ever faced. It is therefore not surprising that those who were leading the process of change were looking for symbols of antiquity that were to be embodied in an ideological program. The way of the *kami* conveniently provided such symbols. Shinto became an obvious choice, and, accordingly, attempts were made to turn it into a state religion, much along the lines of the state churches of Europe. The entire program was mismanaged, and compromises had to be sought, one of which was the claim that Shinto was not really a religion. Scholars were induced to support this view so that compulsory obeisance at shrines could be defined as a cultural activity and not a religious one. This view, however, was challenged, as was the whole program, but in spite of resistance and protest, even from many shrines and their hereditary priests, the government forced matters along, and this included suppressing uncooperative or poor-looking shrines in a program of forced mergers that reached its peak in the first decade of the twentieth century. World War I and the intervening years before World War II saw the program curtailed in the interests of national mobilization, although the symbolic position of the Yasukuni Shrine remained unquestioned. Shrines were built in Japan's overseas colonies, and locals were forced to show reverence to the emperor through mandatory attendance. These shrines existed in Korea, Taiwan, China, and elsewhere.

They were dismantled and removed at the end of the Pacific War. Only the controversy of the Yasukuni Shrine remains to be resolved, with proponents wishing it to be taken over by the state, and opposing groups, fearing its ideological abuse, resisting vigorously. The various extracts in this section document these events and developments, beginning with the Meiji period constitution as it affected Shinto, followed by some of the imperial rescripts that dealt directly with Shinto, shrines, and *kami*. Some of the documents relating to State Shinto are also introduced to show how the ideological framework came to be narrowed and how much of Shinto came to be suppressed, not to be liberated until the final collapse of militarism with the end of the Pacific War.

MEIJI CONSTITUTION PROVISIONS CONCERNING SHINTO

The constitution of 1889 contains only two references to Shinto, both indirect. The first refers to the mythology and the second to limited freedom of religious belief. The constitution was both authoritarian and idealistic, but it was not long before it faced criticism and revision and was replaced by a new one that identified permitted religions and made more specific prescriptions for behavior in that regard. It is interesting to note that there is no reference to the emperor as a living human *kami*, although the sacredness of his person is clearly stated. The doctrine, inaccurately referred to as the “divinity” of the emperor, was, on the one hand, enunciated later, although in fact it had been in practice already at the folk level. Emperor Meiji was ultimately enshrined at the Meiji Shrine after his death, but he was twice enshrined during his lifetime, in accordance with the traditional custom in Japan with regard to very illustrious people.

Text: Meiji Constitution, February 11, 1889, Japanese Government official translation.

Having, by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors, ascended the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal [Note: since 661 B.C.E. according to the mythology]; desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of Our beloved subjects. . . . We hereby promulgate . . . a fundamental law of State . . .

(The law is enumerated by clauses, the relevant of which read:)

- I. The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.
- II. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

XXVIII. Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPTS (*SHŌCHOKU-SHŪ*) OF THE MEIJI PERIOD

Part of the process of the Meiji government's program of national ideological training was the issuing of a series of imperial edicts or rescripts that drew attention to some matter of public interest and concern. These were in the form of promulgations from the throne and targeted eventually at sectors and institutions of the nation. Education, the army, certain great shrines, methods of enshrinement, and even the ideals of thrift and diligence were brought to the nation's attention. Some of these, like education, were taken with unreserved seriousness, whereas others were simply observed or promoted.

The opening one was to the Daimyo, the feudal lords of Japan's provinces, issued on March 21, 1868, and proclaimed the total reformation of the empire. All of these edicts had one ultimate goal, namely, to legitimize the rule of the government by having the emperor decree that it was his sovereign wish that these things be the case. Appeals were made to the imperial ancestors, and it was usually claimed that he was merely continuing their illustrious work into the present age. The blame for the dangers into which Japan had fallen, through the presence of foreign ships, with all that they threatened, was laid at the feet of the Tokugawa shogunate. For the protection of the nation, and the sake of the people of the empire, the emperor had decided to take matters into his own hands, restore direct rule, and take charge of all governmental affairs. He had indeed been forced to take the field against them, in person, and, being victorious, was about to usher in a new age of Japan, whose glory abroad would appease the souls of the imperial ancestors. And so the modern age of Japan was ushered in with all the tools of a modern ideological system, brilliantly disguised as a reversion to tradition.

Change, it was declared, was to be slow and careful, measured and judicious, and anyone who disturbed the peace through excessive pressure to bring about change would incur imperial displeasure. The Confucian tone, and the implied threat to any would-be agent provocateur, was unmistakable. Japan was being reconstructed to become a modern industrial and military power, using the Confucian vision of creating a moral basis, a moral mandate, for the political system. Since it was in

its essence moral, it was a system that people would know without being told was right. This put the onus of obedience on them, although to ensure their voluntary compliance, they were well and effectively policed. That system survived almost unchanged until 1945. The rescripts cited here display two interesting features. One is a clear spirit of continuity with ancient edicts and ordinances concerning worship of the *kami*. This was intended to underline continuity. A second is the powerful ideological framework that comes through the way in which the imperial institution is presented and its relationship with the people is reinforced. This, of course, led to the controversial debates on the *Tennosei*, the imperial system, discussed in chapter 4.

Imperial Rescript on the Hikawa Jinja

On December 1, 1868, by order of the emperor, the first shrine of Musashi Province, the Hikawa Jinja (in Omiya City in what is now Saitama Prefecture), was appointed shrine of the guardian *kami* of the province. In accordance with the provisions of the edict, *hokushi*, or imperial messengers, would be dispatched with offerings from that time forward and forever.

Text: Official translation.

To worship the *kami* of Heaven and Earth, to perform the rituals of worship with reverence is a long tradition of the country of Japan as well as being the foundation of government and education. From medieval times, the rites fell into neglect, and the fabric of the nation was thoroughly shaken and the people lost heart. We deeply lament such a state.

We make it Our first priority to revive the rites and reestablish the fabric of the nation upon the unity of worship and government (*saisei-itchi*). We do hereby recognize and revere the Hikawa Shrine in Omiya of Musashi Province as the guardian tutelary *kami* of that province. Henceforth, We shall dispatch our Imperial envoys to present offerings to the shrine, and this to take place in perpetuity.

Imperial Rescript on the Dissemination of the Great Teaching

On February 3, 1870, Emperor Meiji issued an edict on the dissemination of Shinto. This is one of the most important documents in the process of developing State Shinto. It was based on the principle noted earlier of *saisei-itchi*, the unity of worship and government. It should also be recognized as providing one of the prerequisites of moderniza-

tion, already identified, namely, a unifying national ideology. Whether or not State Shinto was successful, or whether it was even Shinto, is a separate question. The effective utilization of the imperial house and the emperor as the focal point for national renewal, and the series of imperial rescripts, functioned as an ideological device that created the desired conditions to effect a much smoother transition from a traditional to a modern society than might otherwise occur. Civil wars of modernization can be bloody and destructive. If the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the Civil War in the United States, Otto von Bismarck's declaration about modernization being achieved by "blood and iron," or the struggles that preceded the foundation of the People's Republic of China are considered alongside the Meiji Restoration, Japan's transition from feudal agrarian nation to modern industrial nation with a constitutional monarchy was achieved with a relative minimum of bloodshed and in a very short time. The healing process was speedy and effective. By contrast, it took the United States over a century to elect a president from a southern state.

These are questions for historians to ponder, but whatever other factors were at work, the influence of the National Learning School, the *Kokugakusha*, notably Hirata Atsutane and the consolidation of the national ideals and national goals in the imperial edicts of the early Meiji period, went a long way to making the changes as minimally traumatic as possible. With the establishment of the Yasukuni Shrine (for the country now at peace) to enshrine those who died in the cause of modernization, the struggles were ended, and Japan was poised, in little over a decade, to begin the processes of change that would eventually enable her to form a military alliance with the United Kingdom in just over 30 years from the day Emperor Meiji declared the renewal of the nation.

Text: Official translation.

With the greatest respect, We have considered how our ancestral *kami* established the basis of the nation, how they ordained the imperial succession which should be transmitted through the ages and how those in that succession subsequently pointed the Way. Thus was worship and government united, as were the minds of the people. As the way of government was taught from Heaven, the manners of the people, even to the humblest, became elegant.

In the medieval age, the nation suffered many things, and the Way was sometimes bright and sometimes dark. Consequently, the true teaching concerning government failed for a long time to be appreciated by all the people.

As reign succeeds reign, we stand at the beginning of an age when all

things will be renewed. It is therefore an appropriate time to make clear the original and fundamental teaching about government in Japan, Our direct Imperial rule in the Unity of Worship and Government, and through this act, to make plain to the realm, the Great Way of Restoration.

We do hereby appoint teachers (*senkyoshi*) with instructions to disseminate the Way throughout the nation. Our subjects, give heed to this rescript.

Imperial Rescript on the Enshrinement of the *Kami*

This rescript continues the process of the development of Shinto as a state doctrine, although it appears merely to emphasize the *kami* of the mythology. The additional element of the requirement to reverence the souls of all past emperors was a significant requirement.

Text: Official translation.

Now that the imperial dignity has passed to Us, small and frail of form though we be, we are afraid both night and day that there will be some want in Our performance of the Imperial duties. We thereby enshrine within the Jingikan (The Office of *Kami* Worship), the *kami* of Heaven and Earth, together with the eight *kami* Kamimusubi-no-kami, Takamimusubi-no-kami, Tamatsumemusubi-no-kami, Ikumusubi-no-kami, Tarumusubi-no-kami, Omiyame-no-kami, Miketsukami and Kotoshironushi-no-kami, and along with them, the souls of all past Emperors. By this rescript, we vow to worship and serve them reverently. It is Our desire that all the people of the realm will respectfully conform to this act.

Imperial Rescript on Education

This rescript is a mature document of Meiji ideology that speaks of the moral relationship between emperor and people. It was frequently memorized, in English, by late Meiji period students. It is a heavily Confucian style document, stressing the ideals of virtue, filial piety, benevolence, and loyalty in the manner in which these concepts had been interpreted during the Tokugawa period. It also speaks of the beauty of the empire, hinting at the value that gives the rest meaning and context. It is not a text that explicitly calls for emperor reverence, but it does draw its power from the mythology, and when a reverent attitude toward the Edict was called for in schools, considerable controversy arose when some people refused to show the degree of respect the government re-

quired. In the case of Mori Arinori, the early minister of education, this led to his assassination.

Text: The official English text of the Edict issued on October 30, 1890.

Know ye, Our Subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects are ever united in loyalty and filial piety [and] have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire and herein also lies the source of Our Education. Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors to be observed alike by the Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

The imperial rescript on education follows the trend of the Meiji period very clearly. The other rescripts quoted relate directly to Shinto, and from them, it is very clear that the traditions of the Heian period and the traditions of the *Engishiki* were to be maintained. The names of *kami* identified in the mythology and in the *norito* are again listed as being formally enshrined. Whether this was to conceal the nature of the drastic changes being undertaken by pretending to go backward is not really relevant. The traditions were upheld and there was no deviation from the ancient way.

Imperial Rescript on Thrift and Diligence

This rescript dates to 1909 and was, in effect, a call for the people to sacrifice on behalf of the nation. They were encouraged to save and to apply their savings to government schemes designed to subsidize the

national coffers, weakened by the huge cost of Japan's overseas military activities. The financial problem was exacerbated by a run on various banks in 1908, which threatened to destabilize the economy completely. At least one root of the Japanese penchant for saving, a distinctive feature of the modern Japanese economy, may be traced to the moral tone of this rescript. Historically speaking, it resembles the kind of edicts issued during the Edo period (1615–1868) on dress and manners, intended to maintain the social order. People were asked to work for national unity and to end the class conflict that had arisen from unrest within the ranks of the nation's laborers caused by widespread unemployment. They were also advised to work hard, live simple lives, and hand over their savings to local cooperatives.

Text: From the *Japan Yearbook* (Tokyo: Published by the government, 1911).

Our country, which has but recently emerged from sanguinary war, calls for activities in various branches of administration. We desire all classes of our people to act in unison, to be faithful to their callings, frugal in the management of their households, submissive to the dictates of conscience and calls of duty, frank and sincere in their manners, to abide by simplicity and avoid ostentation, and to inure themselves to arduous toil without yielding to any degree of indulgence.

The teachings of Our Revered Ancestors and the record of our glorious history are clear beyond all misapprehension. By scrupulous observance of the precepts thus established, and by directing assiduous and unwearied exertions, the growing prosperity of Our Empire is assured. In the face of the actual situation, we hope that, with the cooperation of Our loyal subjects, the noble work of the Restoration may be augmented and the benevolent virtue of Our Ancestors exalted. Our subjects should appreciate the high aspiration with which we are uniformly guided.

Various other devices were employed to the same end, encouraging a spirit of self-sacrifice and frugality. Slogans were posted stressing "hard work, frugality, and savings." Two other movements that were intended to supplement the rescript were the Chiho Kairyō Undo (The Local Regional Improvement Campaign), which was inaugurated in 1909 by the Ministry of Home Affairs. It was designed to revive local economies and strengthen government administration in every village and community throughout the nation. The second movement was centered on the idea of Hotoku, repayment of virtue, as taught by Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856). The Ministry of Home Affairs again took the initiative and formed Hotoku societies all over the country. (See chapter 6 for Ohe Seizo's

paper and some sample texts from Ninomiya Sontoku himself.) The Ministry of Home Affairs became nicknamed the “Hotoku Naimusho” (The Ministry for the Repayment of Virtue) because of the almost obsessive manner in which it promoted the movement. The survival of the *kokutai*, the body politic, or national essence, was, and still remains, the primary task of each succeeding generation—a historical reality that will never change.

STEPS IN THE EVOLUTION OF STATE SHINTO

The objective of this brief section is to offer an account of the process by which State Shinto evolved or, perhaps to be more accurate, was created. The texts included begin with some lines from Professor Helen Hardacre’s work on Shinto and the state that is part of a series edited by John F. Wilson on studies in church and state, a theme that belongs in the origin of its conceptualization very much to Western rather than even Eastern Europe. The lines quoted document the stages in the development of State Shinto in a matter-of-fact manner, but the text is nevertheless sensitive to the deeper and frequently unspoken issues that lie beneath it, including the issue of the Yasukuni Shrine and the war dead. Her argument overall leans toward a conspiracy theory whereby somehow or other, a scenario may exist in the minds of some Japanese to reestablish State Shinto.

Text: Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State, 1869–1989* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 22–24.

Chapter 1: The Modern History of Relations between Shinto and the State

1868–1880: Experimentation and Disillusion. The years 1868 to roughly 1880 were characterized by state experimentation with Shinto. Beginning in 1868, the state unceremoniously dropped its former patronage of Buddhism and turned a blind eye when Shinto priests used the occasion to pillage Buddhist temples. At the same time, as part of the Great Promulgation Campaign, state officials wrote doctrine and empowered a bureaucracy headed by Shinto priests to promulgate it and to create accompanying ritual appropriating the symbols, vestments, and rituals of the shrines.

1880–1905: Declining State Support. The years 1880 to 1905 represented a low in Shinto’s relation to the state. The bureaucratic offices governing Shinto affairs were ranked lower than in the preceding period.

The trend in financial support for the shrines from public funds was to assign ever greater responsibility to local parishes.

Priests understood that if they had to answer to local supporters they would be required to provide such religious services as rites of healing and blessing, as well as funerals, while they were concerned to preserve for themselves a distinctly non-religious status affiliated in some way with the state.

1905–1930: Expansion and Increased Influence. Much of the expansion of relations between Shinto and the state that took place from the end of the Russo-Japanese War to 1945 had been set in motion much earlier and represented simply a hardening or universalization of earlier policy. For example, Shinto mythology had long been used to explain the origins of the imperial house, but the idea of the imperium's divine origins received new support in this period, and stricter sanctions were applied to anyone who denied it.

PROPAGANDA OF THE FINAL PERIOD, 1914–1945

During the interwar years, various forms of propaganda were employed to ensure the cultivation of a popular mentality that was sympathetic to national ideals. For a brief time during the Taisho Democracy, ending in 1926, more liberal views were aired, but these soon faded as the power of the military increased.

Popular religious life was also influenced by state intimidation. Most striking was the suppression of the rapidly growing Omoto-kyo in 1921, when its leaders were arrested on charges of *lèse majesté*. The two passages cited here offer samples of the kind of propaganda that was being advanced.

The following extract comes from an editorial in *Kamikaze*, a Shinto magazine published in Tokyo and dated July 1, 1921.

Text: Translated and cited by D. C. Holtom in "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 49, part 2 (1922): 125.

The Religion that Includes all Others (Shinto)

Shinto is a great religion that includes all others. For example, Shinto may be compared to a tree while all other religions are fertilizers. Thus Shinto, by absorbing and assimilating various fertilizers, as a result of a process of inclusion and selection, must increase and expand itself. A religion like Christianity, however, which neglects both the family system and nationalism, is not a fertilizer. On the other hand it is a great evil. If the usages

of the existing family system should become extinct in Japan and we should come to pure individualism, or if, again, we should abandon nationalism and become altogether humanitarian, the results would be disastrous.

Uesugi Shinkichi is the author of the next passage, found in *Kokutai Shikiwa Hatsuyo* (The Exaltation of the Essence of the National Constitution, Tokyo, 1919).

Text: Translated and cited by D. C. Holtom, "The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 49, part 2 (1922): 126.

The Salvation of Mankind

It is now most clear that the salvation of the entire human race is the mission of our empire. Nations are now in a condition of disorder. There are classes within the nations, each class struggling for its own interests and each thinking the other an irreconcilable enemy. Radicalism is spreading abroad. The poison of the disease penetrates flesh and bones and threatens to overthrow the state. The idea of reliance upon the state is conspicuously weakened. The heart of man has lost its power to cooperate. Individuals do as they please, acting dissolutely without restriction. The capitalistic class of England and America, flushed with the victory of the Great War, have become arrogant and domineering throughout the world and are giving rein to unbound greed. Behold the world is full of the struggle between capital and labor. They are fallen into the pit. The hell of fighting and bloodshed has appeared on earth.

When we observe such conditions there is not one of our people who does not believe that, if only they had our emperors, they would not come to such extremity. . . . Our people, through the benevolent virtue of the emperors, have attained a national constitution that is without parallel in the world. . . . Now if all the world should come to look up to the virtue of our emperor and should come to live under that influence, then there could be light for the future of humanity. Thus the world can be saved from destruction. Thus life can be lived within the realms of goodness and beauty. Of a truth great is the mission of our nation.

It becomes obvious from the reading of these lines that the fruits of the Meiji period's cultivation of nationalistic ideology were now being seen. Individuals, inspired by the concepts expressed in the ideology, began to write and teach the kind of extreme nationalism that led the Japanese government to abandon reason, believe in the ideology it had created, and, in that respect, fall victim to its own propaganda.

BASIS FOR THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT CLAIM THAT SHINTO WAS NOT A RELIGION

The question of whether Shinto was a religion was raised to evade the religious freedom guaranteed by the constitution. Nagao Ariga, a Japanese scholar, speaking typically from the standpoint of the political necessity involved, like many others in the University of Tokyo, offered a rationale for the reasons that led to the division of Shinto institutions into two categories, state and private, and why State Shinto must not be considered a religion. The context of these questionable arguments is self-evident.

Text: Nagao Ariga, "Shinto Kokkyo Ron" (Shinto as a State Religion), in *Tetsugaku Zasshi* (Philosophical Magazine) 25, no. 280 (June 1910): 702. Translation in Wilhelmus H. M. Creemers, *Shrine Shinto after World War II* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 69–70.

In the case of a civilized country there must exist freedom of faith. If Shinto is a religion, however, the acceptance or refusal thereof must be left to personal choice. Yet for a Japanese subject to refuse to honour the ancestors of the Emperor is disloyal. Indeed, a Japanese out of his duty as a subject must honour the ancestors of the Emperor. This cannot be a matter of choice. It is a duty. Therefore this cannot be regarded as a religion. It is a ritual. It is the ceremony of gratitude to ancestors. In this respect the government protects the shrines and does not expound doctrines. On the other hand, since it is possible to establish doctrines with regard to the (Shinto) deities, it is necessary to permit freedom of belief in Shinto considered as religion. Hence there has arisen the necessity of making a distinction between Shinto regarded as the functioning of national ritual and that Shinto which proclaims doctrines as a religion.

WILBUR M. FRIDELL ON SHRINE MERGERS

Part of the State Shinto agenda was the program of Shrine mergers already noted. The title in Japanese *Jinja Seirei* (shrine consolidation) was often used as a euphemism for what was in fact *Jinja Gappei* (shrine mergers). The text quoted includes an ordinance about behavior at shrines, followed by a discussion of the government's objectives in creating the plan.

Text: Quoted in Wilbur M. Fridell, *Japanese Shrine Mergers 1906–12: State Shinto Moves to the Grassroots* (Tokyo: Kawata Press, Sophia University, 1973), pp. 74–76, 76–79.

Concerning Visitation at Local Shrines on the Occasion of Festivals

The sentiment of reverence (*keishin*) is correlative with the feeling of respect for ancestors, and is most important in establishing the foundations of national morality. Accordingly, on the occasion of the festivals of the local shrines of the districts where the schools are located, the teachers must conduct the children to the shrines and give expression to the true spirit of reverence. Also, either before or after the visit to the shrines' contribution to the strengthening of familism. But behind the people's shrines the teachers should give instruction to the children concerning reverence in order that they may be made to lay it deeply to heart. This is announced by government order.

What was it in shrine reverence that provided religious sanction for emperor-centered patriotism? As we saw in an earlier section, the objects of shrine reverence included ancestral *kami*. Veneration of the people's ancestral *kami*, we found, was the basis of *kami* ancestors, the supreme *kami* ancestors of the Imperial Family and the Japanese race. In the end, it was reverence for the imperial ancestral *kami* which served to generate emperor-loyalty and undergird patriotism.

Now, there were certain renowned shrines of national significance where the people revered the imperial ancestral *kami* directly, such as Amaterasu-omikami at Ise Shrine. Reverence for imperial ancestors was not limited to such special places as Ise, however, but was implicit in the veneration of the people's ancestors in local shrines. This was because Japanese tradition taught that all houses (*ie*) were at some point related, as branches (*bunke*), to the Imperial House, which was the chief house (*soohonke*) of the nation; and that all ancestral *kami* were likewise linked in a hierarchy which enshrined the imperial *kami* ancestors at the very top. Thus, Amaterasu-omikami was called the "Ancestor of ancestors," and as such was the highest ancestor and the highest *kami* in the entire national complex of ancestral *kami*. Whenever a Japanese venerated his own *kami* ancestors at a local shrine, therefore, by extension that act represented ultimate obeisance before the imperial ancestral *kami* to which his own local ancestral *kami* stood in a relationship of inferior to superior. It was veneration of the imperial ancestral *kami*, of course, which provided the final, cosmic sanctification of the imperial line, including the Meiji Emperor himself, as the living embodiment of the sacred imperial inheritance. A sacred emperor was a powerful focus for national loyalties.

The sequence, then, from shrine mergers to patriotism may be summarized as follows: mergers were expected to restore the majesty of the shrines and deepen the people's spirit of reverence; reverence, in turn, was directed toward *kami* ancestors, including those of the Imperial Family; and reverence for imperial *kami* ancestors sanctified the reigning emperor as the supreme symbol of national unity and patriotic devotion.

From the above discussion of familism and shrine-oriented patriotism, it will be understood that the two were intimately interrelated and mutually supportive. Both were founded on a reverence for ancestors conceived as sacred *kami*.

Familism focused on the ancestral *kami* of house and hamlet; while shrine-generated patriotism was local familism raised to the nth degree, reverence which extended to the ancestral *kami* of the national family. Thus the two major socio-ideological strands wove a composite pattern, each contributing to the whole.

The significance of shrine mergers for both familism and emperor-centered patriotism is vividly conveyed by an interpellation in the House of Representatives in February 1912. Early in 1910 Nakamura Keijiro, Representative from Mie Prefecture, had quizzed the government about shrine mergers, but had received an unsatisfactory reply. Now in 1912, backed by an even larger number of fellow Diet members, he carried his case to the floor of the House once again. In a long, sometimes rambling speech he denounced the entire shrine merger movement. Mr Nakamura's complaint to the government was not over ends (the strengthening of reverence, filial devotion, patriotism, etc.), but over the means the government had chosen for achieving those ends (shrine mergers). Mergers, he contended, were inflicting serious injury on the very *kami* faith and socio-ideological values the authorities sought to strengthen. The following section should be read, therefore, not so much for its interest as a criticism of government policy, as for what it reveals about the assumptions which both Representative Nakamura and the government authorities held in common: namely, shrine reverence generated those very socio-ideological patterns which were most essential for the development of strong national rule.

Following are the points of Mr Nakamura's speech, as outlined in his own prospectus, and interspersed with my comments:

Questions Concerning the Promotion of Shrine Mergers

1. By promoting shrine mergers, the government is forcing the destruction of shrines. Why is it doing this?

The key word here is "destruction." As a Mie Representative, Mr Nakamura spoke for aggrieved villagers who found it hard to accept the official government line that mergers would improve the shrines when, before their very eyes, they saw their shrine buildings dismantled, their sacred groves razed, their guardian *kami* carried off, and their shrine compounds plowed into farmland. For them, shrine mergers meant shrine destruction.

And when you destroyed shrines, warned Mr Nakamura, you destroyed the familial and national-imperial principles with which they were so closely identified—those very principles which the authorities mistakenly believed shrine mergers would strengthen. Mr Nakamura maintained that the shrine merger movement had been carried to such extremes that it was having just the opposite effect from what the authorities had intended. Instead of building up the shrines and their associated traditional socio-ethical principles, the movement was actually tearing them down. This contention is elaborated in points 2 to 5:

2. By promoting shrine mergers, the government is subverting the reverent-mindedness of the people. . . . Why does it do this?

As we have seen, almost the entire socio-ideological justification for shrine mergers hung on the assumption that mergers, by eliminating old, broken-down shrines and consolidating them into a few well-maintained establishments, would actually restore the majesty of the Shinto tradition and deepen the people's spirit of reverence. Not so, asserted Mr Nakamura. By destroying the people's shrines, he said, the government was actually subverting reverence.

3. By promoting shrine mergers, the government is undermining the people's respect for the Imperial Family, as well as vitiating the morality (loyalty) inherent in the subjects of the Empire. How can it do this?

The authorities looked to shrine reverence to undergird Emperor-loyalty and patriotism. But shrine mergers, contended Mr Nakamura, militated against any such possibility, for a blow at the shrines was also a blow at the imperial values which shrine reverence would normally support. He spelled this out in terms of reverence for the *kami* and reverence for the Emperor:

No one will dispute the fact that in our national thought reverence for the *kami* and reverence for the Emperor are virtually identical in meaning. Since the eradication of shrines damages reverence for the *kami*, it is hardly necessary to point out that the merger of shrines throws Emperor-reverence into confusion.

4. By promoting shrine mergers, the government is demolishing ancestor veneration and confusing the morality (filial piety) of our children and their descendants. How can it do this?

Mergers, Mr Nakamura declared, were ruining shrine ancestor veneration and filial piety, which we have seen were fundamental to familism and socio-ethical integration of the entire nation. Mr Nakamura elaborated as follows on the importance of shrine ancestor veneration for the preservation of filial piety:

. . . The shrines of our rural hamlets are mostly ancestral shrines, and it is a virtue for descendants to keep the ceremonies for their ancestors from dying out.

By the same token, if one cannot maintain ceremonies for his own ancestors and provide for them in their customary place, but rather makes them live off of some other shrine, this is a serious disregard of one's obligation toward ancestors. Indeed, it destroys the foundations of filial piety.

5. By promoting shrine mergers, the government is destroying our national essence and history. . . . thereby causing a loss of patriotism among our people. Why is it doing this?

This point grows naturally from the two prior points. If shrine mergers damaged Emperor-loyalty and filial piety, the two pillars of national morality, they constituted a contravention of the national essence (*kokutai*) and patriotism. Mr Nakamura related mergers, shrine reverence, and patriotism, saying,

. . . The spirit of reverence is one with the spirit of patriotism. . . Shrine mergers are injurious to the patriotic sentiments of the people.

He then placed shrine mergers and the “national essence and history” within the context of the common belief of the day regarding ancestor veneration:

It is the glory of our national essence (*kokutai*) that from the Imperial Family down to the subjects of the nation, we regard our ancestors as *kami*, reverence them, and obey their sacred will. If this is so, to destroy our ancestors’ shrines is to run the danger of destroying the ground of our national essence.

Mr Nakamura concluded his points with the declaration that “the encouragement of shrine mergers has a hundred disadvantages and not a single advantage.” He asked that the government immediately drop the entire venture.

Representative Nakamura’s remarks provide a valuable insight into the vital relationship which existed between shrine reverence and the very socio-ideological values and patterns with which we have been concerned. Both he and the government agreed that these values should be preserved, but they disagreed as to the proper method. The government proposed to preserve them by pressing mergers, Mr Nakamura by calling them off.

As a postscript to this chapter, I should like to share a graphic verbal portrait which lies buried in a long concluding section of Mr Nakamura’s 1912 speech to the lower House. Shrines, he says, had traditionally been very simple things which required a minimum of maintenance. These were the shrines with which the country people felt most comfortable. But now Home Ministry bureaucrats, dazzled by the elegance of European and American churches, had suddenly decided to change all of this, and had designed standards that would turn humble country shrines into magnificent structures they could be proud to inspect in the modern age. Mr Nakamura describes high government officials driving up to a village shrine in their automobiles and finery, with straw-sandaled farmers standing awkwardly by, ill at ease. Under this sort of treatment, warned Mr Nakamura, country people might very well be alienated from their shrines and turn into “abominable socialists.”

The shrine merger movement documented here goes a long way to explaining why Shinto, in the form of many rather subdued shrines, does

not always give the impression of being very much alive, although Buddhism has hardly fared better. Recovery was slow and difficult, since shrines faced both internal weakness and external criticism. At least, however, for many shrines the 1945 directive was as liberating for them as it was for all religious movements in the country and made possible the amazing growth of religious movements in the postwar period.

F. H. ROSS ON THE BACKGROUND TO DISASTER: 1912–1945

Ross's book, written after the Pacific War, is a well-balanced discussion of both Shinto and the general conditions leading up to the crisis and disaster of 1945. Ross is less polemical than other writers, and he does see some difference between the ideological use of the imperial system and the basic culture of Shinto.

Text: Floyd Hiatt Ross, *Shinto: The Way of Japan* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), pp. 144–50.

What began in the Meiji period was to continue down through the Taisho period, which ended in 1926, and into the first twenty years of the Showa era. Millions of Japanese were conditioned to think that Shinto was what the militarists and nationalists had made of it—a cult of patriotism and loyalty centering in the concept of the divine origin of the imperial line. The “Imperial Way” (*kodo*) was interpreted as identical with the “Way of the Kami” (*kannagara-no michi*). The people were taught that the emperor and Amaterasu were identical, “of one august body.”

The version of the national history used in the 1930s in ordinary primary schools, prescribed by the Department of Education, was quite simple. Amaterasu had sent down from heaven her grandson, Ninigi-no-mikoto, to subdue the rough forces in the Japanese islands and to rule them. He was given the Three Sacred Treasures, the mirror, the sword, and the jewel. These signs of imperial power were passed on at the end of the Divine Ages (variously said to have lasted for from three thousand years to over a million years) to the first human emperor, Jimmu Tenno. According to the *Nihonshoki*, Jimmu Tenno said: “I think that this land will undoubtedly be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly task, so that its glory should fill the universe. It is, doubtless, the center of the world.”

The schools, teachers, and textbooks emphasized the “historical” interpretation of the ancient myth. Textbooks showed genealogical tables tracing the origin of the imperial house all the way back to Izanagi and Izanami. People who knew better learned to remain silent because of the “thought control” police. The great majority went along with the governmental position that “the land of Japan stands high above the other nations

of the world, and her people excel the peoples of the world." They went along because they were given no chance to know anything different.

**EXCERPTS FROM THE *KOKUTAI NO HONGI*,
THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION TEXTBOOK,
1937**

Those who like to assign to State Shinto a prime role in the stirring up of nationalist feeling should not overlook the role played by the Ministry of Education, and, as more recent research has shown, the Kyoto School of Zen inspired by Nishida Kitaro and others. Two books that highlight the latter are James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo, editors, *Rude Awakenings: Zen, The Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), and Brian Victoria's *Zen at War* (Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1998). Both explore avenues of inquiry that show the degree to which Buddhist organizations and intellectuals became caught up in the nationalism of the times.

The Ministry of Education, however, exerted enormous influence, primarily through a textbook published on March 30, 1937, called the *Kokutai-no Hongi* (Fundamental Principles of the Body Politic). Its purpose was to serve as an official statement of the theory of the Japanese state for the education of its citizens. It was published in massive print runs and within two years of its publication, two million official copies had been sold or distributed. It was used as a guidebook for teachers responsible for classes in moral education and was based largely on an appeal to Shinto ideals as reinterpreted in the early phase of the Meiji period (1868–1912), referring frequently to the Imperial Rescript on Education, composed, of course, by the ministry itself in 1890.

The writing style was deliberately made difficult for the average citizen to understand, imparting to it an aura of mystique as well as authority. However, its influence was also guaranteed because the Ministry of Education's Bureau of Thought Control was the publisher. The bureau, by planting spies in university classrooms and other public places, had been responsible in one decade for the arrest of more than 60,000 people for "unacceptable thoughts." The *Kokutai no Hongi* was little more than an elaborate argument against "individualism," a term that covered almost anything the bureau felt might be a threat to the nationalist cause as defined by the government. Socialism, anarchism, and communism were all grouped under the term individualism, as well as what might more normally (by Western standards) be called individualism. Among the celebrated victims of the bureau was Professor Minobe Tatsukichi

(1873–1948), father of the former Tokyo governor Minobe Ryokichi (1904–), arrested in 1935 for publishing a critique of the theory. The following few quotations should be adequate to illustrate the objectives, the mood, and the impact of the text.

Text: Ministry of Education, Government of Japan, Tokyo. *Kokutai no Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*, translated by John Owen Gauntlett. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1949.

From the Introduction

This book has been compiled in view of the pressing need of the hour to clarify our national polity and to cultivate and awaken national sentiment and consciousness. . . . We must return to the standpoint peculiar to our country, clarify our immortal polity and bring back into being its original condition. . . .

The eternal and immutable national polity is defined as “the unbroken line of Emperors, receiving the Oracle of the Founder of the nation, reigning eternally over the Japanese Empire. Through this principle, all the people, united as one great family nation in heart and obeying the Imperial will, enhance indeed the beautiful virtues of loyalty and filial piety.

The emperor “on the one hand worships the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors and on the other as deity incarnate (*akitsu-mikami*) leads his people. When the emperor is referred to as a “living *kami*, a marvellous deity, or humanly manifested deity,” this should not be taken as having any reference to the so-called absolute God or omniscient and omnipotent God (of Western thought). It signifies that the Imperial Ancestors have manifested themselves in the person of the Emperor, who is their divine offspring, that the Emperor in turn is one in essence with the Imperial Ancestors. . . . It is through his priestly functions that the emperor becomes one in essence with the imperial ancestors. At the same time he functions as father to his children, whom he loves and protects as one would sucklings and, depending upon their cooperation, diffuses his policies widely. The subjects should cast themselves aside and serve the emperor intently.

This was explained as entering into a kind of non-personal state. The author describes it as that “between non-personalities,” involving self-effacement and “a return to the ‘one,’ ” that is, to the one great way. By sweeping aside the corruption of the spirit and the clouding of knowledge that follows upon thinking upon one’s self, we should return to a pure and clear state of mind that belongs intrinsically to us as subjects, and thereby fathom the great principle of loyalty. This patriotism is united at the roots with loyalty and with reverence for the *kami* and the ancestors.

That means, it is a heart that lives in the way of unity between the Sovereign and his subjects, a Way that has come down to us ever since

the founding of the Empire. . . . The spirit that sacrifices self and seeks life at the very fountainhead of things manifests itself eventually as patriotism and as a heart that casts aside self in order to serve the State.

The central role of the Emperor is stressed through a critique of Western concepts of sovereignty. "The Japanese constitution was granted by the throne and instituted in perfect accord with his great august Will by virtue of the 'supreme authority bestowed upon him by the Imperial Ancestors.' "

The theory which holds the view that sovereignty lies in essence in the State and that the Emperor is its organ has no foundation except for the fact that it is a result of blindly following the theories of Western states. Hence, all our laws find their source in the Emperor's august virtue.

While 1940s U.S. propaganda movies focused strongly on Shinto and the doctrine of the eight corners of the world under Japanese rule, this U.S. anti-Shinto propaganda can also be attributed to the use of religion as an ideological force in the process of modernization and as a tool in reinforcing the nationalism that normally accompanies it. That State Shinto was part of this is not in question. What should be remembered is that all Japanese religions under the intellectual impetus of the Ministry of Education actively cooperated.

MURAKAMI ON THE STATE AND SHINTO SINCE 1945

This book takes the form of a lengthy argument against the tendency in certain government circles to appear to favor the restoration of some form of State Shinto. It was published originally in Japanese under the title *Nihon Hyakunen no Shukyo* (A Hundred Years of Japanese Religion) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968). It has the feeling of a tract, written as a warning of the dangers of any form of state support for religious institutions. It also provides an illuminating Japanese perspective on the issues discussed in the previous section by Ross.

Text: Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, translated by H. Byron Earhart (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1980), pp. xvi-xvii, 20-24, 110-13.

Preface

With the end of the war, State Shinto collapsed, and the government declared its own non-religious character. In accordance with the actualization of religious freedom, each religion acquired the conditions necessary to recover its own functions, as found in a capitalistic society. Religion realized its social role. The established religions declined while the new religions—in direct contact with

daily life and work, and offering religious salvation covering the whole of a person's life—occupied the mainstream of religious activity.

There has never been a situation in Japanese history in which one religion occupied a controlling position. In contrast to the racial and linguistic homogeneity of Japan, religions of diverse origins have coexisted, and down to the present a few of these religions occupy important positions as social influences. The state based on the modern emperor system reorganized Shrine Shinto, from the tradition of the ethnic religion of Shinto, and created a national religion. But Shrine Shinto lasted a mere 70 years. In Japanese society today, 230,000 religious bodies of various lineages (approximately 180,000 of these religious bodies are incorporated with the government as religious juridical persons) coexist. Without the premise of a strict separation of religion and government, there can be no guarantee of freedom of belief. The history of religion in Japan's modern century testifies clearly to this fact.

In contemporary Japan, religion is considered a private affair of the citizens, who possess both the right to believe in a religion and the right to be unaffiliated with religion. The Japanese people have experienced only 30-odd years of freedom of belief backed by the separation of state and religion. In order for this right to become a permanent part of the consciousness of the people, a long period of interaction between progressive and reactionary forces will still be necessary.

Today the movement for the revival of State Shinto, which is attempting to restore the religious character of the government, constitutes one branch of reactionary politics and is a challenge to freedom of belief. Another challenge to freedom of belief, in a different form, is the movement for the unity of government and religion which requires the direct linking of government and a specific religion to realize by political means a religiously conceived ideal world. This scheme presents a problem which should be criticized on its own grounds, clearly distinguished from the question of approval or disapproval of the political nature of the movement. The various arguments which are raised around this issue of unity of government and religion show that contemporary religious problems cannot be neglected. Believing in a religion, of course, is an individual, private matter. But the tendency of religious bodies to form a social force can exert both direct and indirect influences upon society as a whole. This is the reason for the necessity to be concerned with what religion ought to be, thus going beyond the consideration of religious belief itself.

Shinto and the Revival of Imperial Rule

The original fountainhead of imperial authority lies in the primitive religious function of the emperor as a magical king who is in charge of the fertility of rice for all the people in the Japanese islands, and who serves as the chief priest for the important rite of the harvest festival. In order for the emperor to become the political authority for the newborn state featuring centralized authority, re-

vival of the emperor's religious authority was indispensable; the revival of the policy of the unity of ritual and government, established in the time of Emperor Jimmu, was an urgent task for the new Meiji government in establishing its political authority. They did several things in order to "sell" the new political authority to the masses: they said that "concerning the honorable ranks of the venerable kami, though the highest rank be present in various districts, it is because the Son of Heaven (the emperor) has granted these ranks that you are allowed to possess them; they said that the rank of the emperor was higher even than the highest rank, Inari-myojin, and they thrust to the front the religious authority of the emperor as the supreme head of Shinto.

As soon as the revival of imperial rule took place, in 1868 the new government opened the Shinto Section in the Council of State, and once more revised it as the Shinto Office; then on April 5 it reinstated the Department of Shinto and proclaimed its intention to return to the system of unity of ritual and government. The Department of Shinto was considered as the topmost government organ, higher than the Council of State, and in the revision of government in the following year, the system of two councils and eight ministries, in accordance with the ancient government organization, was realized. In the proclamation on April 6, the "oath ritual" of five written oaths was performed as the special Shinto rite of the emperor. This was a rite without precedent, in which the emperor set up a sacred *himorogi* tree in the southern palace and worshipped the heavenly and earthly kami. Gathering together all his officials, the emperor made an oath of the five articles of the new government to the various kami; next, court nobles and various marquises came forward in order and worshipped the kami and the emperor.

In accordance with the revival of imperial rule, the Shinto Office which the new government instituted had the functions of supervising the kami, rituals, Shinto priests, and shrine precincts. The proponents of Restoration Shinto were the main force in establishing the Shinto Office, as reflected by their prominent position in it, with representatives of the various Shinto schools, such as the Shirakawa and Yoshida, participating. This was the context in which they planned and executed the religious policy of the transformation of Shinto into a state religion. For example, Kamei Korekane (1824-85), an assistant supervisor concerning kami, was feudal lord of the Tsuwano domain, and was of the Kokugaku school. Leaders in the Hirata school of Kokugaku also were appointed within the new Shinto Office. These men were those who were originally behind the move to transform Shinto into a state religion.

The Separation of Shinto and Buddhism

The separation of Shinto and Buddhism was ordered by the councillors of the state, and they prohibited Buddhist words, such as *bosatsu* (Buddhist divinity), in Shinto shrines, Buddhist statues renamed as Shinto kami and treated as objects of worship, and the use of Buddhist ritual tools in Shinto services. Almost the

entire country's shrines belonged to the various schools of syncretistic Shinto, such as the Yoshida and Shirakawa schools. Their rites and mystical practices were heavily influenced by Buddhist (especially esoteric Buddhist) magic and exorcism, and moreover it was usually the Shinto-Buddhist priests and *betto* who ran the shrines. The reestablishment of Shinto's autonomy in accordance with the new government's religious policy of excluding Buddhist elements became an urgent issue. With the overthrow of Buddhism, Shinto burial rites by Shinto clergy were reinstated, a demand that Shinto revivalists failed to see effected during the latter half of the Tokugawa period. The power of the Shinto shrines was also restored. Former Shinto-Buddhist priests and *betto* who returned to lay status began joining the Shinto clergy, and within half a year the government had to forbid this practice.

In November of 1868, the first year of the Meiji era, in the midst of the continuing civil war, the emperor proceeded to Edo (Tokyo), and Edo castle, which then became Tokyo castle, was made his imperial residence. He proceeded to the leading shrine of the Musashi District, Hikawa Shrine, and performed imperial rites there. He issued an imperial decree specifying this shrine as the tutelary deity for Musashi District. The following May, the emperor again proceeded to Tokyo and the transfer of the capital to Tokyo became official. But during his trip to Tokyo the emperor made an unprecedented pilgrimage to Ise Shrine. No emperor had made the pilgrimage to Ise Shrine since the pilgrimage of Emperor Jito in the seventh century, and on the occasion of the pilgrimage to the Inner (Naiku) and Outer (Geku) Shrines of Ise the special term "the emperor's audience" (*shin'etsu*) was adopted. The notion of the emperor as a "manifest kami" (*arahito-gami*) probably derived from the fact that he represented the apex of religious authority and the fact that he was of equal status with the great kami Amaterasu Omikami and Toyoke Omikami. However, the majority of the low-ranking apologists were former Confucianists and lacked an intensity in their propagation such that the actual effect of this "education" of the populace was rather far removed from the government's expectations.

Shinto in the Imperial War

The Pacific War, which started in 1941 with the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, was the consequence of Japan's course of imperialistic aggression in this century. The five-year-old war in China had fallen into a quagmire, and Japan, in order to break this deadlock, made an alliance with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, the European countries of regressive absolutism. The alliance sought to reorganize and redistribute its influence in the world and waged an all-out war. For such a policy of aggression, State Shinto was an indispensable ideological support. In the teaching of State Shinto, the emperor was considered to be the world's only living kami, called the "divine emperor" (*akitsu mi kami*) or "kami in human form" (*arahitogami*). The ancestors of the emperor were called the imperial founders of the Imperial Household, and in both the preface of the

Meiji Constitution and in the Rescript on Education this terminology was used. The "imperial ancestor," such as Emperor Jimmu and subsequent generations of emperors, at least were considered to be historically existing persons; but the "imperial founders" indicated the various *kami* prior to human emperors. This lineage of *kami* was traced back to Amaterasu Omikami, and this supreme *kami* of the myth of the emperor system granted a divine mirror to the imperial descendant Ninigi-no-Mikoto and handed down the divine decree that his descendants should rule the country. The emperors, who are the descendants of Amaterasu Omikami, rule Japan according to this divine decree, and under the system of State Shinto this myth was absolute in the foundation of the religious authority of the emperor.

Furthermore, the notion of the "eight corners of the world under one roof" (*hakko ichiu*, "universal brotherhood"), as based on the imperial decree of Emperor Jimmu, was actively propagated in order to justify the war of aggression. The notion of "eight directions" was a Chinese expression meaning the entire world, while the term "under one roof" meant the world is one family. This indicated that the Japanese people, who had been granted the emperor, were a superior people [who] shouldered the mission of ruling the entire world; this was an anti-foreign, aggressive notion developed by Restoration Shinto.

Overseas Shrines

Since the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, through recurring wars, Japan obtained Taiwan, Sakhalin, Korea, the South Sea-Islands, and Manchuria as colonial or semi-colonial territories. Then from the late 1930s in the war with China and in World War II Japan temporarily ruled the vast territory extending over the Chinese mainland, Southeast Asia, and the East Indies. According to the teachings of State Shinto, it was necessary for the Japanese *kami* to descend to those lands under Japanese rule. Almost all the overseas shrines established by State Shinto were obviously the materialization of religious aggression. Among the chief overseas shrines established prior to war with China were: 1900, Taiwan Shrine (Jinja, later Jingu); 1910, Karafuto (Sakhalin) Shrine (Jinja); 1919, Chosen (Korea) Shrine (Jinja, later Jingu). Each of these shrines was given the designation of imperial shrine of major grade (Kampei Taisha), the highest shrine rank for a general shrine, next to Ise Shrine.

As for the enshrined *kami* at these overseas shrines, Taiwan Shrine was established to memorialize Prince Kitashirakawa-no-miya Yoshihisa who died in battle in the conquest of Taiwan, so one site was dedicated to the prince and one site was dedicated to the three *kami* noted for overseeing the country, Okunitama, Onamuchi, and Sukunahikona. Similarly, at Karafuto Shrine the three overseeing *Kami* were enshrined and were considered the pacifying agents for the northern limits of the Japanese empire and the general tutelary *kami* for the island of Karafuto. Chosen Shrine was built in Seoul, the location of the

Japanese governor general of Korea, and enshrined Amaterasu Omikami and Emperor Meiji.

After the outbreak of war with China, an emergency order speeded up the establishment and consolidation of overseas shrines. The year 1940 marked the 2,600th year since the founding of the Japanese empire, according to traditional reckoning; in this year in the capital city Shinkyo (Hsinking or Changchun) of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo, as part of the religious ceremonies honoring Manchukuo, Kenkoku Shrine (Shimbyo) was established with Amaterasu Omikami as the enshrined kami. Already in the period from 1905, marking Japan's initial presence in Manchuria, until 1940, the number of shrines established in Manchuria had reached 135; among these, about 90 percent had Amaterasu Omikami as an enshrined kami, and about 50 percent had Emperor Meiji as an enshrined kami. At Miitsuzan (Mishan in Chinese) in the Mut'-anchiang area bordering Russia and Mongolia a Hachiman Shrine was built as the northernmost Shinto shrine in Manchuria. It is said that at the time of the Nomonhan (Nomunhan) incident, Hachiman, the kami of war and battle, lent its divine power to the battle. The Nomonhan incident of 1939 was part of a border dispute on the frontier of Mongolia. The stunning defeat of Japan's proud and powerful Kwantung Army by Russian mechanized units was a great shock to the Japanese army. In China by 1940, 27 shrines had been established, chiefly in the areas where Japanese resided, and due to the protraction of the war with China, new shrines continued to be built.

During the war with China the following were established as imperial shrines of major grade: In Kwantung, Kanto Shrine (Jingu), with Amaterasu Omikami and Emperor Meiji as enshrined kami; in the Coral Islands, Nan'yo Shrine (Jinja), with Amaterasu Omikami as the enshrined kami. In Korea, 51 shrines were built from the time of Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910 until 1936. But during the war with China, Fuyo (Puyo) shrine (Jingu), with the rank of imperial shrine of major grade, was established at the ancient Paekche capital of Puyo. It was to signify the "unity between Japan and Korea." The enshrined kami of Fuyo Shrine were the four kami of Emperor Ojin, Empress Saimei, Emperor Temji, and Empress Jimgu. Thus these historical figures, who in ancient times were involved in the conquest of Korea, descended upon Korea again, this time as a kami.

When World War II began, shrines were built in the occupied territories of the so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Singapore was renamed Shonanto after its occupation by the Japanese, and Shonan Shrine (Jinja) was built. Other shrines built included San'a Shrine (Jinja) on China's Hainan Island, Akatsuki Shrine (Jinja) in Saigon, Hokoku Shrine in Bogor (Java), and shrines were set up even in such places as Wake Island, Hong Kong, and Surabaya.

This account concludes the prewar perspectives and some of the implications for Shinto and shrines of the imperial government policy. A grasp of the issues that are implied is essential to an understanding of

the sensitive problems underlying Japan-Korea and Japan-China relations since 1945. The reverence accorded the war dead in Japan, on account of the political clout of the associations of the war bereaved, is one reason that Japanese governments have always been reticent to make excessively direct statements to neighboring Asian nations about Japan's colonial period. The demands that some nations have made on Japan have the appearance of both emotional excess and lack of logic. In what sense can I be "penitent" for an action performed by my grandfather? I may regret what happened, but I cannot apologize on his behalf. Wrongs cannot be righted by apologies or by endless harping back to past sufferings. In that regard, Japan's experience of the atomic bomb is too readily overlooked by her neighbors, as is the nation's generally dignified response to almost total destruction and abject humiliation in 1945. Ross's point about human beings' capacity to believe propaganda if sufficiently indoctrinated is a sober reminder that neither Nazism nor Japanese nationalism was peculiar to the society in which it emerged. From the barbarism of the Roman Catholic conquistadores in the Americas to the Cultural Revolution in China, examples abound. It is only to be hoped that Asia can now move ahead in such a way that history is not repeated.

DIRECTIVE FOR THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF STATE SHINTO (1945)

Text: Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). *Religions in Japan*. Washington, DC: SCAP, 1948.

Orders from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to the Japanese Government

15 December 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR: Imperial Japanese Government

THROUGH: Central Liaison Office, Tokyo

SUBJECT: Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support, Perpetuation, Control, and Dissemination of State Shinto (Kokka Shinto, Jinja Shinto)

1. In order to free the Japanese people from direct or indirect compulsion to believe in a religion or cult officially designated by the state, and

In order to lift from the Japanese people the burden of compulsory financial support of an ideology which has contributed to their war guilt, defeat, suffering, privation, and present deplorable condition, and

In order to prevent recurrence of the perversion of Shinto theory and belief

into militaristic and ultra-nationalistic propaganda designed to delude the Japanese people and lead them into wars of aggression, and

In order to assist the Japanese people in rededication of their national life to building a new Japan based upon ideals of perpetual peace and democracy.

It is hereby directed that:

- a. The sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control, and dissemination of Shinto by the Japanese national, prefectural, and local governments, or by public officials, subordinates, and employees acting in their official capacity are prohibited and will cease immediately.
- b. All financial support from public funds and all official affiliation with Shinto and Shinto shrines are prohibited and will cease immediately.
 - (1) While no financial support from public funds will be extended to shrines located on public reservations or parks, this prohibition will not be construed to preclude the Japanese Government from continuing to support the areas on which such shrines are located.
 - (2) Private financial support of all Shinto shrines which have been previously supported in whole or in part by public funds will be permitted, provided such private support is entirely voluntary and is in no way from forced or involuntary contributions.
- c. All propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology in Shinto doctrines, practices, rites, ceremonies, or observances, as well as in the doctrines, practices, rites, ceremonies, and observances of any other religion, faith, sect, creed, or philosophy, are prohibited and will cease immediately.
- d. The Religious Functions Order relating to the Grand Shrine of Ise and the Religious Functions Order relating to state and other Shrines will be annulled.
- e. The Shrine Board (*jingi-in*) of the Ministry of Home Affairs will be abolished, and its present functions, duties, and administrative obligations will not be assumed by any other governmental or tax-supported agency.
- f. All public educational institutions whose primary function is either the investigation and dissemination of Shinto or the training of a Shinto priesthood will be abolished and their physical properties diverted to other uses. Their present functions, duties, and administrative obligations will not be assumed by any other governmental or tax-supported agency.
- g. Private educational institutions for the investigation and dissemina-

tion of Shinto and for the training of priesthood for Shinto will be permitted and will operate with the same privileges and be subject to the same controls and restrictions as any other private educational institution having no affiliation with the government; in no case, however, will they receive support from public funds, and in no case will they propagate and disseminate militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology.

- h. The dissemination of Shinto doctrines in any form and by any means in any education supported wholly or in part by public funds is prohibited and will cease immediately.
 - (1) All teachers' manuals and text-books now in use in any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds will be censored, and all Shinto doctrine will be deleted. No teachers' manual or text-book which is published in the future for use in such institutions will contain any Shinto doctrine.
 - (2) No visits to Shinto shrines and no rites, practices, or ceremonies associated with Shinto will be conducted or sponsored by any educational institution supported wholly or in part by public funds.
- i. Circulation by the government of "The Fundamental Principle of the National Structure" (*Kokutai no Hongi*), "The Way of the Subject" (*Shinmin no Michi*), and all similar official volumes, commentaries, interpretations, or instructions on Shinto is prohibited.
- j. The use in official writings of the terms "Greater East Asia War" (*Dai Toa Senso*), "The Whole World under One Roof" (*Hakko Ichi-u*), and all other terms whose connotation in Japanese is inextricably connected with State Shinto, militarism, and ultra-nationalism, is prohibited and will cease immediately.
- k. God-shelves (*kamidana*) and all other physical symbols of State Shinto in any office, school institution, organization, or structure supported wholly or in part by public funds are prohibited and will be removed immediately.
- l. No official, subordinate, employee, student, citizen, or resident of Japan will be discriminated against because of his failure to profess and believe in or participate in any practice, rite, ceremony, or observance of State Shinto or of any ceremony or observance.
- m. No official of the national, prefectural, or local government, acting in his public capacity, will visit any shrine to report his assumption of office, to report on conditions of government, or to participate as a representative of government in any ceremony or observance.

2. a. The purpose of this directive is to separate religion from the state, to prevent misuse of religion for political ends, and to put all religions, faiths, and creeds upon exactly the same legal basis, entitled to precisely the same opportunities and protection. It forbids affiliation with the government and the propagation and dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology not only to Shinto but to the followers of all religions, faiths, sects, creeds, or philosophies.
- b. The provisions of this directive will apply with equal force to all rites, practices, ceremonies, observances, beliefs, teachings, mythology, legends, philosophy, shrines, and physical symbols associated with Shinto.
- c. The term State Shinto within the meaning of this directive will refer to that branch of Shinto (Kokka Shinto or Jinja Shinto) which by official acts of the Japanese Government has been differentiated from the religion of Sect Shinto (Shuha Shinto or Kyoha Shinto) and has been classified as a nonreligious national cult commonly known as State Shinto, National Shinto, or Shrine Shinto.
- d. The term Sect Shinto (Shuha Shinto or Kyoha Shinto) will refer to that branch of Shinto (composed of 13 recognized sects) which by popular belief, legal commentary, and the official acts of the Japanese Government has been recognized to be a religion.
- e. Pursuant to the terms of Article I of the Basic Directive on "Removal of Restrictions on Political, Civil, and Religious Liberties" issued on 4 October 1945 by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in which the Japanese people were assured complete religious freedom,
 - (1) Sect Shinto will enjoy the same protection as any other religion.
 - (2) Shrine Shinto, after having been divorced from the state and divested of its militaristic and ultra-nationalistic elements, will be recognized as a religion if its adherents so desire and will be granted the same protection as any other religion in so far as it may in fact be the philosophy or religion of Japanese individuals.
- f. Militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology, as used in this directive, embraces those teachings, beliefs, and theories which advocate or justify a mission on the part of Japan to extend its rule over other nations and peoples by reason of:
 - (1) The doctrine that the emperor of Japan is superior to the heads of other states because of ancestry, descent, or special origin.
 - (2) The doctrine that the people of Japan are Superior to the

people of other lands because of ancestry, descent, or special origin.

- (3) The doctrine that the islands of Japan are superior to other lands because of divine or special origin.
 - (4) Any other doctrine which tends to delude the Japanese people into embarking upon wars of aggression or glorify the use of force as an instrument for the settlement of disputes with other people.
3. The Imperial Japanese Government will submit a comprehensive report to this Headquarters not later than 15 March 1946 describing in detail all action taken to comply with all provisions of this directive.
 4. All officials, subordinates, and employees of the Japanese national, prefectural, and local governments, all teachers and education officials, and all citizens and residents of Japan will be held personally accountable for compliance with the spirit as the letter of all provisions of this directive.

The terms of the directive are very strict, and they do appear consistent with the judgment made by the U.S. observers of Japan that Shinto was indeed responsible for the Pacific War. I think it is fair to read Ross at this point in amelioration of that judgment. Shinto has indeed had a more peaceful history in Japan than Buddhism, which was militaristic at several times in its history. Without becoming an exercise in apologetics for Asian religion, I think it is also fair to point out further that the world has in the past suffered, and still continues to suffer, from many kinds of religious fundamentalism—Christian, Islamic, and Judaic, to name but three. One need think only of the European Crusades against the “heathen” to gain the perspective that whatever is laid at the doorstep of Shinto, even were it all validated by incontrovertible evidence, is still modest by comparison with other historical movements that produced violence, brutality, and destruction that lasted for centuries.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW JAPAN

It is significant that in order to facilitate the reconstruction of Japan, the emperor’s status and authority were used. The famous *ningen sengen*, or declaration of humanity, is included. The form of reference speaks of mythological links between emperor and people being secondary to the moral basis of the relationship as it was set forth by Emperor Meiji in the Confucian terminology to which attention has already been drawn. In simple terms, the so-called “renunciation of divinity,” as Western com-

mentators are wont to call it, was little more than a reaffirmation of traditional Meiji values set in a new key. The manipulative use of the concept of *akitsu kami* was explicitly rejected, but, as I have often pointed out, this has little to do with divinity in the Western sense of the term.

Text: Translation by D. C. Holtom, contained in Wilhelmus H. M. Creemers, *Shrine Shinto after World War II* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968).

Imperial Edict

[NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR. The following rescript was promulgated on January 1, 1946. It is chiefly noteworthy for the fact that it contains the passage in which the Japanese emperor makes renunciation of divinity. The translation is made from the Tokyo Asahi Shinbun for January 1, 1946.—D.C.H.]

Facing now a new year, we recall how, at the beginning of the Meiji Era, Emperor Meiji deigned to hand down the Charter Oath in Five Articles as the policy of the state.

He declared:

1. Conference shall be inaugurated widely, and all things shall be settled by public discussion.
2. Upper and lower classes shall be of one mind, and governmental administration shall be carried out vigorously.
3. Each and every person, in one and the manner, beginning with the civil and military authorities and extending to all the masses, shall have opportunity to realize his aspirations, that the human spirit be not frustrated.
4. The evil practices of former times shall be broken down, and everything shall be founded on the just and equitable principles of nature.
5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world, that the foundations of imperial rule may be strengthened.

His majesty's wishes were impartial and just. What can we do to promote them? We herewith renew the oath and resolve on the promotion of the welfare of the nation. At all costs we must pattern our actions according to the spirit of the Charter Oath, we must leave behind the evil practices of former years, we must foster the will of the people, raise up government and people, and carry through in the spirit of peace, we must enrich education and strengthen the foundations of culture, and thus undertake the advancement of the life of the people and the establishment of a new Japan.

Cities and towns, large and small, that have sustained the ravages of war, the sufferings of an afflicted people, the stagnation of industry, the lack of food, the

growing trend of unemployment—all this wounds the heart. Yet we doubt not that if our countrymen [*waga kokumin*], by squarely facing the ordeals of the present and by firmly resolving to seek civilization through peace, bring this resolution to good issue, then not only for our country but also for all mankind a bright future will open up.

Moreover, we know that the spirit of love of home and the spirit of love of country are especially strong in our nation. Now in truth is the time for expanding this and for putting forth sacrificial efforts for the consummation of the love of mankind. When we reflect on the efforts and on the results, there is danger that our people find the situation hard to bear and that they sink to the depths of discouragement. As the winds of adversity gradually heighten, there is peril in the weakening of moral principles and the marked confusion of thought that they bring.

We stand together with you our countrymen. Our gains and losses have ever been one. We desire that our woe and weal should be shared. The bonds between us and our countrymen have been tied together from first to last by mutual trust and affection. They do not originate in mere myth and legend. They do not have their basis in the fictitious ideas that the emperor is a manifest god [*akitsu mikami*] and that the Japanese people are a race superior to other races and therefore destined to rule the world.

In order to alleviate the trials and sufferings of the people, my government will exhaust all means for devising every kind of plan and program. At the same time, it is our wish that our countrymen should trample disaster underfoot and rise above it, and that they should go forward bravely in making good the suffering of the characteristics of tolerance and mutual forgiveness, in mutual dependence and assistance, in the unity of the civil life of our country—in these things there is well revealed the reason why in truth our countrymen can make a tremendous contribution to the happiness and progress of mankind.

LAWS AFFECTING SHINTO SINCE 1945

The provisions of law and the regulations listed here affect the status of Shinto and the imperial institution. The contrast between the pre- and postwar situations should be clear.

Text: The selection of the articles follows that found in Wilhelmus H. M. Creemers, *Shrine Shinto after World War II* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 228–32.

The Constitution of Japan of 1947

Article 1 The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.

Article 2 The Imperial Throne shall be dynastic and succeeded to in accordance with the Imperial House Law passed by the Diet.

Article 8 No property can be given to, or received by, the Imperial House, nor can any gifts be made therefrom, without the authorization of the Diet.

Article 9 Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained.

The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

Article 19 Freedom of thought and conscience shall not be violated.

Article 20 Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority. No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice. The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.

Article 41 The Diet shall be the highest organ of state power, and shall be the sole law-making organ of the State.

Article 89 No public money or other property shall be expended or appropriated for the use, benefit or maintenance of any religious institution or association, or for any charitable, educational or benevolent enterprises not under the control of public authority.

Article 96 Amendments to this Constitution shall be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House and shall thereupon be submitted to the people for ratification, which shall require the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast thereon, at a special referendum or at such election as the Diet shall specify.

Amendments when so ratified shall immediately be promulgated by the Emperor in the name of the people, as an integral part of the Constitution.

Religious Juridical Person Law of 1951 (*Shūkyō Hōjin*)

Article 2 In this Law “religious organizations” mean those organizations mentioned below whose primary purposes consist in the dissemination of religious teachings, the conduct of ceremonies and functions, and in the education and nurture of believers:

- (1) Shrines (*jinja*), temples (*ji-in*), churches (*kyokai*), and monasteries (*shudo-in*), having establishments for worship and other similar organizations;
- (2) Denominations (*kyoha*), sects (*shuha*), associations (*kyodan*), churches (*kyokai*), orders (*shudo-kai*), and dioceses or districts

(shi-kyoku), which comprehend organizations mentioned in the preceding paragraph, and other similar organizations.

Article 4 A religious organization can become a juridical person under this Law.

2. In this Law, "religious juridical person" means a religious organization which has become a juridical person under this Law.

Article 5 The competent authority for a religious juridical person in the governor of a To, Do, Fu or prefecture having jurisdiction over the place where its main office is located.

2. Regardless of the provisions of the preceding paragraph, the competent authority for a religious juridical person located in other prefectures, shall be the Minister of Education.

Article 89 When a person wishing to establish a religious juridical person has submitted to the competent authority an application for authentication under the provisions of Article 12 paragraph 1, together with falsified documents, the representative of the organization related to the application concerned shall be punished with a non-criminal fine not exceeding 10,000 yen.

Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (1950)

Article 1 The purpose of this Law is to preserve and utilize cultural properties, so that the culture of the Japanese people may be furthered and a contribution be made to world cultural understanding.

Article 2 In this Law "cultural properties" shall be the following:

- (1) Buildings, pictures, sculptures, applied arts, calligraphic works, classical books, ancient documents, and other tangible cultural products, which possess a high historical or artistic value in and for this country, and archeological specimens (hereinafter referred to as "tangible cultural properties");
- (2) Art and skill employed in drama, music and applied arts, and other intangible cultural products, which possess a high historical or artistic value in and for this country (hereinafter referred to as "intangible cultural properties");
- (3) Manners and customs related to food, clothing and housing, to occupations, religious faiths, festivals, etc., and clothes, implements, houses, and other objects used therefor, which are indispensable for the understanding of changes in our people's modes of life (hereinafter referred to as "folk-culture");
- (4) Shell mounds, ancient tombs, sites of palaces with towns developed around them, sites of castles, old dwelling houses, and other sites which possess a high historical or scientific value in and for

this country; gardens, bridges, gorges, seashores, mountains, and other places of scenic beauty, which possess a high value from the point of view of art or visual appreciation in and for this country; and animals (including their habitats, breeding places and summer and winter resorts), plants (including their habitats), and geological features and minerals (including the grounds where particular natural phenomena are seen), which possess a high scientific value in and for this country (hereinafter referred to as "monuments").

In this context, it should be remembered that numerous other ongoing issues center on the role of the Yasukuni Shrine for the War Dead. Visits, either official or private, by incumbent prime ministers have irked the governments of China and Korea, which see the shrine as a potential source of militarism. Since the question of official visits by Japanese officials to the Yasukuni Shrine remains an ongoing controversy, adequate sources for its discussion are available, and therefore there seems little need to include anything further here.

Chapter 4

THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD AND SHINTO

INTRODUCTION: THE IMPERIAL SYSTEM PAST AND PRESENT

Imperial household ceremonies, as we have seen, have been regulated for centuries to determine and define their proper form. As is obvious, the material of this chapter and that of chapter 3 overlap considerably. What is the principle upon which the division of materials was decided? Chapter 3 included imperial rescripts of the Meiji period and the rescript concerning the reconstruction of Japan in 1947. In that sense, the subject was the role the imperial household played (voluntarily or involuntarily) within the formation of the Meiji period and postwar Japanese state. This chapter deals with the imperial household and the imperial institution in and of itself and the various views taken of it and its rituals by supporters and critics at the present time. The division of material between the two chapters is not an absolute distinction, but rather a working distinction that permits separate discussion of the two topics.

The subject of the *Tennōsei* (the imperial system) in Japan is not easily approached from a Western point of view for two reasons. First, the concept of sacral kingship is alien to modern Western societies, and second, the Japanese maintain a peculiar attitude toward the imperial household. The point was underlined in an incident that occurred some months before Crown Prince Hironomiya found his future princess. A popular magazine showed a selection of photographs of him sporting

various superimposed hairstyles, suggesting that his image was too conservative. The Imperial Household Agency vented its wrath in unmistakable terms, and heads rolled. Very simply, the subject was not for discussion. The Japanese, as a whole, take life very seriously. Achieving status within the social order, whether by setting personal goals or through promotion in the corporate system, becomes their principal and overriding concern. The emperor remains the apex of the national system and as such is treated with ultimate reverence. To portray the emperor as a figure in cartoons, as the British often do their queen and Americans their president, is worse than unthinkable. It is well nigh blasphemous. This is due in part to the prewar isolation of the emperor that built up his mystique, but it is equally inherent in the cultural way of thinking. The emperor's name and image, as well as person, remain inviolable.

A few words of background might be helpful. The imperial household has always been retained to function as an imprimatur of whatever government was in power. It was a source of the legitimacy necessary to permit government to function. General Douglas MacArthur realized that Japan would be more easily reconstructed in the emperor's name than without his presence. Hence the general's chosen course of action.

After the death of Emperor Showa in 1988, the question of his responsibility for the war was raised by many people, including the mayor of Nagasaki, a city that suffered atomic bombing at the hands of the United States. The mayor was shot by a right-wing nationalist gangster for his trouble, implying that the subject was beyond discussion. The concept of "responsibility" in the Western and Confucian senses are quite different. At the end of the war, the emperor offered himself in full responsibility for the war, in the Confucian sense that as head of the household, he was responsible for the behavior of the household, even of its unruly members.

His abdication was refused. In the only interview the emperor ever gave to a foreign journalist (Bernard Krisher of *Newsweek*, in 1978), the question was raised. The emperor declared that he had always viewed himself as a constitutional monarch. He had only twice been required to make decisions during his reign. The first time was during the *ni-ni-roku* incident of February 2, 1936, when some young officers tried to overthrow the government. He was informed that the prime minister had been killed and that civil war was about to break out. Acting under the provisions of the constitution as head of state, he ordered the army back to barracks. His order was obeyed. The second time was when the Cabinet was unable to decide how to respond to the Potsdam Declaration in 1945. To break the deadlock, the emperor was asked to decide. He ordered the

surrender of all Japanese forces. Some army officers tried to prevent the 1945 broadcast ordering all troops to surrender unconditionally and may even have threatened the emperor's life. However, the broadcast was made and the war was ended. Thus did the emperor explain his view of himself.

When the topic of the emperor's culpability has arisen in classes I have taught, Western critics ask, "Why didn't the emperor do something before the war started?" The only answer is that because of his symbolic role, he was powerless. Although things may be done in the emperor's name, this system is a device of legitimization. It does not imply that the emperor was a willing participant in the decision. Nor does it imply that he would have been able to influence events, even if he had wished to do so.

The Tokyo War Tribunal opted for a Western forensic definition of responsibility, seeking to punish those who actually started the war. But the collective decision-making process at work in Japanese society often makes it difficult to identify any single responsible person. General Tojo, among others, was executed, but other more powerful figures escaped prosecution. The entire judicial process was made a mockery of when, in the interest of stimulating "anticommunist" influences in Japan, some of the most influential prewar rightists were released when the Korean War broke out. Recent discussions in Japan of the emperor's responsibility vacillate between the Confucian sense of accepting responsibility (which the emperor actually did) and the general sense of being responsible, along with everyone else, for not trying to stop the war. In retrospect, it seems unlikely that anyone could have prevented Japan from entering on the suicidal course she chose. The romantic link between suicide and war is deeply ingrained in Japanese culture. The decade of the 1930s was one of dramatic, widely publicized suicide (S. D. B. Picken, *Nihonjin no Jisatsu: Seiyō to no Hikaku* [Suicide: Japan and the West, Tokyo: Simul International, 1979], p. 277). As Professor Nakane Chie has perceptively remarked, Japan is a society with few internal breaking mechanisms. The rest is history.

What of the imperial household and its alleged divinity? I have tried to explain that it is not divinity in the Western sense of incarnation, as the Christians believe and as condemned by Jews and Muslims as blasphemous. The emperor is descended from the *kami*, as were many old families and many shrine families. Therefore, his denial of divinity in the Western sense really had no effect on his status, according to some theorists. Probably the best way in which to understand the emperor's role is to see him as a great high priest of the nation as well as a head

of state. He combines the roles of Moses and Aaron as in the ancient Hebrew tradition. A large percentage of Shinto experts and priests would find this model quite acceptable.

The texts in this section are intended to provide material for discussion of both sides of the question of imperial responsibility. The final, long article on the emperor system is a fairly standard type of criticism that suggests that Japan is moving back to the mentality of the 1930s. This kind of fearmongering can be heard from time to time, especially in Christian quarters. Some of the points made are valid, but on the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the world of the 1930s no longer exists. Japan is also an integral part of the global economic and political structure that would take a dim view of any of its members regressing to earlier stages of sociopolitical thinking. In addition, Japan's great neighbor, China, is not the weak, fractured nation of the nineteenth century, but rather is an emerging potential superpower of the twenty-first century. While Japan may retain some characteristics of its past, the world has moved on, and therein lies the difference. Asia is moving toward the Pacific Age and Japan is but a part, albeit an important one.

LAWS REGULATING THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD

These are included for purposes of comparison between pre- and post-war legislation.

Text: Official translation.

Imperial House Law of 1889

Article 1 The Imperial Throne of Japan shall be succeeded to by male descendants in the male line of Imperial Ancestors.

Article 10 Upon the demise of the Emperor, the Imperial heir shall ascend the Throne, and shall acquire the Divine Treasures of the Imperial Ancestors.

Article 11 The ceremonies of Coronation shall be performed and a Grand Coronation Banquet (*Daijoosai*) shall be held at Kyoto.

Article 45 No landed or other property, that has been fixed as the Imperial Hereditary Estates, shall be divided up and alienated.

Article 46 The landed and other property to be included in the Imperial Hereditary Estates, shall be settled by Imperial writ, with the advice of the Privy Council, and shall be announced by the Minister of the Imperial Household.

Imperial House Law of 1947

Article 1 The Imperial throne shall be succeeded to by male descendants in the male line belonging to the Imperial lineage.

Article 4 Upon demise of the Emperor, the Imperial heir shall immediately succeed to the throne.

Article 24 When the Imperial throne has been succeeded to there shall be ceremonials of accession.

Imperial House Economy Law of 1947

Article 3 Expenses of Imperial Household appropriated in the budget shall consist of the inner court expenditures, the Imperial court expenditures, and the Imperial family expenditures.

Article 4 The inner court expenditures shall be allocated to daily expenditures of the Emperor and the Empress, the Grand Empress Dowager, the Empress Dowager, the Crown Prince and his consort, the Imperial Grandson and his consort, and other members of the Imperial family belonging to the inner court, and to various other expenditures of the inner court; a fixed amount prescribed in a separate law shall be defrayed each year.

Article 7 Objects of cherished historical value to be handed down with the throne shall vest in the Imperial heir along with the throne.

PREWAR CLAIMS ABOUT THE EMPEROR

In the 1930s, when the nationalist movement was at its peak, exaggerated claims were made about the emperor and Japan, the divine land. The terminology was borrowed from the past, but the nuances of meaning had changed quite considerably. Two examples are given.

Text: Shozo Kono, "Kannagara no Michi" (The Meaning of Kannagara), in *Monumenta Nipponica* 3, no. 2 (1940).

The Divine in the Emperor

What is the essence or nature of Amaterasu Omikami? It signifies the sublime and mightiest power of the nation, namely the throne, and the great-august-heart or the soul of the ruler, which is embodied in the Throne. In other words it represents the divine soul of the ruler of the empire, the Emperor. The Emperor is the divine manifestation of Amaterasu Omikami and rules the empire in accordance with her will. Thus the Emperor and the imperial Throne, transmitted in an unbroken line, are sacred and inviolable. . . .

About seven centuries ago the word *jinnō* was first used. This word

originated from the faith that the Emperor and Amaterasu Omikami were identical and were of one august body. . . . This spirit or faith, . . . the guiding light in every respect of the Meiji Restoration, . . . was what united Japan, making her realize both her divine lineage and her divine nationality, and awakening a racial determination.

Lastly it must be mentioned that the faith of *Kannagara* expresses within it a feeling of assimilation and harmony, a tendency towards avoiding argumentation and wilful adherence to one's personal opinions, the result of submitting to one's superiors and respecting them. These characteristics come from the fact that the faith of *Kannagara* expresses one's small self or ego through society or the nation, and acts and works in accordance with the great family and the will of the ancestors of that family, and not through the small will of an individual. . . .

The spirit of *Kannagara* . . . developed through a racial faith based upon the spirit of the establishment of the empire which later in the Nara period produced a culture indigenous to the nation. During this same period the nationalistic idea that Japan is "a nation which, as it is with the gods, makes no unnecessary argumentations," was born. This idea is that Japan, being a divine nation, finds it unnecessary to argue or discuss over superfluous matters. In other words, it is a nation of deeds, not words.

Text: Sadao Kiyohara, "Shintoshī," (History of Shinto), in *Monumenta Nipponica* 3, no. 2 (1940).

The Japanese Emperor as Emperor of All Mankind

The Emperor is not to be worshipped exclusively by the Japanese, nor to be represented as Emperor of Japan alone. The Emperor governs Japan and is the Emperor of mankind the world over. He rules the universe with Amaterasu-o-Mikami and Taka-mi-Musubi-no-Mikami. Therefore Japan exists not only for Japan but for the whole world, and as a representation of the High Plain of Heaven must be expanded through the universe. Our national law is the representation of the Great Way of the High Plain of Heaven, which is the way of the Gods, and is creating the law of the Universe.

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE *DAIJŌSAI*

The *Daijōsai* (Great Festival of Accession) took place in November 1990, and though much discussion and controversy took place, no formal theory or explanation of the meaning of the rituals was offered. The details of the rituals of accession are quoted in chapter 2 as historical documents. The explanation of their meaning was not contained in the *Engishiki* documents. In the prewar era, Origuchi Shinobu posited a

theory of the imperial soul and its transmission from one emperor to his successor, an event he claimed takes place at the *Daijōsai*. Others had different views. Sakurai discusses various of these in his 1990 book from which the following short passages are extracted.

Text: Sakurai Katsunoshin, with Nishikawa Masatami and Sonoda Minoru, "Tenno to Sokugirei," in *Nihon Shintoron* (Studies in Japanese Shinto) (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1990), pp. 249–80.

Accession and the *Daijōsai* (Great Festival of Accession)

Accession to the throne involved a great number of ceremonies. Through the forty-four rituals, the heir apparent becomes the new emperor. Further, historical records of the so-called "half emperors" help support the understanding that all heirs to the throne must carry out all the traditional rituals. However, the claim that the *kotaishi* (heir apparent) depends solely on the accession rituals to succeed his father to become the next emperor is questionable.

The Two Meanings of the *Daijōsai*: The Origuchi Interpretation

Origuchi Shinobu argued that the *Daijōsai* is necessary for the transference of the *Tennō-rei* (imperial soul) from the former emperor to the next. If the soul fails to move to the new emperor, Origuchi claims that this denotes that the succeeding emperor is not a great man (*erai kata*). He will lack the necessary power and authority (*iryoku*). Further, the eating of rice from two specific regions of Japan, known as the Yuki and Suki (the present day Omihachiman in Shiga Prefecture), legitimizes the imperial authority in its relation to agriculture. By the process of consuming rice from the first harvests, the *inatama* (soul of the rice) settles in the body of the new emperor, thus granting him absolute power and authority in matters of agriculture. These two explanations (the transference of both souls) constitute the basis of Origuchi's interpretation.

From this, scholars such as Yamamori Tetsuo interpret the yearly thanksgiving festivals (*Niinamesai*) as ceremonies by which the emperor's "internal" soul is strengthened. Following the first thanksgiving festival, the festivals thereafter restore the emperor's power of life to its original form. . . . In addition, Yamamori insists that the separation of the soul from the body of the former emperor takes place when he passes away. Thus, through the *Daijōsai*, the eternally unchanged soul is successfully transferred to the *kotaishi*.

Professor Sakurai is critical of those kinds of semi-mystical theories that see the imperial soul as a "transcendent power" (*aru choetsuteki na chikara no hatsudo*). According to Yamamori's theory, the soul leaves

the body of an emperor at the point of death and then transfers to the new emperor. Sakurai points out that in Japanese history, numerous emperors abdicated and thereby surrendered their authority without having died in order to do so. The fact that over 70 percent of incumbent emperors did so challenges the argument about the transfer of the soul from one body to another at the point of death. Further, no evidence exists in the form of ceremonies or rituals that suggest the process of the soul leaving the deceased emperor, whereas there are rituals that deal with the unification of the *rei* (soul) and the body of the new emperor.

Sakurai insists that the *Daijōsai* is not, as its supporters claim, a prerequisite for the *kotaishi* to become emperor. There are historical cases in the Edo period or the Warring States period, for example, of properly conducted *Daijōsai* that failed to produce legitimate emperors. Origuchi's claim that the *Daijōsai* authenticates the emperor as such explains only those where they were performed. His explanation is implausible in light of the large number of de facto emperors who have acceded without the *Daijōsai*.

THE EMPEROR SYSTEM AND THE JAPANESE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In contrast to the preceding Jungian theory of the cosmic backdrop to the imperial accession rites, there were some who did not see the ancient ontology as described by Mircea Eliade at work in the rituals. Rather, they saw something more sinister and menacing in the way in which the emperor system was being inculcated into the daily consciousness of the people. The *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* devoted an entire volume to articles on the *Daijōsai*. One of these, written by Kurihara Akira, is reproduced in part here.

Kurihara is a critic of the imperial system and its tenacious grip on the Japanese social consciousness. Although some would disagree, or feel Kurihara is overly concerned, he nevertheless does represent a lobby sharing that consensus. His article requires no prior explanation and is best permitted, before comment, to speak for itself.

Text: Kurihara Akira, "Emperor System as Japanese National Religion: The Emperor System Module in Everyday Consciousness," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 17, no. 2-3 (June-September 1990): 315-26. The English translation was by Edmund R. Skrzypczak. The article first appeared in Japanese as "Nihon Minzoku Shukyo to shite no Tennōsei," *Sekai* 4 (1989): 92-108.

The Emperor System as a Religious Tendency

The emperor system is a system of the imagination that exists by being believed. Sometimes it is a matter of conscious belief. There are even some people who hold as an article of faith that the emperor is a living god. On the other hand, however, there are those who lend themselves unconsciously to supporting the institution of the emperor and place belief in it unawares. These people also fall within the realm of this imaginary institution. Perhaps we can say that the real nature of the emperor system surfaces, as a structure, in the unconscious behavior of those young people who for some unknown reason ended up going to the Imperial Palace grounds and signing their names in the condolence books at the time of the death of the Showa emperor, despite the fact that they knew nothing about the emperor except the smattering of information they had picked up from television. To the extent that it exists by being believed, this system of the imagination is a religion in the broad sense. In this regard, the concept of "Japanese national religion" discussed by Tosaka Jun in his 1936 work, *Shiso to fuzoku*, and which he used in order to grasp the state of contemporary thought in Japan (including the problem of the emperor system), was useful.

In fact, whether or not this concept is meaningful even today depends on whether there is any correspondence between the situation in the 1930s and the situation today. Well, the removal in the 1980s of the 1% ceiling on military spending corresponds to the militarizing of the country that went ahead in the 1930s, and the recent National Secrets Act corresponds to the Military Secrets Act and the Maintenance of the Public Order Act of the earlier era. And the outstanding special feature of the recently announced New Course of Study Act, something very new, is that the singing of the "national" anthem (*Kimigayo*) and hoisting of the flag (*Hinomaru*), neither of which have legal status, are mandated; this corresponds with the fostering of national polity that went on before the war. In addition, the U.S.- Japan security setup and the U.S.-Korea-Japan military alliance correspond with the German-Italian-Japanese Defense Pact. Emergency corresponds with the National Mobilization Act, while the growing conservatism of political parties and labor unions, and the new corporatism of politicians, government bureaucrats, business leaders, and labor correspond with the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and the Industrial Associations to Contribute to the State. Because there is this sort of parallelism, the concept of Japanese national religion is something very applicable today.

Tosaka Jun pointed out three tendencies in religion in the 1930s. The first tendency was a phenomenon that contemporary journalism styled a "religious renaissance." Buddhist, Christian, Shinto, and other religions' sacred scriptures were being published, and prophecies, spiritual experiences, spiritual communications, mysticism, and occultism were the fashion. In more recent times, the phenomenon of religious books piled high in the book shops resurfaced in the early 1970s. Mysticism, occultism, spiritual experiences, and similar trends have grown in momentum as we head towards the end of the century.

We also have television programs of religious talks given by self-styled as

well as eminent and noted monks; the early 1930s were a time when radio religious talks began, when the "religious resurgence" linked up with the mass media to achieve rapid growth.

The second tendency pointed out by Tosaka was the rising tide of New Religions and folk religions. Examples of New Religions which emerged around this time are the Hito-no michi, the Dainihon Kannonkai (later named Sekai Kyuseikyo), the Oomotokyo, and the Reiyukai. These New Religions reached peaks of prosperity, each of them with believers said to number in the hundreds of thousands. The basis for this second tendency was social anxiety: people who had no place to go, no place where they could be saved, ran to the New Religions. A recent phenomenon similar to this began again as early as the 1960s, when the unlucky ones who missed out on the so-called "high economic growth" turned to New Religions. The New Religion boom has continued ever since, and as we head for the end of the century the "lesser gods" are more and more popular.

The third tendency is what Tosaka called the "Japanese national religion" (*Nihon minzoku shukyo*). It refers not only to State Shinto, but also to the mentality that supports an emperor system. It was a concept that widely embraced such things as national polity (*kokutai*), Japanism (*Nihonshugi*), idealism (*seishinshugi*), and "crisis ethos" (*hijoji no seishin*).

Tosaka pointed out the trinity that supported the Japanese national religion: the military, government officialdom, and "Big Bourgeoisie, Japan-style." At the same time he says that, supported by this trinity, the Japanese national religion penetrated into all spheres of life: education, folklore, literature, the arts, and even politics and economics. In other words, the ultimate attainment of the emperor system was to be the religion of everyday life, to be an emperor system at work in everyday consciousness. This, according to Tosaka, is what the Japanese national religion was all about.

Tosaka recognized the critical capacities of the common people's religions, the "New Religions." Despite that feature of the New Religions, however, he predicted that the first and second religious tendencies would, on the whole, probably be swallowed up by the third one, the Japanese national religion, with its greater centripetal force. And as a matter of historical fact that is exactly what happened. The headquarters of the Oomotokyo twice, in 1921 and 1935, was subjected to severe repression on such charges as lese majeste and violation of the Maintenance of the Public Order Act. When the Showa emperor died in 1989, the Oomotokyo expressed sentiments of veneration and allegiance towards the emperor, taking his death as a loss. I believe this is a sign that the phenomenon of religious movements being drawn towards the third tendency is occurring now, just as it occurred in the 1930s.

At the heart of the Japanese national religion is the "willing submission" mechanism. As everyone knows, at the present time neo-centrism, neo-conservatism, and neo-militarism are on the march; to this can be added the political reorganization styled "The 1986 System." We cannot overlook the fact

that the “willing submission” mechanism is operative as the structural factor for why brakes on these new trends do not work.

“Willingness” (or “spontaneity”) and “submission” are two words that, in the nature of things, are contradictory. Joined together, they form a concept, “willing submission,” that involves a contradiction. To convince yourself that you are voluntarily submitting, that your submission was a spontaneous affair—this is a mechanism for internal control that is also a feature of a managed society. I believe it overlaps with the mechanism of “willing submission” in the Japanese national religion.

Human beings are most liberated when decisions do not have to be made. At such times government is not needed. But when a large number of human beings live together, the need to make decisions arises. At such a time, human beings think, “If decisions have to be made, I will make my own decisions about what affects myself.” This is the first step in human government, this is the starting point of government as self-determination, as autonomy.

“Willing submission” is at the opposite pole from this “I will make my own decisions about what affects myself.” First of all, one’s actions and way of life are coerced by others. Secondly, the submission is embellished with the window-dressing of “It’s something I chose to do voluntarily” and “It’s spontaneous.” In other words, in “willing submission” a person is subjected to a double insult.

Performance Model of the Emperor System

In order to understand the emperor system as Japanese national religion, let us consider a performance model of the emperor system. The star performer is, needless to say, the emperor himself. The ones in charge of production and writing the scenario, it can safely be said, are those in political power.

For the actors on the stage (though they also intervene in the scenario making), we have in the foreground the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaicho) and the relevant government organizations and, in certain cases, self-governing local communities. The background is more important, however, and there we find the Liberal Democratic Party, the middle-of-the-road political parties, the financial world, officialdom, the right wing, and the decision-making organs of giant enterprises exerting pressure.

There are others on the stage as well; we can call them the chorus, or maybe the middlemen. They are the intermediate decision makers who pass down political decisions made at a higher level to the general public, i.e. the middle-level leaders who mediate authority down to the people. They are for the most part public organizations and the media industry, and they are indispensable actors in the performance model of the emperor system.

Last of all there is the audience. The audience is made up of different types. Some of them even have their backs turned to the stage; in other words, they reject the emperor system performance.

There you have it: a broad sketch of a model of the performance. Let us

proceed along the above lines to consider how the various parts interact to stage the performance which is the emperor system.

The Structure of the Emperor System

In regard to the star performer, I would like first of all to pin down the spatial structure adapted for the existence of the emperor and the temporal structure of the emperor system.

Regarding the spatial structure of the emperor system, we have the theoretical position culled out by Orihara Shuso: "The very essence of the emperor system is an empty core." In my opinion, this is the key point in the spatial structure of the emperor system.

According to Orihara, the emperor is *ama no manai* (the sacred well of heaven). In other words, a circle of light comes down from the ceiling, and in that spotlight there is, no, not a person, but simply a stage, bathed in white light.

Still, this empty core of a stage has the tremendous centripetal power of a black hole. Around this empty core whirl a variety of powers, which spread out in concentric circles to the Palace, from the Palace to Tokyo, from Tokyo to Japan, and, before the war, from the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to the world. This idea of an empty core may seem farfetched, but many years after Orihara and I pushed the argument, Roland Barthes said something similar about Tokyo with the Imperial Palace at its center.

Secondly, there is the temporal structure of the emperor system, a device by which the emperor system freezes time. That is to say, the myth of "an unbroken imperial line" has, as the adjectival modifier "eternal" that goes with it signifies, the function of suspending time, erasing history, making people oblivious to time.

Not so long ago the newspapers reported that the president of South Korea, before a visit to Japan and under pressure of public opinion in South Korea, insisted that "the emperor make an apology for the crimes of Japanese people against the Korean people during the war." I don't know about others, but this came as a jolt to me, as if someone had suddenly hit me on the head. This shows that I, too, had slipped into this obliviousness to time. It seems that there is in the Japanese national religion a device of obliviousness to history, and that at its source is the structure for freezing time within the emperor system.

Let us reflect upon the person of the emperor that is supposed to occupy the "stage" that has this spatial-temporal structure. The emperor's person forms a trinity: as flesh-and-blood (*namami*), as a public figure (*utsushini*), and as a hidden figure (*kakuremi*). It used to be that these aspects were involved in fierce confrontation within the person of the emperor. That is why it was possible to get a hold on the flesh-and-blood emperor and divest him of value, or, conversely, invest the public and hidden figures with extremely powerful taboos. It was a pluralized person subject to violent fluctuations, so that Meiji elder statesmen could manipulate him, referring to him as a "pawn" (*tama*), at the very same time as he was being treated as a living god (*arahitogami*).

Today, however, this trinity has been emptied of its content and become a mere

image through the intermediation of the mass media. In this sense you might say the “replication” of the emperor’s person has made progress. The pattern has been set for representing the person of the emperor to the world through the media, and this is the all too familiar copy that we keep seeing. It is all geared to breaking down the imperial “aura.” To use the expression of Walter Benjamin, they have transformed the person of the emperor from a “worship-able asset” to an “exhibit-able asset.”

Still, even though the person of the emperor, which is supposed to be occupying the center stage that forms the empty core, is only a simulation, there is still need to envelop it in an aura. And so what happens is that the person of the emperor is filled out by a “personality” myth. They cloak the person of the emperor in the false aura of a “pure, innocent, spotless person,” or, depending on circumstances, “so kindhearted” or “in his private capacity, a pacifist.”

But a “pure, innocent, spotless person” is but an empty canvas; it does not signify anything. You could also call it a *screen*. One could say that on this screen, on which the person of the emperor is projected, dual images overlap each other—the intent of a desire for state order and the self-image of the people. The person of the emperor is at once a projection of the desires of civil society and a representation of what is distinctively modern. In this sense there comes about the paradox that his being the “symbol of the Japanese nation” (as described in the Japanese constitution) is a truly accurate description.

At this point let us look at a catalogue of the performances of the imperial person.

First, there are the performances of the sacred emperor. For example, take the Mikuni Hoshidan (associations for serving the country). These started from several dozen youths from village communities in Miyagi Prefecture mowing the grass in the Imperial Palace, taking the cutting back home, producing “pure rice” using them as fertilizer, then donating the rice to the emperor. Then similar groups spread throughout the country, so that at the present time it’s so popular that you have to apply to the Imperial Household Agency and wait from six months to one year for your group’s turn to come.

I shall touch upon this later, too, but I think this can be called an example of the peasant class’s redistribution fantasy being linked up with the belief in the power of production in the wide sense through the symbolic activity of mowing grass in the Imperial Palace. It is a well-known fact that places where the emperor has planted trees and rooms where he has slept are treated as sacred.

A special-edition newspaper of the Meiji period carried the story of how an old woman who had lost her sight through illness ate some rice left over from a meal Emperor Meiji had eaten during one of his trips around the country and her blindness was cured.

The repeated telling of tales of such miracles and myths produced the sacred-emperor image. The emperors in the modern period have played the part of the principal founder and chief priest of religions of every description, including New Religions. The image of this sacred existence has been cast repeatedly since the

time of the Meiji emperor and right up to the present day, and this idea is being acted out in the form of events and rituals.

Next we have the performance of the man-of-letters emperor. The most obvious example of this is the traditional poetry-reading party at New Year's time. In the words of the literary critic Yamazaki Masakazu, "Waka converges on the noblest and simplest individual." By "noblest and simplest individual" he means, of course, the emperor, and on this occasion the emperor, playing the role of priest of traditional culture, stands at the apex of the cultural hierarchy.

Thirdly, there is the performance of the scientist emperor. The biology the present emperor specializes in is taxonomy. Now, taxonomy represents the modern age, and so the emperor is enacting the symbol of order in modern science. Articles in the natural science area written by members of the imperial family are always put first even in scholarly journals, so I am told.

Fourthly, there's the performance of the working-man emperor. From time to time photographs and captions of "the emperor busy performing official duties" flow out to the mass media. I do not think it necessary to say very much on this point.

In the fifth place we have the performance of the patriarch-emperor, as also the performance of "the emperor and his family." When the young people who visited the Imperial Palace to sign the condolence books after the emperor's death were asked what image they had of the Showa emperor, one of the set replies was "father of Japan." Thus the emperor had the image of patriarch of the Japanese race. Further, the portrait of the imperial family, with the clichés that go with it, such as "getting along harmoniously," "pleasant," "mutually caring," and the like, is also a symbol of the happiness of the average Japanese person, sharing the idea with everyone else that "everyone belongs to the same middle-class." You could say that the imperial "Holy Family" stands at the apex of the social hierarchy.

The imperial family's manners, dress, and habits are often taken up by women's magazines and the like. There is a hierarchy, so it is said, among marriageable women, with the ultimate young lady being the one who can become empress or princess of the royal family, followed by the "genuine young lady" class, under which comes the class of those who could become genuine young ladies with some effort, and finally the false pretenders to being young ladies. This hierarchy exists in parallel with a hierarchy for boys based on a standard score.

Using the above catalogue of performances of the imperial person, government authorities work out the scenarios.

Scenarios by Government Authorities

First of all, there's the scenario for the promotion of neo-nationalism by means of administrative reform. In the name of self-help of the individual, the doctrine of a Japanese-type welfare society was preached, privatization (or what was eulogized as the "introduction of private business vitality") was carried out, and development was promoted by a relaxation of governmental controls. At the same

time, the dismantling of giant labor unions and their absorption into the system proceeded at full steam ahead.

What we have here are conditions in which there is a sort of rationalization of society, a racking of the old order, and a shift towards a new state of competitiveness. Within such conditions, therefore, the need arises to bring about a reorganization of order and fresh unification. And so national identity is emphasized. Efforts to combine anew government, bureaucracy, business, and a part of the labor world under the leadership of government and bureaucracy, and yet to shift towards a style of government that includes the general public—this, I believe, is the scenario for the promotion of neo-nationalism.

In connection with this we have a second scenario: the comprehensive incorporation into the political base of the inhabitants of urban-type society simultaneously with the promotion of rationalization towards urban-type society. The redevelopment of large-scale cities (which is what provided the structural basis of the occurrence of the Recruit Scandal) gets promoted, and in the industrial structure the weight shifts towards high-tech industries and the information industry.

Parallel with these activities there takes place a continuous expansion of what former prime minister Nakasone used to advocate, force against the left wing. According to Shindo Muneyuki, the reform of the tax system is aimed at incorporating workers in urban-type society into the political base.

The third scenario is the promotion of neo-nationalism by means of education reform. Some of the aspects of the proposed draft of the New Course of Study Act are the inclusion of courses on internationalization and information society into high schools and the fostering of favorable attitudes towards development. At the same time, the government pushes the thoroughness of moral education and strong disciplinary action to be taken against those teachers who do not carry out the obligatory ceremonies involving the flag and the national anthem.

At the same time as this is happening, the Minister of Education, Mr Nishioka, is stating that it is desirable to centralize matters relating to private schools, which are at present under the jurisdiction of the municipal governor's bureau, with public education. In other words, it is a policy aimed at shifting things to the jurisdiction of the Board of Education and centralizing them under state administration. Thus some things in the scenario for promoting neo-nationalism in the area of education are quite obvious for everyone to see.

The fourth scenario is the promotion of ultranationalism in the name of internationalism. Speaking about the revised version of the Course of Study Act, Mr Nishioka stated that "Only when children feel the national flag and the national anthem are something special can they have an attitude of respect for other countries as well" (10 February 1989). This is the logic used: that the Japanese national anthem and the Japanese flag are being emphasized for the sake of internationalization.

Probably the ultimate in these scenarios for promoting a new nationalism is the manipulation of the emperor system. For the purpose of providing a national

identity in a period of shifts in society and a period of reorganizations in government, repeated use is made of a cultural device and a political "system" that performs a national unifying function: the emperor system as Japanese national religion.

The state rituals connected with the emperor's death and the change in reigns can be styled the crowning events, the grand spectacles, included with premeditated design among the stratagems for building a new nationalism.

There were in my opinion three events after the war in which the emperor formed the nucleus of measures for stirring up nationalism.

The first was the Showa emperor's tour immediately after the war. In his role of religious priest he made a pilgrimage around the country to pacify through prayer the *aramitama* (violent spirits) and replace them with *nigimitama* (peaceful spirits). This was modelled on the Meiji emperor's tours: whenever society is breaking up and in chaos and there is a need for knitting it into a governable society, an imperial tour takes place. In his book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson (1983) analyzes why, from the second half of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, the Spanish empire in the Americas dissolved into eighteen separate nations and why various creole communities developed the notion of "we people." Anderson says that the new republics in South America were administrative units from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and that creole bureaucratic functionaries were sent around these units on administrative rounds, in much the same way as people made religious pilgrimages. This fact, together with newspapers published by creole printers, played a decisive role in forming the imaginary communities called nations. This is a completely different model of national formation from the Western European model of a state in which nationalism is supported by a middle class, a bourgeoisie.

Perhaps we should think of the tours of Japan's emperors as the same sort of political pilgrimage. In actual fact the first imperial tour after the war did bring about national unity. And guaranteeing that unity in the form of "after care" is the National Athletic Meet held annually in one of the prefectures in turn and where a member of the imperial family normally makes an appearance. The National Athletic Meet is a variation of the political pilgrimage.

The second event was the ritual of the wedding of the Crown Prince (the present emperor) and Shoda Michiko in 1959. It is, as everyone knows, nationalism for the nuclear-family age, based on the "new family" legend that it all started with a chance meeting in Karuizawa. When the state ceremony of the enthronement of the Showa emperor was held in 1928, radio became popular overnight. Everyone knows that television became popular at the time of the Crown Prince's wedding. Whenever the emperor system arouses nationalism, it is always accompanied by a spectacle, and meshed with it is the spread of mass media.

The third event is the death of the Showa emperor and the enthronement of the new emperor. With the anthropological theme at its core of the community's experiencing a death and resurrection in the death of its king and rites of rebirth, the long-drawn-out state rituals, from the state funeral through to the state rite of

enthronement and the Great Thanksgiving Festival after the enthronement, are prize plums for nationalism.

Intermediate Decision Making: Transmission of the Emperor System's Performances

When the above scenarios of the authorities descend to those below in the form of notifications, commands, and "requests for cooperation," and go on to penetrate into the community, they pass through the community's intermediate-decision-making stage. It is there that the transmission and amplification of authority are thought to be carried out by agents for the performances of the emperor system.

The place where this intermediate-level decision making takes place can be seen if we look at where and how the decision making and formulation of guidelines in regard to "self-restraint" (*jishuku*) concretely took place during the prolonged illness of the Showa emperor.

In the case of newspapers, you had a "request to the press" going from the Cabinet Secretariat to the Newspaper Association.

In the case of television, it is said that on 22 September 1988, immediately after the news of the emperor's deteriorating condition, agreement was reached on steps for special programming on X-day (the day of his death), in a meeting of programming department heads from the five television stations located in Tokyo.

In the case of banks, the National Banking Association produced a twelve-article memorandum. This they sent on to the national association of regional banks and the national association of mutual banks, which in turn sent it on to each of their individual member banks.

In the case of the movies, the decision regarding self-restraint was apparently made at an ordinary board meeting of the National Federation of the Entertainment and Environmental Sanitation Trade Association. This then flowed on to unions and chapters in each of the prefectures, and from there on to individual theaters.

As regards the day of national mourning (24 February 1989), all 91 central markets in the 56 prefectures and those cities designated by Cabinet order, as well as the majority of the approximately 1,700 regional markets, would be completely closed down. The first to make an informal decision to close for the day after receiving a directive from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries were, it seems, the central wholesale markets in Tokyo at Tsukiji and Kanda. This triggered off an announcement from the National Central Wholesale Market Association formed by Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, and other large cities, that there would be a special holiday. And the regional markets then decided to follow suit.

As regards the decision to cut Tokyo's traffic volume on the day of national mourning down to thirty percent of a normal day's traffic, the Traffic Section of the Metropolitan Police Office requested the cooperation of the Tokyo Transport Regulation Council, to which the Transport industry groups belong, in self-restraint in the operation of vehicles so as to meet the target of a 70% reduction

below normal traffic volume. The Council called a general meeting and decided to cooperate, then conveyed the decision to the approximately 200 industry groups that belong to the Council.

For a concrete look at an intermediate level of decision making we can take the case of actions carried out in Hachioji City, the location of the Musashi Mausoleum where the Showa emperor would be interred. The city formed a "Hachioji Citizens Committee for Welcoming Emperor Showa." Hastily formed around the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the committee asked the Rotary Club and Lion's Club for contributions of ¥10,000 per person by way of condolence gifts. Acting as fundraisers for the "Citizens Committee" cause were conservative and middle-of-road assemblymen, the president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the like—people who are the pillars of Hachioji's conservative base. The story goes that, because the fundraisers were the powers-that-be in the local community, there was a general atmosphere that made it impossible to refuse when contributions were solicited, a feeling that anyone who did not cough up was not being part of the gang. One report referred to the contribution as a sort of loyalty test.

Resistance and opposition to the committee was strong among middle-aged people, who had had personal experience of the war. Nevertheless, Chief Cabinet Secretary Obuchi betook himself to a meeting of the Hachioji Citizens Committee, and in his speech said "Hearing that Hachioji citizens of their own accord set up this committee, I want to express my heartfelt feelings of admiration," then went on to weave the phrase "of your own accord" repeatedly into his speech.

In sum, then, because decisions are made and carried out by intermediate-level leaders, and the reason given is that "it is connected with the emperor," people step into line and go along with the crowd, even though they cannot agree with what's happening. On top of this, the whole exercise is camouflaged under a cover of spontaneity, by painting it as being carried out of the citizens' own accord.

Though there is much insight and information in this article, it would be improper not to point out its very clear limitations. What commences as a structured critique degenerates into a diatribe that makes use of generalizations and nonevidenced assertions ("it is said that . . .") that weaken the case being made. That public opinion in Japan can be manipulated easily is beyond question, and that coercive measures can be taken by authorities of most varieties is equally true. I am profoundly aware of the allergy to the imperial institution found among many Christians in Japan, and I believe I understand their reasoning. But in the wider perspective, does the same not hold true elsewhere?

Many of the article's assertions could parallel events from the history of the United Kingdom. Queen Victoria left symbols of her presence the length and breadth of the four nations making up the union in the form

of statues and memorials to Albert, her consort—streets, public halls, wells, drinking fountains, schools, museums, and many other symbols, down to the “royal hotel” title, thereafter given only to those hostelrys in which she (or a subsequent monarch) stayed overnight. It was a massive public relations exercise to unite the country, which paid off handsomely in the numbers of volunteers for World War I, each of whose life span in a dysentery-ridden trench was around 90 days. Nationalism, war, and death are intimate comrades worldwide, not just in Japan.

Television in the UK took off after the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, and public enthusiasm over the wedding of Prince Charles to Diana Spencer sparked off a Princess Di fever that has turned her, after her death, into a neoreligious icon. While Diana’s death appeared to hurt the royal family, it also gave them an excuse to show a more human face, all magnificently stage-managed.

As to the timelessness that makes people forget such horrors as colonialism, I venture to suggest that if the Japanese government is reluctant to utter certain words to Korea, it is highly unlikely that any British government would ever apologize for the Opium War. It would be difficult to imagine Mrs. Thatcher doing so, and the aggressive posture of Hong Kong’s last governor was hardly designed to win Chinese friendship. France hardly demonstrated sensitivity by conducting nuclear tests in the Pacific during the 1990s. The list could go on.

Even the United States (leaving aside the issue of its colonial venture in the Philippines) has its own form of civil religion, printed on the dollar bill, and something to which the nation’s leaders are expected to subscribe. It can be invoked to add an air of sanctity to a course of action that might otherwise be called terrorism, if engaged in by certain other nations.

A rather convenient device that can be used to exonerate many groups from the duty to protest, which critics of the imperial system now seem to be exercising, is suggesting that a kind of drug has been injected into the cultural system. A healthier approach would be to ask how improper manipulation of the emperor and the imperial family can be prevented from recurring in the future, if it is realistic to think in these terms, and, further, how individuals can be encouraged, or educated, to act responsibly if such a scenario should appear to be developing.

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Chapter 5

SECT SHINTO AND THE NEW RELIGIONS

INTRODUCTION: NEW RELIGIONS AS OLD RELIGIONS

The goals of this section are to offer materials for discussing the various doctrines and teachings of Sect Shinto and the New Religions. This chapter is relatively short in comparison to the rest of the book. It is not that I consider the New Religions less important than Shrine Shinto. However, the New Religions are much more accessible to the public than the shrines, and their organizations often are quite willing to supply interested parties with pamphlets and public relations materials. Many also welcome visitors in person and will take pains to give visitors a good understanding of the movement. In *Essentials of Shinto*, I devoted quite a lot of space to them and outlined principal teachings and doctrines. I see no need to repeat those materials here. Rather, I think it is useful to provide some views and theories about them. I have included Professor Helen Hardacre's excellent account of the worldview of the New Religions, which I think is masterfully crafted. I refer also to H. Neill MacFarland and Harry Thomsen and their views of the New Religions. While these latter works are older, they had a great influence on how the New Religions were perceived in the West. The bulk of writers on the New Religions deal with Buddhist groups, often as though there were no others, which of course is not the case.

Consequently, I selected simply some observations that apply to

Shinto-derived movements. There is really very little written on the Shinto-derived New Religions, and therefore, this section is relatively limited in what it can accomplish. The views that I believe do most justice to the topic are those that identify the continuity within the traditions of the older and the newer religious groups that have emerged. It is tempting to see 1945 as a watershed in Japanese religions, with the new groups emerging as dramatic responses to a social crisis. Two factors make that theory the least tenable of all. First, it can be argued with good reason that Japanese thought has never moved forward at any time in a sequence of dialectical responses to earlier positions. Japanese thought evolves and subdivides in a manner quite different from intellectual movements in the Western tradition. Second, 1945 saw the liberation of many movements that had been suppressed in the prewar years because they were thought to be potentially subversive. Movements such as Omoto-kyo suffered in this way.

A further point, which will emerge very quickly after a reading of the materials in *Essentials*, is that there is a great deal in common between the ideas of Sect Shinto and the Shinto-based New Religions. Indeed, they share many common features, which I listed and defined in the *Essentials*. Of course, they are separated by generations in some cases, but it is easy to believe that someone born in the Edo period would not find these New Religions too strange, and similarly, many modern people do not consider it odd to belong to a sect that dates to Japan's medieval period.

One basic difference between Shrine Shinto and Sect Shinto is that the Sect Shinto has historical founders, whereas old shrines are still frequently owned on a hereditary basis. This is certainly true, but of course changes are taking place, just as they have taken place in the past. When the Outer Shrine of Ise became popular, Watarai Shinto emerged. It was an instance of a cultic movement growing up within an institutional context. By way of contrast, some of the Kyoha Shinto sects can now look back to 14 generations of family leadership (as in the case of Kurozumi-kyo). This is somewhat the reverse of the experience of Ise, namely, a cultic movement developing an institutional profile.

These phenomena can still be found, suggesting simply that there is much that is traditional in the new religious movements, and likewise, much that is modern in the traditional movements. Similarly, whether new or old, lineage and history have great meaning in the world of Japanese religions.

The most important materials relate to the various theories put forward to explain the existence of these movements. Anyone who reads chapter

6 on Shinto thought will quickly realize that, from at least one point of view, there is not a lot that is new about the movements. It is a case of *non novum, sed nove*—not new things, simply new forms. Helen Hardacre's excellent study of Kurozumi-kyo illustrates well the point that while the movement can be traced back to the Edo period, it survives into the present and is successful because it is built on the same principal elements of worldview on which the other movements are based. In this regard, she has seen clearly to the heart of these movements—their goals, dynamics, and methods. Hence, I have included her discussion as central. Whether or not it is totally acceptable, we must discuss it first and foremost to understand the psychology behind the spirituality.

Theories of the New Religions

Three early theories, those of Raymond Hammer, Harry Thomsen, and H. Neill MacFarland, are included for completeness, and ideally the contrasts in views will enable students to see why the New Religions of Japan must be understood primarily in Japanese terms rather than in parallel with ostensibly similar cults in the West. The difference arises from the differences in roles played by religion in each tradition.

I have closed out the section with a brief reference to the most recently identified movements in Japan, known as the “New, New Religions,” to distinguish them from the already established New Religions, especially in view of the international publicity that some of them have received.

Finally, curious readers might question why all the views come from outside Japan. Information about the movements can be found in texts such as the *Encyclopedia of New Religions*, but this is merely data reported by the sects to the editors. Such texts contain very few serious academic discussions on the religions, for reasons that the commentators included in this chapter explain themselves. More than one such group has asked me for the opportunity to “edit” what I have written about them, to ensure that it is accurate. In such a climate, objective discussion can be difficult. This is not always the case, as I have said, but it is always easier for non-Japanese to gain access to places where, so to speak, “angels fear to tread.”

HELEN HARDACRE ON THE WORLDVIEW OF THE NEW RELIGIONS

Text: Helen Hardacre, *Kurozumikyō: A New Religion of Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 5–30.

The World View of the New Religions

. . . to delineate a world view is to specify how a group of people understands itself to be related to the physical body, to the social order, and to the universe, and to show how its members think, feel, and act on the basis of that understanding. . . .

I believe that the world view of the new religions first took shape in early nineteenth-century Japan in the context of a triangular relation among rural religious leaders, rural elites, striving to shore up a perceived deterioration of the social order, and the state authority of the han, the feudal domains governing rural society.

World views come into being in response to problems. They set in motion predictable chains of thought, emotion, and activity that lead people to act in roughly predictable ways. This is not to say that every aspect of their behavior down to the last detail is programmed, only that there is a high degree of regularity in the logic of their behavior.

All problems can be traced to insufficient cultivation of self. The notion of *kokoro* is a hallmark of Japanese culture, and it is the central pillar of the world view of new religions. The ideas above are shared by both. The difference in usage and interpretation is not a matter of a definite point of departure but of volume or intensity. Consider the following proverb; *ku-rushimu mo tanishimu mo kokoro no mochiyo*.* [*Happiness or sadness depends upon how we bear the *kokoro* for which we are responsible.] An ordinary, nonreligious interpretation of this proverb would say that our attitude toward ourselves determines in large part whether we are happy or unhappy, or that an attitude of “positive thinking” can improve our experience of unfavourable situations even if the circumstances are not thereby altered.

All the new religions agree that a person’s real potential cannot be fulfilled without suffering, and in this they share with secular society the suspicions about someone who has failed that perhaps *kuro ga tarinai*, “the person hasn’t suffered enough.” That is, if one has endured sufficient trials before the present ordeal, one could have conquered this hardship. Accordingly it is important to establish how much leaders and founders have suffered in the course of their own self-cultivation.”

The merits of this discussion are many. First, it points to the importance of the concept of *kokoro*, a term that is difficult to translate. Ishida Baigan (1685–1746; see chapter 6) was instrumental in making the concept the centerpiece of a popular ethical movement, translated usually as “heart learning” but perhaps more accurately as “heart education”; after the eighteenth century it came to general prominence, and as Professor Hardacre points out, it is extremely important in all the New Religions.

Second, heart education and suffering are closely linked. Indeed, some

New Religions tell people who are suffering from abuse, for example, that perhaps the abuser is the victim because of the egotistic attitude of the abused. Much of their literature carries stories of families renewed by the reeducation of the heart. Some of this makes difficult reading for Westerners who have definite ideas about appropriate responses to apparent abuse, harassment, or victimization. But Japanese culture is imbued with a distinctive attitude toward personal suffering, sometimes idealizing it and sometimes even romanticizing it. This factor has been suggested as one reason that Christianity and its view of suffering does not fit well into the Japanese psyche. Finally, Professor Hardacre identifies a common worldview in the New Religions underlining that what enables the movements to survive is not doctrinal virtue, but social efficacy. The religions simply help people come to terms with life and continue functioning.

RAYMOND HAMMER ON JAPAN'S RELIGIOUS FERMENT

Raymond Hammer was one of the early writers who nurtured various hopes and ideas about the possibility of Christianity achieving some kind of success in Japan due to the seeming vacuum left at the end of the Pacific War. He quotes Arnold Toynbee from an article in *Japan Quarterly* (volume 4, number 1, January 1957, p. 19).

In our time, all traditional ideologies, philosophies, and faiths have been shaken off their pedestal by the explosive intellectual force of modern science; and Japan's traditional ideology, like all others, would have been undermined by the progress of science if it had not been shattered by the shock of military disaster. . . . All mankind is now in search of new foundations for its spiritual life. If Japan has temporarily lost her way, she has lost it in company with all the rest of the world. . . . the catastrophe [of the war] seems to have produced a sort of moral and spiritual vacuum which will surely have to be filled.

This discussion marked the beginnings of the crisis theory of the New Religions of Japan, one that had great credence at the time but came to be understood as superficial; untrue to the realities of the situation; and inadequate as an explanation of how religions, especially the new religions, function in Japanese culture. In that regard, Professor Hardacre's theory is more profound and has deep explanatory value. She, of course, has the benefit of the insider's view of Japan, something the early writers did not possess. However, the crisis theory was popular, and its claims

cannot be totally ignored, although, as later writers have shown, it is fundamentally inadequate.

Text: Raymond Hammer, *Japan's Religious Ferment: Christian Presence amid Faiths Old and New* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 135–39.

Dr. Stanley Jones, describing this [Toynbee's] vacuum, said, "In Japan not only the door is open [for Christianity]—even the walls are not there. Japan's New Religions have come rushing into this vacuum, and no consideration of the present-day religious situation would be complete without seeking to estimate their significance and to discover the secret of their vitality."

Whilst the name "New Religions" should technically be applied to those that have arisen in the past thirty years or so, and particularly in the post-war period, not all the one hundred and twenty-six (or more) referred to as the "New Religions" belong to this category. The name is often used to cover what were known as the Shinto Sects in pre-war days, when free association was not always permitted, and sects were forced to assimilate their doctrines and practices to traditional Shinto, whilst many are splinter groups established from Buddhist denominations. None the less, the religious freedom of the post-war period has enabled the older New Religions to develop in new ways and to apply themselves to new situations. They are commonly called crisis religions, because they meet an immediate need, but many are continuing to grow and show no sign of merely having fulfilled a temporary expediency.

It would be true to say that religions such as Tenrikyo and Konkokyo, which date from the middle of the nineteenth century, met a real need from the start. The end of the Tokugawa period was a time when the official religions were at a low ebb and when economic circumstances made the lot of the peasant particularly hard, and the authoritarianism of Tokugawa rule gave little hope of redress. The New Religions claimed to give a revelatory word, the possibility of a new corporateness and a way of escape from the *nayami* (troubles) of daily life. Personal faith and dependence have been emphasized in many of the New Religions and "faith healing" is a common feature of their operation. Tenrikyo and Konkokyo, together with Kurozumikyō, founded in 1814, are commonly called the Peasant Sects, because their appeal has been largely to the working classes of the large cities. The majority of the New Religions appeal to the same classes, except that a few (such as Perfect Liberty Kyodan, Seicho no Ie, and Sekaikyuseikyō) also draw upon the middle classes. In most cases, too, the founders or foundresses have been men and women of little educational background.

There seems to be a close parallel with the religious crisis of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. . . . Then, again, the old faiths seem to depend upon complicated rituals and ceremonies, in which the ordinary person cannot participate. The New Religions have sought to simplify ritual and ceremonial and put reli-

gious observance within the reach of all. By contrast with the churches, where worship often seems to be over-intellectualized, the New Religions incorporate the physical and the emotional to a much greater degree. To attend a service in the main shrine at Tenri is to witness corporate worship, in which all are active participants.

It is felt, too, that the old religions belong to the cultural patterns of a past age. The New Religions do not provide a complete and absolute novelty; there is sufficient of the old (whether of Shinto or Buddhist practices and belief) to provide them with an air of familiarity; but they are prepared to draw upon newer traditions as well, whether Christianity or some esoteric diffused gnosticism. "They are a socio-religious movement of a Japan in transition. . . . They depict the struggle of a nation which is fighting for spiritual survival" [T. Jaekel, "Psychological and Sociological Approaches to Japan's New Religions," *Japanese Religions* 2, no. 1 (1960): 11]. From a Christian point of view, it is significant that their very readiness to draw upon Christianity and even to approximate their doctrine to Christian views of God and man has also contributed to the breaking down of age-long prejudices against Christianity. . . .

The newer religions are essentially syncretistic and will often reflect the spiritual pilgrimage of their founders. One, for example, incorporates the numbers "three" and "five" into the writing of its name, the "three" signifying the three religions which had been a formative influence on the founder, and the "five" representing the five great world religions—Christianity, Islam, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism.

The New Religion also restores the solidarity of the group for those who have experienced the break-up of the family pattern. The Japanese, accustomed to communal patterns, have never had to live before as individuals. In the fellowship of the New Religion the lonely individual finds a new warmth and the meaning of the community at a deeper level. But he is not left simply in a position of dependence: he has a part to play, a piece of work to do. There is the *hinokishin* (voluntary work in Tenrikyo) . . . and so on. One by one the believer finds that his problems seem to be settled and his inner tensions resolved. He has the faith to persevere, and, what is more, his new activist approach to religion means that he has less time for morbid introspection. . . .

But, still more, the New Religions have given to their adherents the feeling that they are human personalities, and as such, possess value. The possibility of self-transcendence is presented; a task is to be accomplished; a goal is to be attained. The demand upon themselves makes them feel both at one with themselves and also that they are drawn within a wider whole. As much here is what the Christian Gospel would seek to offer, the Christian is forced to think out what is the distinctive thing which he has to give which is still lacking within the New Religions.

The success of these religions speaks also of the demand for *relevance* on the part of the Japanese. They will accept no deistic God. God if God there must be must make his ways known within the world, and come into the midst of human affairs and deal with the human predicament.

Hammer's work dates back to the decade following the end of the Pacific War, and allowances must be made for what he said. However, several points of inaccuracy must be pointed out that apply not only to him, but also to other writers who followed a similar line of thought. First, most of the religions he quoted as New Religions either existed before the Pacific War or simply changed their names after it. Very few were actually new and original. Sometimes they grew out of others in the traditional Japanese way. Others were founded by defectors from an earlier group. Certainly, their leaders were all prewar people, so there was much more continuity with the past than is obvious at first. They did not, so to speak, arise out of the ashes of destruction. In many cases, they were simply pursuing agendas that the war had disrupted or Japanese militarism had restricted. In this regard, the constitutional provisions as to state and religion were as much a catalyst as the social chaos the religions were allegedly thought to be alleviating.

Second, the New Religions were much more different from Christian ideas than Hammer thought. Again, a superficial reading of doctrines might give the impression of similarity, but as Hardacre points out, their concerns are very much Japanese, centered on the idea of the *kokoro*. If they were so close to Christianity, what went wrong such that Christianity made no subsequent headway whatsoever? The similarities were in the mind of the author and not in reality as it confronted him. Perhaps his own observation about the over-intellectualized worship of Japanese Protestant churches goes a long way toward explaining why Christianity has never truly settled in Japan in any way comparable to what has happened in neighboring Korea, a society that also shares Confucian heritage and has been the source of a large number of new religions, many with a Christian dimension. I have heard Japanese Protestant Christianity described as having a German head (its theology) and an American body (its style of worship), but in view of the fact that its spirituality does not meet Japanese soil, it is legless, the image of a ghost in Japanese culture, a being that has no legs. In light of how Hammer describes the many other components (in Tenri worship, for example), serious insight appears to lurk behind a humorous observation.

Third, there is a fatal confusion of Japanese social classes with Western Marxist-based economic class structure, evidenced by the simple way in which Hammer identifies the "peasant" religion idea with industrial working classes. There were no industrial workers prior to the Meiji Restoration. The basic appeal of these groups cannot be disclosed by analysis based on such premises.

Finally, the flirtation with individualism, if it was that, was brief. These

groups also emphasize ancestral reverence, the family, and the nation in much the same way that prewar groups had done. Indeed, it is more accurate to say that they were successful, in part, not because of relevance, but because they simply reaffirmed older values in the face of change.

HARRY THOMSEN ON THE NEW RELIGIONS

Of the writers of the period, Thomsen appears to come closest to a realistic assessment of what confronted him in his observations about what was happening in the world of Japanese religion. He recognized the dubious usage of the term “new” in relation to the New Religions.

Text: Harry Thomsen, *The New Religions of Japan* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1963).

The New Religions

One of the most significant religious developments in postwar Japan is undoubtedly the emergence of the so-called “new religions,” the *shinko shukyo*. Mushrooming into prominence at the end of the Second World War, the new religions at present claim to have about eighteen million believers, or one out of every five Japanese. Although this figure may be subject to doubt, no serious observer can afford to ignore the present influence and future potential power of the new religions. It is even possible that the emergence of these religions is the third major milestone in the history of Japanese religion—the first milestone being the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century, and the second, the appearance of the popular branches of Buddhism in the 13th century.

Neither New nor Religion

The term “new religions” has been subject to much discussion, and there is no denying the fact that it is a misleading and inaccurate name. Consequently new names have been suggested—for example, “modern religions,” “modern religious movements,” etc.—however, the current term continues to be “new religions.”

As for age, the new religions are *not* startlingly new. Some of them, like Tenrikyo, Omotokyo, and Konkokyo, started in the 19th century, and even those that came into existence after the Second World War more often than not have a long history behind them within the framework of Shinto or Buddhism. Still, compared to the age of the so-called established religions (Buddhism, Shinto, and Christianity), the “new religions” may be considered rather new.

As for the content of the new religions, it follows that in the strict sense of the word they also cannot be called new. Mainly their doctrines and teachings are simply popularized versions of Shinto and Buddhism. However, there is one

important new element in the new religions, namely Christianity, or rather Christian doctrines and teachings taken out of their original context and more or less skilfully mixed with thoughts from Buddhism and Shinto.

In form the new religions *are* most certainly new. One of the main characteristics of the new religions is that they endeavor to present their teaching in a new and striking way with new rites, new buildings, new methods of evangelism, and new interpretations of anything old.

As for calling them religions, it must be pointed out that a large number of the new religions do not meet any definition of the word that includes a regular doctrinal system, an established liturgy, and a certain measure of stability in organization. However, Shinto, which is generally handled as a religion, does not measure up to many definitions of religion either. Further, these groups are recent developments, and those that are not already strictly speaking religions are, mainly, moving toward the status of religion. In any case, Tenrikyo and a few others are established to the point where there can be little objection to applying the term religion now. Due to their extraordinary variety there may be no term completely satisfactory, but since the term "new religions" is already in current use, it will be used in this book. Where there may be some doubt as to its correctness, justification will be offered in the appropriate place.

Numerical Strength

It is difficult to give the exact number of the new religions, not to mention giving the number of their believers. Practically all figures available are those supplied by the religions themselves, and although some of these figures are accurate, most of them cannot be relied upon. The numbers given in the *Year Book of Religions* (Shukyo Nenkan), published by the Ministry of Education, cannot be trusted either since they are only reproductions from reports submitted to the ministry by the religious groups concerned.

The number of new religions registered with the Ministry of Education at present is 171. A little more than one-third of them are registered under Shinto, about one-third under Buddhism, two or three under Christianity, and the rest (thirty) are simply listed as "miscellaneous." Besides the 171 new religions, which are found in most prefectures of the country, there are many smaller religious groups found in only one prefecture and accordingly are registered only on the prefectural level. The exact number within the latter category is not known.

The believers of the thirty new religions listed as "miscellaneous religions" by the Ministry of Education totaled 3,597,599 as of January 1, 1958. The followers of the remaining 141 new religions listed under Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity run to a little less than 15,000,000, making a total of 18,000,000. However, as mentioned above, the figures have been reported by new religions themselves and cannot be heavily relied upon. The only thing that can be said with certainty is that the actual number of believers is not above the figures quoted.

H. NEILL MACFARLAND ON THE RUSH HOUR OF THE GODS

H. Neill MacFarland was the third principal Western writer on the subject of New Religions from the 1950s to the 1960s. His approach illustrates not only the limitations of the overall approach to the New Religions at that time, but also the limitations of scholarship in general about Japan on the part of those who wished to be commentators on Japanese religions. Inadequate basic language skills hampered many of these scholars, although knowing the language would not necessarily have helped them ask their questions better. Rather, familiarity with the language would have enabled them better to see the actual place of religion in Japanese culture.

MacFarland was most correct in his early identification that there are two Japans, as he put it, an old and a new, that they coexist and that they represent a living paradox. He pointed out also that there is enormous danger in making a rash judgment and mistakenly concluding that either one of these is the "real" Japan. Japan's history is long and impressive, and the temptation exists to dismiss the present (which some aesthetes such as Donald Richie do even still) as little more than, at best, a deviation from the past, or at worst, a sad decline in quality. This means that the real Japan is identified as the traditional Japan and that what is commonly referred to as modern Japan is in fact a false covering that MacFarland refers to by the words "alien" and "corrupting."

The opposite temptation is to see the modern Japan as the true Japan, a viewpoint espoused particularly by social scientists who claim that the globalization of culture has brought to an end the reality of traditional societies. I have addressed this issue elsewhere in these pages in the context of Japan's modernization. I must admit that when anyone observes the rate of change and the speed of progress in contemporary Japan, or has experienced it firsthand, as I have for over 25 years, it is tempting to think that here we have the true Japan, the dynamic, bustling, surging economic miracle whose currency defies the laws of economic gravity, and whose course for the future was little affected by the disastrous Kansai earthquake of 1995, a level of devastation that would have set most economies back a decade or more. On this analysis, the modern Japan becomes the real Japan, and the traditional Japan is reduced to little more than a fictional creation of sentimentality.

In support of a rejection of both Japans as extremes, MacFarland quotes Nishida Kitaro, the Meiji period philosopher of Kyoto Imperial University who struggled to articulate a composite philosophy based on

Chinese and Japanese terminology but introducing Western, specifically German, concepts to broaden the basis of his thought. He argued that the present becomes simply the meeting of future and past, which negate each other in a temporal dialectic. MacFarland takes Nishida's insight to imply that the key to understanding Japan is the ability to recognize a dialectical ferment that cannot be described in absolute terms.

I would not disagree with the principal insight of MacFarland's thesis, except to say that it does require a great deal of amplification and modification in light of closer scrutiny of the phenomenon under review. Though it is not incorrect to say that Japan is best recognized as a culture in a dynamic state of flux, such an abstract description may do little more than remove some of the confusion that at first appears to render Japan unintelligible. It fails to offer any deeper perspectives as to why in some areas of society and culture, traditional values prevail over modern ones, whereas in other areas the reverse may be true. The flux is one metaphor that must also be counterbalanced by the metaphor of coherence, and even stability, and none of these is completely true or false as a basis for understanding. More modern research has shown that the interrelation of traditional and modern, used in their broadest meanings, is varied, highly complex, and far from uniform in all societies once the different aspects of the culture are analyzed and discussed. This mistaken idea of uniformity has been heightened by the tendency of Western scholars to assume that the jargon used to analyze Western societies may be applied "scientifically" to Japan without violating the phenomena under discussion. It is here that MacFarland's discussion derails itself after a promising start. He argues that the perspective he has identified is central to any attempt at understanding the religious life of the Japanese people. The paradox he sees is in the fact that although on the one hand few cultures exhibit the historical presence of religion more than Japan (and here he cites temples, shrines, festivals, and art), on the other hand, he claims, few modern nations have such a lack of what he refers to as "religious identity."

In taking up the question of the viability of religion in Japan, he points out the paradoxes as he sees them, namely, that on the one hand, Shinto and Buddhism have been "major determinants" of Japanese culture and character, while on the other, neither seems to exert any important influence. But Shinto and Buddhism as he perceives them are traditions that have lost their past vitality. To defend this, he cites cases of Westerners who, in meeting Japanese at all levels, professional, business, and government, reach the conclusion that to the people they encounter, religion is unimportant. Indeed, such people may even disclaim any interest in

religion. My own observations on the nature of *Mu-shukyo*, which means not having a doctrinal standpoint rather than not having a "religion" per se, might prove helpful here (Picken, "Religiosity and Irreligiosity in Japan: Aspects of *Mu-shukyo*," *Journal of Japanese Religions* 11, December 1979: 51–67). The issue cannot be handled purely at the level of the question "What is your religion?" There is scarcely a more absurd sight than a Western-trained sociologist of religion attacking the Japanese with a questionnaire that begins at the intellectual level. Equally irritating, I must add, is the school of thought that consigns Shinto to the work of anthropologists. Joseph Spae's work at the Oriens Institute, commencing from a phenomenological basis, demonstrates very clearly that religious sentiment in Japan is related to places that have a special aura that makes them sacred. This takes us much further into the character of Japanese religiosity than any other approach.

MacFarland does go on to say that, while this is again one side of the picture, there is apparent genuine interest in the area of New Religions. But again, I would seek to refine this judgment by asking why interest in the New Religions is easier to discuss than interest in traditional religions. The answer, as I see it, is that discussion of the New Religions can better be adapted to the categories of Western religious sociology and religious psychology than traditional religions. Western observers tend to assume that the basis of a link with a religion is personal belief, namely, overt subscription to a set of believed propositions. That may be true in the case of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity, as religions based on revelation. It may not be true of ethnic religions, where beliefs are seldom articulated, and it may not be true of an ethical movement like Buddhism, which teaches a way of life rather than a metaphysic of belief. It is easier to speak of "Christians," "Buddhists," or "Muslims" than it is to speak of "Shintoists," a concept untranslatable into Japanese.

MacFarland fastens on to the observation that the New Religions underwent an explosion in the postwar period. He points out, quite correctly, that the liberating effects of the postwar constitution permitted groups that had been suppressed to reemerge and, under the leadership of their various prophets (again, however, following a Western model), to expand into a great movement of religious ferment that appeared to have captured the minds and hearts of up to 20 percent of the entire Japanese population: "So rapid and spectacular has been the burgeoning of these religious groups since the war that this period has been dubbed facetiously the 'rush hour of the gods' (*kamigami no rasshuawa*)."

Again, questions must be asked. If the totals of all registered members

of religious movements in Japan are added together, they exceed the government's estimate of the population. How can this be? The answer is simple enough from a Japanese viewpoint. It is that membership of one religious group does not imply an exclusive relationship so far as other groups are concerned. Eclecticism is very much a part of the Japanese tradition. The religious logic of "either/or" makes little sense to a way of thinking that seeks spiritual quality wherever it is to be found, even if it is in more than one place. This is one reason that Japan has never experienced any serious wars of religion, as in the West, where the opprobrium of theological confrontation has often led to lack of religious tolerance. It is interesting to note in this regard that the Orthodox Church of Eastern Europe found the issues of the Reformation so unintelligible that the patriarch declined to become involved even in an observer's role. In Japanese culture, *kanyō*, tolerance, is considered a great social virtue. Religious dogmatists and proselytizers in Japan are considered as suspect as some types of secondhand car dealers in the West.

Other points could be raised for discussion, but it would be unfair to criticize MacFarland further for not possessing, then, certain insights that are still lacking in many Western scholars of not only religions, but all aspects of Japan. The following brief extracts from MacFarland's work help to identify the merits in his approach as well as the limitations, both topics for profitable discussion and reflection by researchers of this fascinating phenomenon. The 300-word limit had to be applied here, unfortunately.

Text: H. Neill MacFarland, *The Rush Hour of the Gods: A Study of New Religious Movements in Japan* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 4–15.

... the New Religions, as here defined, are characterized by simultaneous similarity and diversity—a circumstance that leads me to assert immediately that therefore the effort to comprehend their nature and significance also requires both a long-range historical perspective and a special sensitivity to the moods and trends of recent and present-day Japan. On the one hand, a long-range historical perspective is necessary if one is to be able to identify and examine the long-term influences and traditions that have contributed to the development of the New Religions and have imparted to them their corporate character. On the other hand, sensitivity to recent and current moods and trends is needed if one is to perceive both the precipitating function of recent critical events in relation to the rise and growth of the New Religions and the social and religious roles that these movements themselves have played, are playing, and may yet play.

MacFarland argues that despite widespread indifference toward all religion in present-day Japan, the New Religions make up a very significant socioreligious movement. He quotes the religious commentator J. Milton Yinger in support:

Religion is part of a complex interacting system. On some particular issue and from the perspective of a given point in time, religious developments may best be understood as responses to fundamental changes in their social environment. The new religions forces then "feed back into" the system from which they came, influencing the course of its development. On another issue, viewed again from a given point in time, religious change may be the dynamic factor. The influences thus set in motion become, in turn, conditioning and constraining forces that affect the religion which released them.

Analogues in Other Cultures

. . . . the New Religions of Japan invite comparison with the "messianic" or "millenary" cults of primitive societies, such as the Ghost-Dance Religion of the American Indians and the Cargo Cults of Melanesia. From various anthropological reports and analyses, it appears that such cults exhibit remarkably similar patterns of development in which at least five factors recur: (1) social crisis intensified by an intrusive culture, (2) a charismatic leader, (3) apocalyptic signs, (4) ecstatic behavior, and (5) syncretic doctrine. The milieu from which they arise is a "ferment of half-abandoned old and half-understood new."

MacFarland concludes that the decay in the older religions that are associated with tangibles such as nationalism, peace of mind, or other worldly benefits is the result of their preoccupation with these things. Hence the New Religions offer to fill the gap by providing panaceas of all kinds. The parallels with older religions underline that the only new aspects of the New Religions are their names.

H. BYRON EARHART ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW RELIGIONS

Professor Earhart is one of the most balanced commentators on the New Religions, and the closing extract in this chapter deals with the subject in a general way, arguing most effectively that they are indeed religions and that their significance should assist us in acquiring a better perspective, as a whole, on the place of religion in Japanese society. He deals with the issue of the Japanese people as "nonreligious" and shows

how religions in any culture or era can be misunderstood and misappropriated for private ends. This latter point I have taken up in my closing comments on the emergence of the “New, New Religions,” a term born of the emergence in the early 1990s of a new group of religious movements, that, *prima facie*, do not belong clearly to either Buddhist or Shinto traditions but that are either eclectic or of foreign origin. This is in the interests of completeness and also to help avoid confusion in the general study of the subject. Theories about these religions are still in an early stage of creation, but at least some signposts are appearing that suggest how research might best be conducted. Nevertheless, Professor Earhart’s words are an excellent base from which to commence observation, which is why I include them at this stage.

Text: H. Byron Earhart, *Religion in the Japanese Experience: Sources and Interpretations* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 253–54.

The Significance of the New Religions

Perhaps the most important single observation that should be made of the new religions is that they are authentic religious phenomena. Every religious tradition in its infancy seems to be singled out for accusations of insincerity, immorality, or duplicity, and the Japanese new religions are certainly no exception. It goes without saying that at any time and place, there appear pseudo-religious movements (for non-religious purposes such as personal and political ambition), and legitimate religious traditions are frequently used for illegitimate aims. Although some Japanese new religions probably were pseudo-religious movements, and although some may have been misused for questionable purposes, such problems are inevitable in the ambiguity of the historical process, and never limited to one time or place or religion. The Japanese new religions are authentic religious phenomena because their basic thrust is to bring people into contact with a sacred reality. All human life seeks to orient itself in time and space, arranging itself around a central sacred power of reality. It is to be expected that different cultural areas have developed and handed down different historical traditions. The Japanese religious heritage may differ from the more familiar Western religious model, but nevertheless it displays a coherent logic of its own. It seems that the authenticity of the new religions can be questioned only by questioning the authenticity of the Japanese religious tradition in general.

Earhart closes this part of his discussion by suggesting that the new religions actually demonstrate the survival capacity and the adaptability of the Japanese religious tradition to many kinds of change. The new

religions are evidence that can be used to reject two, as he calls them, "overworked generalizations: one, the Japanese people are not really a religious people; and two, modernization always makes people less religious." (See also Delmer M. Brown, "Japan's Century of Change: The Religious Factor," *Japan Christian Quarterly* 35, no. 1 [Winter 1969]: 24–33). Earhart continues by arguing that the effects of industrialization, urbanization, and mechanization have taken their toll on the established religions, as he says, "because of the high degree of social mobility which disrupts the traditional ties between families, local geographical unit, and religious practice." To counter this, the new religions have emerged to meet the challenge and have produced new forms of socio-religious organization that work within the new social climate. He admits that it may be an oversimplification to say it, but "the new religions may be seen as examples of revitalization of earlier Japanese religion."

Earhart concludes with the judgment that the new religious movements represent both a preservation and transformation of traditional Japanese religious values. He points out that the deeper and wider question that seems to underlie the analysis and criticism of the new religions, both in Japan and abroad, is the relevance and value of traditional values in the modern world.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS ON THE NEW, NEW RELIGIONS

As an addendum to Professor Earhart's comments, two factors belong to the mid 1990s. First is the emergence of what are now known as the *Shin-shin-shukyo*, the "New, New Religions." A range of movements, mostly syncretistic, comprise this group, such as *Kofuku no Kagaku*, the Institute of Human Happiness (as it is known in English), founded by Okawa Ryuho, and the notorious *Aum-Shinri-kyo*, which achieved considerable success in a short time. Unlike the *Kyoha Shinto* sects of the Edo period and their later derivatives, all of which share some historical continuity, these new groups seem to derive their appeal almost solely from the disillusionment that seems to characterize those Japanese who see little to attract or challenge them within the existing social, political, and economic system. The second factor, directly related to the first, is the manner in which one of these groups took to the streets in a direct challenge to that system in, for example, the sarin gas attack on commuters in the Tokyo subway system. That *Aum-Shinri-kyo* could attract highly intelligent people to its ranks and subsequently turn them into terrorists indicates the degree to which conventional Japanese society

was unappealing. The unusual origins of these recent groups is what puts them into a special category. These movements are documented formally but have not been seriously researched in Japan, because they are controversial and, in some cases, have proven damaging to the health of those who come too close to them.

The complexity in the background of these organizations is underlined by an incident in early 1995, when a member of a police team trying to get a better picture of what these movements were about contacted one of my students, who was researching a particular group, and asked for permission to read his thesis. These movements appear more likely to expand than to disappear. But it is clear that serious research is required from numerous aspects, and with the resources of several disciplines, to build an adequate picture of what they are, wherein lies their appeal, and what their impact and influence on society is likely to be in the future.

Much could be said about these religions in relation to the general apocalyptic mood that seems to be present whenever a millennial change takes place or some other major trauma of history is occurring. In this regard, cultic phenomena can often bear family resemblances across more than one culture. Japanese translations of Nostradamus have been circulating for years, and commentaries have been written. It is significant that the leaders of the recent groups are very fond of indulging in apocalyptic visions, depicting future chaos and then order, often centered around Japan's world role. This is not to say that the New Religions did not share such visions. One important point of difference seems to lie in the way in which the most recent groups have become obsessed with these visions, and in so doing have discarded historical identity, a hallmark of the New Religions that could trace themselves to an authentic past. The newest groups favor discontinuity but derive authority from claims that their leaders were variously Confucius, Moses, Jesus, or Buddha in previous lives, usually all of these. At best, it might be called a perverted search for universality. At worst, it is merely syncretistic confusion. These movements are hard to fit into the landscape of Japanese religious life, although the idea of Mappo comes close, the apocalyptic mood initiated partly by Nichiren (1222–1282), the radical Buddhist priest who ferociously attacked the inadequacies of Heian Buddhism. This, of course, is not intended to constitute either a theory or even a partial explanation of the phenomenon as it exists. As I have suggested, the religions are too diverse to approach with a single mindset.

In these closing comments I would like simply to draw attention to some of the important features that separate the New, New Religions from the New Religions themselves, in particular those that appear to

have a neo-Shinto profile. Although dealing with the New, New Religions movement properly would require extensive and separate discussion, it is important to note that *Aum-Shinri-kyo* bears no relation to the Kyoha Shinto *Shinri-kyo*, although the Chinese characters are identical. The Hindu *Om* (Aum) at the beginning of the name should make that clear. It is in essence syncretistic, with the leader, Asahara Shoko, having made enormous claims about himself, including the assertion that he was capable of flying like Superman. The movement also created its own political party, *Shinri-To*, which campaigned unsuccessfully in local and national elections. The political ambition of the leaders seems to be another aspect of the new group of movements.

An extended theory of religion and religious development in Japan may be needed to accommodate these groups, a task beyond the scope of this work. My concern here is to make the distinction, indicate a little of the grounds on which it has been made, and suggest possible lines of research for those interested.

On the existing New Religions themselves, I would add a brief note on some materials that have recently come to hand. The head of the Konko Church of Izu, the Reverend Miyake Toshi, has been active in publishing in the area of peace studies, and his work is available in English. *Kurozumi-kyo* has recently been the subject of some work by Professor Willis Stoesz, who edited *Kurozumi Shinto: An American Dialogue* (Anima Publications, 1989) and more recently edited a translated work on the founder of *Kurozumi-kyo*. It is entitled *The Opening Way: Kurozumi Munetada, Founder of Kurozumi-kyo*, by Kurozumi Tadaaki, vice-patriarch of the sect (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994). The latter I reviewed for the *Japan Christian Quarterly* and found it to be an excellent addition to the literature in the field.

COMMENT ON THE SELECTION OF MATERIALS

Contemporary book reviewers in the field of Japanese religions frequently produce astonishingly irrelevant and nasty reviews. Dr. Ian Reader, for example, referred to my *Essentials of Shinto* as the worst book he had read on Japanese religion. He was correct insofar as it was not about Japanese religion. It was about Shinto and appeared within a series of resource books on Asian philosophy and religion that delineated its topics in a manner of which he disapproved. Not being a philosopher, he simply missed the point.

In the matter of texts here, I can anticipate a range of comments about

why such “dated” material was included. My response is that this is a sourcebook, which in the case of some texts is making reference to out-of-print materials and putting them into context. It is not, if the pun may be forgiven, a “Reader on contemporary Japanese religions.” If a text such as this or *Essentials* were to be judged by its total context, framework, and overall contribution, its value might be better understood.

Chapter 6

SHINTO THOUGHT TO THE MEIJI RESTORATION

INTRODUCTION: SHINTO AND THE ESSENCE OF JAPAN

Though the essence of Shinto is preserved in its rituals, and the interpretation is best begun from careful analysis of the meaning of these rituals, there have been attempts in the history of Japanese thought to define and expound Shinto in academic terms. The tremendous influence of Buddhism had the effect, at least in appearance, of completely absorbing the indigenous cult or relegating it to a level of unimportance. As time went by, renewed interest in Shinto began to emerge, and attempts were made to identify the essential elements of the tradition and to relate it to Japanese history and politics. Several great families appeared from the Kamakura period onward. One was the Yoshida family, priests of the Hirano Shrine in Kyoto. Another was the Watarai family of the *Geku* (the Outer Shrine of Ise). Both developed their own theories of Shinto. One further important thinker of the period was Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354, an acquaintance of the Watarai family, in particular Watarai Ieyuki, and whose research on the imperial family led him to claim that the imperial regalia was derived from the tenets of Ise Shinto.

These scholars were deeply preoccupied with the rediscovery and definition of the “Japaneseness” of Japan, a quite modern idea. They focused their attention on the etymology of key words and expressions such as

kami, the old name of Japan (Yamato), *rei* (spirit), *tamashii* (soul), and *kokoro* (heart). The study of these terms recurs with the National Learning Scholars in the Edo period and survives to the present in the language of both Shinto and the New Religions that have Shinto origins. Much of the continuity of ideas within the Shinto tradition becomes transparent when one reviews the principal vocabulary of Shinto thought.

This chapter includes extracts from a wide range of different groups of thinkers from the fourteenth century on. Books have been written about each of these groups and about individual thinkers, and in some cases their own writings cover many volumes. I have selected brief samples that display continuity within the tradition as described previously rather than those that are merely passages for exposition from each thinker. I have further preferred to paraphrase freely rather than to translate literally, since the object of this chapter is to make ideas accessible, particularly to nonspecialists, in a way that is intended to enrich understanding and enhance perspective. Again, I think of the classroom situation and how this text might be most profitably used.

I have represented the National Learning Scholars at great length not just because of their controversial, though important, contribution to the development of Shinto thought, but because their influence seems, in certain respects, to bridge the changes from premodern to modern society. Hirata Atsutane, in particular, has been blamed for the ills of State Shinto. That his ideas were used is correct. That he intended them for such use, who can say? For breadth, sensitivity, and intellectual honesty, Motoori Norinaga deserves to be nominated as Japan's greatest figure in the history of Shinto thought, although Watarai Ieyuki must also be a candidate. Watarai was equally a genius in terms of his fundamental originality, particularly with regard to his cosmological and metaphysical expositions of *Geku* (Outer Shrine) Shinto. The history of Japanese thought moves quite differently from its Western counterpart, with no dialectical leaps or century-long debates. There is, however, continuity of themes, particularly in the search for the essence of Japan. This continuity gives Japanese thought its peculiar character.

The framework of this chapter relies on the conventional categories of Yoshida Shinto, Watarai Shinto, Confucian Shinto, and National Learning Shinto. Under each heading, I have included selected sample passages to form a catena of quotations that illustrate the theme identified, namely, the search for Japan. The principal thinkers in each tradition are mentioned. The chapter closes with three late Edo period figures who do not fit readily into any of the four principal categories. They are introduced for the sake of completeness, because they speak of Shinto

and the *kami*, and because two of them had influence into the twentieth century. Ishida Baigan's concept of *kokoro* remains central in the worldview of the New Religions, as Professor Hardacre has pointed out. Ninomiya Sontoku's ideas were used by both the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Education in the early years of this century. The concluding section is an evaluation of the work of Ninomiya Sontoku by the late Professor Ohe Seizo. Unless otherwise credited, the translations are my responsibility.

YOSHIDA SHINTO

Yoshida Shinto was the work of the Urabe family, one of the principal families in the *Jingikan*, the Office of Shinto *Kami* during the Heian period. The family were also priests of the Yoshida Shrine, the Hirano Shrine, and the Ume no Miya in Kyoto. Yoshida Kanekata is credited with creating the concept of *Yuiitsu Sogen Shinto* (one essence Shinto), known also as Yoshida Shinto. It was an attempt to reinstate Shinto and its position in face of the encroachments of Buddhism and to teach a type of Shinto that was sophisticated enough to withstand Buddhism and demonstrate that Shinto was the foundation of Japanese culture. Although Kanekata was embroiled in a power struggle with the Shirakawa family, he left sufficient generic ideas behind for Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511) to use when he gave the school a solid foundation. Kanetomo's school is also known as *Yuiitsu*, "the Only One Shinto."

Kanetomo wrote several books expounding his ideas; principal among these were *Yuiitsu Shinto Myōbō Yōshū* (Essentials of the Only One Shinto), *Shinto Yurai-ki* (Records of the Origins of Shinto), and *Shinto Taii* (An Outline of Shinto). His work was intended to build upon the political base established by Kanekata and to oust the Shirakawa family from their position as head of the *Jingikan*.

Kanetomo wrote the *Yuiitsu Shinto Myōbō Yōshū* under the pen-name of his ancestor Kanenobu, whereas he claimed that the *Shinto Yurai-ki* was the work of another ancestor, Kanenao. The subterfuge over authorship was designed to strengthen the claim that Yoshida Shinto had developed over a long time and that it was indeed the original, one and only true Shinto. The *Shinto Taii* was written in his own name as the culmination of the tradition he was claiming to expound. The brief extracts below give some idea of the nature and scope of his thought. The first one deals with *kami* and should be set against the background of the Japanese mythology and the *kami-yo*, the age of the *kami*, and the popular idea of the period that Japan was the *kami no kuni*, the land of

the *kami*. The passage from the *Shinto Yurai-ki* speaks of the governance of heaven and earth by *kami*, taking the idea to a higher level. The *Shinto Taii* further elaborates his concept of *kami* and its all-pervading presence in heaven and earth. The final sentences deal with the interesting topic of the epistemology of sense experience, and the implications of this for the idea of *kami* are philosophically intriguing.

Kanetomo's overall objective was to perform a Kantian-style Copernican revolution on the doctrine of *honji suijaku*, which implied that *kami* were manifestations of the eternal Buddhas, and stand it on its head. He began to assert the primacy of Shinto and reversed the relationship with Buddhism by claiming that the Buddha and the bodhisattvas were the manifestations of eternal *kami*. This began the long process of rehabilitating the indigenous cult and restoring the prominence it had once enjoyed in ancient times.

Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511), Exponent of *Yuiitsu Shinto*

Text: *Yuiitsu Shinto Myōbō Yōshū* (Essentials of the Only One Shinto)

The center of heaven and earth is *kami*. *Kami* is also the center of everything. Demons and animals—beings with no compassion—alike have *kami* at their core. The heart of grass and trees is *kami*. Since this is the case, can the heart of human beings be anything except *kami*? The human *kokoro* is indeed *kami*. Among the spirits that everything in this world possesses, there are none that are not *kami*. There is nothing without *kami* at its core.

Text: *Shinto Yurai-ki* (Records of the Origins of Shinto)

That which we call *kami* governs heaven and earth. Individual things are governed by *rei* (spirit), while individual people are governed by *kokoro* (heart). But at the same time, the human *kokoro* is the place where the governing *kami* of the universe live, a sacred place within which the root and origin of the cosmos is to be found.

Text: *Shinto Taii* (An Outline of Shinto)

Before the appearance of heaven and earth (according to the mythology), there was *kami*. *Kami* is beyond the *yin* and the *yang* but possessing their powers, gave form to heaven and earth. *Kami* is an absolute form of existence, governing heaven and earth, but at the same time residing within everything, as *rei* (spirit) or as *kokoro* (heart) in human beings.

The human *kokoro*, in other words, may commune with the *kami* of

heaven and earth. Thus *kokoro* and *kami* are one and the same thing. *Kami* is the origin of heaven and earth, the spiritual nature of everything and the root of human destiny. Formless itself, *kami* gives form to things in the world. Being found within the five elements of existence, *kami* can become five *kami*.

Thus the character for *kami* is read not just as *kami*, but as *tamashii* (soul). We see color with our sight, but the color is not inside our eyes. What enables us to perceive color is *kami*. We experience sounds in our ears, but it is not the ear that creates the sound. It is the *kami*. The nose can smell and the mouth can taste and our skin can sense hot and cold. These too are *kami*. From this we can deduce that the *kokoro* is the residence of the *kami*, which is at the same time the origin of heaven and earth.

Tachibana Mitsuyoshi (1635–1703) on the Nakatomi Liturgy

Later Yoshida Shinto exponents enabled Yoshida Shinto to survive long after Yoshida Kanetomo himself. There were other exponents of Yoshida Shinto who taught its doctrines well into the nineteenth century. After a long period of study, Tachibana Mitsuyoshi, who was born in Hirado, moved to Edo and set himself up as the “great teacher” of *Yuiitsu* Shinto. He visited various provinces of the country, particularly the *ichi-no-miya*, the first shrines of each district, designated as such from the Heian period. He specialized in giving lectures on the Nakatomi ritual of purification. He wrote his lectures in book form in 1662, producing a three-volume work that narrates the development of the ideas of Yoshida Shinto and interprets the Nakatomi rites from the perspective of Yoshida Shinto.

Text: *Nakatomi no harae shūsetsu* (Collected Commentaries on the Nakatomi Litany of Purification, 1662)

Lord Oe no Masafusa once remarked, “Although born after the formation of heaven and earth, humanity knows the origins of heaven and earth. Although dying before heaven and earth, humanity knows the end of heaven and earth. The origin and end of the cosmos concern and affect every single human being. Everyone should know thoroughly the ‘three worlds of Shinto’ that affect their lives.”

Hikita Mochimasa (Seventeenth Century) and the Divine Country

The exact dates are uncertain, but Hikita Mochimasa lived in the latter half of the seventeenth century. He was also a Yoshida Shinto lecturer

who tried to advance the Yoshida tradition's claims to being the true interpretation of the Japanese tradition. The *Shimpū-ki* was written to record the traditions of the *kami no kuni*, the divine country of Japan, and to discuss the relationship between Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism in this context. He deals also with the origins of heaven and earth, humanity, the Japanese archipelago, and the ethical relations of Confucianism, and he expounds the Yoshida standpoint on Shinto, shrines, rituals, and festivals.

Text: *Shimpū-ki* (Records of the Divine Wind)

Is it not both awesome and yet a blessing to communicate through language? As a descendant of those who have transmitted that benefit since the Age of the *kami*, you should know the mind of the *kami* and understand the actions of the *kami*. Your teachers must be the imperial regalia, the jewel, the mirror, and the sword.

The *magatama* (jewel) symbolizes the virtue of pity and compassion, namely humanity. The mirror represents the virtue of pure, bright wisdom. The sword means honest sincerity and the virtue of being straightforward and decisive.

You should learn these virtues and make every effort in a single-minded way to practice them with propriety in the context of home and family, outside the home with lords and servants and with friends.

In the Age of the *Kami*, the Way of relations between friends was based on feelings of sincerity. This principle is of equal importance for the present-day world. Who can make or keep real friends without basing all relations upon sincerity of heart?

Friends are always present to help and encourage. The closest of all relations is with parents, but they are not with us forever. People must respect their masters, but a lord is an august being, and not a person with whom a casual friendly relationship can be struck. In this regard, friends become most important for support and encouragement. The relation between real friends is so dependent that they are hard to separate, even for a day.

The basis of Shinto is correctness and uprightness. Therefore people must never depart from the upright, even for a moment, in their daily lives. If someone finds even the slightest impropriety or wrong in their conduct, this straying from the Way is evidence of confusion.

What is truly upright is what flows from our innermost self as a result of sincerity shown by observing the will of the *kami*. This sincerity must be practiced even in the least significant of the activities of life. Courtesy and ritual in the absence of sincerity and honesty is without significance. In drawing a bow, if you merely release the string it is as meaningless as trying to row a boat without an oar. With honesty as the foundation, fol-

lowed by compassion and sympathy, people may be taught the Way of duty, courtesy and wisdom.

In the affairs of daily life, of even those who occupy a small point of time, the rectification of the mind is important. This enables us to derive great pleasure from doing good deeds. It will be to no avail if you are merely motivated by the desire to have some reward from the *kami*. We must simply believe that to love the good and to act honestly is the fundamental condition for being human. We should not be negligent for even a moment.

Kato Shigeharu (born 1818) on the Foundations of Shinto

Kato is the last significant figure to leave behind Yoshida school writings. Unlike his predecessors, he was concerned very much with the popular rather than the academic presentation of Yoshida Shinto. The political agenda had long since ceased to have meaning, and therefore he was interested only in the fundamental doctrines of the tradition. His book is also known under the title *Shinto fumoto no tateishi* (The Foundation Stone of Shinto).

The different “ways” to which he makes reference are typical of the fondness of Japanese for wordplay. Each of the words is a homophone, pronounced *shin* (*kami*), but each having a different meaning. *Way* is, of course, the ending *do*, as in Shinto. All are pronounced “shinto,” but each means something different.

Text: *Ganzen Shinto Annai Taizen* (A Complete and Expository Guide to Shinto)

The instructions of Shinto are as follows:

1. Shinto—the Way of the *kami*. Anyone who dislikes Shinto has strayed from the Way.
2. Shinto—the Way of Parents. Anyone who dislikes serving his parents has the mind of an animal, not a human being.
3. Shinto—the Way of the *kokoro* (Mind/Heart). Anyone who willfully disrupts the Way that rectifies the mind is a seriously disturbed mind.
4. Shinto—the Way of Truth. Anyone who disregards the importance of sincerity is a vicious person. . . .

This teaching can be followed even by a person with no knowledge or learning. The way is simply to rectify the *kokoro* in the way of uprightness, to submit to the will of the *kami* and not to rebel against the teaching of heaven. No matter what level of society you are born into, Shinto is to

submit to the will of heaven, performing the tasks at hand without thinking of other things.

Relations between parents and children, husbands and wives should be harmonious, as each respects those above and looks after those below, without dishonesty or pretence. This is Shinto. . . .

How can there be a lack of blessing for someone who has a mind that respects the *kami* with awe? . . .

When searching for the meaning of Shinto, your mind must first unite with the true spirit of ancient Japan. Without reading the sacred writings, if one's heart is rectified, upright and united with the *kami*, that person's actions will be in accordance with the Way. The study of the writings of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto, with a disharmonious heart, is not in accordance with the Way.

Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354) on the Imperial Lineage

Scholars consider the following text the most important single item in the thirteenth-century development of Shinto thought because it unites mythology, theology, and politics in a manner that strongly influenced subsequent thinkers. The text from which the extract is drawn was composed between the years 1339 and 1343 at various locations in Hitachi Province. The objective was to prove the legitimacy of the southern court as the true bearer of the imperial tradition, which Kitabatake strongly supported. He intended it for presentation to the young emperor Go-Murakami to defend his claim to be the authentic sovereign. The document was pivotal in the debate on imperial lineage and in subsequent arguments justifying the primacy of Ise and its links to the imperial family. Its position was largely substantiated by later Japanese scholars. Kitabatake's use of the expression *Dai Nippon* (Great Japan) was later reflected in the usage *Dai Nippon Teikoku* (The Great Empire of Japan), which lasted until 1945. In a manner similar to that of Yoshida Kanetomo, he also speaks of Japan as the *kami no kuni*, land of the *kami*, an expression that was popular with Minamoto Yoritomo. Other expressions such as "divine country" and "imperial country" foreshadow the writings of the National Learning School of the Edo period and became common currency among Shinto thinkers and scholars.

Translations of this text, or parts of it, exist in English. This selection is not based on any of these.

Text: *Jinno Shotoki* (Chronicles of the Legitimate Succession of the Sons of Heaven) (Tokyo: Yuhodo Shoten, 1927).

Great Japan (*Dai Nippon*) is the land of the *kami*. The heavenly ancestor

(Kunitachi-no-mikoto) laid the foundation of the land that, since the time of the primal imperial ancestor, Amaterasu Omikami, has been ruled by a single line of imperial descendents. Only of Japan may this be said. No other nations have this kind of tradition. Therefore, Japan is the divine country. . . .

In the age of the *kami*, Japan was described as the “ever-fruitful land of reed-covered plains and luxuriant rice fields.” This name is coeval with the origins of heaven and earth. . . . It is the primal name of Japan. It is also known as the eight-island country. This name came from the eight islands produced when the male *kami* (Izanagi-no-mikoto) and the female *kami* (Izanami-no-mikoto) procreated the Japanese archipelago. The name Yamato comes from the central part of the eight islands. The eighth *kami* begotten by the male and female *kami* was Heavenly-August-Sky-Luxuriant-Dragon-Fly-Lord-Youth, and the land he created was called O-yamato, Luxuriant-Dragon-Fly-Island. . . .

The term Yamato also can mean “mountain footprint,” referring to the time when heaven and earth were not completely separated, when the soil was muddy and not solidified and when people moving back and forth left footprints on the mountains. Hence the name *yama-to* (mountain footprint). There is also the explanation that *to* means a dwelling place, and because the ancients lived on mountains, Yamato can also mean “mountain dwelling.”

With the advent of the Chinese writing system in Japan, the Chinese characters *Dai Nippon* (Great Sunrise) and *Dai-Wa* (Great Harmony) were employed. The characters for *Dai Nippon* were selected, but they were pronounced Yamato. The choice of *Dai Nippon* was probably influenced by the fact that Japan is the land of Amaterasu, the *kami* of the sun, or perhaps because it was the place nearest to where the sun rises. . . .

China is a country famous for its political chaos. In the classical age, when there was order, the throne was occupied by wise men. Thereafter, rivals fought for control of the nation. Some of these were from the lower classes and others were even barbarians. Yet again, courtiers of rank, after generations of service, suddenly usurped the throne and took control. Since Fu-hsi, there have been thirty-six dynasties and frequent civil wars.

Only in our land has imperial succession been inviolate, coeval with the origins of heaven and earth to the present. A single line of descent has been maintained, and even when a collateral succession has arisen, the true succession has remained. This is because of the divine oath taken by each emperor, that makes Japan very different from all other nations.

The way of the *kami* should not be expounded without great caution, but sometimes, lack of the knowledge of the origins of things may lead to chaos. In order to prevent that situation from arising, I have recorded some facts, specifically how the imperial succession has been transmitted from the *kami-yo*, the age of the *kami*. I have not included what is common

knowledge. I have called the work *The Chronicles of the Legitimate Succession of the Sons of Heaven*.

On the Imperial Regalia he has these remarks:

The orders of *kami* of the sun upon the regalia should be taken as directions on how to govern the country properly. The mirror possesses nothing of its own; it unselfishly reflects everything, displaying each true quality. The virtue of the mirror lies in its honest reflection of these qualities, and as such it is the course of all honesty. The virtue of the jewel is found in its gentleness and submissive nature. Having no sharp edges but composed of soft curves, it gently follows the way of goodness, and as such it is the root of compassion. The virtue of the sword lies in its strength and sharpness. As such it is the source of wisdom. It will be impossible for a sovereign without these three virtues to govern the country. The commands of the *kami* are clear. The words may be few, but the meaning is great. Is it not awe-inspiring to discover them embodied in the meaning of the imperial regalia?

The mirror is the most important of the regalia. It is respected as the true substance of proper reverence for ancestors. The mirror has brightness as its form, showing that the enlightened mind is marked by compassion and clarity. It also provides a true reflection of Amaterasu Omikami, who devoted great care to the mirror. Thus there is nothing brighter in heaven than the sun and the moon. Thus, when Chinese characters were created, the symbols for the sun and the moon were joined to express the idea of brightness. Because Amaterasu Omikami is the spirit of the sun, she lightens the world with virtue incomprehensibly bright, in the realms of both the visible and the invisible. All emperors and ministers alike have inherited the brightness of the divine light, or they are descendents of the *kami* who were instructed by Amaterasu Omikami. . . .

Since the reign of Emperor Ojin, Confucianism has been disseminated. Since the era of Shotoku Taishi, Buddhism has flourished. These were both men of great wisdom. It must have been their wish to spread knowledge of the Way of our country in keeping with the wishes of the great *kami* of the sun.

WATARAI SHINTO

The famous Five Books of Shinto (*Shinto Gobusho*) are the canonical texts of the Watarai tradition. These are the texts of what came to be called Early Ise Shinto, as compared to the Later Ise Shinto of the Edo period. Originally claimed to have been authored by legendary figures such as Yamatohime no Mikoto, founder of the Grand Shrine of Ise in the year 4 B.C.E., the authorship is now usually ascribed to a member of

the Watarai family, and the documents are dated to the thirteenth century. These texts were part of an ambitious campaign to promote the interests of the *Geku* (the Outer Shrine of Ise). One of the main claims in the *Gobusho* is that the principal *kami* of the Outer Shrine, Toyouke no Okami, is to be identified with Kunitokotachi no Mikoto, the *kami* who preceded the *kami* of the sun, Amaterasu, and who therefore should be given precedence over Amaterasu.

The philosophical contents of the *Gobusho* are a syncretistic mixture of Buddhism, Taoism, *yin-yang*, and Confucian thought. The texts were protected by a set of rules that forbade them to be removed from the *Geku* precincts, or from being read by anyone under the age of 60. The content of the *Gobusho* deals with ritual, history, and mythology and expounds the meaning of central Shinto ideas such as purification and fundamental moral categories.

One interesting aspect of the thought of Watarai Shinto is the search for a primordial creative *kami*, which takes it close to a type of monotheism. The school identified Toyouke with Ame-no-minakushi-no-Mikoto, the *kami* at the center of high heaven. By a combination of Chinese cosmological ideas and the argument that the other name of Toyouke, namely Miketsukami, was derived from *mi*, meaning water (*mizu*), the Watarai school claimed that Toyouke was therefore the primal *kami*, even over Amaterasu.

The Watarai school was also important in its explicit rejection of the then contemporary understanding of the *honji-suijaku* theory that Shinto *kami* were simply manifestations of Buddhist deities. It argued, on the contrary, that Buddhist figures were in fact manifestations of Shinto *kami*, who were the ultimate reality. This doctrine had the effect of reversing the roles of *kami* and Buddha in Ryobu Shinto. The first major exponent of the doctrines of Watarai Shinto was Watarai Yunitada (1236–1305). While we do not necessarily find a clear single line of development as might be expected in a Western-style school of thought, common threads run through Watarai Shinto. These should become more obvious with the reading of the extracts.

The *Gobusho* is a collection of five texts that range in composition from the early to the middle Kamakura period and are usually attributed to various members of the Watarai family (known and unknown) who were trying to create a Shinto canon from which to defend their position on the primacy of Ise Shinto. While Chinese influences are found in the later Ise Shinto of the Edo period, the influence of Taoism (the thought of Lao-tzu and of Chuang-tzu) is strong. This influence continues into the Edo period but is enriched by neo-Confucian ideas as well as other

strands of the Chinese tradition. The title *Gobusho* (Five Books of Shinto) did not become common parlance until the Edo period because many similar texts were in existence. During the period of the civil wars, when much of the material world of Japan was destroyed, many sacred writings vanished in the flames. The survival of the *Gobusho* was one reason for the revived fortunes of Ise Shinto. Other factors entered into the situation, but having a set of canonical texts from which arguments could be drawn gave Ise an enormous advantage over other competing cultic centers.

Not all five books are included here. Rather I have emphasized providing the reader with sample ideas that capture the spirit of the texts, and that also relate to the themes that recur throughout the literature of Shinto. In their original form, these texts are obscure and very difficult to read, but they come closer to providing a philosophical exposition of Shinto than any other texts of the tradition.

Excerpts from the *Shinto Gobusho*

Text: *Ise ni-sho kotaijin gochinza denki* (Records of the Enshrinement of the Two Imperial *Kami* at Ise)

This text goes by two other names: *Ota-no-Mikoto kunden* and *Ota-no-mikoto denki*. It deals with the origins of the Grand Shrine and the role of Ota-no-mikoto in the process of enshrinement. It includes details of the *aidono no kami* (the associated *kami* at Ise), the *mikado no kami* (the *kami* of the entrance gate), the *mikua no kami* (*kami* of the granary), *shiiishi no kami* (*kami* of the four corners), and then an account of the *betsu-gu*, the ancillary shrines.

It also provides an account of the appearance and the virtues of Toyoke no Okami, the *kami* of the Outer Shrine, and the relationship of this *kami* to Amaterasu Omikami. There is also a discussion of *aidono no kami* and the *betsu-gu* of the Inner Shrine. The brief extracts all concern the central theme of the nature of *kami* and how human beings may best serve them.

Human beings are born into the world by the will of the *kami*. Therefore, the mind of a human being is something that can commune with the will of the *kami* and should avoid doing anything that would inhibit that way of thinking. To receive the grace of the *kami*, the first thing is to devote one's mind to prayerful meditation. To receive the protection of the *kami*, a human being must found his or her life on honesty. In this way, the pure and clean heart will awake to the ancient and true Way.

Anyone who seeks to commune with the *kami* is one who returns to the foundations of the world, when heaven and earth were still one. Such a person will reject the influence of Buddhism and revere the original *kami* and become at one with them.

Since worship and service of the *kami* must be performed only by those who are pure, during periods of partial abstinence (for around one month before a festival) and total abstinence (for three days prior to a festival and the day of the festival itself), and on the days of inner and outer purification, it is forbidden to mourn for the dead or to eat meat. Criminal judgment and punishment are forbidden, as is music, or any activity that may result in pollution.

Without loss of our original uprightness and displaying that bright virtue, everything must be let alone. What is on the right remains on the right and what is on the left remains on the left. Weapons must not be lifted for a fight. Even the sound of the bowstring is forbidden. One must not cast one's eyes on anything impure. The heart must be kept calm, sincere, and reverent, believing that the *kami* is there. So must we revere the *kami* with pure devotion.

Text: *Toyoke kotaijin go-chinza hongu* (Authentic Records of the Enshrinement of the Toyoke Imperial *Kami*)

This text commences with a discussion of the mythology of the age of the *kami* and details the emergence of Toyoke no Okami, the *kami* of the Outer Shrine; his relation to Amaterasu; the details of their enshrinement; and information about the *aidono no kami* of the same shrine.

In offering reverence to one's ancestral *kami*, the correct manner of presenting offerings is to show loyalty and filial piety in order to receive the blessing of one's ancestors. To offer sincerity is the ultimately true principle. The *kami* desire upright behavior and sincerity of heart, and not merely physical offerings.

Text: *Zo-Ise ni-cho Daijingu hokihon-gi* (Treasure of the Original Records of the Founding of the Two Grand Shrines of Ise)

This brief one-volume text deals with the construction of the Inner and Outer Shrines of Ise.

In the age of the *kami*, the minds of human beings were pure and in accordance with the virtue of humanity. They were upright and correct. As time passed, however, inhabitants of the four corners of the world came to be impure and their minds disordered.

Before the separation of the yin from the yang, from the origins of the

universe, even before the separation of heaven and earth, the Way of the *kami*, Shinto, existed. It is also the Way that enables us to return to that original (pure) state.

Text: *Yamatohime-no-mikoto no seiki* (Chronicles of Princess Yamatohime)

This work is based on an earlier work called the *Daijingu jingi hongi*, which dates to the early ninth century. It opens with a discussion of the Japanese mythology and of the descent of the Heavenly Grandchild. It then explains how Amaterasu Omikami was transported to Kasanui no mura in Yamaoto during the time of Emperor Sujin, who, according to legend, reigned from 97 to 30 B.C.E. She was served by Yamatohime-no-mikoto. After touring different provinces, Amaterasu finally settled at Ise. Details are included also of the shrine lands, the enshrinement of Toyoke-no-Okami, and other information about Ise and the origins of the cult.

Worship the *kami* with a mind that rejects impurity and wrong and that is bright, unpolluted, pure, and reverent. Do not move to the right things that should be on the left and do not move to the left things that should be on the right. Leave to the right what was originally there, and similarly leave to the left what was originally there. By correctly distinguishing right and left, everything may remain in its natural place and form. In this way, the *kami* may be worshipped. We should revere the beginning as the beginning and the origin as the origin.

The human mind and the *kami* commune with the foundation of heaven and earth. The human body consists of the five elements of wood, fire, earth, metal, and water. These elements commune with the origin of nature. We must revere the beginning and seek to return to and enter into it. We must honor origins as origins and try to return to the original heart. Sincere invocation must precede the descent of the *kami*. For humans to receive the blessings of the *kami*, the foundation of life must be honesty.

By the reverent praise of heaven and earth, by honoring the *kami* and by revering one's ancestors, the shrines of our ancestors will flourish, and in consequence the nation will flourish and the imperial reign will have peace. Do not be led in wrong ways by the alien teachings of Buddhism, but revere only the *kami*. Although both the sun and the moon cross the sky with their light, the honest heart will be illumined in any event.

These words are from the oracles of Amaterasu Omikami and the meaning of them is plain and obvious. If we sincerely offer our worship and service to the *kami* and pray for the imperial house, the country will be serene and the nation at peace.

The land of Japan is the *kami no kuni*, the land of the *kami*. Because of the protection of the *kami*, the country is at peace. On account of national reverence for the *kami*, the divine dignity of the nation is increased.

Watarai Ieyuki (1255–1351) on the Origins of the Kami

Text: *Ruiji Jingi Hongen* (Compendium of the Origins of the *Kami*)

This text, composed in 1320, is a masterful piece of scholastic detail that became the basic textbook and summary of all Shinto knowledge of the time. The text was read and studied by the southern court during the time of the divided imperial court (1336–1392). It appears in 15 volumes that systematically expound the themes of Watarai Shinto, beginning with creation and going on to the secret inner meanings of Shinto. Emperor Go-Daigo was familiar with it, and it exerted some influence upon Kitabatake Chikafusa.

What is the meaning of “purity” in Shinto? Purity is not of one variety alone. Honesty, for example, can be called a form of purity, or again, to undertake a task with a mind that is calm and collected, can also be an expression of purity. To behave in a manner that transcends life and death is also purity, such as to obey the six prohibitions related to the ceremonially proper way of observing rituals involving purification and abstinence.

The prohibitions to be observed are: (1) not to mourn for the dead, (2) not to have direct contact with disease, (3) not to eat the flesh of animals, (4) not to pass judgment on offenders, (5) not to administer punishment to criminals, and (6) not to play music of any kind.

Text: *Shinto Kanyo* (The Essence of Shinto)

This text was composed in 1317 and concentrates on an account of the wondrous virtues of the Inner and Outer Shrines of Ise.

In order for benefits to come to human beings from the *kami*, honesty is necessary. At the foundation of honesty, of course, purity is to be found. Purity exists when the mind is rectified (a Confucian virtue), balanced, without soiling or being soiled, upholding the way of Great Nature (*Dai-shizen*), and by acting with propriety in accordance with reason.

Only this kind of honesty and purity will permit the light of the spirit of the *kami* shine.

Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615–1691) on the Nature of Reverence

Nobuyoshi lived at the period when the rise of the Ise cult to great prominence had already begun to take place prior to the great pilgrimages of *okagemairi* for which the Edo period became famous. His task was to continue to advance the claims of Ise as already set forth in the earlier writings. His was the Shinto of the later rather than the earlier Ise cult, and part of his work was trying to restore the old texts of the shrine that had been destroyed or lost during the long period of civil war. His work revived the study of the Shinto of Ise, and in particular, with the aid of some of the high priests of the grand shrines, he set up the Toymiyazaki Library for the training of senior priests at the *Geku* (the Outer shrine). He also worked tirelessly for the rebuilding of the *sessha* and *massha*, the branch shrines that had been destroyed during the civil war.

In his efforts to establish the reputation of the Outer Shrine, Nobuyoshi came into conflict with the high priest of the *Naiku* (Inner Shrine) on the subject of what kind of inscription should be written on good fortune amulets distributed by the shrines. He lost the debate, and to add to his woes, shortly thereafter, much of his own personal library was destroyed by fire. The two extracts here offer a modest sample of some of his most characteristic ideas. In addition, the concept of “propriety” about which he is concerned is very much a Confucian value. Indeed, although he is speaking about Shinto, it is clear that much in his thought is Confucian, and in that regard he is more typical of the early Edo period and has some traits in common with the Confucian-style Shinto that grew up at the time. Nevertheless, his vigorous affirmation of the claims of Ise Shinto mark him off from the other thinkers of the period. The order in which he discussed the Confucian relationships is that preferred by the Edo government, particularly the shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, which he introduced in order to strengthen the moral grip of the government upon the social order. The first of the two texts quoted is a two-volume work that interprets Shinto in terms of divination. The second argues that the Shinto practiced at Ise is the true origin of Shinto in Japan.

Text: *Yobuku-Ki* (Record at the Commencement of Spring, 1650)

The single word *tsutsushimi* (propriety) is central to Shinto. This is the true meaning of offering service to the *kami*. Yamato-takeru-no-mikoto, on his way to suppress rebel groups in the east of the country, went to Ise and received from the *saio*, the princess appointed to serve at the shrine, Yamato-hime-no-mikoto, the sword known as Ame-no-murakumo-no-

tsurugi, the sword of the gathered heavenly clouds. As she presented him with it, she enjoined him to “act with propriety” and not to be remiss. In Shinto rituals, propriety is of the greatest importance.

To present a *tamagushi* (sacred branch of *sakaki*), or to intone a *norito* (liturgical formula), is a vital part of ritual and therefore a part of Shinto. But to consider these items alone as Shinto is like viewing the heavens through a narrow tube. What is visible is indeed the heavens, but only the small part disclosed by the aperture at the other end. Shinto is involved with all the everyday activities of the people. There is no act that does not concern Shinto. When the emperor acts with the propriety of Shinto, he is a benevolent master. When a servant acts in accordance with Shinto, he is loyal and dutiful. When a parent brings up his child in keeping with Shinto, he is a compassionate father, and the son in turn, in offering service to his parents through Shinto, is displaying filial piety. In an analogous manner, relations between husband and wife, between older and younger brother, and between friends should be based upon Shinto. Eating and drinking are Shinto, and so too are setting our hands to work and our feet to walk. Indeed, there is nothing we do which is not Shinto. If Shinto was merely a matter of reading Shinto writings, memorizing the names of the *kami*, clapping our hands and bowing in worship, intoning a *norito*, then it would be a lesser Way than medicine or divination.

While its form may have changed with the passage of the generations, it is our blessing that this tradition of Shinto has been handed down without a break since the *kami* Ame-no-minakushi-ni-mikoto and Amaterasu-Omikami erected the august pillar of heaven in the central land of reed plains, thus instituting the Imperial Palace and bringing government to this land. Shinto is coeval with the origins of heaven and earth.

Text: *Daijingu Shinto Wakumon* (Questions Concerning Grand Shrine Shinto, 1666)

Nowadays, people imagine Shinto to be the business of priests but see it as of no benefit to anyone else. This is a grave error. If people born in the land of Japan do not have a sound understanding of Shinto and then put this into practice in daily life, they cannot make their way through life in a satisfactory manner at all. In spite of this obvious fact, many people are misleadingly tempted to follow foreign ways brought from other lands, imagining that the observation of Shinto is a matter for priests alone. This is a point that merits serious consideration.

Shinto is a Way that is practiced every morning and evening, in the acts of daily life, by every individual from the emperor to the common people. As we reflect upon and follow the cosmic Way transmitted from the long past *kami-yo*, the age of the *kami*, the Way of heaven and earth and the Way of great nature, there is nothing within human life that does not belong to Shinto. It is not a specific Way that we may identify and say

“This is Shinto.” By simply emptying the mind, we can grasp it for ourselves.

Watarai Tsuneakira (1675–1752), an Explanation of Shinto

The last of the great Watarai thinkers to offer an exposition and defense of Ise Shinto, Tsuneakira, was the second son of Kawasaki Nobusada, a priest of the Outer Shrine. He composed his principal work in 1737 and in it offered a powerful argument to the effect that Japanese history proves that Shinto is the original basis of government and order in Japan. Of interest in the passage quoted is also the discussion of the Way as a form of universality, a concept that vaguely resembles Plato’s theory of forms. While this discussion is not pure philosophical speculation as such, it is nevertheless very close to metaphysical speculation in the context of evolving a philosophy of culture. It certainly justifies the claim that the Watarai school of thought on Shinto comes closest to evolving a Shinto philosophy and further justifies greater Western interest in Watarai Shinto as the academic exposition of Shinto that comes closest to Western thought. The only proviso to be added is that the term Way (*do*) could be taken as *tao* in Chinese, suggesting the influence of Taoism. Such a reading would cast the interpretation into a totally different perspective. Nevertheless, the philosophically speculative nature of the discussion places it in a special category within the history of Japanese thought.

Text: *Shinto Meiben* (A Clear Explanation of Shinto)

If there were no country within heaven or earth, there could not be a Way. If any country exists, no matter what, there will be a Way. The Way is what the people follow in their daily lives. It is not something that can be sought somewhere else. But not only do people exist in accordance with the Way. So too do such things as water and fire. Everything so exists.

Whatever possesses the principle that is in accordance with the truth of water or fire is the Way of water and fire. That we can make comparisons between water and fire in ancient times and water and fire in the present, or bring something from far away and compare it to something close to hand is because in these things, there is a common Way according to which every individual thing serves its original purpose. These things take the form of that into which they are placed, having no form of their own. Water drawn from a well may be used for cooking. It may be in a hot spring and possess healing properties. Even small trickles of water flow onward without stopping and finally find their way to a great river, becoming part of a waterway that can carry ships. All rivers finally enter

the sea, the vastness of which may not be known. Yet in all this, water is still water.

The water of the sea is also water. That same water irrigates the land, encourages vegetation to grow, and then rises to the heavens, returning as rain and frost. Rain imparts life to growing plants. Frost kills them. But both are originally forms of water. Fire is the same. Strike a flint and you produce fire. The heat of the sun produces fire. Fire may be produced by rubbing two sticks together. Fire thus produced may be used to heat a cooking pot, light a torch, or light an oil lamp to make it possible to work at night. Fire may light up the road at night or cause a forest fire. But all these manifestations are one and the same fire.

Yet, although water is water, we cannot sail a ship in a well nor drink from the ocean. Nor again can we use firewood to light an oil lamp. In such ways, things possessing the same essence are transformed by their context, which encompasses it. Such water and fire create and temper everything, and in this, the Way can be discovered.

Consequently, how else can it be that in the same manner, distinct forms of the Way are found in different countries? In China, there is Confucianism and in India, Buddhism. The Way in each case is in keeping with the country. Japan has been founded on Shinto, the Way of the *kami*, a Way not found anywhere else. It has come into being in accordance with the destiny of the founding of Japan, the nature of the climate that contains elements that are deep and mysterious.

The Way has many origins, and it is natural that they are not all identical. The Mean as understood in Japan is not that which is practiced in China. Nevertheless, not to be aware of origins, and to claim that all manifestations are the same, is similar to comparing the legs of a stork and a duck and insisting that they are identical because both creatures are birds, which is obviously absurd.

CONFUCIAN SHINTO

By the early Edo period, the influence of neo-Confucian thought became very great, and not unnaturally, a meeting between Shinto and Confucianism became inevitable. Confucian ethics had existed since their introduction by Shotoku Taishi. The rapprochement between them in the Edo period was at a profound intellectual level, involving neo-Confucian metaphysics and cosmology. It was also typical of the kind of syncretistic approach to religion favored by the Tokugawa government.

Fujiwara Seika (1561–1619), Shinto as Confucianism

Seika was the leading figure in the rise and development of early Edo period neo-Confucian thought. He first made the acquaintance of Toku-

gawa Ieyasu in 1593, when Ieyasu was a retainer of Toyotomo Hideyoshi. The encounter proved to be momentous, although the reason for their meeting has never been known with certainty. Whatever it was, Ieyasu saw in the urbane Seika the kind of intellectual who could assist in the task of creating a strong, stable, and prosperous regime through his experience, ideas, and creative imagination. Seika was well versed in Chinese culture and thought, particularly that of Chu Hsi (1130–1200), who was the leading exponent of neo-Confucianism during the period of the elegant and wealthy Sung dynasty.

Seika was trained as a Zen monk but was also a man of practical vision, having tried once to visit China, an attempt that was unsuccessful on account of a shipwreck. He came from the old aristocracy and was the 12th-generation descendant of Fujiwara no Teika, the famous poet of the thirteenth century. With such a background, he excelled in all the arts. But his mind was open to the outside world. He knew of the decayed state of Buddhism in China and of the rising force of neo-Confucianism as the new intellectual force of the age. He learned of its spread in other parts of Asia and saw in it a new basis for international and intercultural exchange. Seika, however, did not blindly follow Chu Hsi. Rather, he wished to adapt the ideas of Chu Hsi to the existing culture of Japan and to provide a more sound moral basis for the nation than the somewhat negative philosophy of Zen. In his writings on the subject, he tried to find a pathway in thought to link Shinto, which was Japanese, with neo-Confucianism, which was Chinese. His thought therefore comes with the purview of Shinto, less so than that of his disciple Hayashi Razan, who was a committed neo-Confucian. It was on Seika's recommendation that Hayashi became influential and that, as a consequence, neo-Confucian thought became the basis of the Tokugawa social order.

As a side observation, Seika's view of business is still alive in the corporate statements of many modern Japanese companies. "Profit is the happy outcome of righteousness" is one of his sayings that grew out of his idea that selling and buying should bring benefits to both parties. Profit, at the expense of others, he totally eschewed. Profit as the outcome, but not as the goal of business, is as old as Seika and as new as Matsushita of National Panasonic.

On Shinto, a few words should suffice to clarify Seika's ideas. In a letter to Lord Huang of Annam, he observed the following:

We maintain the belief that good faith is inherent within our human nature, that it is good faith that moves heaven and earth, permeates rocks and

metals and indeed everything. . . . The winds may blow in different directions in countries great distances apart, yet good faith must be the same in every corner of the world, for this is the order of things.

This is almost a universalist creed that carries over into his view of Shinto.

Text: From Fujiwara Seika, *Fujiwara Seika Shu* (Tokyo: Kokumin Seishin Bunka Kenkyu-jo, 1938–1939).

Chiyo Motogusa (Evergreen Grass)

Japanese Shinto has as its deepest principle the rectification of the human heart through having compassion for everything. This ideal lay at the root of the wise government of emperors Yao and Shun [the two Chinese emperors idealized by the neo-Confucians of China]. In China, what was known as Confucianism is known in Japan as Shinto. The name is different. The essence is the same.

A further aside in the history of ideas stands out here. Seika's idea of good faith is reminiscent of the idea of a moral sense identified in the writings of Francis Hutcheson and Adam Smith in eighteenth-century Scotland, a minority philosophy in the West but one that closely accords with Seika and the Asian tradition. They too were searching for a universalistic, preferably rational basis for moral values to help create a peaceful and conflict-free international order, and they tried to find it within the structure of human nature. It is interesting that Seika saw the cosmic aspect of Shinto as fulfilling this role. Having listened to many Shinto lectures and addresses on peace and internationalism, I am driven to the conclusion that popular Shinto thought that possesses any international awareness still owes much to Fujiwara Seika in much the same way that (whether its practitioners admit it or not), popular Western Christianity that seeks to draw the best from human nature is unconsciously dependent on moral sense theory.

While these comments may seem a little deviant from the main line of discourse, I wish to make the point that Seika's ideas are far from dead, and that his overt universalism, originally intended to apply to Asia, really finds echoes beyond it that might justify calling him a philosopher in the Western sense, seeking the universal and recognizing that it can take different forms in different contexts. There is a line of thought from him that continues to the present.

Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) and the Shinto of Divine Blessing

Yamazaki's reputation is based on his work as an expositor of the philosophy of Chu Hsi in the context of formulating a new approach to the teachings of Shinto. "Devotion within, righteousness without" became the slogan of the Shinto of divine blessing. The system he created was an odd admixture of Shinto mythology combined with neo-Confucian Chinese cosmology. It was not done in an arbitrary or meaningless way but was organized so as to display the meaning of a moral order within the universe that would offer a meaningful context of action. This, of course, was welcomed by the Tokugawa shogunate and took on very quickly the status of orthodoxy. The doctrines behind the order of social and political relations remained in force until the Meiji Restoration and, in the views of some observers, are still very much alive in contemporary Japan, constituting one reason for Japan's economic success on the one hand, and Japan's inability to deregulate trade and society on the other. At any rate, whether directly attributable to Yamazaki or not, Confucian values still provide the basis of Japan's social ethics, perhaps more so even than in China. The idea of *Suika* implies that people should pray for divine blessing and rely on divine grace. The concept of *Takama-no-hara*, it should be noted, is central to Yamazaki's thought. He expounds it in various ways.

Text: Yamazaki Ansai, *Yamazaki Ansai Zenshū* (Tokyo: Nihon Koten Gakkai, 1936–1937).

***Jindai-kan Fuyo-shu* (A Collection of Windblown Leaves Regarding the Book of the Age of the Kami)**

Takama no Hara, the plain of high heaven, is very significant in Shinto. It may refer to heaven and it may refer to the *Takamikura* (the imperial throne). It may also refer to the human heart, or even to the sacred precinct of a shrine. All of these, while different, share a common essence as the place where the *kami* reside.

***Nakatomi no Harae Fusuiso* (A Miscellany of Musings on the Nakatomi Ohbarae)**

Naka, central, is a location that is venerated in Shinto. The middle way means to remain in the "center" without inclining toward roots or branches. Whatever avoids leaning to either side is truly straight. This is the Center.

The Center is the virtue of *Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-mikoto*. The idea

of the Center is revered in names such as *kuni naka no mihashira*, the august central pillar of the land, *shin no mihashira*, the august central pillar of the heart, and *naka no se*, the central current, among others. At the Grand Shrines of Ise, the *shin no mihashira* stands ever straight without moving in any direction and is the symbol of the central truth. When *norito* speak of cutting the base or trimming the branches, the symbolic meaning is to retain the *naka*, the center.

The idea of *naka* remains important in Shinto. The concept of *na-kaima*, "in the center of now," may be defined in metaphysical terms as the ultimate reality of presentness.

Suika-so II

In the manner of the Chinese sages, it was the custom to give people a slogan that would serve as a vessel in which the distilled thought of the teacher could be carried easily. His, as was noted, included the two terms "devotion" and "righteousness."

The virtue of sincerity [which is found in idea of the Mean] is not only for perfecting ourselves, but for perfecting everything around us. Perfecting the self is humanity; perfecting things is knowledge. These virtues are what display our nature. This is the Way that unites the inner and outer dimensions. Ch'eng I stated that "devotion and righteousness hold each other together and rise directly to reach the virtue of heaven."

Lecture on the *Kami-yo* in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*

One important element of study to be learned by anyone beginning to understand Shinto is that if anyone reads the chapters on the *kami-yo* (age of the *kami*) without first learning it, the true significance of these chapters will be lost. With the proper instruction, everything in these chapters can be understood very readily. This is the key to Shinto that makes it clear from beginning to end. . . .

You may not have heard of it, but this is the teaching of *tsuchi-kane*, earth and metal. . . . earth comes into being only from fire. Fire is mind and the *kami* live in mind . . . there is a secret teaching that is very important, namely with Shinto shrines called *hokora*. *Hokora* is where the *kami* reside, and is the same as *hi-kura*, a storehouse of fire. *Ho* is an alternative form of *hi*, as we can see from such words as *ho-no-o* (fire tail or flame) and *ho-no-ko* (fire child or spark). It is interesting to observe that steadfast devotion (*tsutsushimi*) comes from mind wherein live the *kami*. When the fire *kami*, Kagu-tsuchi, was cut into five pieces (by Izanagi-no-mikoto), the result was that earth came into being.

Earth produces nothing if it is scattered and dissipated. Rather it is only when it is packed tightly that things can be produced. Thus *tsutsushimi*, steadfast devotion, is the compacting of the earth. Earth is a solid thing

that holds firm. . . . and because it holds firm, things are produced. . . . Metal is formed when the essence of the soil is drawn together and concentrated, and because earth holds together, the power of metal is produced. . . .

If there were no earth, nothing would come into being. But even if there were earth, but without *tsutsushimi*, the power of metal would not be produced. The steadfastness is something within the human mind. In the same way that nothing is produced if earth is scattered and dissipated, if man becomes loose and dissipated, the power of metal cannot be produced. The power of metal is nothing other than our (reverent) disposition toward the *kami*. . . .

So we see in daily life that only earth can produce metal. This is the principle of earth producing metal. But this should not be confused with the Chinese theory that fire produces earth and earth produces metal. What the Confucian texts say is of no account. What I am speaking of is the Way of the age of the *kami*. It is also what you can see before your very eyes. The *kami* of the sun was female, but when the storm *kami* began misbehaving, she changed her demeanor and picked up a sword. Izanagi and Izanami ruled the land with both spade and sword. From ancient times, Japan has been under the rule of the metal power because Japan is the land of the metal power. Without steadfastness, the metal power cannot come into being, and remember that steadfastness belongs to mind.

Yamaga Soko (1622–1685), Confucian Revisionism

Next in the line of relating Shinto to Confucian thought was Yamaga Soko, who belongs to the revisionist school that felt that rather than keeping with the spirit of the Sung dynasty thinkers, it was ideal to go back to the roots of the Confucian tradition. This meant in effect rejecting not only earlier developments, but also the thought of Chu Hsi himself. This was in part a dangerous undertaking, since it implied rejection of the intellectual basis of the Tokugawa establishment. Yamaga Soko was an independent-minded thinker of considerable originality who wanted to base his thought on the original Confucian system, with the goal of transforming the warrior class into a kind of intellectual aristocracy. In a work of 1685, *The Essence of Confucianism*, he delivered an attack on neo-Confucianism that led to his arrest and exile. While his earlier writings are concerned very much with the rectification of the *bushi* (warrior class, also referred to as samurai) in Confucian style, his writings in exile contain the gist of his thought about Shinto, Japan, and the imperial system. The text in which he offers a criticism of China and lavish praise of Japan is marked by quite extreme nationalism and very blind narcissism. The dangers of his thought should be apparent. The kind of na-

tionalism he espouses is derived not from Shinto, but from his criticism of China, a criticism that the National Learning Scholars picked up a generation later. His Shinto is Shinto of the *kokushugi*, of the national principle, centered upon the imperial line. The imperial institution and the rituals of shrines have in his thought the same place that rituals have in Confucian culture; they exist to help maintain the status quo. It is not State Shinto in the form that was promulgated by Emperor Meiji, but it was close enough in style, intent, and even language for it to be considered an ancestor. Indeed, while conventional historical wisdom lays much blame on Hirata Shinto because it overlapped the close of the Edo period and the commencement of the Meiji period, the significance of the role and content of the thought of Yamaga Soko in creating the agenda for succeeding generations should not be ignored. The somewhat glib manner in which he speaks of Japan invading Korea and setting up military bases on foreign soil was another element that gave credibility to the myths of invincibility—psychologically, a dangerous mode of thought to encourage and cultivate. How valid these criticisms are, readers may judge for themselves.

Text: From Yamaga Soko, *Yamaga Soko Bunshu* (Tokyo: Yuhodo Shoten, 1926).

Haisho Zampitsu (Autobiography in Exile)

I am taking the opportunity of setting down on paper some of my views about the nature of learning. I have long been fond of the study of foreign books. I am not so well acquainted with what has come here in recent years, but I have studied all the books from China since more than ten years ago. I feel I am reasonably acquainted with things Chinese.

I once had the idea that Japan was very small and inferior to China, and that it was only in China that a true sage could emerge. This was not merely my opinion, but the received view of those scholars who have devoted themselves to the study of things Chinese. Recently, I have considered that this is a serious error. We have “believed in what we have heard too easily rather than what we could see with our own eyes; we have been ignoring what is close to hand while we week what is distant.” This is a most serious flaw in our scholars. I tried to make this point in my *Chucho Jitsu* (The True Realities of the Central Kingdom). What follows is a brief summary of what I said there.

Japan has been ruled from the age of the *kami* to the present by its one true imperial line in legitimate descent from the *kami* of the sun (*Ama-terasu*) without a single generation of interruption. The Fujiwara, as loyal

servants and supporters of the throne, have also survived, with men of each generation serving as ministers of state.

This unbroken succession has been possible because traitors and rebels have failed to plot successfully; this in turn has been the case because of the widespread and prevailing nature of the great virtues of humanity and righteousness in Japan.

From the age of the *kami* and now for seventeen generations, the throne has been occupied by emperors of supreme virtue, assisted by wise and capable ministers. They upheld the Way of heaven and earth, established a court and administered the provinces, created rules and regulations for the four classes of people [note: *shi-no-ko-sho*, which identifies samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants] regarding the necessities of daily life—clothes, food, and shelter, along with procedures for initiations, marriages, funerals, and festivals—so that the Mean was achieved in all these matters. They taught the way of the ruler and the ruled and thus set an example for all ages to come so that people could be secure and the country at peace. Is this not evidence of their divine virtues of great intelligence and sacred wisdom? Equally worthy of mention is Japan's practice of the way of military prowess. The three kingdoms of Han [Korea] were defeated [by Empress Jingu (201–269)] and its rulers subjugated [by Hideyoshi in 1592]. Japanese military occupation has existed in foreign places and Japanese military prestige was supreme over the four oceans from ancient times to the present. Our bravery has inspired fear in foreign peoples. Foreigners have never conquered us, occupied us, or even forced the cession of land. In the making of armor for infantry and cavalry, in the making and use of swords and spears, and in the military sciences of strategy and tactics, no other nation matches Japan.

Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714) on Practical Learning

Kaibara follows in the Confucian mold with a strong emphasis on the importance of the central virtue of humanity, or as it is sometimes translated, benevolence. The original Chinese *jen* (Japanese *jin*) defines it as the great virtue. Ekken's idea goes beyond the original Confucian concept by stressing that it is the presence and practice of the virtue that makes people truly human, which in turn brings man into harmony with nature, heaven, and earth. Ekken wrote a number of books, few of which bear directly on Shinto as such. His *Onna no Daigaku* (Great Learning for Women), *Shogaku-kun* (Elementary Lessons), and *Yojo-kun* (Lessons for Health) are imbued with the same ideas of Confucian humanity becoming human through the practice of benevolence. He is best known for his medical writings and for *Onna no Daigaku*. Nevertheless, he left a work titled *Jinji-kun* (Lessons on Worship of the *Kami*). The Way of heaven of which he speaks becomes the complete assimilation of Shinto

with Confucian values, to the degree and extent that he rarely draws any distinction between them.

Text: The English translation is taken from the compendium of Kaibara's works produced by Ken Hoshino, *The Way of Contentment and Women and Wisdom of Japan* (London, 1913), p. 120.

***Yojo-kun* (Precepts for Health)**

Medical science is the art of benevolence, the aim of a physician should be to save others and not to make himself prosperous. The art which holds the key of life and death for millions of men is no small matter. Other arts, however poor they may be, do not concern men's . . . lives whereas the lives of men are always dependent upon the capability of the physician. A man who pursues this profession, knowing his want of ability, is a sinner towards Earth. A son of a physician should take to his father's profession if he is gifted but not otherwise. In three generations, he will become proficient.

Text: Kaibara Ekken, *Ekken Zenshū* (Tokyo: Ekken Zenshū Kankobu, 1910–1911).

***Shogaku-kun* (Precepts for Elementary Education; this text is in five volumes and is really a basic text in ethics.)**

To persist in the service of Heaven means that everyone should remember morning and evening that he is in the presence of Heaven, never far from it; that he should fear and reverence the Way of Heaven and always be conscious of it. Not even in ignorance should he transgress against it or oppose it in any way. Rather, by following the Way of Heaven, he should exhibit humility to others and not arrogance. He should control his desires, not be self-indulgent of the passions, and nurture love of humanity borne of nature's great love. He should never abuse or ill-treat others. Nor should he waste anything simply to satisfy his personal whims, because nature has provided the five grains for the well-being of all the people. No living creatures, birds, beasts, insects or fish should be killed for the sake of killing. Grass and trees should not be touched out of season. All of these are nature's objects of love, created by nature. To serve nature in keeping with the great heart of nature means to preserve these things. . . .

The *kami* are the peak of wisdom, honesty and the lack of selfishness. Human beings always fall short in doing good, but then try to charm the *kami* when asking for something for themselves, expecting the *kami* will give them blessings and save them from disaster. The idea behind this is clear enough. According to the saying of old "The *kami* will not accept rudeness." Since they are honest, they will not accept worship or requests that contradict the way of humanity and benevolence.

Jingi-kun (Precepts Concerning the Kami)

The country of Japan is a land where since ancient times, *kami* have appeared to bring the nation under the divine order. Since that time, it was known as the *kami no kuni* (the land of the *kami*). This is in the same way we call China “the land of the sages.” Since this is the case, there should not be a single living soul born among us in the land of Japan who does not know Shinto.

NATIONAL LEARNING: KOKUGAKU SHINTO

The trends of the Edo period came to be dominated by two principal movements, namely, the Confucian Shinto movement known as the Shinto of divine blessing (*Suika Shinto*), which we have discussed already, and the later, and more influential, National Learning movement (*Kokugaku*). Toward the end of the Edo period, these two movements were supplemented by many other local and popular movements, the two most important (for the study of Shinto) being those of Ishida Baigan’s “heart learning” (*Shingaku*) and Ninomiya Sontoku’s “repayment of virtue” (*Hotoku*). These are introduced briefly at the close of this chapter. We have thus far briefly examined some texts of the Confucian-Shinto synthesis and are now ready to take up the more complex and controversial National Learning movement.

The origins of this movement may be traced to the thought of Keichu (1640–1701), whose ideas were a precursor of the revived interest in Japanese roots and national characteristics. It is perhaps not surprising that when the government declared the era of *sakoku*, the closed country, enforcing a nationwide peace, the literary arts found time and opportunity to flourish. The focus of the National Learning movement was the desire to define the “Japaneseness” of Japan, and its methodology was primarily literary. After Keichu’s early attempts, Kada Azumamaro and Kamo no Mabuchi were the early pioneers in developing this train of thought. In Motoori Norinaga, the movement reached a peak of sophistication, scholarship, and sentiment. While not intentionally setting out to do so, Motoori was instrumental in leading Japanese thought to make the transition from Japan being merely the name of a civilization with a feeling of national identity to “Japan” becoming the name of a culturally defined country. The reaction of this awareness, in turn, made the process of modernization much easier. In this regard also, Hirata Atsutane became the most controversial of all the National Learning Scholars. Some critics blamed Hirata Shinto and its doctrines as the informal inventor of State Shinto. As to the validity of this claim, each must judge individually.

Kada Azumamaro (1669–1736), the Petition to Found a School

Kada was a priest of the Inari Shrine in Kyoto who had been inspired by the writings of Ogyu Sorai to raise questions about the status and influence in Japan of the Chinese classics. Here began the search for what was authentically Japanese. The view gradually emerged that beneath the accretions of time and the overlay of Chinese culture in the form of linguistic and art forms was the true essence of Japanese culture. Kada believed that it should be the object of rescue and the subject of new study. He presented a petition to Shogun Yoshimune in 1728 for the recognition and support of a school to rescue native Japanese literature from extinction and to study its ideas and ideals. He pointed to the Shinto *norito* and to the poetry of the *Man'yōshū*, which predated Buddhism. He did not, however, show any disparagement for the orthodox Confucian Shinto that the Tokugawa House favored. He merely pointed to the roots of ancient Japan in an uncontroversial way. Therein was the true spirit of Japan enshrined, and there the rediscovery of Japan must begin. The need for government approval is often not fully appreciated by Western observers. First, the Chinese bureaucratic system was in place, and all public actions required formal approval. Second, the only way to avoid either misunderstanding or that treason was not imputed was to receive government approval. This was true of everything, including the founding of a religious sect. This practice remained in force until 1945, when religious freedom was guaranteed under the postwar constitution.

It was an opportune time for Kada to undertake such a plan, since imperial interests and governmental interests were considered identical. A century later might have been too late, because by that time, shogunate and imperial household did not necessarily view all things in the same light. It was, of course, this divergence of interests that made possible the final overthrow of the Tokugawa House in 1867.

Text: The extract is taken from Kada Azumamaro, *Kada Zenshū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobun-kan, 1928–1932), vol. 1, pp. 1–6.

***So Gakko Rei* (1728) Petition for the Establishment of a School of National Learning**

Respectfully submitted, begging your gracious favor in proposing the establishment of a school of National Learning, bowing my head in fear and reverence, poor and lowly though I be, I humbly proffer my request.

Tokugawa Ieyasu emerged from Mikawa Province, and speedily brought peace to the nation by bringing under his command, all the daimyo of the land.

As grass before the wind, none could withstand him. He instituted many changes, one of which led to the establishment of the Kobunkan [the Hayashi Razan school of neo-Confucian thought founded in 1650 by a land grant from Shogun Iemitsu]. This has grown and prospered. What now would be appropriate as an appendage?

Rulers of enlightened disposition have emerged in succession and literary activities have become increasingly cultivated, their splendour shining brilliantly. Military skills are more polished than ever. . . . Could the austerity of the Kamakura shogunate match this? Could the Muromachi House love of the literary be mentioned in the same breath? Now appropriate to this present age of peace, has Heaven bestowed upon us a gracious and benevolent lord? . . . No men of ability are unemployed and the court is filled with men of upright heart. Our lord respects the emperor and is devoted to government without deceit. He nurtures the daimyo beneath him who in turn offer their tribute. Since his policies are so complete and he has time for fresh interests, he has now turned his mind to the study of ancient matters. When the teachings are incomplete, he complements them with the study of the rule of days past. . . .

Renowned scholars of the nation, emulating his example, seek out precious and forgotten texts. Guests of remarkable talents from around the world gather at the court. . . .

Confucian studies are now universally followed, and each passing day sees the teachings of Buddha continue to flourish. *Humanity (jin)* and *righteousness (li)* are household words. Soldiers and servants understand the meaning of the *Book of Songs*. Families read the sutras. The factotum and the kitchen-maid can discuss the *Void (shunyata)*. The quality of life of the people has risen greatly, but our National Learning is steadily passing into oblivion. Gifts to Buddhist institutions are eliminating cultivated fields and accumulated resources. Of greatest concern, however, is the fact that the teachings of the Divine Emperors are year by year falling into neglect. National Learning is but a fraction of what it once was. The books of the law are vanishing. . . . The way of *waka* is a forgotten art. . . . what can restore the refined styles of the classical past?

Modern studies of Shinto [e.g., the *Suika* school of Yamazaki Ansai] tend to lay stress on theories of *yin-yang* or the Five Elements. Those who study *waka* tend to follow theories of Tendai Buddhism or the Four Disciplines of Chinese poetic style. Such scholars . . . speak of "the esoteric" and "traditions," but in truth, what do they know of the wisdom of the past? They speak of "deep . . . meanings," but are these not the fabrications of recent times?

From my youth, I struggled without food or rest to challenge these heresies. As I grew, I endeavored endlessly to revive understanding of the Ancient Way. If I do not make an effort to explain what is correct and what is not, people will eventually fail to distinguish the true from the false, through becoming deaf and blind in heart. If I am indifferent, the ancient texts will remain unknown and forgotten. If I try myself to pursue this problem, I realize I am becoming old and tired. I am at a loss as to what I should do. My uncertainty paralyses me.

Therefore, I humbly prostrate myself to request that I may be given a small

piece of land in Kyoto in order to establish a school for the study of the Imperial Country. I have collected and collated, since my youth, many old and ignored texts . . . which I propose to use for study and as resources for the research of future generations. I am sure there are people in remote areas who would welcome access to these texts, or scholars who have no opportunity to study the classics. We should make these texts available throughout the country for scholars to read and study . . . acquaintance with antiquity could save people from much unnecessary suffering. Should, by good fortune, a man of unique talent arise, the way of Prince Toneri will not vanish. If the jewel of poetry is burnished, the teachings of Kakinomoto Hitomaro will be revived.

. . . The *Manyoshu* is the essential expression of the national temperament. A student of it cannot be called ignorant. The *Kokinshu* is the finest among the collections of poetry. Anyone unfamiliar with it will be declared incapable of holding conversation.

The first established school was at the Omi court. The era of Emperor Saga saw the origin of the way of letters. The houses of Sugawara and Oe formed academies of learning as did the houses of Minamoto, Fujiwara, Tachibana, and Wake. There was a school in Kyushu at the Daifazu as also in Ashikaga and Kanazawa. Their subjects, even in the Imperial Household, were Chinese history and the Chinese classics. Reverence was paid to the spirit of Confucius. But their scholars were sadly ignorant of the imperial Japanese learning. . . .

Who will not weep for the passing of the ancient learning? This explains why foreign ideas are abroad everywhere, in daily conversation and street corner chatter. This explains also why our own teachings have fallen into decay, hence false ideas abound. . . .

For my part, I am a most ignorant person. What do I really know? If there is anything I know, I would say that I have some understanding of the meaning and derivation of words. There is much misunderstanding about our national texts. It is only because they survive that people have any knowledge of them whatsoever. But there are few etymological discussions of ancient Japanese words. The absence of such discussions suggests that there is a shortage of both texts and scholars. Several hundred years have elapsed since the ancient learning was last taught. There are perhaps less than three to four hundred books which offer any explanation of these ancient words. These texts further compete with each other as authorities, often putting forward bizarre theories in justification. How can shallow thought like that hope to grasp the real meaning of the ancient texts? If the words are not understood properly, the meanings will never become clear. If the meaning is not accessible, the ancient learning can never be revived. We risk losing the way of past sovereigns and abandoning the way of the wise men of ancient times. If we do not now commence the teaching of philology, we risk great loss. We must dedicate ourselves to this work. I have committed my life's energies to the study of ancient words. It is my humble belief that the survival or demise of Japanese learning will depend upon the acceptance or rejection of my petition. I pray that your most excellent person will consider it with favour.

The above is submitted in fear and trepidation by your servant Kada.

This petition, written as it was in traditional Chinese style, was an eloquent appeal for the revival of Japanese learning. It was an uncontroversial appeal that the ancient learning should not be lost. The government was promoting a Confucian style of Shinto and therefore it would not have been politic to attack Confucianism as such. Hence the moderate tone, expressed in ornamented Chinese style.

Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769) on the Idea of the Nation

Kamo no Mabuchi lived almost three generations later than Kada. The intervening years had seen the rise of confidence among those seeking to promote the ancient learning. The first text quoted is a clear attack on the influence of Chinese thought and culture in Japan. It is also written in as near to a pure form of Japanese as was possible at the time. It challenges the authority of the Confucian tradition, but also snipes at the anti-intellectual style of Taoist thought. The attack on Chinese civilization is quite extreme in places, and the very fact that the author can vilify Chinese culture without recrimination is an indicator of how far thought had moved since the time of Kada. These lines of attack are echoed by later Shinto thinkers who had become more and more hostile to the non-Japanese elements in Japanese culture.

It is also interesting that the style is quite dialectical and confrontational, yet clearly espouses a way of evaluation that is still found in Japan. Something that is good in itself may be rejected if it could have socially unbalancing effects. In this sense, it should also be remembered that neither Confucian influence nor Taoist influence vanished, even with the rise of the National Learning movement. Confucian structures remained in place through the Meiji period and into Showa, when lingering feudalism held the social fabric in place during the postwar reconstruction, working also toward efficiency in manufacturing facilities. The Taoist penchant for fortune-telling is as much a part of twentieth-century Japan as it was of ages past. Street fortune-tellers are probably as common in present-day Tokyo as they were during the Edo period.

Text: Original text from Kada Azumamaro, *Kada Zenshū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobun-kan, 1928–1932), vol. 54, pp. 2–10.

A Study of the Idea of the Nation (1765)

Someone made a comment to me in these terms: “I have no interest in the triviality of Japanese poetry. I am interested only in the Chinese Way of national government.”

I merely smiled but did not reply. Later, I met the same man again. "You seem to be quite opinionated," he remarked. "Why did you do no more than smile when I made my comment to you?"

"You mean when you were talking about Confucian teachings, I think it was . . ." I responded. "They are really a human device which reduce to insignificance the (meaning) of (the Way) of heaven and earth."

He was livid. "How can you dare to call the Great Way 'insignificant'?"

"I would like evidence that the Confucian Way of learning has actually succeeded in governing a country effectively," I replied. Without delay, he listed the cases of Yao, Shun, Hsia, Yin and Chou, amongst others. On being asked if there were more recent cases, he answered that there were none.

On following up with a question about the antiquity of the Chinese tradition, he suggested that thousands of years had passed since the age of Yao to the present. I then challenged him with the point, "Why did the Way of Yao expire with the age of Chou? If you quote only cases that existed thousands of years ago, your case might stand. But it is based on legends of antiquity. To govern a nation calls for more than mythical ideas!"

This merely added insult to injury. He continued to rave about the ages past. I challenged him directly. "You are not being objective. You say that Yao yielded the throne to a villain called Shun? Perhaps that was good for the country. But in Japan, we would reject that as *too good*" [meaning potentially negative consequences].

Chinese history is full of similar villains who led rebellions and insurrections, killed their emperors and seized power. In Japan, we would call this *too bad*, and we would try to avoid this also. Good in excess can lead to evil in excess. . . . Chinese history went from one period of chaos to another. Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty seems to have been an exception. His beneficial rule seems to have been inspired by the teachings of Lao-tzu. But the principle seems to obtain that whenever a peasant revolutionary assassinates the emperor and replaces him, the people simply bow in acknowledgment. Worse than that, when what the Chinese contemptuously refer to as "barbarians" invaded and became emperor, they all prostrated themselves in acceptance. . . .

Consequently, in spite of China's record of centuries of chaos and lack of good government, they still think they can, by referring to the Way of Confucius, explain how the entire world is governed. When you have heard their case, there is little to understand, because their teachings are little more than trivial disputes. Formally, and perhaps superficially, everyone in China respects and desires more than anything good and stable government. But at a deeper level, they do not seem to care. When Confucian principles were introduced into Japan, it was on the grounds that China had experienced good government because of them. This was absolute dishonesty. . . .

In ancient times, Japan was governed in accordance with the natural order of heaven and earth, with no trivial rationalization as found in China. Nevertheless, when Chinese teachings arrived in Japan, they spread very quickly because the

ancients were men of simple disposition. From Japan's remote past, there had been generations of peace and prosperity which came to a sudden end in the reign of Emperor Temmu which was marked by a great insurrection. The Nara period saw the palace, dress, and ritual all completely Sinicized. The appearance of elegance concealed a reality of conflict and deceit.

Confucian values induced guile and people worshipped the emperor to such a degree that the national mentality became that of obeisance. Then eventually, the emperor was unceremoniously sent into exile, all because the nation had become infected with Chinese ideas. Buddhism is criticized by some, but since it is a teaching that makes people foolish, it need not be taken seriously. Rulers, after all, benefit from the foolishness of the general populace.

The Way of the *kami* emerged quite naturally in Japan in the same way that roads between fields give form to uncultivated land. It was the indigenous Way of the country and as such, it enabled Japan's emperors to rule in prosperity. In contrast, the teachings of Confucius, which had created confusion in China, drove Japan into confusion also. But there are those who, in ignorance, still believe that Confucian government is best. . . .

The true subject of Japanese poetry is the human heart. It may seem not to have a practical application and it may not seem worth the effort to compose, but in truth, when someone fully understands the meaning of poetry, that person also can grasp the reason behind order and disorder in the world. It is claimed that Confucius did not despise poetry, but considered the *Book of Songs* a primary text among the classics. Theoretical explanations leave the subject dead. Subjects that function spontaneously according to the Way of heaven and earth are very much alive. I am not condemning knowledge or theory as such, but merely the human tendency to carry it to excess. It is sound advice not to be too tenacious in holding on to and relying on knowledge. . . .

Knowledge of the Chinese way of governing a country is useless in the face of a crisis. In moments of emergency, usually the man for the hour appears to offer wisdom and guidance. People of learning study the Chinese medical texts, but seldom do they cure any ills. However, medicinal traditions which have been handed down in Japan, with no reasoning or science to support them, are invariably effective. It is good to be devoted to these things, but is not wise to be obsessed. I wish to show people the positive aspects of the ancient Way. Confucian scholars know nothing about government. When it is left to them, as in China, nothing but chaos ensues. . . .

Some people argue that since Japan had no writing system, Chinese characters had to be employed. From this, the importance of China and Chinese culture in relation to Japan can be deduced. My answer to this is to point to again the disorder and chaos, the evil that reigns in China. They use 38,000 characters in their writing system. Places and plants all have different characters. How can anyone really learn all these? Sometimes people write them wrongly, and sometimes the form of characters will change from one era to another. What a complicated waste of energy. In contrast, India uses only 50 letters. These have been

adequate to commit to writing 5,000 volumes of Buddhist texts. Knowledge of only fifty letters can enable someone to understand and transmit countless words from past and present. It is not simply a matter of writing because the fifty sounds of these letters are the sounds of heaven and earth. Words generated from them are naturally different from Chinese characters. Whatever was our original style of writing, we have now become mistakenly caught up in the Chinese writing system. . . . I understand that in Holland, they use only twenty-five letters. Japan should use fifty. The use of letters is almost universal, except for the complex Chinese system. . . . which is not worth further thought.

What do we know of early Chinese history? . . . When we look at dynastic records, it becomes clear that China never benefited from any Way except that of heaven and earth. The sayings of Lao-tzu were derived from the Way of heaven and earth and therefore were a proper guide to the Way of the country. In ancient times, China was also a good country. . . . even though the teachings of good men were but few, there were enough. But the intrinsic evil of the country came through and overcame the good of ancient times. Japan, by contrast, has always been populated by honest people. Provided the country observed a few basic teachings and moved in accordance with the Will of heaven and earth, Japan could prosper. But Chinese doctrines have corrupted national purity of heart. Although they were like the original Chinese teachings, they were not memorable, but if heard in the morning, they were forgotten by evening. Our country was not like that in ancient times. It obeyed the Way of heaven and earth with the emperor as the sun and moon and the people as stars. If the stars protect the sun and moon, they will not obscure it as is now the situation in Japan. The sun, moon, and stars have always been in the heavens. So too our imperial sun and moon and subject stars have existed since ancient times, and have ruled the world in fairness. But villains have appeared as a result of which the imperial power is restricted and the subjects have lost their identity. The *kami-yo*, (the age of the *kami*) can teach this to us. We must study the words and thoughts of our classical poetry to discover the true spirit of the ancient writings.”

Pertaining also to Shinto is a paragraph in the same text that criticizes the anthropocentric mode of Chinese thought, preferring to it a kind of pantheistic view of the world in which the distinction between subject and object is not made and where human nature is not as severely condemned as it is in Chinese thought.

It is another bad characteristic of Chinese thought that it draws a firm distinction between man and animals. It praises man but despises all else. It is similar to the disparagement of all other countries as *barbarian*, a meaningless expression. All creatures living between heaven and earth are but insects. What is so special about man? The Chinese venerate man as the *soul of everything*, or something to that effect, but in truth, I think that

perhaps man should be described as the *most evil of everything*. The sun and moon have not changed, nor have birds, animals, fish, or plants, which remain as they were from ancient times, but since man decided that knowledge was power, evil ideas have grown and driven the world into disorder. Even in times of peace, there is deceit. Perhaps if only one or two people possessed knowledge, it would be enough. But when everyone possesses it, chaos prevails and knowledge ceases to be of any use whatsoever. Viewed from the eye of a bird or animal, the judgment might be, “Man is evil. His ways are not to be pursued.”

Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) on National Learning

Motoori Norinaga was the greatest of the *Kokugakusha*. He stands out not merely within the world of Japanese scholarship, but internationally as the first Asian thinker to develop a style of analysis similar to the New Testament form critics of nineteenth-century Germany. Like them, he was in search of origins—in this case, the origins of Japanese culture. He lacks the polemical approach of some earlier apologists of Japanese rationalism and concentrates his energy on a search for an exposition of what he understands as the core of Japanese thought. Contrary to the views of some, he was not a Shinto scholar in an exclusive sense. He was deeply influenced by Pure Land Buddhism (the cult of Amida Būdate), for example. This was one element in his development of the idea of *mono no aware*.

In the readings presented here and the background explanations offered, Motoori speaks clearly for himself. I initially grouped some quotations under subject headings such as *mono no aware*, *kami*, and the imperial country. I also included some passages from his most famous works relevant to the discussion.

Motoori on mono no aware (Shibun yoryo)

Text: Motoori Norinaga, *Motoori Norinaga Zenshū* [MNZ], ed. Motoori Toyokai and Motoori Kiyozo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobun-kan, 1926–1928), vol. 2, p. 77.

The Way of the Buddha is such that it cannot be practiced by one who is gentle and sensitive to *mono no aware* (the sadness of life as viewed from the perspective of aesthetic sensitivity). Consequently, a monk must pursue the Way by first cultivating insensitivity to *mono no aware*. He must choose to leave his home, abandon his concerns for his beloved parents, his brothers, his wife, and his children. This is a matter that is emotionally painful to his sense of human feeling, but he must do so if he is to strictly

follow the Way of the Buddha. Anyone sensitive to *mono no aware* at such a crucial moment cannot become a monk. Further to this, a monk must change his appearance, give up his property and wealth, and be willing to live in a forest, to abstain from eating fish and meat, and to refrain from any kind of entertainment. Such demands are contrary to the natural emotions of the human heart, but a monk must undertake this in order to walk in the Way of the Buddha. No one sensitive to *mono no aware* can do such things. Furthermore, a monk has a duty to advise and guide people in the Way of the Buddha so that they may escape the cycle of life, death, and rebirth. If someone is sensitive to *mono no aware*, he cannot think in these terms. Rather, he must be insensitive to *mono no aware* if he is to urge people to serious commitment in order to lead them to salvation.

Motoori on the Study of the Kojiki

Motoori took the view that the *Kojiki* rather than the *Nihongi* better preserved the myths of ancient times on the assumption that an oral tradition preceded both texts. His insight into the manner in which traditions are preserved and transmitted in preliterate times indicates a profound awareness of how ideas develop and how they can be overlaid by the cultural forms in which they are eventually preserved.

Text: *MNZ*, vol. 1, p. 4.

Kojiki den

In general, spirit, deed, and word correspond to each other. The spirit, deeds, and words of antiquity were the product of their age; the spirit, deeds, and words of later ages represent those who came after; and the spirit, deeds, and words of China represent the ethos of China. However, the *Nihongi* chronicles the events of ancient times in the spirit of later ages, describing the spirit of our country in the words and concepts of China. One consequence of this is that the *Nihongi* includes many discordances. The *Kojiki*, in contrast, accurately records what was orally transmitted from antiquity, with few artificial accretions. Thus the spirit, deeds, and words recorded in the *Kojiki* records are quite representative of the character of ancient times. The reason for this is that it was written specifically to preserve the ancient [Japanese] language.

There is probably little doubt that the *Kojiki* is closer to the ancient Japanese language than the *Nihongi*, but to claim that it was deliberately written to preserve the language is to assume a great deal about the compilers. It is not beyond possibility that it was quite un-self-consciously so

composed, which gave it an immediacy lacking in the *Nihongi*, making it a primary text for Motoori's style of analysis. But the assumption that there was only one oral tradition is hardly capable of proof. Notwithstanding these points, Motoori had a feel for the origins of the Japanese classics that sufficiently borders on the scientific to mark him out from all his predecessors as someone committed to objectivity and honesty, with little interest in polemic. He was totally committed to an exposition of what he took to be the essence of ancient Japanese thought.

Motoori on Kami

Text: *MNZ*, vol. 1, pp. 135–36.

I really do not claim to fully comprehend the meaning of the word *kami*. Generally, *kami* denotes, in the first place, the divine beings of heaven and earth that appear in the ancient texts and also the enshrined spirits that are revered in the nation's jinja; furthermore, among other beings, not only human but also animate and inanimate beings such as birds, beasts, trees, grass, seas, mountains, and the like. Any form of being whatsoever which possesses some unique and eminent quality, and is awe inspiring, may be called *kami*. ("Eminent" here does not refer simply to nobility, goodness, or special merit. Evil things or strange things, if they are extraordinarily awe-inspiring, may also be referred to as *kami*.)

The preceding passage is quite famous for its attempted definition of *kami*, which brings him close to what Rudolf Otto, in his exposition of phenomenology, the famous *Das Heilige*, called the *mysterium tremendum*. Motoori also discusses categories of *kami*, first of which are human *kami*, an idea that belongs to ancient times and shows again how much the so-called "divinity" of the emperor was misinterpreted by the West through replacing the Japanese idea of *kami* with a Western model of divinity based on Christian thought. Aside from emperors as "distant *kami*," he speaks of ordinary people in villages who are accorded the status of *kami* in that community on account of status or good works. He also rejected the entire range of spurious etymological explanations of *kami*, ranging from *kami* (read as "above") meaning superior to *kami* as an abbreviation of *kagami* (mirror).

In the same context he writes:

Needless to say, among the human beings who are called *kami*, all the successive generations of emperors are the first to be counted. For, as is indicated by the fact that the emperors are called *totsu kami* (distant *kami*), they are aloof, remote, august, and greatly worthy of human reverence.

People who are referred to as *kami* to a lesser degree can be found in former times as well as in modern times. There are also those who are respected as *kami*, not universally, but locally, within a province, a village, or a family, according to their merits. The *kami* in the age of *kami* were for the most part human beings of that time, and the people of that time were all *kami*. Therefore it is called the age of *kami*.

This latter point suggests a theological version of the second law of thermodynamics, namely, that the atrophy of time is slowly humanizing everything. It almost resembles De Chardin's idea of hominization, and as with him, so in later Shinto thinkers, the return to the *kami* status comes through disciplines that heighten spirituality. This process might suggest a correspondence with his idea of deification following upon hominization.

With regard to nonhuman *kami*, Motoori makes the following observation:

Among entities that may be called *kami*, thunder apparently was one, since it is usually referred to as *narukami* or *kaminari* (appearing *kami*). Also such things as dragons, *kotama*, foxes, and the like, which are equally amazing and awe-inspiring, are *kami*. *Kotama* is what people today call *tengu*, and in Chinese writings it is referred to as a mountain goblin. . . . In the *Nihongi* and the *Manyoshu*, we see the tiger and the wolf, too, classified as *kami*. There are also the cases in which peaches were given the divine name Okamuzumi no mikoto, and a necklace was named Mikuratana no *kami*. Furthermore, we can find frequent instances of rocks, stumps of trees, and leaves of plants speaking. All these were *kami*. Also, frequently, seas and mountains are designated as *kami*. It is not that the spirit of the sea or the mountains is referred to as *kami*. The sea or the mountain itself is considered a *kami*, because it possesses the property of inspiring wonder and awe in those who observe it.

Motoori on the Imperial Country

In the *Naobi no mitama* (The Spirit of Straightening, 1771), Motoori discusses the status of Japan as the imperial country. This status is derived from the particular identity of Amaterasu, the sun *kami*, with Japan through the descent of the emperors from Amaterasu. The descent commenced when she authorized her grandson, Ninigi no mikoto, to rule the land of reed plains. The edict of *tenjo mukyū no shinchoku* (divine edict on the eternal sovereignty of the imperial line) expresses this idea of divine descent and is the true foundation of the Ancient Way, the Way

of the *kami*. Japanese history on the whole is interpreted as validating the contents of the edict.

Text: MNZ, vol. 1, p. 59.

***Naobi no mitama* (The Spirit of Straightening, 1771)**

. . . Amaterasu Omikami remains in *takama no hara* (the plain of high heaven), with her great light, undiminished, illuminating the entire world; and the heavenly symbols (of imperial sovereignty, the mirror, jewel, and sword) have been handed down in unbroken succession. This land has been and will be ruled by the emperors in an unbroken line so long as heaven and earth remain. In this may be seen the nobility of Shinto (the way of the *kami*), its nobility and depth, demonstrating that it is a Way Superior of the ways of other lands, upright, elevated, and precious.

One danger of this particularism is its implication that because Amaterasu is the sun for all the world but was born in Japan, Japan occupies a privileged position among and even superiority over other nations. This idea was undoubtedly manipulated in the interests of ultranationalism before the Pacific War, but it is simply the extrapolation of the doctrine, popularized in the time of Shogun Yoritomo, of Japan as the land of the *kami*.

The view taken of Japanese history is also somewhat benign. Kamo no Mabuchi's attacks on Chinese history are replaced by Motoori's fanciful idea of Japan's unbroken lineage of rulers. While it is true that the imperial line, thin at times, was never broken, Motoori's view rather ignores the violence of the *Sengoku Jidai* and the manner in which the era came to an end with the hegemony of the House of Tokugawa. At any rate, the importance of the imperial institution is stressed, as well as its roots in the culture that came to be called Shinto.

Text: MNZ, vol. 1, pp. 52-53.

The imperial country (Japan) is the land that gave birth to the august divine ancestress, Amaterasu Omikami. Omikami, with the heavenly symbols in her hands, proclaimed that her sons should be the sovereigns of this land for ever and ever. Accordingly, the land, to all its corners, has been under the sovereignty of the emperor as her son, under heaven, undisturbed by rough *kami* and irreverent people, and it will continue to be so to the end of myriad generations. The emperor as the son of Amaterasu Omikami rules the land in peace, in accordance with her divine will and following the manners of the age of *kami*.

Again, he says:

This great land and empire is the august and magnificent land where the divine ancestor Amaterasu Omikami was born. Her very name should be uttered only with reverence and awe. She consecrated with her own hands, the imperial regalia, and in her own words, established the country: "So long as time endure, for ten thousand autumns, this land shall be ruled by my descendants."

In accordance with her divine pleasure, this land was by decree to be the country of the imperial descendants, from the ends of the land beyond the clouds to the secret regions where the toad creeps, and without disturbance from unruly *kami* or subversive human activity. It was to be a place where for ten thousand autumns, to the end of time, emperors descended from Amaterasu Omikami would have the same mind as the *kami* of heaven so that the land might continue to enjoy peace and tranquility, unbroken from the age of the *kami* to the present. . . .

The ancient period was so well governed that there was not even need to speak of a Way, because the Way was simply following the guidance of nature. To debate how the world should be, in terms of doctrines or ideals, is not Japanese. It is the thinking of foreign countries, not of Japan.

As time passed, however, many foreign ideas were imported, and people began to imitate the manners of foreign cultures. Eventually, these elements of foreign culture became dominant, and in order to distinguish what were the ancient traditions of Japan from these, the name *Shinto*, Way of the *kami*, came into being. The word *kami* was used to avoid confusion with foreign ideas, but the word "Way," however, was taken from foreign usage.

As the generations rose and passed way, the study of Chinese customs was pursued with increasing vigor. Even the Chinese system of government was emulated as the entire mentality of the people became consumed with Chinese ways of thinking. It was at this point that disorder erupted in Japan, a land that had enjoyed peace until that time. Happenings that resembled those of foreign countries began to take place.

Everything that occurs in the world happens according to the will of the *kami*, although there are misfortunes that cannot be helped. These are the responsibility of the *magatsui no kami* who reign over error and impurity. Amaterasu Omikami rules the plain of high heaven, and the world is illumined by her august light that shines brightly without respite. This is symbolic of the government entrusted to her descendants by which they guide Japan, and like the light, the unbroken imperial lineage will continue as long as heaven and earth remain. It is this depth and nobility that make Shinto a Way incomparable and superior to the ways of all other countries, upright, lofty, and precious.

If you investigate what kind of Way is Shinto, it is not one that arose

spontaneously in history, nor again was it created by human beings. In a reverent manner, we may speak of it as the divine creation of Izanagi no Okami and Izanami no Okami in accordance with the spirit of Takamimusubi no Kami, after which it was handed down by Amaterasu Omikami. It is the Way that the imperial ancestral *kami* established and transmitted to later generations. Hence it was known as the “*kami* Way,” Shinto.

From a judicious reading of ancient texts such as the *Kojiki*, the spirit of Shinto is accessible. But in spite of this, the *magatsui no kami* have conspired to confuse intellectuals and to harden their hearts. They are so misled by Chinese writings that their thought has become Buddhist and their vocabulary Confucian. As a result, they cannot grasp the mind of true Shinto.

There have been those who have taught a form of Shinto that people as individuals must follow, but this is the teaching of those committed to Confucian and Buddhist doctrines. It is exceedingly dreadful when ordinary people turn the Way of the imperial rule into their own idea. All human beings are born according to the will of the creative divine being, Takamimusubi no kami, and should accordingly be aware of their station and its duties. In ancient times, the mind of the emperor was accepted and revered by ordinary people who obeyed his dictates. Under the divine grace of the emperor, they revered their ancestors and performed the duties of their rank and office. Thus they passed their lives in peace and tranquility. How can anyone in this present age speak of other teachings. . . .

If you would seek Shinto, you must first free your mind of the polluting influence of Chinese writings, and with the pure, clear heart natural to Japan, read and study the ancient texts. In this way you can come to know it in such a manner that there will be no other Way to compete with it. To come to such an understanding is to accept the Way of the *kami*.

In view of this fact, the kind of arguments in which I have been indulging are not appropriate as an exposition of the Way, but seeing the influence of the *magatsui no kami*, I could not hold my peace. So I have reflected on the mind of the *kami* of straightening, Kannabi no Kami, and the great *kami* of straightening, Onaobi no Kami, in an attempt to correct these errors.

Text: *MNZ*, vol. 6, pp. 13–14.

When he comes to speak of the House of Tokugawa, he does so in the following terms:

The present age is one in which, at the discretion of Amaterasu Omikami and under the trust of the imperial household, the successive (Tokugawa) shogun, starting with Azumateru-kamumioya-no-mikoto (that is, Tokugawa Ieyasu), have conducted the affairs of state, and further, the admin-

istration of each province and district is left in charge of its respective daimyo. Therefore, no people in a fief are private people and no fief is a private land. Amaterasu Omikami has left all the people (of Japan) in trust, for the present, to the shogun in successive generations since the time of Azumateru kamumioya no mikoto. All the provinces (of Japan) have also been left by Amaterasu Omikami in the charge of the shogun. Hence, the decrees issued by Kamumioya-no-mikoto and the laws enacted by the successive shogun are the decree and laws of Amaterasu Omikami, and therefore, a daimyo should attach special importance to them and observe them well. Also, since the administration of each province is entrusted to daimyo by his superiors, and ultimately Amaterasu Omikami, he should carry it out with great care. A daimyo should further bear in mind that the people (in his own province) are also entrusted to him by Amaterasu Omikami, and should therefore make much of these people and treat them with care and lenience. Since this is a most important duty for a daimyo to perform, he ought to communicate it also to his lower officials and always see that it is fulfilled.

Motoori on Life and Death

Text: *Tamaboko hyakushu*, MNZ, vol. 10, pp. 14–16.

In the *Tamaboko hyakushu* (One Hundred Waka on the Jewelled Spear, 1786), an anthology of his poems, Motoori writes:

We, with our temporal body,
 Cannot live this life again.
 What could we do on earth
 So that we might go on without dying?

We can do nothing indeed;
 With our mortality
 We are destined to leave
 This world against our wish.

How dirty and disgusting
 The polluted land of *yomi*!
 How anxious we are to stay
 In this world for ever and ever!

And:

I have fixed at Yamamuro
 My dwelling place for a thousand years;
 Spring after spring I will enjoy here
 Cherry blossoms, unknown to the wind.

Text: *Suzunoya shu*, MNZ, vol. 9, p. 721.

On the subject of the Way of the *kami*, he has many verses. The following are the most typical:

With divine august spirit
Shedding light throughout
Heaven and earth
Amaterasu Okami, *kami* of the sun

How awesome is this imperial country
This land of delight
Country of rest
This country of countries

The august writings
Recording each and every
Event of the *kamiyo*, the age of the *kami*
How precious are they to read

In a country which
Speech cannot describe
Erring voices are raised
So I also must speak

The very grains and the
Verdant grass and trees
Even these are favored with
Benefits from Amaterasu
The great *kami* of the sun

The blessings of the
Kami of heaven and the *kami* of earth.
Without these
How could we live
For even a day or a night?

Never forget the grace
of the past ancestral generations;
From age to age, they are
our own *Ujigami*,
Kami of our family homes.

Every morning and evening,
At every meal you have,
Reflect on the blessings of
Toyoke no kami,
All people of this world.

From now on I will not deplore
 My fleeting, transient existence,
 For I have obtained here
 My dwelling place for a thousand generations.

Text: *Isonokami ko*, MNZ, vol. 26, p. 316.

Perhaps his most famous lines are those he composed about Yamato:

Shikishima no
 Yamato gokoro o hito towaba
 Asahi ni niou
 Yamazakura kana

Should anyone ask me
 About the spirit of Yamato
 It is the wild cherry blossoms
 Flowering in light of the rising sun.

The two brief excerpts that follow are of interest because they attempt to define the importance of the Way that was handed down from the mythological imperial past. They underline the points that the Way is for emperor and people, but that it is difficult to comprehend in purely human terms. Nevertheless, Motoori expresses confidence that so long as heaven and earth endure, so too will the ancient and imperial Way. In this regard, he becomes a precursor of the more extreme ideas of later thinkers of the school.

Text: *Norito Ko* (Thoughts on Norito)

The Way transmitted by the imperial ancestors to the present is an object of reverence for emperor and people alike. This reverence is the source of peace in the realm. If the Way were to be observed by the emperor alone, it would not be in keeping with the will of the imperial ancestral *kami*.

Text: *Kokui Ko* (Thoughts on the National Spirit)

The ancient way of the Japanese nation, the imperial country, is a Way that is in keeping with the will of heaven and earth. It is a Way of tranquility and peace. It is not easily explained in terms of human thought or experience. Hence it is not well understood by those of later generations. It may even have seemed to disappear, but this is not the case. For as long as heaven and earth remain, the ancient Way will also remain.

Text: *MNZ*, vol. 6, pp. 3–7.

***Tama Kushige* (Precious Comb-box)**

The title of the work is designed to suggest “combing out” the intellectual tangles of Chinese thought that have overlaid Japanese thought and made it confused. In discussing the Japanese mythology, Motoori accepts the ideas of the age of the *kami* while rejecting Chinese neo-Confucian cosmology. He proclaims Amaterasu to be the primal *kami* not only of Japan, but also of the entire universe. However, Amaterasu has made the Japanese a chosen race who will be led to fulfill the destiny reserved for them.

The true Way is one and is the same in every nation of the world and throughout heaven and earth. However, it is only in our imperial country that it has been correctly transmitted. The transmission in foreign lands was broken in antiquity, and subsequently, many different “ways” have been developed, with each country claiming that its way is the true way. But the ways of foreign lands are no more the true way than the branches of a tree are the same as its roots. There may be some resemblance to the Right Way, but because the original truth has been corrupted through the years, they are no longer identical to the True Way. Let me now make clear the nature of the one and original Way. It is necessary for us all to understand the universal principle upon which the world is founded. The principle is that heaven and earth, the *kami*, and all other phenomenal entities were brought into being by the creative [*musubi*, meaning to unite] spirits, two *kami*, Takami-musubi and Kami-musubi. The birth of humanity at all times and the existence of objects in the world have been the work of the creative spirit of these *kami*. It was the primal creativity of these two that enabled Izanagi and Izanami to create the land, more phenomena, and the host of *kami* at the commencement of the age of the *kami*. This creative spirit is divine, miraculous, and beyond human comprehension.

In foreign lands, where the Right Way has not been transmitted, this is unknown. People have tried to explain the principles of heaven and earth through yin and yang, hexagrams in the Book of Changes [I Ching], and the theory of the five elements. All of these are fallacious theories arising from fabrications of the human intellect. They are not the true principle.

Izanagi, deeply sorrowing the death of Izanami, pursued her to the land of pollution [Yomi-no-Kuni, land of the dead]. Upon his return to the surface world, he bathed himself at Ahagiwara in Tachibana Bay in Tsukushi to purify himself of the pollution of the land of the dead. While in the act of purifying himself, he gave birth to the heavenly shining *kami*, who by order of her father *kami* was ordained to rule the plain of high heaven for all time to come. This *kami* is of course the *kami* of the sun, whose gracious light illumines the whole world. Thereafter, an imperial prince of the *kami* of the sun was sent down to the central kingdom of Ashihara with the mandate that the rule of his dynasty

was to be coeval with heaven and earth. This divine mandate is the origin and the foundation of the Way. . . . Those who would wish to know the Right Way must study the various stages of the age of the *kami* and learn from them the truths of human existence. These aspects of the different stages are entailed in the traditions of the age of the *kami*. The origins of these traditions are unknown, but they were transmitted orally from the earliest times and they refer to accounts that have since been recorded in the texts of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. The texts of these narratives are clear and leave no reason for doubt. Among those who have tried to interpret these texts in subsequent ages, there have been those who have constructed theories and explanations that have no real foundations. Others have used foreign doctrines but showed no faith in the mysteries of the age of the *kami*. Failing to grasp the point that the truths of the universe are contained in the developments of the age of the *kami*, they therefore are unable to grasp the meaning of our ancient tradition . . . for example, they say that the plain of high heaven refers to the imperial capital and not to heaven, and that the *kami* of the sun was neither a *kami* nor the sun shining in the heavens, but a human ancestor of the nation. Such interpretations are arbitrary and designed to court favor with foreign ways of thinking.

In this way, the tradition is made to seem parochial and trivial because it is deprived of its quite comprehensive and primal features. . . . Heaven and earth are as one with nothing to separate them. The plain of high heaven is the plain of heaven that covers all the countries of the world. The *kami* of the sun is the divine being who reigns in all of heaven. She is without equal in the entire universe, which she illumines with her light to the ends of the earth for all time. No country is without her light and no country can live without the grace of her presence. She is the most splendid of all splendors. Foreign nations who have lost the sense of the age of the *kami* consequently do not know how to revere her properly. . . . In China as elsewhere, the "Celestial Emperor" is worshipped as the supreme being. Other countries have their appropriate objects of reverence according to their own ways. . . . Because of the unique dispensations received in our imperial country, the ancient tradition of the age of the *kami* has been accurately transmitted, teaching us about the origins of the great *kami* and the reasons for offering reverence. The "unique dispensation of the imperial country" means that ours is the land of the heavenly shining *kami*, who illumines all countries in the four seas with her light. Thus our country is the source of all other countries, excelling others in everything. It is too much to list all the areas in which we excel, but among the most important is rice, the staple diet of life. Our rice has no equal and neither do the other products of our land. Those born here take for granted that they can eat superior rice morning and evening and because of that, they do not know of its high quality. They should show gratitude to the heavenly shining *kami*, but sadly, they do not seem to realize how fortunate they are.

The imperial lineage that also illumines the world is descended from the sky-shining *kami*. In accordance with her mandate, it will reign forever and ever, coeval with heaven and earth, ruling the nation until the end of time and for as

long as the universe shall last. That is the foundation of our Way. Our history has never deviated from the terms of the mandate proving the infallibility of the ancient tradition.

Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), the Shinto Ideologist

Motoori Norinaga is normally considered the pivotal scholar in the transition of National Learning Shinto into the state ideology that was used at the time of modernization. He elevated the study of Shinto to a privileged and important status and made it central to the self-understanding of Japanese culture. The main line of the National Learning tradition passed to Hirata Atsutane, who continued along the path laid out by Motoori but added his own dimension, producing a fervent nationalism that was quite emotional in some regards, reminiscent of that of Yamaga Soko but also containing deep and profound insight, theological originality, and authentic scholarship. Hirata is usually viewed as an enigma, preaching a form of universalist Shinto from the base of what some critics have called irrational bigotry, and seeming not to be aware of the self-contradictions involved. How did this come about?

Hirata first appears to history as a boy of 19 years who left his rural home in the feudal domain of Akita in north Japan and migrated to Edo in search of a better life. He was the son of a local samurai, Owada Muratane, and after being adopted by Hirata Atsuyasu, a samurai of Matsuyama, he was able to study and, among other things, become a physician.

In 1801, he first encountered the work of Motoori Norinaga and became fascinated by the National Learning movement—too late, however, to meet Motoori, who had died a few months earlier. He revered the work of Motoori, especially the thesis that Shinto contained the essence of what was truly Japanese within the complex configurations of the culture that embraced Confucianism and Buddhism. But here Hirata moved off in a new direction. With a near xenophobic attitude to things foreign, he began to attack Confucianism and Buddhism as alien to Japan, insisting that Shinto alone was true, not simply for Japan, but universally. He even claimed that the theory of Copernicus validated ancient Japanese mythology about the primal nature of the *kami* of the sun. This was part of the paradox. While disparaging foreign nations, he was quite prepared to make use of Western learning and Western ideas whenever they could be adapted in defense of his central thesis of Japan as the unique land of the *kami* and a land divinely blessed as is no other. He was interested in Dutch medicine and learning (*rangaku*) and studied comparisons between Western astronomy and Shinto cosmology. In

Richard Devine's article on Hirata and Christian sources (*Monumenta Nipponica* 36 [Spring 1981]: 37-54), it is made clear that Hirata was even prepared to make use of Western theology in defense of his ideas. This eclecticism was designed to serve quite clear doctrinaire and polemic ends. Virtually anything was useful if it supported his thesis about the superiority of Shinto over all other forms of religion and culture.

Muroaka Tsunetsugu (*Studies in Shinto Thought*; see chapter 8) drew attention to the ideological role played by Hirata Shinto in the background to the Meiji Restoration. As I have argued elsewhere, the need for a central ideological focus is a necessary development for any nation that seeks to effect the transition to a modern state. However crude it may have been compared to the style of Motoori, Hirata's legacy was a starting point. During the actual process of modernization, the effects and limitations of Hirata Shinto became all too obvious, and the controversial issue of Christian influences in his thought emerged as a major issue. Nevertheless, from it the government drew sufficient ideology to effect the necessary revolution and bring Japan to the point of being willing to break with tradition in the interest of national survival.

One way of seeing Hirata may be to think in terms of the two classical Greek words for time, *chronos* (time in sequence) and *kairos* (the significance of a time period). Stated another way, it is perhaps less important to note the period when Hirata lived than to note what he took to be the significance of the period in which he lived. Perhaps he had a sense of *kairos*, of the moment of time in which he was living, and the meaning of it. I think it might be fair to say that better than many of his contemporaries he knew the power of Western ideas. He was also probably aware of the developments in the West that had occurred as Japan's culture simply idled.

The fate of China was known to him, and while he may not have been consciously responding to what he saw or felt, perhaps unconsciously he felt the need to consolidate his doctrine of Japanese culture at any price. This would account for the zeal with which he prosecuted his task and for the irrationality of many of its features. He was indeed an interesting figure, and one who frustrates as much as he fascinates. He seemed to be thinking at a level different from that of either ordinary people or other scholars, and yet he won the confidence of both in different ways.

Hirata Shinto survived beyond the Meiji Restoration, and echoes of it can be found in some of the Shinto-based New Religions. Whenever cultures become defensive or appear in some way to be threatened, not unnaturally they will seek to grasp the eternal with a grip of iron. The uncertainties of the future in 1868 made Hirata Shinto popular. The re-

construction of Japan after World War II drove people back to their spiritual roots and their cultural identity. Not surprisingly, some traces of Hirata Shinto lingered because, amid the chaos and change, they reminded the people of their roots and origins and of the unique divine blessings they would receive if they faithfully and dutifully followed the way of heaven. The extracts that follow deal with Hirata's views on ancient learning and his ideas about Shinto *kami*. They also discuss his views on ethics and his controversial doctrine of life after death.

Text: Hirata Atsutane, *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, ed. Muromatsu Iwao (Tokyo: Ichi-do, 1911–1918), vol. 1, pp. 5–7.

***Kodo Taii* (Outline of the Ancient Way, 1811)**

It is common to speak of “learning” as if all learning were really the same; in fact, however, there are many different kinds of learning. Each is centered on one specific discipline. Japanese learning may be divided into seven or eight branches, the most important of which is the study of Shinto, the Way of the *kami*. To these may be added the study of poetry; the study of the legal codes, the study of *The Tales of Ise*, or *The Tale of Genji*, which some scholars make their major work, and the study of history, which covers the events of the successive imperial reigns. These different disciplines may in turn be divided into sub-branches. Chinese studies, the work of Confucian scholars, have their schools, and Buddhism can be divided according to its many sects. In the field of astronomy and geography and in medicine there are also schools, both traditional and Dutch. Thus it may be seen that learning takes many forms.

If we were to ask which of them is the greatest, the answer must be, though it may seem a little presumptuous, that no learning can equal that of Japan. The reason is obvious. Confucianists study the Four Books and the Five Classics or the Thirteen Classics or similar works. If someone reads these texts once in a cursory manner, and can learn how to compose pieces of poetry and prose in Chinese, that person is considered qualified as a Confucian scholar. It is really not very difficult to read such a small number of books and to acquire the very basic knowledge of Chinese composition they possess. But this is the general standard of those who present themselves as Confucian scholars.

Compared to the Confucian scholars, the Buddhist priests are more broadly learned. They must read more than 5,000 volumes of the sacred canon, enough to make about seven packloads for a robust horse. If they were to read only one tenth of the canon, this still equals twice what Confucian scholars are expected to read. Furthermore, since it is not considered a defect in Confucian scholars if they do not read the Buddhist texts, with very rare exceptions, they never take the trouble to do so. On

the other hand, Buddhists must study Confucian texts from childhood in order to learn Chinese characters, and they therefore write Chinese prose and poetry as Confucians do.

The learning of Buddhists is consequently broader than that of Confucianists. Japanese learning, however, is even more embracing. All the various branches of learning, including Confucianism and Buddhism, unite in Japanese learning, like many rivers flowing into the sea to the point where their waters meet. The sheer diversity and the number of elements of Japanese learning often bewilders people and leaves them at a loss to evaluate it. Unless, therefore, the elements that comprise this great amalgam of learning are distinguished, the excellence of the true Way will become and remain obscure. . . .

We must clearly understand this situation in order to appreciate the pure and righteous Way of Japan. Japanese must study every different kind of learning, even learning that is foreign, so that they can choose the desirable features of each and utilize them in the service of the nation. Thus we can speak properly not only of Chinese but even of Indian and Dutch learning as well as Japanese learning. This fact should be understood by all Japanese who work in the field of foreign studies.

Text: *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 22–23.

All over the world, people refer to Japan as the Land of the *kami*, recognizing us as descendants of the *kami*. Indeed it is precisely as they say. Japan has received a unique mark of favor from the heavenly *kami*, because Japan was begotten by them. Thus there exists so immense a difference between Japan and every other country, to a degree that defies comparison. Ours is a splendid and specially blessed country, beyond any doubts, the land of the *kami*, and we, down to the most humble man or woman, are the descendants of the *kami*. Nevertheless, there are unhappily many people who do not understand why Japan is the land of the *kami* and we their descendants. . . . Is this not a lamentable state of affairs?

Japanese are totally different from, and are superior to, the Chinese, the Indians, the Russians, the Dutch, the Siamese, the Cambodians, and all other countries in the world. To have called our country the land of the *kami* was not mere arrogance. Since it was the *kami* who first formed the lands of the world at the Creation, and since these *kami* were without exception born in Japan, Japan is thus the homeland of the *kami*. That is why we call Japan the land of the *kami*. This is universally believed and is therefore beyond dispute. Even in countries where our ancient traditions were not known, those people recognize Japan as a divine country because of the great aura that emanates from our country. In the days when Korea was divided into three kingdoms, reports circulated there of how splendid, miraculous, and blessed a land Japan was. Furthermore, because Japan lies

to the east of Korea, they said reverently, "To the east is a divine land, called the land of the rising sun."

This statement eventually spread throughout the world, and now people everywhere refer to Japan as the land of the *kami*, even without necessarily knowing why this is true.

Text: *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 27–28.

If we examine the origins of the name *mi-musubi* given to two of the *kami* [Takami-musubi-no-kami and Kami-musubi-no-kami], it is clear from what is recorded in the records of the age of the *kami* that they were so named because of their awesome creative power. The evidence by the declaration of the *kami* of the sun and the moon proves beyond doubt that Takami-musubi must be credited with the creation of heaven and earth, that he is a *kami* of incomparable power, and that he unquestionably dwells in heaven and at the same time reigns over the world. Despite these truths being both clear and lucid, there are scholars whose thinking has become damaged by Chinese and Indian learning (in addition to which there are people who in ignorance display impiety and disbelief). They do not understand the simple fact that their own birth must be attributed directly to the creative powers of this *kami*. They persist in their skeptical attitudes, arguing that the ancient truths are mere myths peculiar to Japan, and they refuse to believe them. These truths, however, are by no means confined to Japan. In many other countries it is believed that the origins of humanity and all other things may be traced to the creative powers of this *kami*.

Various foreign traditions may be summoned in evidence. In the classical Chinese mythology, this *kami* is referred to as Shang Ti or T'ien Ti, and it is stated that he resides in heaven and reigns over the world, and that humanity was created by him. Moreover, the narrative also states that it was Shang Ti who implanted in the human heart such true virtues as humanity, righteousness, decorum, and wisdom. This tradition is preserved, in a general form, in ancient works such as the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of Documents*, and the *Analects* [of Confucius]. Anyone who takes the trouble to examine them can understand this quite clearly. However, since the Chinese disposition on such matters is one of irreverence, some scholars argue that these myths are simply symbolic and offer alternative theories. I have elsewhere discussed this question in some detail.

In the ancient texts of India, Kami-Musubi is called Brahma, the Creator. Here again, we find him described as dwelling in the highest vaults of the heaven of the thirty-three devas. It is further stated that he reigns over the world, both the heavens and earth, and, similarly, that humanity and all things were created by him. The most ancient traditions claim that no god is as holy as he. Subsequently, in later ages, a man called Shak-

yamuni appeared who invented what is known as Buddhism, a religion very much suited to his own tastes. He deceived people with his so-called "divine powers," which in fact were little more than a species of black magic. False doctrines spread that Buddha was more sacred than Brahma, and even learned priests were deluded by the claim. Now, there is no one in India who knows the original truth.

Far to the west of India there are many other lands. In each of these are traditions of a god of heaven who created the heaven and earth, mankind, and all other things. This may be known from reading Dutch texts (*rangaku*). . . .

Thus in all countries, as if by common agreement, there are traditions of a divine being who lives in heaven and is the creator of heaven and earth and all things therein. These traditions have sometimes become distorted, but when they are examined carefully, they constitute collective and independent proof of the authenticity of the ancient traditions of the imperial country. There are many *kami*, but this *kami* stands at the center of them, and is holiest of them all.

Text: *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 96–97.

The ancient Japanese were known to practice what the Chinese called humanity, righteousness, the five cardinal virtues, and the rest, meticulously and correctly, without ever having known their names or having had to be taught. For that reason, there was no necessity for anything to be especially designed or constituted as a "Way." This is the essence of the Japaneseness of Japan. In this, we may see a magnificent illustration of the reason why Japan is superior to all other countries of the world.

In China, as I have already had frequent occasion to observe, from ancient times, evil practices were to be found. Human behavior, far from observing propriety, was extremely licentious and improper. This is the reason it was necessary for so many sages to appear in ancient times. They were needed to guide and instruct the Chinese.

. . . We may see from the very fact that in ancient Japan there was no [defined] Way that this is the most praiseworthy characteristic of the country, and likewise, that it is to the shame of a country if it has to invent a Way [that is, a system of ethics] for the moral guidance of the people.

Text: *Hirata Atsutane Zenshū*, vol. 1, pp. 73–75, 77–78, 81–85, 88, 90–91.

***Tama no Mihashira* (The Jewel-Spirit Pillar, 1812)**

Accounts of the world after death are so varied and confused that it is quite natural that they bewilder people. Even my teacher [Motoori Norinaga] did not

escape this confusion. His opinion that both *kami* and human beings, good and evil alike, all go to the land of Yomi when they die, was, in fact a mistake. It resulted from his insufficient examination of the evidence.

. . . The view that after people die, their souls go to Yomi is part of a tradition that was introduced to Japan from a foreign source. There is no evidence for it at all in our ancient past. . . .

I was asked in this connection, "In the Izumo chronicles there is a narrative of a cave known as the Hole of Yomi. According to common belief, anyone who dreams of entering this cave is certain to die. Is this not proof that dead spirits end up in the land of Yomi?"

I answered, "When someone dies, the corpse becomes foul beyond imagination. It then belongs to Yomi. The dream thus becomes a sign that after death, the body should be properly interred. It is not evidence that the soul goes to Yomi. . . .

Proof that people's souls do not go to Yomi may be discovered not only in the facts transmitted to us from the age of the *kami*, but also from an examination of how birth occurs, and what actually takes place after death. Human beings owe their lives to their parents, but that they can be created at all is due to the awesome and creative powers of the *kami*, who form human beings of air, fire, water, and earth, and having infused a soul into what they have created, give it life. After death, the water and earth become the corpse, which remains behind, while the soul flies away with the air and fire. This is because fire and air belong to the sky in the same way that earth and water belong to the ground. [Hirata notes here that this is one reason that we know human souls do not go to Yomi.] Since the soul is infused into a human life by the *Kami-musubi*, by definition it should return to heaven. However, I have not yet found adequate evidence from ancient traditions to prove that this is universally true.

There are those who claim that they have died and then returned to life many days after their deaths, and who describe heaven and hell. I have never heard of any who claimed to have been in Yomi and have seen it. I had the experience of treating a woman who said she had visited both heaven and hell. I personally examined her and administered some medicine to her. I discovered that she had in fact been deceived by some Buddhist cant. . . .

The old legends that dead souls go to Yomi cannot be proved. But it still may be asked, "Where do the souls of Japanese go when they die?" From the general tenor of the ancient myths, and from examining more recent examples, it may be deduced that they remain eternally in Japan, serving in the realm of the dead, which is governed by *Okuninushi-no-kami*. The realm of the dead is not in any particular place in the visible world. It is rather a realm of darkness, separated from the present world, that cannot be seen. . . . In the *Manyoshu* there is a poem that says:

If I were to raise my hands
In supplication to the meandering road

Of eighty curves
 not as yet one hundred
 Might I not meet with
 That departed spirit?

People born into this world, wherever they may live and however they may be employed, when they die, go to the realm of darkness. Their souls become *kami*, differing in degrees of excellence, virtue, and strength according to the life of each individual. Those possessed of superior powers are capable of feats equal to those of the *kami* of the age of the *kami*, and they do not differ from those *kami* in their power to inform people of future events. . . .

The place where the soul of my teacher dwells is Mount Yamamuro . . . he lived there during his life and decided that this mountain would be his eternal resting place. How can it be doubted that his spirit now dwells there? How can we imagine that it has gone to the polluted land of Yomi?

Atsutane's final remark brings his thought into line with some of the oldest traditions of *Sangaku Shinko*, namely, that the spirits of the dead reside in mountains. In this respect, his comments about Motoori Norinaga's spirit residing in Mount Yamamuro seems in accordance with folk belief. Yomi no Kuni as a concept seems to be related to awareness and dislike of the physical aspect of death from which Izanagi had to purify himself as recorded in the mythology. This concern over the polluted state of the dead appears to suggest that the physical aspect of death was clearly separated from the spiritual early on, a point made by Delmer Brown, referred to in chapter 9.

LATER EDO PERIOD THINKERS

The final sections of this account display yet another important facet of Japanese thought. We have observed the work of scholars and thinkers who worked with texts, analyzed them, and offered conclusions about the nature of Japan, her origins, and destiny. They offered comparative observations about Asia, particularly China, and tried to place Japan in international perspective.

The effulgent manner of describing Japan of the nationalist scholars of the Edo period may have contributed, unintentionally, to the complacency of the shogunate, which began, so to speak, "believing its own press." Whatever else contributed to the downfall of the shogunate, illusory belief in its own superiority was a major factor. It also had the effect of distancing the dictators of Edo from the needs of the people and the changes in the world outside.

As the Edo period progressed, particularly into the early years of the nineteenth century, life for the ordinary people became harsher and harsher, and the elaborate philosophical doctrines of Japan's nationhood did not address their daily concerns any more than did the decrees of the shogunate. It was to the wisdom of peasant sages that the people turned, to the popular purveyors of a Shinto that gave daily life meaning and significance. Koderu, Ishida, and Ninomiya each offered the teachings of Shinto in the form of a message that appealed to the minds of the populace in general. From the ideas of these men, we can trace a line that leads to the rise of the new sects within Shinto and the neo-Confucian values of the Meiji government. In the case of Ishida, his influence on the Shinto-based New Religions remains significant. The origins of the syncretism that characterizes most modern Japanese religious movements become quite visible.

Koderu Kiyomitsu (1770–1843) on Popular Shinto

Koderu was born in Kasaoka in the ancient province of Bitchu. He began as a scholar of Yoshida Shinto, specializing in the Nakatomi ritual of purification, as did many other scholars. However, he later moved to live in Edo and became attracted to the National Learning movement and to the study of the classic texts of Shinto.

His *Naobi no Oshie* is a two-volume compendium of popular beliefs and practices. The books detail many aspects of the popular practice and belief in Shinto. They begin with an account of Shinto and include such topics as *shimenawa* (thick, twisted ropes that mark off sacred space) and *misogi harai* (purification by water). The central place of purification among Shinto moral values is discussed, along with guides for healthy living. Other topics raised are the various guardian *kami* and the significance of Tenjin, Ebisu, and other *kami*. While hardly academic, the contents present a lively picture of the kind of concerns prevalent in *kami* worship during the mid-Edo period.

Text: *Naobi no Oshie* (Teachings of the *Kami* of Rectification),
Book I

I was born in the land of the *kami*, yet I do not know the teaching of the *kami*. How sad. But I am busily occupied with my work and have little time for study. If there is a way of few words that is easy to understand, please teach it to me.

“Honor and revere the teaching in a straight and upright manner like

the *shimenawa* that adorns the gables of the Shinto believer's home," it is said.

This kind of Shinto teaching is not easily learned, although quite naturally, although it is difficult to teach, people hope to learn about it easily. . . . If I were to speak in simple terms about the central ideas of Shinto, they are purity, simplicity, and honesty. In the teachings of the Urabe-Yoshida school, the *shimenawa* is understood to symbolize and possess these qualities. The straw is first woven in purity and simplicity, and once its form is determined, it is stretched out straight to symbolize honesty. *Nasu* (perform) can be read as *nawa* (rope), and in the *Nihon Shoki*, the *Kojiki*, and the *Kuji Nihongi*, these three concepts of purity, simplicity, and honesty are greatly prized.

Ishida Baigan (1685–1746) on Heart Learning

The movement Baigan founded, starting from the city of Kyoto, may be classified as a form of popular folk culture Shinto. It combined Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism and offered a set of teachings on how to live life properly and well. It demanded, as a starting point, proper reverence for Amaterasu, *kami* of the sun, and for the individual's own *ujigami*, or family ancestral *kami*.

The key to the way advocated was through improvement of the *kokoro*, or heart. The Chinese character is read as *shin*, and so the movement acquired the name *Shingaku*, heart learning, or cultivation of the *kokoro*. The *kokoro* is the seat of feelings, emotions, and will, and by proper purification and training, it can give to life a source of good actions, meaning, and quality. The importance of the *kokoro* is aptly explained in Helen Hardacre's essay on the worldview of the New Religions, almost all of which stress that it is the *kokoro* that must be rectified in order to rectify the individual's relationship with the world. The eclectic nature of Baigan's thought reflects Chinese terminology as well as Buddhist concepts, but it is his arrangement of these that enables them to function together in the service of a Japanese ideal of morality and life.

Text: *Toimondo*, in *Shingaku Soshō*, vol. 3, pp. 114, 138.

The good person unites his heart with heaven and earth and with everything in them. Thus there is nothing that can be identified as not himself. If he succeeds in making heaven and earth, along with everything in them, himself, then there is no limit to what he can achieve. If a person does not know the heart, then there is a great gulf between himself, heaven, and earth. . . .

The heart of the wise man knows how to penetrate heaven and earth.

Darkened by human desires, the human heart becomes lost. Therefore, when we speak of emptying the heart and returning to the heart of heaven and earth, we are saying to seek the lost heart. If anyone seeks and attains it, that person's heart becomes the heart of heaven and earth. When someone speaks of "becoming the heart of heaven and earth," they speak thus, "without a heart (*mushin*)." Though heaven and earth exist without a heart, the seasons of the year come and go and new life comes into being. The truly wise person achieves the heart of heaven and earth, but at the expense of his own heart. Although it seems as though there is no heart, nevertheless, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom continue to exist and function. When this thought suddenly enters the understanding, all doubts vanish at one stroke.

The historical importance of *Shingaku* for the development of popular religious movements of the Meiji period has been noted by several scholars. I quote here a few lines from the early work of Robert Bellah on values in the Edo period. In tracing both the roots and later the history of the movement, he points out that its death at the time of the Meiji Restoration had a lot to do with its popular recognition by the Edo shogunate. Nevertheless, he saw links with these later movements, some of which exist to the present day. The fate of *Shingaku* contrasts sharply with that of *Hotoku*, discussed next in this chapter. It was actively promoted by the Meiji government. Ironically, there is not a great deal of difference between them.

Text: Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1957), pp. 172–73.

One of the great sources of *Shingaku* prestige and influence had been in connection with its educational facilities and the fact that its officials were learned. It has been pointed out that merchant families came to *Shingaku* teachers to have them draw up house rules &c. But now the kind of education which *Shingaku* represented was no longer so respected. The government was building up a school system which would meet the needs of the city classes which the *bakufu* had largely ignored. Thus *Shingaku*, tainted by its association with the *bakufu*, uncertain as to its doctrinal base, and displaced as an educational facility, rapidly lost ground as an organization. In a sense, however, its dissolution was more victory than defeat. The ethical content which it had held to be so important was not forgotten but continued to be propagated even more widely than before. In particular the ethics textbooks of the new public school system read much like a *Shingaku* lecture. The popular Shinto movements which arose in late Tokugawa and early Meiji times in many cases leaned heavily on *Shingaku* materials for their ethical teachings. Though its techniques of meditation

may have been forgotten, its ideal of uniting one's heart with the heart of heaven and earth continued to exist in popular thought in such attenuated forms as "making one's heart sincere" and "making one's heart like a shining mirror."

Ninomiya Sontoku (1787–1856) on Repayment of Virtue

Ninomiya Sontoku was accorded the title "Peasant Sage of Japan" and is enshrined at the Ninomiya Jinja in Odawara. Born into a family of farmers in the province of Sagami (the present-day Kanagawa prefecture), he demonstrated basic scientific skills in his understanding of the cycle of nature and became employed in restoring barren soil in the region of Odawara, which is one reason for his enshrinement there. He is an unusual figure in Japanese history, combining an almost romantic mood of deep respect and gratitude to nature for its sustenance of life with a very pragmatic approach to the organization of agriculture. His philosophy of the importance of and inherent dignity of manual labor is one of the central ideas of his thinking. He declared that the root of all virtue was found in work, whereas loss of virtue arises from idleness. He further observed that it is work that makes civilization and progress possible. His views are vaguely reminiscent of Engel's discussion of the role of labor in the transition from ape to man. In Ninomiya, this principle led to his development of two other important ideas. One was the need for sharing communal tasks and economic planning for the well-being of the community, and the second was the need to plan agricultural activity in the same way. The basic virtue upon which all of his system of ideas was founded was *shisei* (absolute honesty or sincerity in the traditional Confucian sense). In effect, this meant openly and honestly embracing the principles of his system, which together he called the philosophy of *hotoku*, or repayment of virtue, which he embodied in *hotoku* societies, groups of peasants organized to express the debt that each owes to the other and to his ancestors for their contribution to the commonwealth of communal interests. Ninomiya's economic ideas on their own put him in the history books of the world as an early advocate of both long-range planning and credit unions in the world of farming. Beyond that, what entitles him to a place in this sourcebook is that he explicitly claimed to derive his ideas from the religious traditions of Japan, not least of all Shinto. In other words, he had a spiritual and ideological basis from which he was expounding his four principles. He claimed that his inspiration was half from Shinto and a quarter each from Confucianism and Buddhism. The ideas of sincerity and honesty, from

Confucian thought: the practice of *kansha* (thankfulness), from Shinto; and the communal sharing found in Buddhism were woven into a system that included the virtue of work and self-reliance. While Ninomiya cannot be held responsible for the practice of workaholism that has been endemic in postwar Japan, there is no doubt that he went a long way in providing the spiritual and moral basis for the modern Japanese philosophy of work. His ideas have a strangely modern ring about them, as is pointed out by his major modern exponent in Japan, Professor Seizo Ohe, who is quoted later.

Text: Ninomiya Sontoku, *Ninomiya Sontoku Zenshū*, ed. Yoshiji Shoichi (Tokyo: Kaisetsu Ninomiya Sontokun Zenshū kanko-kai, 1938), vol. 36, pp. 819–23.

***Ninomiya-o Yawa* (Night Tales of Master Ninomiya)**

Shinto is the Great Way that has laid the foundation of the nation. It is the original Way of the country of Japan. It is the Great Way of government by means of which the land of reed plains blossomed into the land of luxurious rice sheaves. The Way for the development of Japan is Shinto.

It has been said that the way of subduing of the land (through Confucian government) and the way of subduing of the heart (through Buddhist discipline and teaching) are the fundamental Ways of order. This, however, is an error. The true, original, and fundamental Way is the Way that lays the basis for the nation. To awaken people from the wrong ideas, I wrote the poem:

Spreading aside the leaves
Of the tree standing on
the Ancient Way,
I gaze at traces of
Amaterasu Omikami.

I want people to grasp this well. Those original traces are the Way left by Amaterasu Omikami—and that is the true Shinto.

Old Ninomiya once remarked, “I have long wondered about Shinto—what is meant by the Way, what are its virtues and its deficiencies, and about Confucianism—what is its teaching, its virtues and deficiencies. I thought also about Buddhism, what its various sects teach and represent, and what are their virtues and deficiencies.

And so I wrote a poem:

The things of this world
Are like lengths

Of bamboo rod
 Used in fishing nets—
 One is too long,
 Another is too short.

I was dissatisfied with all of them. Now I will state the merits and limitations of each. Shinto is the Way that provides the foundation for the country. Confucianism is the Way that provides ordered government of the country. Buddhism is the Way that provides for ordering and governing the human mind. I am concerned less with lofty speculation than with simple, humble truth so I have tried simply to identify the essence of each set of teachings. I mean by “essence” what is important for humanity. Selecting the important and discarding the unimportant, I have arrived at what I take to be the best teaching for mankind, which I call the repayment of virtue. I call it the “pill containing the essences of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism.”

Kimigasa Hyodayu asked the proportions of the prescription in this “pill,” and the old man replied, “One spoonful of Shinto, and a half-spoonful each of Confucianism and Buddhism.”

Someone drew a circle. One half was marked Shinto and the remaining half was divided into two quarters labeled Confucianism and Buddhism. “Is it like this?” he asked. The old man smiled. “That is not how medicine is formed. In a real pill the ingredients are so thoroughly blended that you cannot distinguish them. Otherwise it would taste strange in the mouth and feel unpleasant in the stomach.”

Ohe Seizo on Ninomiya Sontoku

Ohe Seizo was among Japan’s best-known senior philosophers of the postwar era. He has written widely on Western and Eastern thought and gave this brief paper on Ninomiya Sontoku in 1975.

Text: Ohe Seizo, International Christian University, Proceedings of the International Conference on Philosophy in the Meeting of Cultures, *Journal of Humanities* (1975): 223–25.

Sontoku Renaissance: As a Possible Japanese Contribution to a World Civilization to be Created in the Near Future

Ninomiya Sontoku (1789–1856) is sometimes called “a peasant sage of Japan just before the dawn,” that is to say, an economic-moral teacher and public official from farmer stock who taught the people how to rescue their decaying agricultural economy, utterly disregarding all the fanaticism of the royalist revolutionaries of his time who actually brought about the dawn of Modern Japan. His work had undoubtedly a sound core of social

innovation and his mind was surprisingly open to the universal truth of nature and man. That is the reason why Sontoku's teaching did not share the fate of the feudal system which he had tried in vain to save and survived the whole revolutionary upheaval of the Meiji restoration.

Then, in fact, out of this mature social innovator and original economic-moral teacher of the late Tokugawa period a model-boy image of Ninomiya Kinjiro was made for the school children in Meiji Japan. In prewar Japan almost every primary school had a bronze statue of Kinjiro carrying a bundle of firewood on his back and reading a book while walking. Somewhat untrue and policy-colored though this Kinjiro image was, it did work on the sensitive minds of school children. Their textbooks were full of stories about a wonder boy, Kinjiro, who was born in a poor family, lost his parents one after the other, worked very hard, studied all by himself, and devoted his life to the service of his countrymen.

Besides, Sontoku's teaching of *Hotoku* (returning virtue for virtue), as named by him, with *Shisei* (sincerity of mind), *Kinro* (industrious labor), *Bundo* (planned economy), and *Suijo* (charity or yielding to others) as its four fundamentals was, indeed, more favorable to fair capitalist striving than any such secularized forms of Christianity as ingeniously pointed out by Max Weber in his well known theory of religious sociology. In any event, the economic-moral teaching of Ninomiya Sontoku was not only not hostile to, but in favor of capitalism, and encouraged the Japanese people to work for the material prosperity of the family, the community, and the nation, emancipating them from the traditional Bushido contempt of material riches as well as from the Buddhist ideal of detachment from earthly possessions, just as the Japanese school children were urged by their model boy Ninomiya Kinjiro to study and work hard so as to make their country richer and stronger. In this sense, there was already a Sontoku Renaissance in Meiji Japan.

As a matter of fact, therefore, the Sontoku Renaissance we are going to discuss is a second one, because the prewar image of Ninomiya Kinjiro went with the lost war. Although in many schools the same Kinjiro statue, replaced by a stone one during the war, still stood in the yard, there was even a strong anti-Ninomiya atmosphere in postwar Japan. Recently there have been several attempts to revive the popular prewar model-boy image of Ninomiya Kinjiro and to bring it more in line with the mature innovator image of Ninomiya Sontoku in its historical reality and its philosophical potentiality for the future. We are rather surprised by the promising outlook of this second Renaissance of Ninomiya Sontoku that has just begun.

There are, of course, diversities, even controversies among the present-day Sontoku interpretations. Quite independently of all these exegetic differences, let me tentatively formulate five points of reference to Sontoku's teaching with a view to a world civilization to be created in the near future:

1. While the first two of the four *Hotoku* fundamentals: sincerity and industry are virtues essentially supporting capitalism, the third and fourth: planning and charity are virtues more in line with socialism. The resulting *Hotoku* economy will turn out to be a kind of mixed economy when applied to human society of today.
2. Sontoku's attitude towards nature had not only nothing against the introduction of Western science but rather was paving the way for it by attentively listening to "the unwritten teachings of heaven and earth," as he used to say. Even now we still have to cultivate such a plain common-sense attitude of looking at things as they are revealed by science, though we must be watchful against any misuse of science.
3. Sontoku liked to compare man's work to a waterwheel which moves round by partly yielding to and partly resisting the natural force of water; that means, with all his due respect to the natural desires of man, he regarded it as man's duty to control them whenever necessary. Now that human desires are unlimitedly expanding with industrial progress, it is of vital importance for us to keep them within the sound order of the great harmony of nature.
4. The remarkable fact that Sontoku's teaching has had a renaissance already twice is an evidence to show that there is in it something eternal based upon the universal truth of nature and man. Therefore it could help us to cultivate mankind awareness strong enough for any reasonable solution of the great difficulties we face today all over the world in the struggle for human survival.
5. As was the case with most teachers of Eastern wisdom, Sontoku's way of teaching was also religion and philosophy in one; the disciples were urged to learn by body and mind so that objective knowledge should always be kept, in its original integrity, with the creative consciousness of subjective personality. This way of learning by the whole body would be an indispensable Eastern contribution to the future world civilization.

The Ministry of Education in the late 1980s began to talk of reintroducing the moral ideals of Ninomiya Kinjiro through statues in playgrounds. This plan can be described only as a typical Confucian style of moral education.

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Chapter 7

EARLY MODERN WESTERN VIEWS OF SHINTO

INTRODUCTION: THE WESTERN REDISCOVERY OF JAPAN AND SHINTO

The discussion in the following four chapters takes us through the Western discovery of Shinto, the early Japanese attempts to use Western methods of study on Japanese religions, and the subsequent ambiguous Western attitude toward State Shinto during and after the Pacific War. It closes out with some Japanese scholars of the same period expressing their own agenda in the discussion of Shinto and its place in Japanese culture, some mildly revisionist, and some genuinely innovative in approach. From the opening of Japan after the Meiji Restoration, the principle of *wakon-yosai* seems still the most apt summary of the approach of the Meiji leaders—Western skills applied with the Japanese (or Asian) spirit. *Wakon-yosai*, however, represents a dialectic and a dilemma as well as a guide for thought. On the one hand, the Meiji leaders wished to preserve the characteristic features of the Japanese mind, but on the other, they wished to combine it with the most useful of Western techniques. The implied paradox haunted the entire process of modernization down to 1945. Borrowing the form of Western institutions without the substance proved difficult in some cases and dangerous in others. The situation was further complicated by the arrival in Japan of a varied assortment of foreigners with equally varying interests ranging from trade to diplomacy. The more intellectually serious among them were

fascinated by Japan and tried to make some sense out of a culture that had successfully maintained 280 years of total isolation from the rest of the world. Their efforts at research and interpretation were accompanied by the production of a series of works ranging from the serious and detailed scholarship of Aston to the somewhat more romantic but nevertheless perceptive views of Lafcadio Hearn. The authors listed and cited here who belong to the first wave of modern Western writing about Shinto reflect two noticeable trends. The first is the Victorian-era penchant for labeling anything indigenous as primitive. Aston was dogmatic that Shinto would disappear, which in fact it did not. The second factor is the heavy reliance upon nineteenth-century anthropological studies for comparative data. Holtom and Buchanan were influenced by this approach, although Holtom worked extensively on the political agenda of State Shinto in addition. George Sansom represents the alternative view that while Japan's material culture of the early period was indeed poor and undeveloped, religious rituals and cultic behavior showed some clear levels of development and sophistication. This was an important balancing point to the generally believed views on Shinto.

Nevertheless, in spite of the gaps in perception, all of these scholars made significant contributions to the early Western understanding of Japan's distinctive cultural traits unseen by the West for a quarter of a millennium. Chapter 7 collects some of the early recorded insights about Shinto from that group of first-generation Japanologists. The work of these men became in turn one part of the background that led to the Japanese taking up the task of studying and interpreting their own culture and coming to it with their own concerns and their own points of view. These men form the core of chapter 8, namely, Anesaki Masaharu, the religion scholar; Kato Genchi, the famous folklore documentalist and scholar; Yanigata Kuni, who became the father figure of Japanese cultural anthropology; Nitobe Inazo, the exponent of *bushido* and secretary-general of the League of Nations. There was also Takakusu Junjiro (known more for his work on Buddhism), to name but a few of the most prestigious and well known. Their works, as they are read almost a century later, show less clear awareness of the differences between Western and Japanese approaches than became apparent in the more recent groups of Japanese writers. Trained initially in Western methods, these men never became totally free from that background. Their work was qualified by the fact that while they proceeded on their own pathways of inquiry, they were heavily influenced by Western models. The entire scenario was complicated by the fact that Japan, facing the ongoing traumas of modernization, was crafting a nationalism suitable to the needs

of the emerging nation. Nevertheless, these scholars did succeed in making a start of the study of Japan and the creation of an indigenous literature on the subject.

The second generation of Western thinkers, August Karl Reischauer, M. W. de Visser, and Heinrich Dumoulin, among others who came to be the central figures, had little to say about Shinto. On account of the delicate status into which Shinto had passed, they were mostly preoccupied by Buddhist studies. Shinto was under state control, and the study of it was severely restricted by the government, just as the study of the origins of the imperial house and its rites is still inhibited by laws and regulations of the Imperial Household Agency.

The only Western publications of the period that were acceptable on Shinto were either about its architecture (such as Akiyama Aisaburo, *Shinto and Its Architecture* [Kyoto: Kyoto Tourist Association, 1936]) or in a form that was acceptable to the state. Richard A. B. Ponsonby-Fane, an able but eccentric scholar of the period, was able to write about Shinto because he was also a fervent Japanese nationalist. He left behind numerous articles and papers written for magazines and journals. They were collected by his disciples in Kyoto and published by the Ponsonby-Fane Memorial Society. His books contain detailed information about numerous famous shrines but lack any kind of overview or interpretation of the place of Shinto in Japanese cultural life other than references to the imperial family. For that reason, I elected not to include any quotations from his works. Another writer, later than Ponsonby-Fane, was the American J.W.T. Mason, considered by those who dismiss him as a mere sycophant of the system. However, he did say interesting and sometimes accurate things about Shinto with a small *s*. Unfortunately, these were taken to be true by critics of Shinto with a capital *S*. Mason's approach was probably too intuitive and poetic for the somewhat drier approach of Western scholarship of his day.

Japanese writers of the same generation, such as Furukawa Tesshi and Ono Sokyō, were likewise inhibited by the influence of the official government-determined position that Shinto was a folk tradition and not a religion. This paved the way for not only a lack of understanding of Shinto, but total hostility toward it on the part of Western scholars of Japan. World War II saw Shinto viewed by the West as the "unconquered enemy," to use Robert Ballou's title as a description. Some U.S. propaganda went so far as to blame Shinto for the war, attributing to it Japan's doctrine of racial superiority and the right to world domination, *hakko icihyu*, the eight corners of the world under one roof. For better or worse, Shinto took the blame, and the postwar generation of scholarship was

left trying to pick up where the past left off. Japanese themselves thereafter were rather reluctant to deal with Shinto, and one convenient alternative was found in the attention being attracted to Zen Buddhism by Suzuki Daisetsu's writings. Japan as a Buddhist nation was a new and protective image that conveniently obscured the problem of explaining Shinto. Buddhism came to be of central intellectual concern, along with the New Religions. Shinto was thus conveniently ignored, or treated as a primitive religion, suitable for study by folklorists or anthropologists. And so it was that Buddhism was elevated to the status of the only authentic religious tradition to be found in Japan. When Sir Laurens Van Der Post published *A Portrait of Japan* in 1968, the cover showed Zen monks in the meditation pose. I suspect that one single cover photograph bears enormous responsibility for two generations of total misunderstanding about the nature and role of religion in Japanese society.

E. M. SATOW ON THE SHINTO REVIVAL

Sir Earnest Mason Satow (1843–1929) was a British diplomat during the final years of the Edo shogunate. Although in the course of the Western rediscovery of Japan after Commodore Perry's visit in 1853 information was often as unbalanced as it was ill-ingested, Satow was one of the people who conveyed accurate and sensitive reports to the British foreign office in London. His linguistic skills in both Japanese and Chinese qualified him such that he served in senior posts in both Japan and China. He is often recognized as one of the few people of that period who had a deep and profound understanding of Asian cultures. His distinguished career took him close to the political leaders of the new Japan, whom he understood sympathetically in their awesome task of overseeing Japan's modernization. However, he was an astute observer as well as a scholar and diplomat.

The following brief extract comes from Satow's Asiatic Society of Japan paper on Shinto, probably the first serious work on Shinto ever undertaken in any foreign language. It is a lengthy outline of the history of Shinto, dealing with the controversy over its name. His knowledge of the development of ideas in the Shinto tradition is most impressive, and it is clear that he must have undertaken an enormous amount of reading of original sources to have achieved the level of understanding he displays. The romanization forms used by Satow are perplexing to the modern reader familiar with the Hepburn system, for example, but they do kindle speculation about how in fact Japanese was pronounced a century and a half ago.

Of interest in the text, apart from the romanization of Japanese, is the manner in which Satow deals with the arguments of those who seek to discover the true *Shin-tau*. He clearly sees that Shinto can be dealt with as a religion and therefore proposes comparison with other ancient religions, once its character has been determined. The idea of approaching Shinto by a comparative method is still rejected by some scholars, who think it can all be determined by dealing with Buddhism in relation to Shinto in Japan. Satow was obviously well read in the *Kokugakusha* (National Learning scholarship, discussed in chapter 6), again a remarkable feat for the time, and his acknowledgment of them as a starting point for research is significant considering the later criticisms, especially of Hirata Atsutane, as a fomenter of nationalism. Satow's time in Japan spans the period 1862 to 1900. Importantly, he saw Shinto in whatever form it existed, before the Meiji Restoration and the separation of Buddhism and Shinto. There is nothing to indicate that he considered in any way that Shinto did not have a separate identity at that time. His paper was published in 1874, presumably based on research conducted over the previous 12 years. He is aware of the relationship between Buddhism and Shinto in the past and does not downplay its existence or identity. But he felt that research was needed, and he was certainly correct in his observation that the last word on Shinto had not yet been spoken! Unlike Aston, he did not predict its demise. Aston, whose work follows this section, probably saw more of the problems into which Shinto had fallen because of government policy, and this most likely colored his judgment. The contrasting judgments, taking place within such a short period, are interesting to observe.

Text: E. M. Satow, "The Revival of Pure Shin-tau," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 3 (1875): 1, 87.

By "pure Shin-tau" is meant the religious belief of the Japanese people previous to the introduction of Buddhism and the Confucian philosophy into Japan, and by its revival the attempt which a modern school of writers has made to eliminate these extraneous influences, and to present Shin-tau in its original form. The very name Shin-tau is repudiated by this school, on the ground that the word was never applied to the ancient religious belief until the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism rendered its employment necessary for the sake of distinction, and that the argument, that, because this belief is called by a Chinese name, it must therefore be of Chinese origin, is of no value whatsoever.

The object of this paper being merely to give some account of the views

entertained by a school of modern writers on Shin-tau, no attempt has been made to determine which of their opinions are in accordance, and which at variance, with the real nature of this religion. It is, however manifest that such of their conclusions are founded on the alleged infallibility of the ancient records or of any premises which involve the miraculous or supernatural must for those very reasons be discredited; and the real nature of Shin-tau must be decided by the usual canons of historical criticism. The most effectual means of conducting the investigation would be a comparison of the legends in the *Ko-zhi-ki* and the *Ni-hon-gi*, and the rites and ceremonies concerning which the *Norito* and other parts of the *Yen-gi Shiki* afford so much information, with what is known of other ancient religions. A correct interpretation of the extant texts is the first requisite, and in arriving at this the philological labours of Mabuchi, Motowori and Hirata, imperfect as their results must naturally be, will be of immense assistance. At the same time, in order to estimate the exact value of these results, the safest method would be to follow the order proposed by Motowori for studying the old literature, and to begin by a careful analysis of the language of the *Gen-zhi* and other *Monogatari*, which form the key to the *Man-yefu-shifu*; for without an accurate knowledge of the latter, the proper reading of the Chinese characters in which the *Ko-zhi-ki*, *Ni-hon-gi* and *Norito* have been written down cannot be known with any degree of certainty. By carrying out this programme, and following in the footsteps of the native scholars, it would alone be possible to check their work and at the same time to arrive at correct conclusions, for it is very clear that the last word has yet to be said on the subject of Shin-tau.

W. G. ASTON ON SHINTO

W. G. Aston, C.M.G., D.Litt., was a British scholar diplomat of the mid-Meiji period (1861–1912) who combined his diplomatic duties with his studies of Japanese culture. His work was extremely valuable but is limited by the fact that his profound expousal of the Victorian idea of progress led him to view Shinto as a “primitive” religion. This was not an unnatural classification of Shinto for a Victorian thinker who saw the world in extremely Eurocentric terms. That being said, we remain indebted to him for making available to the non-Japanese-speaking world many materials on Shinto hitherto unknown. Considering the limitations under which he was working, his achievements are remarkable, and his efforts still merit appreciation. He lists all the principal sources, speaks a little of them, and successfully maps out, albeit roughly, the historical development of Shinto in Japanese history. Readers will also observe the problems he faced in attempting to romanize the Japanese language, a

task still totally unresolved. The Japanese government (unlike that of China) has never shown interest in a standard romanization system. In addition to that, pronunciation of some Japanese phonemes appears to have changed over the last century. Nevertheless, in spite of changes, the forms he uses are still intelligible.

The closing sentence of his book, in which he described Shinto as all but extinct, was probably an apt description of Shinto as he saw it, especially State Shinto, which was indeed lifeless. However, I am sure that he would have been able to reconcile developments in the post-1945 period with what he observed as the Japanese sensitivity to the divine. His work originally dates to 1905.

Text: W. G. Aston, *Shinto: The Way of the Gods* (Tokyo: Logos, 1968), pp. 1–5, 376–77.

Preface

As compared with the great religions of the world, Shinto, the old Kami cult of Japan, is decidedly rudimentary in its character. Its polytheism, the want of a Supreme Deity, the comparative absence of images and of a moral code, its feeble personifications and hesitating grasp of the conception of spirit, the practical non-recognition of a future state, and the general absence of a deep, earnest faith—all stamp it as perhaps the least developed of religions which have an adequate literary record. Still, it is not a primitive cult. It had an organized priesthood and an elaborate ritual. The general civilization of the Japanese when Shinto assumed the form in which we know it had left the primitive stage far behind. They were already an agricultural nation, a circumstance by which Shinto has been deeply influenced. They had a settled government, and possessed the arts of brewing, making pottery, building ships and bridges, and working in metals. It is not among such surroundings that we can expect to find a primitive form of religion.

Chapter I. Materials for the Study of Shinto

Prehistoric Shinto.—Ethnologists are agreed that the predominant element of the Japanese race came to Japan by way of Korea from that part of Asia which lies north of China, probably by a succession of immigrations which extended over many centuries. It is useless to speculate as to what rudiments of religious belief the ancestors of the Japanese race may have brought with them from their continental home. Sun-worship has long been a central feature of Tartar religions, as it is of Shinto; but such a coincidence proves nothing, as this cult is universal among nations in the barbaric stage of civilization. It is impossible to say whether or not an acquaintance with the old State religion of China—essentially a nature-worship—had an influence on the prehistoric development of Shinto. The circumstance that the Sun was the chief deity of the latter and Heaven of

the former is adverse to this supposition. Nor is there anything in Japan which corresponds with the Shangti of the ancient Chinese.

There are definite traces of a Korea element in Shinto. A Kara no Kami (God of Kara in Korea) was worshipped in the Imperial Palace. There were numerous shrines in honour of Kara-Kuni Idate no Kami. Susa no wo and Futsunushi have Korean associations.

Until the beginning of the fifth century of our era, writing was practically unknown in Japan. It is certain, however, that a considerable body of myth, together with formal rituals, was already in existence, having been transmitted from generation to generation by the *Nakatomi* and *Imbe*, two hereditary priestly corporations attached to the Mikado's Court. We hear also of *Kataribe*, or corporations of reciters, who were established in various provinces, especially in Idzumo, a primeval centre of Shinto worship. They are mentioned in the *Nihongi* under the date A.D. 465, and were still in existence in the fifteenth century. Unfortunately we know little about them beyond the circumstance that they attended at the capital, and delivered their recitals of "ancient words" on the occasion of the Mikada's coronation. These must have helped to furnish material for the written mythical and quasi-historical narratives which have come down to us.

Kojiki.—The oldest of these is a work entitled the *Kojiki*, or "Records of Ancient Matters." It was compiled by Imperial order, and completed in A.D. 712. The preface states that it was taken down from the lips of one Hiyeda no Are, who had so wonderful a memory that he could "repeat with his mouth whatever was placed before his eyes and record in his heart whatever struck his ears." English readers may study this work in an accurate translation contributed by Mr. B. H. Chamberlain to the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1882. It is preceded by a valuable introduction.

Nihongi.—The mythical narrative of the *Nihongi*, or "Chronicles of Japan," also an official compilation (A.D. 720), is not quite so full as that of the *Kojiki*, and it has the disadvantage of being composed in the Chinese language. But it has one feature of great interest. The author, or some nearly contemporary writer, has added to the original text a number of variants of the current myths, thus enabling us to correct any impression of uniformity or consistency which might be left by the perusal of the *Kojiki* or *Nihongi* alone. These addenda show that there was then in existence a large body of frequently irreconcilable mythical material, which these works are attempts to harmonize. A translation of the *Nihongi* by the present writer forms Supplement I. of the *Transactions* of the Japan Society (1896). Dr. Florenz's excellent German version of the mythical part of this work may also be consulted with advantage. It has copious notes.

Kiujiki.—A third source of information respecting the mythical lore of Japan is the *Kiujiki*. A work with this name was compiled A.D. 620, i.e., one hundred years before the *Nihongi*, but the book now known by that title has been condemned as a forgery by native critics. Their arguments, however, are not quite convincing. The *Kiujiki* is in any case a very old book, and we may accept it

provisionally as of equal authority with the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. It contains little which is not also to be found in these two works. Unlike them, the *Kiujiki* makes no attempt to be consistent. It is a mere jumble of mythical material, distinct and conflicting versions of the same narrative being often dovetailed into one another in the most clumsy fashion. It has not been translated.

Idzumo Fudoki.—This work, a topography of the province of Idzumo, was compiled about A.D. 733. It contains a few mythical passages.

The Kogoshiui was written in 807. It adds a very little to the information contained in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*.

Shjiroku.—In this work, which is a sort of peerage of Japan (815), the descent of many of the noble families is traced from the deities of the Shinto Pantheon.

Yengishiki.—Our principal source of information for the ceremonial of Shinto is the *Yengishiki*, or "Institutes of the Period Yengi" (901–923). It gives a minute description of the official Shinto ritual as then practised, together with twenty-seven of the principal prayers used in worship. These prayers, called *norito*, were now, so far as we know, for the first time reduced to writing, but many of them must be in substance several hundreds of years older. Some have been translated by Sir Ernest Satow for the Asiatic Society of Japan (1879–81), and the series is now being continued by Dr. Karl Florenz, whose translation of the *ohoharahi* (1899) is a notable addition to the English reader's means of studying Shinto.

Motoori and Hirata.—The writings of the native scholars Motoori, Hirata, and others during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth are an indispensable source of information. No part of this voluminous literature has been, or is likely to be, translated. The English reader will find a good account of it in Sir Ernest Satow's "Revival of Pure Shinto," contributed to the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1875. By "Pure Shinto" is meant the Shinto of the *Kojiki*, *Nihongi*, and *Yengishiki*, as opposed to the corrupt forms of this religion which sprang up under Buddhist influence in later times.

The above-named works contain fairly ample materials for the study of the older Shinto. They have the advantage of showing us this religion as seen by the Japanese themselves, thus leaving no room for the introduction of those errors which so often arise from the unconscious importation of modern European and Christian ideas into the accounts of other rudimentary cults. It should be observed that it is the State religion to which these records chiefly relate. Of the popular beliefs and practices at this time we are told but little.

The *Nihongi*, and, to a lesser extent, the *Kojiki*, are somewhat influenced by Chinese ideas; but this element is generally recognizable. Buddhism was introduced into Japan towards the middle of the sixth century, and was widely propagated under the regency of Shotoku Daishi, who died A.D. 621; but there is little or no trace of it in the older Shinto. For a long time there was a marked antagonism between the two religions which served to protect the latter from such adulteration.

The Fuzoku Gwaho, a modern illustrated magazine, is a rich store of information respecting modern Shinto and the folk-lore and superstitions which are associated with it.

Chapter II. General Features—Personification

Religion.—Religion, a general term which includes all our relations to the Divine, is a cord of three strands, namely, Emotion, Thought, and Conduct. Emotion comprises gratitude, hope, and fear. Thought yields conceptions and beliefs. Religious conduct consists in doing that which is pleasing to the superior powers, and in refraining from acts which are thought to be offensive to them. It includes worship, purity, and morality.

These elements of religion are inseparable. Emotion stimulates and sharpens the intellectual faculties, which in turn provide fresh food for emotion. Each without the other is evanescent and barren. Nothing worthy of the name of religion is possible without a long succession of alternate moods of thought and feeling.

Emotion and thought lead in all healthy minds to action of some sort. Man is impelled by his very nature to testify his gratitude to the powers on which he feels himself dependent, to express his hopes of future blessings from them, and to avoid acts which might offend them. Moreover, as a social animal, he is prompted to communicate his religious thoughts and feelings to his fellow men. Without such intercommunication, no religion is possible. No individual man ever evolved a religion out of his own inner consciousness alone.

Emotional Source of Religion.—The emotional basis of religion is gratitude, love, and hope, rather than fear. If life is worth living—and what sane man doubts?—there are necessarily far more frequent occasions for the former than for the latter. . . .

Official Shinto.—The official cult of the present day is substantially the “Pure Shinto” of Motoori and Hirata. But it has little vitality. A rudimentary religion of this kind is quite inadequate for the spiritual sustenance of a nation which in these latter days has raised itself to so high a pitch of enlightenment and civilization. No doubt some religious enthusiasm is excited by the great festivals of Ise, Idzumo, and a few other shrines, and by the annual pilgrimages—which, however, have other *raison d’etre*. The reverence paid to the Mikado is not devoid of a religious quality which has its source in Shinto. But the main stream of Japanese piety has cut out for itself new channels. It has turned to Buddhism, which, at the time of the Restoration in a languishing state, is now showing signs of renewed life and activity. Another and still more formidable rival has appeared, to whose progress, daily increasing in momentum, what limit shall be prescribed? As a national religion, Shinto is almost extinct. But it will long continue to survive in folk-lore and custom, and in that lively sensibility to the divine in its simpler and more material aspects which characterizes the people of Japan.

LAFCADIO HEARN ON JAPANESE CULTURE

Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904), known also by his Japanese name, Koizumi Yanago, was of Greek and British extraction. He found his way to Japan in the early years of the Meiji period, and with more of a romantic vision than Aston, for example, drew pen sketches of Japanese life and culture, exposing much more of the inside than the outside. He was a man of sensitivity and literary skill, and he left adequate documentation in his writings that supported his view that religion was one of the basic aspects of Japanese civilization, religion taken in the Japanese sense. This is a view that others have subsequently shared. In modern times, this is expressed by the statement that Japan has retained into her most modern period more aspects of traditional society than would be expected to survive under a Western model of the modernization process.

He considered ancestral reverence to be the ultimate form of Japanese religion but also identified the roles of Buddhism and Shinto within the totality of the cultural system. This concept came to him when, as an English teacher, he was correcting his students' essays on their ancestors. He had added in "the memory of" ancestors, only to be corrected by his students who objected to the word "memory." "We revere our ancestors," they declared. Hearn noted that to his students, the ancestors were still, in some way, alive. He also had some harsh words for the intolerant zealots of Christian missions in their attacks upon the ancestral cult: "To demand of a Chinese (or Japanese) that he cast away or destroy his ancestral tablets is not less irrational and inhuman than it would be to demand of an Englishman or a Frenchman that he destroy his mother's tombstone in proof of his devotion to Christianity. Nay it is much more inhuman. . . ."

Hearn married the daughter of a samurai, settled down in Matsue, and became a Japanese citizen, taking the name Koizumi Yonago. His many books on Japan are still republished from time to time and represent an early attempt at a holistic interpretation of Japanese culture and the Japanese mind rather than simple documentation of Japan.

Text: Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan: An Attempt at Interpretation* (New York, 1904; Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1959), pp. 26–32.

"The spirits of the dead," says Mr. Spencer, "forming, in a primitive tribe, an ideal group the members of which are but little distinguished from one another, will grow more and more distinguished;—and as societies advance, and as traditions, local and general, accumulate and complicate, these once similar human souls, acquiting in the

popular mind differences of character and importance, will diverge—until their original community of nature becomes scarcely recognizable.” So in antique Europe, and so in the Far East, were the greater gods of nations evolved from ghost-cults; but those ethics of ancestor-worship which shaped alike the earliest societies of West and East, date from a period before the time of the greater gods,—from the period when all the dead were supposed to become gods, with no distinction of rank.

No more than the primitive ancestor-worshippers of Aryan race did the early Japanese think of their dead as ascending to some extra-mundane region of light and bliss, or as descending into some realm of torment. They thought of their dead as still inhabiting this world, or at least as maintaining with it a constant communication. Their earliest sacred records do, indeed, make mention of an underworld, where mysterious Thunder-gods and evil goblins dwelt in corruption; but this vague world of the dead communicated with the world of the living; and the spirit there, though in some sort attached to its decaying envelope, could still receive upon earth the homage and the offerings of men. Before the advent of Buddhism, there was no idea of a heaven or hell. The ghosts of the departed were thought of as constant presences, needing propitiation, and able in some way to share the pleasures and the pains of the living. They required food and drink and light; and in return for these, they could confer benefits. Their bodies had melted into earth; but their spirit-power still lingered in the upper world, thrilled its substance, moved in its winds and waters. By death they had acquired mysterious force;—they become “superior ones,” *Kami*, gods. That is to say, gods in the oldest Greek and Roman sense. Be it observed that there were no moral distinctions, East or West, in this deification. “All the dead become gods,” wrote the great Shinto commentator, Hirata. So likewise, in the thought of the early Greeks and even of the later Romans, all the dead become gods. M. de Coulanges observes, in *La Cite Antique*:—“This kind of apotheosis was not the privilege of the great alone: no distinction was made. . . . It was not even necessary to have been a virtuous man: the wicked man became a god as well as the good man,—only that in this after-existence, he retained the evil inclinations of his former life.” Such also was the case in Shinto belief: the good man became a beneficent divinity, the bad man an evil deity,—but all alike became *Kami*. “And since there are bad as well as good gods,” wrote Motowori, “it is necessary to propitiate them with offerings of agreeable food, playing the harp, blowing the flute, singing and dancing and whatever is likely to put them in a good humour.” The Latins called the maleficent ghosts of the dead, *Larvae*, and called the beneficent or harmless ghosts, *Lares, or Manes, or Genii*, according to Apuleius. But all alike were gods,—*dii-manes*; and Cicero admonished his readers to render to all *dii-manes* the rightful worship; “They are men,” he declared, “who have departed from this life;—consider them divine beings. . . .”

In Shinto, as in old Greek belief, to die was to enter into the possession of super-human power,—to become capable of conferring benefit or of inflicting misfortune by supernatural means. . . . But yesterday, such or such a man was a common toiler, a person of no importance;—to-day, being dead, he becomes a divine power, and his children pray to him for the prosperity of their undertakings. Thus also we find the personages of Greek tragedy, such as Alcestis, suddenly transformed into divinities

by death, and addressed in the language of worship or prayer. But, in despite of their supernatural power, the dead are still dependent upon the living for happiness. Though viewless, save in dreams, they need earthly nourishment and homage,—food and drink, and the reverence of their descendants. Each ghost must rely for such comfort upon its living kindred;—only through the devotion of that kindred can it ever find repose. Each ghost must have shelter,—a fitting tomb;—each must have offerings. While honourably sheltered and properly nourished the spirit is pleased, and will aid in maintaining the good-fortune of its propitiators. But if refused the sepulchral home, the funeral rites, the offerings of food and fire and drink, the spirit will suffer from hunger and cold and thirst, and, becoming angered, will act malevolently and contrive misfortune for those by whom it has been neglected. . . . Such were the ideas of the old Greeks regarding the dead; and such were the ideas of the old Japanese.

Although the religion of ghosts was once the religion of our own forefathers—whether of Northern or Southern Europe,—and although practices derived from it, such as the custom of decorating graves with flowers, persist to-day among our most advanced communities,—our modes of thought have so changed under the influences of modern civilization that it is difficult for us to imagine how people could ever have supposed that the happiness of the dead depended upon material food. But it is probable that the real belief in ancient European societies was much like the belief as it exists in modern Japan. The dead are not supposed to consume the substance of the food, but only to absorb the invisible essence of it. In the early period of ancestor-worship the food-offerings were large; later on they were made smaller and smaller as the idea grew up that the spirits required but little sustenance of even the most vapoury kind. But, however small the offerings, it was essential that they should be made regularly. Upon these shadowy repasts depended the well-being of the dead; and upon the well-being of the dead depended the fortunes of the living. Neither could dispense with the help of the other: the visible and the invisible worlds were forever united by bonds innumerable of mutual necessity; and no single relation of that union could be broken without the direst consequences.

The history of all religious sacrifices can be traced back to this ancient custom of offerings made to ghosts; and the whole Indo-Aryan race had at one time no other religion than this religion of spirits. In fact, every advanced human society has, at some period of its history, passed though the stage of ancestor-worship; but it is to the Far East that we must look to-day in order to find the cult coexisting with an elaborate civilization. Now the Japanese ancestor-cult—though representing the beliefs of a non-Aryan people, and offering in the history of its development various interesting peculiarities—still embodies much that is characteristic of ancestor-worship in general. They survive in especially these three beliefs, which underlie all forms of persistent ancestor-worship in all climes and countries:—

I.—The dead remain in this world,—haunting their tombs, and also their homes, and staring invisibly into the life of their living descendants;—

II.—All the dead become gods, in the sense of acquiring supernatural power; but they retain the characters which distinguished them during life;—

III.—The happiness of the dead depends upon the respectful service rendered them by the living; and the happiness of the living depends upon the fulfilment of pious duty to the dead.

To these very early beliefs may be added the following, probably of later development, which at one time must have exercised immense influence:—

IV.—Every event in the world, good or evil,—fair seasons or plentiful harvests,—flood and famine,—tempest and tidal-wave and earthquake,—is the work of the dead.

V.—All human actions, good or bad, are controlled by the dead.

The first three beliefs survive from the dawn of civilization, or before it,—from the time in which the dead were the only gods, without distinctions of power. The latter two would seem rather of the period in which a true mythology—an enormous polytheism—had been developed out of the primitive ghost-worship. There is nothing simple in these beliefs: they are awful, tremendous beliefs; and before Buddhism helped to dissipate them, their pressure upon the mind of a people dwelling in a land of cataclysms, must have been like an endless weight of nightmare. But the elder beliefs, in softened form, are yet a fundamental part of the existing cult. Though Japanese ancestor-worship has undergone many modifications in the past two thousand years, these modifications have not transformed its essential character in relation to conduct; and the whole framework of society rests upon it, as on a moral foundation. The history of Japan is really the history of her religion. No single fact in this connection is more significant than the fact that the ancient Japanese term for government—*matsuri-goto*—signifies literally “matters of worship.” Later on we shall find that not only government, but almost everything in Japanese society, derives directly or indirectly from this ancestor-cult; and that in all matters the dead, rather than the living have been the rulers of the nation and the shapers of its destinies.

D. C. HOLTOM ON JAPAN’S NATIONAL FAITH

D. C. Holtom was an early-twentieth-century scholar who was the first Western scholar to write comprehensively about Shinto and include discussions of Sect Shinto alongside Shrine Shinto and State Shinto. His writings fall naturally into three categories. His early work (which was his doctoral dissertation) was on the political philosophy of modern Shinto. It was innovative and stands as a classic in its field. It remains a valuable source of insight into the period. His second area of writing recorded his research on the imperial enthronement ceremonies. These works are also significant contributions to the study of the subject, affording additional insight into the time of transition from the Taisho to the Showa era in 1926. His major work took the form of an overview of Shinto as the national faith of Japan, a title that has had a lasting influence upon the perception of Shinto ever since. The title itself presents the idea of national faith in Japan in a way that suggests an analogy with the Lutheran state churches of Europe, perhaps at the time of the

Treaty of Westphalia when the principle of *cuis regio, eius religio* (whose state, his religion) was established. As a consequence of this copying of the policy, the obvious artificiality of State Shinto, as subsequently disclosed, encouraged the view that Shinto as a whole was merely an ersatz religion, the creation of the Meiji government. Unfortunately, Holtom's work encouraged this approach. However, as we have seen, this is far from the truth. While the Edo government may have preferred syncretism, it nevertheless recognized the importance of Shinto concepts, with Ieyasu himself being enshrined in Nikko, years after his death, as the incarnation of the light of the east, the literal meaning of the name of the shrine, the Nikko Toshogu. The National Learning Scholars represented a steady current of thought that set out to define the nature of Japanese culture, and Hirata, intentionally or otherwise, provided an ideological framework that assisted in the process of modernization through a focus on national identity. The study of ethno-philosophy and the philosophical and aesthetic study of rituals had not commenced in Holtom's day. The study of religion at that time was still heavily dominated by nineteenth-century categories such as higher and primitive, although, to his credit, if Holtom did not subscribe to those classifications, at least he appeared to avoid them. He was obviously faced with considerable difficulties in making pronouncements about Shinto in view of the political climate of the 1930s.

If I have any one criticism to make, it is that he either did not see, or perhaps chose not to see, some of the implications of what he was saying. For example, his comments about emperor worship are extremely interesting, and he does assign it to State Shinto. In listing the emperors formally worshipped at government and national shrines, a total of 13, he observed with surprise that not only was the number of emperors small, but equally surprising was the type of emperor accorded a place in the public ceremonies. Four, he noted, were mythological or early Christian era with tenuous historical substance. Seven were emperors who had been banished or assassinated. Emperor Kwammu had moved the Nara court to Kyoto to distance himself from Buddhist politics, and the last was Emperor Meiji, founding figure of the modern state. Although Holtom categorizes these emperors and makes his comments, he does not draw out the full implications. It can only be assumed that the intellectual climate in Japan discouraged too analytical an approach. He did, nevertheless, make a serious effort to understand the concepts underlying Shinto history and Shinto rituals, leaving much useful documented material from the period. A second example of insight not followed through is found in his brief discussion of why, if Shinto was

allegedly so militaristic, it did not develop a proper war god concept. He suggested that this discrepancy might be attributed to the prominence of tribal and local tutelary deities that prevented a centralized development in that direction. The complex history of the *kami* Hachiman rather confirms this point. He pointed out that while Hachiman shrines may be prominent in Shinto worship, any special military associations of their ceremonies always appear to be subordinate to ordinary religious interests. Unfortunately, he does not develop the discussion beyond a further observation that the centralized modern state had alternative devices to achieve the same ends. I think, however, we receive a fair account from him of how Hachiman worship was conducted at the time.

A third and final example of Holtom's leaving behind a picture of the era is found in his comment on the unique status of the Yasukuni Shrine, made in a lecture to the Asiatic Society of Japan. No other shrine in all the land, with the exceptions of the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise and the Shrine of the Meiji Emperor in Tokyo, has an equally intimate hold on the affections of the people. Here are enshrined the spirits of all those who have given their lives in the military and naval service of emperor and fatherland throughout the modern period of Japanese history from 1853 to the present. The number thus included up to the spring of 1937 was 130,967. In this total are 49 women.

The implications of this statement may speak of State Shinto and militarism in the modern sense. It may also be read alongside Lafcadio Hearn's comments about the true religion of the Japanese being ancestral reverence. In short, Holtom's documentation is valuable. The framework in which he casts his materials leaves many unanswered questions. His work is also to be remembered for the use of the expression "anthropolatry" to describe the unique nature of some Japanese *kami*, a term that carries slightly different nuances from the more normally used term apotheosis. I have included a few lines from representative works. Permission to reproduce from some of his works at any length was difficult to obtain; hence the passages quoted here are really samples of his work. Those interested in further research should consult the full texts.

The first passage is from his main work and makes some comments about the place of religion in life, and how the *kami* of Shinto function in that respect. The second is from his doctoral dissertation, which dates to 1922 and was a prodigious piece of work for the time. The third comes from his last major work on modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism, a prewar work to which some postwar observations were added. It is to these that the quoted passage draws attention.

Text: D. C. Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan, A Study in Modern Shinto* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1938), pp. 171–85.

The real importance of any deity to man lies in the fact of some kind of operation which the former is regarded as discharging toward the latter. It is possible in practically every case to isolate some specific human need, or group of needs, for the meeting of which the use of agencies resident in man and his society alone seem inadequate, and regarding which human comprehension is baffled, which is met by appealing to the operation of the gods. . . .

There are numerous cases, however, in which the operation itself is deified and left without definite reference apart from the operation itself. In the meaning here intended these are called specifically deities of function. For example, in the case of the phallic god the mysterious generative process itself supplies the original date and human need attaches itself to this unknown agency as a means of promoting fertility. . . . Back of the primitive interpretation of these matters is the old notion of mysterious force, or *mana*, which may appear in an almost infinite variety of strange ways and which, when proper ceremonial method is applied, may be transferred to man for the augmentation of his good. In a more advanced state the need is sometimes that of giving rationality to the interpretative process, and the function of the god becomes that of furnishing cogency to speculation, often accounting for origins. In this last sense, the deities of Old Shinto are made large use of in the contemporary sects.

Text: D. C. Holtom, *The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto: A Study of the State Religion of Japan* (Tokyo: Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1936), pp. 5–6.

Japanese investigators ordinarily divide historical Shinto into two main streams of development. The orthodox analysis gives *tennen suhai*, nature worship on the one side and *sosen suhai*, ancestor worship on the other. The basis of this differentiation is a conception of the nature of deity in Shinto as being two-fold. In other words, the idea of God is here looked upon as being the result of the assimilative combination of two psychological elements of diverse origin, namely an element rising out of experience with natural events or objects and leading to the notions of demons and spirits of nature, and again, an element coming from experiences in human society, as such, and leading to the worship of heroes and ancestral spirits. There is a marked tendency on the part of the modern directors of thought in Japan in religious, educational and political spheres alike, to emphasize the latter element as the more characteristic Japanese expression. Thus, a system of thought and practice that is thoroughly affected by feelings of reverence and loyalty toward important personages

in the tribe of state is supposed to have marked the religion of the ancient Japanese prior to all contact with either Confucian or Buddhist influence. True Shinto deities, it is declared, are ancestral, and although superstitious rites and practices are admitted to exist in popular Shinto, due partly to survivals out of Japanese primitivity, and partly to the effects of syncretism with foreign cults, yet the fundamental and characteristic emphasis has always been ancestral and nationalistic. This is the center of the modern Shinto cult. Shinto thus becomes a most important support for Japanese national morality in the present, and as such vitally related to modern Japanese political philosophy, so much so, that the latter can hardly be understood apart from its interconnection with the Shinto cult. As a means of orientating further discussion the introduction of an outline statement of the historical development seems advisable.

The two passages taken together offer a brief outline of Holtom's analysis of the origins of Shinto and how it had been incorporated into the political philosophy of the Japanese government of the Meiji period. The final passage was republished after the Pacific War, and Holtom added his view of the Imperial Declaration of 1946 and its relation to the New Shinto.

Text: D. C. Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism: A Study of Present-Day Trends in Japanese Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1943; rpt. New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1963), pp. 190–92.

. . . all “physical symbols of State Shinto” in public buildings, which meant mainly small shrines and god-shelves, were ordered removed. Public money could no longer be diverted to the support of the shrines and their ceremonies. At the same time, by special proclamation, all Japanese were released from any compulsion to profess or believe in Shinto. Public education and all official propaganda were freed of Shinto teaching. Text-books used in the schools were ordered purged of all Shinto-inspired nationalism. Teaching staffs were screened to eliminate all partisan or militaristic and ultra-nationalist ideologies.

Exactly what were the Japanese people compelled to believe, or to profess to believe, regarding the national cult? The need of raising the question is augmented by the fact that no small amount of obfuscation of the issue with which it deals has been propagated in the American press, even since the disestablishment of State Shinto. Writers who have had introduction as authorities on Japanese affairs have aided and abetted this confusion.

Following this brief account of the dismantling of State Shinto, Holtom goes on to define its principal characteristics as he saw them.

Central to the belief forms which all Japanese subjects were obliged to accept without question was the Amaterasu myth . . . to predispose the national character to the unquestioning acceptance of the idea that the emperor's rights of sovereignty were intimately associated with the worship of this deity. The means by which this was accomplished involved assent on the part of all to certain propositions which, if not stated in an explicit creed, were nevertheless definitely proclaimed in the official definition of the structure of the state, and were implicit in the entire nationalistic nexus. They are:

1. The Emperor is the supreme head of the nation
2. His right to rule is a family monopoly. . . .
3. This right to rule was originally instituted by the sun-goddess in a divine edict, written in to the text of the *Nihongi*. . . .
4. The sun-goddess is the supreme being in the scheme of Japanese loyalties.
5. By cultivating the veneration of the sun-goddess, the acceptance of the superhuman basis of the emperor's right is reinforced.

At no point did the new conditions created by the disestablishment of State Shinto contribute more wholesomely to the great clearing of the air than in the blowing away of the fog of the Amaterasu myth.

Holtom makes the point that in view of the manner in which the divine edict is found in the *Nihongi*, the Japanese classics should be considered a sacred scripture just as the Old Testament is to the Jews, comparing this with the promise made to Abraham (Genesis 12:1-3). While here may be a *prima facie* appearance of analogy, I think it is misleading. Amaterasu is a solar myth that has much in common with other solar myths and contains only a directive to the August Grandson to rule the land of reed plains. The impact of this directive on the rest of the world is never discussed. It is a highly particularized piece of mythology.

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Chapter 8

EARLY MODERN JAPANESE VIEWS OF SHINTO

INTRODUCTION: JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES ON JAPAN

We come now to the first generation of Japanese writers and commentators on Japan, whom I identified as heavily dependent on Western methods of research. These writers' work is not necessarily typical of what all Japanese were thinking and writing about Shinto. The writers were mindful of the government's scrutiny of all discussion of Shinto, and they were cautious. Their Western-influenced perspectives emerge very clearly in their style, but nevertheless, they were also trying to articulate a Japanese concern with Shinto. Perhaps their biggest contribution was the way in which they tried to set it into the perspective of world cultures. Both Kato and Anesaki were widely read and well educated and could address a wide range of issues in culture and religion. Muraoka, although the most "Japanese" of the group, shares breadth of perspective. The present-day Japanese scholars are in fact taking up the task where Muraoka and his generation left off.

These were not the only Japanese scholars who were writing about Shinto, however. Ultrationalists such as Origuchi Shinobu (see chapter 4, "Interpretations of the *Daijōsai*") were also writing about the imperial accession rites and about the true imperial soul, very much in support of the ideals of State Shinto. Holtom's work covers this era very thoroughly (see chapter 7). The other writers mentioned were in a very dif-

ficult situation. Criticism of State Shinto was out of the question, and the academic community as a whole had been cowed into defending the proposition that Shinto was not a religion. By placing the supervision of shrines under the supremely powerful Ministry of Home Affairs, the *Naimusho*, the government had underlined the importance of State Shinto. Questioning it was tantamount to treason. Yangita Kunio took the route of anthropological and folklore documentation, conveying the impression that the only valid method of approach was antiquarian, certainly not interpretation. I suspect the others considered that parallels with the Greek classics would be accepted as respectable analogies and not questioned too seriously. Since the figures of classical Greece were known and respected in Japan, it actually added to the prestige of Japan's classical heritage to be compared to Greece, the origin of Western learning. Whatever the reasons, that was one of the approaches taken, one that, irrespective of motive, possesses, in my view, intrinsic merit of its own and can be justified on independent premises.

It is difficult to imagine the long-term effects of this period of "black-out" over Shinto and the effect it has had on scholarship ever since. On the one hand, it eliminated several generations of study on Shinto. Prewar scholars found the subject too delicate to discuss. Postwar scholars found it taboo. Hence its relegation to anthropological studies. Those who stress Japan's Buddhist aspects are merely following one route considered acceptable under the circumstances. But Shinto was and still is a religion in its own right. The writings reproduced in this section imply that, although obvious discretion was used in choice of words. They remain our principal link with Meiji period Shinto and the Japanese scholarship of the day.

KATO GENCHI AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY STUDIES OF SHINTO

Kato Genchi is remembered for his famed exposition of *ikigami*, the idea in Shinto of living human *kami*. The presentation, made at Oxford University in 1928, was controversial at the time, but it opened up a vista of Shinto that had been hitherto unknown. He alluded to the Greek classics in search of elucidating parallels, a point that is highly indicative of how he understood the Japanese classical tradition. It was cosmic mythology with universal elements, not crude myth to be "demythologized." For a fuller discussion of these issues, see *Essentials of Shinto*, chapter 2, pp. 54–55.

Text: Kato Genchi, *A Study of Shinto: The Religion of the Japanese Nation* (Tokyo, 1926; Curzon Press edition, London, 1971), pp. 80–87.

Chapter VIII

Theanthropic Aspect of Shinto Deities—Shinto as a Theanthropic or Homocentric Religion

“We see God in man and nature” is an expression of theanthropic religion in contrast with the expression “to see God above man and nature,” which is the formula of theocratic religion. In the case of the former, God makes a descent to man and man becomes a God, while the latter draws a sharp demarcation line between God and man—they are *toto loco* different. The religion of the former centres in man while that of the latter concentrates itself on God. Therefore, theanthropic religion may be termed homocentric and theocratic religion deocentric. According to the former man is anything and everything; according to the latter God is all in all, man is nothing. Now it seems to me Shinto reveals in essence the aspect of theanthropic religion from the beginning.

The theanthropic tendency of Shinto, first of all, betrays itself in anthropolatry or the worship of a divine personage, either during his lifetime or after his death. Hence, we have worship of the Emperor or of a hero, while living or after death; we have ancestor worship, i.e., the worship of the spirit of the dead ancestor, and necrolatry, i.e., the worship of the spirit of the dead, as we have seen above.

The emperor Ojin is worshipped as the War-God, Hachiman by name, although we can trace Buddhist influence in him; Sugawara-no-Michizane, an ill-fated minister, was canonized, so to speak, as a patron god of culture and calligraphy long after his death.

Kato-Kiyomasa (*d.* 1611), a famous warrior, under Toyotomi-Hideyoshi, was also canonized as a god by the name of Seishoko in close connection with the Buddhist Nichiren Sect, and at Kumamoto in Kyushu his tomb has developed into a shrine and become a centre of elaborate religious cult and pilgrimage.

Second, anthropomorphism, in the fullest sense of the term, makes its appearance in Shinto, past and present. For instance, the Divine Couple Izanagi and Izanami are completely human, as they appear in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* myths. The Sun-Goddess Amaterasu-Omikami is also quite anthropomorphic in a dramatic scene in front of the Heavenly Rock-Cave, or when she came into conflict with her impetuous brother Susano-o-no-Kami. And we are told, according to one of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* myths, that Hitokotonushi-no-Kami, a God Incarnate, “Arahitogami,” in archaic Japanese, spent a day side by side with the Emperor Yuryaku, another God manifest in man, on horseback, hunting wild animals in Mt. Katsuragi (*E.T.K.*, p. 319; *E.T.N.*, vol. I, p. 341).

Third, the Shinto deities, so far as they partake of the nature of theanthropic religion, have human limitations in their characters and actions. Even the Divine Couple Izanagi and Izanami, did not know how to act in coition, when they entered into conjugal relations, until the wagtail suggested it to them. Curiously enough in this case the bird is a teacher of the deities.

Izanagi and Izanami gave birth to an imperfect child, for instance, Hiruko, the leech child, was born to them, which at the age of three could not walk by itself. The child is imperfect, because the parents are not perfect, never omnipotent. The hidden cause of the birth of an imperfect child is incomprehensible even to the Divine Parents, so they inquired of the Heavenly Deities about the matter (*E.T.K.*, p. 21; *E.T.N.*, vol. I, p. 15), and the latter resorted to the means of grand divination and ascertained the true cause.

According to the *Kogoshui*, when Otokunushi-no-kami, the God of Land, saw that the rice plants in his fields began prematurely to die, he was greatly dismayed and listened to the warning of certain diviners. The fact that even the divine beings so often resorted to divination proclaims that they are not omnipotent. So far as they are not omnipotent they must die. Izanami, for instance, was burnt to death when she was delivered of fire or the God of Fire, Kagutsuchi by name (*E.T.N.*, vol. I, p. 21). Amesakahiko, the heavenly messenger to Izumo, Ukemochi-no-Kami, the Goddess of Food, and Wakahirume-no-Mikoto, the Morning or Spring Sun-Goddess, died, being killed by their opponents (*E.T.N.*, vol. I, p. 45), just as Sarpedon, the divine son of Zeus, was killed on the battlefield, and Ares, the Greek God of War, was mortally wounded by the hero Diomedes and bellowed like an army 10,000 strong, according to Homer (*Iliad*, v. 971-992). Even the Great Sun-Goddess was wounded by her shuttle when she was alarmed and about to retire into the Rock-Cave, because her brother exceedingly rude in conduct made violence to her; and she was enticed to come out of the Rock-Cave again, being allured by the pleasing words and the bright mirror—a symbol of the sun's disc—shown to her. By herself she felt lonesome at the Ise Shrine, so she disclosed her divine will in a dream to the Emperor Yuryaku to invite Toyouke-no-Okami, the Food-Goddess, from Tamba to Ise, to wait upon her and serve food, morning and evening, as the ladies in waiting do to the Emperor at court (*Toyouke-no-Miya-gishikicho*. *G.R.K.*, vol. I, p. 53. Cf. *Jingu-Zoreishu*. *G.R.K.*, vol. I, p. 160).

All these incidents show that Shinto deities somehow or other have human limitations and *ipso facto* the Shinto religion proves to be a theanthropic religion.

Shinto considers all natural phenomena as analogous with occurrences in human society, so in Shinto the idea of creation is absent but procreation or begetting is the key-note in explaining nature. Therefore we read in the *Nihongi*, for example, "They (Izanagi and Izanami) next produced the sea, then the rivers and then the mountains" (*E.T.N.*, vol. I, p. 18). Unlike the Hebrew Yahweh, the Divine Couple Izanagi and Izanami never created the universe from nothing, as the Biblical creation story, which is theocratic in essence, tells us of the relation of Yahweh and the universe, but begat the seas, rivers, mountains, the Great-Eight-Island-Country, even trees and herbs, just as a man and a woman beget children in marriage. Therefore later on Shinto showed a tendency to develop itself into pantheism or pantheistic naturalism, because God and nature are not quite different in essence, but natural objects such as mountains, rivers, trees, and herbs—men excepted—all are born of the Divine Couple Izanagi and Izanami, i.e., they

are all offspring of Divinity. They are *ipso facto* themselves divine. In Shintoistic belief, "Not miracles but natural law" is the dominating power to which nature and man are alike subject. Therefore, when Konohana-no-Sakuya-hime, the beautiful maiden and favorite consort of the Heavenly Grandson Ninigi-no-Mikoto, became pregnant in the course of a single night, he suspected that it could not be his own child, because he thought that even the August Grandson of the Heavenly Deities must be unable to cause pregnancy in so short a time; such being uncommon, extraordinary, i.e., in violation of the ordinary law of Nature (*E.T.N.*, vol. I, p. 88).

We are very familiar with the descriptions of Yahweh's miracles in the *Old Testament*. Yahweh stands high above natural law. This is one of the characteristics of theocratic religion. On the contrary, in Shinto, Gods alike with men are subject to natural law and cannot escape from it. This is an aspect of theanthropic religion. In theocratic religion God stands high above man and nature, while in theanthropic religion God is in nature and man, and divinity is inherent in humanity and nature. In theanthropic religion man and nature are placed on the same footing as God; "The Gods are immortal men, men are mortal Gods," as Herakleitos characterizes it. Thus, in theanthropic religion the relation of God and man is quite reciprocal; and so, "Do ut des" occurs between God and man. Therefore, according to Livy, once in a crisis an ancient Roman general addressed himself to his Goddess of War, praying to her:—"Bellona, if thou wilt today grant us victory, then I promise thee a temple" (Clifford H. Moore, *Religious Thought of the Greeks*, p. 228).

In like manner, in Homeric Greece Apollon was invoked:—

Hear me, God of the silver bow! whose care
 Chrysa surrounds, and Cilla's lovely Vale;
 Whose sov'reign sway o'er Tenedos extends;
 O smintheus, hear! if e'er my offer'd gifts
 Found favour in thy sight; if e'er to thee
 I burn'd the fat of bulls and choicest goats,
 Grant me this boon—upon the Grecian host
 Let thine unerring darts avenge my tears.

Iliad, I, 45–52

The case is the same with the theanthropic religion of Shinto. For instance, when the Empress Jingo prayed to the deities for victory over Korea, the deities revealed their divine will thus:—"If you present us with a ship and rice fields for an offering, or rather a bribe, literally, we will bestow a rich country upon you" (*Cf. E.T.N.*, vol. I, p. 233). (Medea, 964), as Euripides puts it. This is just the praying formula, "Do ut des." To cite another instance, when the Emperor Ingyo got no game a-hunting all day long in the Island of Awaji, divination revealed that it was by the divine will of Izanagi that game in the island was unobtainable; and the same God disclosed his will, saying:—"If you obtain a beautiful pearl

from the bottom of the Sea of Akashi and send it to me as an offering, I shall in return let you have much game" (Cf. *E.T.N.*, vol. I, pp. 322, 323).

In the *Joiei-shikimoku* or Administrative code of the Joiei Era, we read:—"Devotional reverence on the part of man makes a Deity more and more supreme, while by virtue of the Divine Grace man's life is doubly blessed" (*G.R.K.*, vol. XIV, p. 1).

This formula shows that God and man are always in reciprocal relations, and necessarily they depend upon each other. In short, it is nothing but another way of expressing the religious formula "Do ut des."

MURAOKA TSUNETSUGU ON SHINTO THOUGHT

Muraoka was a major scholar of the late Meiji period whose thought represents a combination of profound and independent research, albeit in the context of the prevailing atmosphere of State Shinto. He was very much aware that the predominant view of Shinto was highly political, but he worked within these limits, producing serious and valuable work on many aspects of Shinto that were and are of interest but largely inaccessible to foreign scholars of Japan. The entire volume from which the following extract is taken is worth reading. He covers many aspects of Shinto thought, particularly Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane. These discussions are extremely well written and are very profound. The pages reproduced here deal with a number of distinctive aspects of Shinto, features that distinguish Japan from other Asian cultures. While antagonists might argue that his writing was designed to support the claims of State Shinto, careful reading reveals no such agenda. It is rather a simple and serious attempt to do for Japan what has been done for other cultural thought systems such as India and China, namely, to identify and define what gives it its peculiar character. In that respect, Muraoka was perhaps ahead of his time. The definitive volume on that subject came more than a generation later in the famous work by Nakamura Hajime, *The Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples*. Muraoka's work laid the foundations for all subsequent comparative cultural studies involving Japan and Shinto.

Text: Muraoka Tsunetsugu, *Studies in Shinto Thought* (Tokyo, 1964; translated by Delmer M. Brown and James T. Araki, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), pp. 1-32.

Characteristic Features of Japanese Shinto: Japan's Uniqueness in Oriental Thought

1. "Shinto": Definition and Connotation

Actually the word "Shinto" appears to have emerged quite late. In ancient time

“Kami” was an honorific term for sacred objects having awesome potency (*iryoku*)—whether in heaven, on earth, or among men. The word “*Kamigoto*” referred to the worship of these Kami. But in no case was the word “Kami” joined with “way” to produce the word “Shinto” or Way of Kami. In those early times “way” meant no more than a road or a path; and it had not yet become an abstract religious or moral term. “Shinto,” originally a Chinese word, was used in Japan only after the introduction and spread of Chinese culture to distinguish the Way of Kami “Shintoism” from the Way of Buddha (Buddhism) and the Way of Confucius (Confucianism).

The three earliest examples of the use of the word “Shinto” are all found in the *Nihongi* [completed in 720 A.D.]. The first appears in the section dealing with the reign of Emperor Yoomei (586–587): “The Emperor believed in the Buddhist doctrine and revered Shinto.” The second is in the chapter on the reign of Emperor Kootoku (646–654): “The Emperor. . . revered Buddhist doctrine and slighted Shinto, as was indicated by his cutting down the trees of the Iku-kuni-tama Shrine.” And the third reference is in the same Emperor Kootoku chapter where, in an Imperial Edict (*mikotonori*) of the fourth month of 647, we find this phrase: “I [the Sun Goddess] decree that my children, being as Kami (*kannagara*), shall rule.” A footnote for this reference explains *kannagara* as follows: “[*Kannagara* means] to follow Shinto, or to possess Shinto in one’s self.” This footnote is thought, however, to have been added at a later time; and the second reference, according to Kawamura Hidene [1723–1792] in his *Shoki Shikkai* (Collected Annotations on the *Nihongi*), is considered to be a critical note taken, later on, from the *Nihongi shiki*. If we throw out the second and third references, the first becomes the earliest authentic use of the word “Shinto” in the *Nihongi*. And since “Shinto” does not appear at all in the *Kojiki* [completed in 712 A.D.], we have no choice but to attempt to grasp its early meaning from this one example. But it must be admitted that with only one reference we cannot understand the term precisely.

But we should also recognize that while “Shinto” was used to distinguish Kami rites and ceremonies from Buddhism and Confucianism, a somewhat theoretical or even abstract meaning—over and beyond reference to Kami ceremony—was soon added. This was an early indication of later historical developments. In the Heian Era [784–1185] “Shinto” was used often in the *Shoku Nihongi* (Continuation of the *Nihongi*) and the *Fusoo ryakki* (Abbreviated Record of Ancient Japan). In those accounts the word referred only to Kami rites and Kami shrines. But it began to take on doctrinal meaning at the end of the Heian Era, or at the beginning of the Kamakura [1185–1333], when indigenous beliefs and practices became fused with Buddhism to take the form of Dual Shinto (*ryobu shinto*). This doctrinal element was strengthened by the emergence of Shinto theology during and after the North-South Court Era [1336–1392], a development that culminated in the Unique Shinto (*yuitsu shintoo*) of the Yoshida family and that led to the Confucian Shinto (*jugaku shintoo*) of early Tokugawa [1600–1868].

In the Restoration Shinto (*fukko shinto*), also called Ancient-Learning Shinto (*kogaku shinto*), which developed in the middle of the Tokugawa Era, attempts were made to cleanse Shinto doctrine of Confucian and Buddhist ingredients. In this attempt to restore Shinto to its ancient form, the central aim was to eliminate Chinese influences. Consequently the use of "Shinto," being a word that was easily confused with the Way of Heaven (*t'ien-tao*) as expounded in the *Book of Changes*, was avoided. In its place Ancient Way (*kodoo*) was used. People like Motoori Norinaga [1730–1801] explained that Ancient Way was: "The Way first created and supported by the Imperial ancestral Kami." Hirata Atsutane [1776–1843] used the word "Shinto" in his *Kamoosho* (Rebuke of Error), an attack on Dazai Jun's [1680–1747] *Bendoosho* (Definition of the Way). But later on, Hirata favored the term Ancient Way. In *Zoku Shinto taii* (Outline of Vulgar Shinto) he dealt with the Buddhist Shinto and the Confucian Shinto that had emerged after the Kamakura Era; but the book in which he advanced his own views of Shinto was entitled *Kodo taii* (Outline of the Ancient Way). His Ancient Way was nothing but ancient Shinto. In the Hirata School, this was referred to as the "original doctrine," the "true doctrine," or "the great doctrine." In ordinary official usage today a distinction is made between "Shinto" and "shrines" (*jinja*). As everyone knows, Shinto includes only the various founder-established sects developed as popular faiths after the middle of the Tokugawa Era, and *jinja* refers to the others.

From what has already been said it is clear that each form of Shinto—from ancient Shinto to Founder Shinto—had its own individuality. Some sects were even opposed to, or incompatible with, others. It was natural that some should reject other sects and assert themselves. Consequently, if we were to concentrate on the individual qualities of each form of Shinto, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to identify the special characteristics of Shinto as a whole. The character of Shinto as a whole should be sought for in the characteristics that are common—regardless of individual differences—to all forms of Shinto and that distinguish Shintoism from Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Externally, various forms of Shintoism have been influenced—directly and indirectly—by Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity; and, internally, various changes have occurred in the individual character of those forms. But there are some common qualities which set Shinto apart from foreign religions. Of course it is natural that Shinto should have its special character. And it is my objective to clarify this special character, principally in the areas of doctrine and thought.

There are three main points that can be made about the special character of Shinto: its *kokoku shugi* (Imperial-Country-ism); its realism; and its *meijo shugi* (brightness-purity-ism). The first is Japanese nationalism focused upon the Imperial Family. The second reveres reality, standing on reality and not disregarding reality—this is of course not to be equated with anti-idealism. The third upholds the immaculate in the sense that there is reverence for the bright and the pure. Now I would like to search for the meaning of these three characteristics by investigating their principal manifestations in the various forms of Shinto.

2. *The First Characteristic: Kokoku shugi*

By *kokoku shugi* it is proclaimed, first of all, that Japan is ruled by an Emperor who is descended in one line, for ages eternal, from a Kami ancestor; and that there is an identity of Emperor and state. This idea is quite unique—whether we think of Confucianism, Buddhism, or Christianity—and there is no doubt but that it is common to the various forms of Shinto.

Now in moving to a somewhat detailed treatment, I submit that a particularly important question is: to what extent is this idea rooted in ancient Shinto? More precisely, how deeply was the idea implanted in the thought of the ancient Japanese before they were subjected to Confucian and Buddhist influences? In order to answer this question we must probe the myths of the *Kojiki*. Even though the *Kojiki* was compiled in the Nara Era, as a compilation of legend to be used for reciting, it includes—especially in the Age-of-Kami legends of the first book—thoughts of the ancient Japanese people. Since the Age-of-Kami legends emerged out of the consciousness of the ancients, we can see well, in the elements and composition of these legends, the earliest ideas, thoughts and ideals of the Japanese. Of course, these Age-of-Kami legends are by no means religious or moral classics, nor are they political treatises. Consequently, religious, moral, and political matters are not dealt with clearly. Rather, the search must be conducted in shadow paths. And yet we need not resort to fancies based on individual preferences. In order to investigate and clarify this early thought, we should consider, first of all, the structure of the *Kojiki*.

Kokoku shugi, which had its roots in ancient Shinto, was exalted differently in later forms of Shinto. In spite of the fact that Buddhism was not originally a state faith, the proponents of Buddhist Shinto, for example, did not fail to adopt *kokoku shugi* in the Mahayana spirit. And although Confucianism was associated with the concept of the virtuous becoming rulers, proponents of Confucian Shinto not only violated Confucianism on this point but even effected, through Confucianism, a moralistic development of *kokoku shugi*. In short, both Buddhist Shinto and Confucian Shinto, insofar as they were Shinto, supported *kokoku shugi*.

In some form or other, *kokoku shugi* was the most important tenet in the doctrines of Ancient-Learning Shinto (which aimed at a reawakening of the spirit of ancient Shinto and a return to ancient Shinto), in quasi-Ancient-Learning Shinto, in Vulgar Shinto, and also in Founder Shinto (represented by the Kurozumi Sect and other “pure” religious faiths).

3. *The Second Characteristic of Shinto: Realism*

The second characteristic of Shintoism as a whole is its realism. By realism I mean that thinking which affirms and values the real. Even when propounding ideals, such thought is based on the real, not veering towards that which is simply imagined, but emphasizing the putting of things into practice. This characteristic, like the first characteristic, *kokoku shugi*, penetrates all forms and phases of Shinto. In this case, too, let us look first at the matter from the point

of view of its origins in ancient Shinto. We will deal with two aspects: the human outlook and the world outlook.

By the human outlook I mean the outlook on life and death, on what is auspicious and inauspicious, and on what is good and evil. First, let us consider the outlook on life and death. In the consciousness of the Japanese people of antiquity there was a confrontation between the visible and the concealed worlds. The concealed which became visible was said to be "manifest" (*aru*), and the visible which became concealed was said to have "vanished" (*usu*). The process of changing, whether to the visible or the concealed, was termed "becoming" (*naru*). As a result of the action of reproduction, the emerging of things from the concealed world into the visible was "birth" (*umaru*). Conversely, when things entered the concealed world from the visible, there was "death" (*shinu*). Death, in other words, was hiding—it definitely did not mean a return to nothingness. The "concealed person"; and the "concealed world" was the opposite of the "manifest world." But since the "concealed person" and the "concealed world" existed as negative aspects of the "manifest person" and the "manifest world," that which was real was always fundamental.

According to the world-outlook aspect of realism, as distinct from the human outlook, the "great eight islands" or the "central country of the reed plains" was considered a unique world. It was a glorious, peaceful country referred to as the "beautiful grain country" and the "luxuriant reed plain." And this country was created by the "birth of the land" (*kuniumi*) of the two ancestral Kami of the Imperial Family. It was a good country that was to be ruled by the descendants of the Sun Goddess in one unbroken line for ages eternal.

4. *The Third Characteristic Feature: Meijo shugi*

Meijo shugi, the third characteristic feature of Shintoism, refers to the reverence for brightness and purity in all matter and thought. Here, too, roots are found in ancient Shinto. We can understand this by noting those ancient-Shinto views of good and evil that appear in the Age-of-Kami books of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, and in the ancient liturgies, and by noting goodness and badness—discussed above—as good and bad fortune. It has already been pointed out that good was identical with that which was auspicious, and bad with that which was inauspicious. If we now ask how badness and goodness were conceived in ancient Shinto, in what was later called a "moral sense," that answer is that badness was a pollution and goodness was purity. This was a very simple stage of moralistic conception—at that time the word "*tsumi*" (abomination) was identified with pollution (*kegare*). In the frequent appearances of the word "*tsumi*" in the Emperor Chuai chapter of the *Kojiki*, and in the Great Purification liturgy (*ooharae no kotoba*), the meaning is roughly the same. According to these references, such *tsumi* as defiling one's mother was something which today would be classified as a moral "sin." But natural disasters such as "disasters from birds on high" (*takatsutori no wazawai*) or "disasters from Kami on high" (*takatsukami no wazawai*)—as well as various physical disfigurements like albinism and

skin growths—were also thought of as *tsumi*. Thus *tsumi* was pollution to the senses. On the opposite side of such simple thinking there existed, along with the taboo of pollution, a reverence for that which was pure and bright.

Purification (*harai*) was a means of removing *tsumi*. This was a ritual by which the body was purified and pollution expelled. The ceremony goes back to Izanagi's self-purification at Ahakihara in Tsukushi after returning from Yomi where he came into contact with pollution. It is recorded in the *Kojiki* that as a result of Izanagi's act of purification three august Kami, including the Sun Goddess, were born. Thus the aim of exorcism was to attain purity from pollution: the spirit of the act is identified with *meijo shugi*.

Just how purity is obtained from pollution, as a result of the ceremony, becomes clear when we observe the process of expunging *tsumi* in the Great Purification liturgy. When exorcism is performed, the Kami of the various river shoals and the Kami of the ocean depths cooperate in carrying the pollution from the river to the sea and, finally, to the distant ocean depths. Then the Kami of the ocean depths swallow the pollution and blow it away to the "root country" (*ne no kuni*) or "bottom country" (*soko no kuni*). Thus the pollution is chased back to Yomi from whence it came, and the *tsumi* of man is thereby completely removed—man is purified. Here, along with reverence for purity, we see manifested the thought that persons born in this world are originally pure and that the pollution of *tsumi* belongs to Yomi. In the final analysis, pollution has only a negative existence. Needless to say, this is a very simple outlook, both as a view of evil and as moral thought. But imbedded within it is the important idea of reverence for purity in all things. This idea was developed psychologically and was identified with a motivistic, not a utilitarian, point of view. We can find notable examples of this in the Imperial Edict (*senmyo*) recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi*. Of course there is variety in the sixty-two Imperial Edicts, beginning with the one issued on the occasion of the enthronement of Emperor Temmu [in 697] and ending with the one issued by Emperor Kwammu in 789; but these are unique Japanese documents that are, in general, rich in moralistic, political and legal thought. The most frequent and notable idea appearing in these ancient Imperial Edicts are: "the pure heart" (*kiyoki kokoro*); "the bright heart" (*akaki kokoro*); and "the pure and bright heart" (*kiyoki akaki kokoro*). In the concatenation and simplification used in the following phrases we see the development of moralistic content:

"a bright, pure, and *honest and sincere heart*";

"a pure, bright, *upright and honest heart*";

"not with an *evil heart*, but with a pure, bright heart";

"not with an *obsequious, deceitful heart*, but in loyalty, with candid sincerity";

"in accord with the principle [of proper relations between] ruler and minister;

with a *faithful, pure heart*";

- “a brightly *faithful* heart”;
 “a *faithfully* bright and pure heart”;
 “brightly pure heart *without a double heart*”;
 “pure, bright heart; *upright and honest words.*”

These are quite commonplace terms that are seen in almost all of the ancient Imperial Edicts, and that signify, in each case, a sense of loyalty on the part of the minister and subject to the Imperial court.

5. Conclusion

In the above I have taken *kokoku shugi* (Imperial Country-ism), realism (*genjitsu shugi*), and *meijo shugi* (brightness-purity-ism) as three common characteristics of Shinto. By giving outstanding examples, I have explained how these characteristics emerged in ancient Shinto and how they appeared and developed in the various periods of Shinto history. Finally I should like to add a few words by way of conclusion.

These three characteristics were chosen because of their prominence—that is, they were identified inductively. I have made no attempt to analyze them deductively on theoretical foundations. Although we cannot be precise about this, if we were to identify, in general, the areas where these three characteristics would be representative or paramount, we could probably say, first of all, that *meijo shugi* is an ethical characteristic of Shinto. Secondly, in view of the fact that realism makes up the underlying tone of the life-outlook and world-outlook of Shinto, it probably would not be inappropriate to say that realism is a philosophical characteristic. Finally, although it is difficult to be specific about *kokoku shugi*, since it has an essentially broad character, it can probably be designated as a basically political characteristic.

In the last analysis, since the three characteristics are nothing but manifestations of a single intellectual strain that lies deep within them, it is this “intellectual strain” which we may term the essence of Shinto. Although Shinto is certainly not monolithic, having appeared in different forms down through history, this strain is really basic to all that is Shinto—in other words, to all those characteristics that are common to Shinto, in contradiction to Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity. And “that which is Shinto” should probably be considered as forming the most important part, if not the whole, of that which is Japanese. The Japanese spirit or Japanese thought, when considered historically, undoubtedly possesses “that which is Shinto” in a fundamental way. At the same time, Shinto in this sense, but not necessarily as a religion in rivalry with others, may well have been the factors which imparted to all religions in Japan those unique features which distinguish them from their appearances in their own country or in countries other than Japan.

Muraoka speaks of an “inductive approach” rather than a rational or analytical one. Nevertheless, he identifies a strand of philosophical re-

alism and a strand of ethical intuitionism. In other words, if Shinto is to be discussed by means of Western intellectual categories, and if Muraoka is correct, minority philosophical positions provide a more useful set of conceptual tools than some of the major or orthodox traditions. The absence of this insight is perhaps one explanation of the difficulty that Western scholarship has had in coming to terms with Shinto in an academically constructive way, making possible the growth of the various manifestations of a dismissive attitude.

ANESAKI MASAHARU ON JAPANESE RELIGION

Anesaki is better known as a Buddhist scholar than a writer about Shinto. He does, however, offer perspectives on Shinto in his works. I have assembled here a selection of short passages from three texts covering different themes in Japanese religion, each of which offers some comment about Shinto. It is necessary to piece these together to form an understanding of Anesaki's views. The first of these is from his magnum opus on the history of Japanese religion. He deals with Shinto as a tribal religion, one that grew up in an agricultural society and that consequently, as he puts it, accelerated the worship of the divinity of the sun, Amaterasu. The cultic life of the people remained split between the national cult and the local, or clan, cults. (This split is reflected in the diagram of the development of Shinto found in *Essentials of Shinto*, pp. 5-6.) The *ujigami* or clan *kami* was the focal point of local worship, while the national element was pursued by the leading families and clans. Therefore, the Japanese sense of national identity also derives from these factors because Shinto rites were communal in both the local and supralocal sense.

Anesaki traces the origins of Shinto to sacred spaces, locations where the presence of *kami* was felt, that were marked off and in due course made into the site of sacred buildings where rituals could be performed. In the passage quoted here, the analogy with Stonehenge and the Druids is extremely apt, especially in view of the New Age revival of interest in reverence for nature as found in the religions of the earth.

In the second passage, taken from a general work about religion in Japanese life, Anesaki offers some observations about State Shinto and places it within both the framework of the history of Japan and that of Shinto.

Finally, in the third passage quoted, it comes out very clearly that reverence for nature, as Anesaki saw it, was also an integral part of the

cults, because physical surroundings played such an important part in forming the patterns of daily life. "This," he says, "may be called the Hellenic feature in Japanese life, because the religious and social life of the people is manifested in festivities and in connection with the poetry of nature." It is again interesting to note the perceived analogy with classical Greece.

Text: Anesaki Masaharu, *History of Japanese Religion, with Special Reference to the Social and Moral Life of the Nation* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930), pp.

Cult and Priesthood

The Shinto sanctuary was very simple, as was quite natural in a rather primitive religion, yet remarkably simpler than in many other religions. Its simplicity is due not merely to the preservation of its primitive character, but in many cases to deliberate purity and intentional austerity. The deity was worshipped, in the remote ages of prehistoric antiquity, at a hallowed ground enclosed by trees or fences planted around a square and marked off by a sanctified rope of straw. The enclosure was either temporary or permanent and called *himorogi*, which is explained in various ways, often in mystic interpretations by later Shintoists, but it seems to have meant an abode of the deity. There were also sacred grounds surrounded by stones, like Stonehenge of the Druids (they were called *iwa-ki*, stone enclosure, or *kogo*, divine abode), the remains of which are found mostly in western Japan. These primitive sanctuaries were gradually replaced by the shrines which mark the Shinto sanctuaries of to-day. But these shrines are mostly built in wooded places and preserve the atmosphere of primitive nature-worship.

Text: Anesaki Masaharu, *Religious Life of the Japanese People* (Tokyo: Japan Cultural Society, 1970; original published in 1936), pp. 19–20.

The peculiarity of the status of the Shinto sanctuaries and priests was greatly effected by the so-called State Shinto which lasted for eighty years from the middle of the nineteenth century to the end of the last war. It would not be too much to say that Shinto was deprived of much of its original religious character during this period, if it was given some refinement of a particular kind. The government policy in these years was to do everything possible to eliminate religious features from the Shinto shrines. . . .

Yet with all such efforts, State Shinto could neither lose altogether those characteristics derived from the ancient indigenous religion nor be indif-

ferent to the aspirations of individual worshippers for prayer, divination, or exorcism. Indeed, the main, if not entire, support of the majority of the sanctuaries and their priests was derived from the *osaisen*, or "homage coins," and other offerings made by these individuals. Even those which were largely supported by the state would have found themselves in a financial embarrassment, if they lost the income collected by these religious activities.

No matter what the official view was, the religious role of the *jinja* was undeniable. The government policy could have proved to be successful. Shrine Shinto lost its status as the state religion by the defeat of Japan in 1945. After the unconditional surrender of Japan, Shinto was severed from the State by the order of a directive issued from the headquarters of the occupation forces under General MacArthur. So the change was caused in a way by an interference of the outside political force. This has inevitably left some unpleasant aftertaste. But, after all it has not been too unnatural. Shrine Shinto has no better category to be put under than that of religion.

Text: Anesaki Masaharu, *Art, Life and Nature in Japan* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1932), pp. 7-10.

Life varies according to the varying seasons, and the Japanese derives artistic enjoyment which he finds an essential part of life from his ability to respond to nature's suggestions and inspirations. Benignant friendliness is the most striking feature of land and atmosphere in the Japanese archipelago. The blue sea that shimmers in the bright sunshine is embraced by picturesque promontories, crowned by whispering pine trees. There are high mountains, but most of them slope gently; and even Mt. Fuji, the highest peak, is not rugged, but looks in springtime like "a white fan hanging from sky," as a poet has expressed it. The climate is mild nearly everywhere, and along the southern coast is almost perpetual spring. Flowers are abundant, and the foot of Fuji is so embowered in cherry trees that the genius of the mountain is mythologically named the Lady-who-causes-the-trees-to-bloom. Maples redden in autumn, as American maples do, but the leaves are extremely delicate; the spirit of autumn is personified as the Brocade weaving lady. . . .

When winter turns to spring
 Birds that were songless make their songs sound,
 Flow'rs that we flowerless cover the ground;
 But in the autumn tide
 I cull the scarlet leaves and love them dear
 And let the green leaves stay, with many a tear
 All on the fair hill-side; . . .

Thus sang a poetess of the seventh century. . . .

Religion also contributes to the intimate association of sentiment with nature. Both Buddhism and Shintoism teach that the things of nature are not essentially unlike mankind, and even that they are endowed with spirits similar to those of men. Accordingly, awe and sublimity are almost unknown in Japanese painting and poetry, but beauty and grace and gentleness are visible in every work.

While the preceding text does not speak of Shinto per se, it is perhaps worthy of note as an exposition of the kind of attitudes toward nature and the natural, legacies of Shinto that characterize the Japanese view of life. The text was originally delivered at the Fogg Museum at Harvard University a number of years before publication. Anesaki's poetic description of Japan, combined with his use of a seventh-century poet, expressing, as he claims she does, in naive simplicity and with a love of nature the dearest heritage of the nation, underlines my earlier remarks about the importance of the poetic soul in the process of both understanding and explaining the culture of the Japanese. The frequent references to the classical age of Greece, cited in writers quoted earlier, can be seen in the same light.

ANZU MOTOHIKO'S CLASSIFICATION OF SHINTO

The late Anzu Motohiko was a distinguished scholar and director of the Institute of Japanese Culture at Kokugakuin University. This passage is taken from his paper presented at the Second International Congress on Shinto Studies in 1955.

Text: Anzu Motohiko, paper presented at the Second International Conference on Shinto Studies, *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Shinto Studies*, 1955, pp. 61–63.

Shinto, Seiji (Government), Kokutai (National Character)

The subject is the national character and government (politics) seen from the view point of a Shinto scholar. I would like to discuss whether Shinto has any relationship with the national character and government of Japan, and if so where and how.

I. Classification of Shinto

Tentatively I shall classify Shinto as follows:

1. Sect Shinto

This means Shinto group started by a religious personality such as Tenri-kyo, Konko-kyo, and Kurozumi-kyo, the so called thirteen sects and similar religious bodies.

2. School Shinto

This originated in the Middle Ages (12th century). Shinto scholastics regard *Kojiki*, *ihonshoki* and *Norito* as their canon. Their intention is to systemize Shinto theory (*Suiga* and *Fukko* Shinto) and to expound the divine virtue of *Kami* to whom a certain *jinja* is dedicated (*Geku* and *Inari* Shinto).

But Shinto study has not yet clearly differentiated these schools. All are systematic and expound Shinto by consciously regarding it as opposed to Buddhism and Confucianism. This is something new that was started in the Middle Ages.

3. Jinja Shinto

This is centered on the sacred building called *yashiro* and is mainly concerned with ceremony. The motive power that had established and maintained *jinja* can be defined as the traditional power the Japanese race was naturally endowed with and this is what differentiates this type of Shinto from the Sect Shinto, which was started at a certain time by a certain religious personality, or from any other religion. However it is insufficient to interpret this power as faith. If one understands Shinto from the modern European view point, in which faith and government are considered to confront each other or sometimes to be incompatible, the idea that the power of Shinto is the same as faith is unacceptable.

This power gives direction to the basic attitude toward life for the Japanese people as it grows and modifies itself with life. While this power is regarded as static, it is actually very flexible. This is one reason why questions about Jinja Shinto may be answered in so many ways depending on the person who gives the answer, leading to confusion in the mind of the questioner. Jinja Shinto is closely related to life, especially productive life (agriculture in the past) and so it cannot be indifferent to government, the state being one side of life. In the fact that Shinto belongs to the so-called "once-born" type of religion and not the "twice-born" type exists the inevitability that Shinto is naturally related to government.

II. One Characteristic of Shinto

The common characteristic of the above mentioned three types of Shinto, which differentiates them from Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, or Judaism is that they do not consider the second life (*higan*) important in comparison to the first (this life). I have mentioned W. James' theory of two types of religion. J. W. T. Mason

distinguishes Shinto as “preparation for life” and not “preparation for death” as are other types of religion.

Shinto is a religion closely related to life centered around *kami*, that is, this life. It does not entirely disregard the second life (paradise or heaven, etc.) but it thinks of it as only secondary to the first life. Shinto, “the religion of *tsuranari* (the link)” believes in this life as the original point of *tsuranari*. Its belief in *Takamagahara* or *yomi* (the world of the dead is centered on “this side of the border”).

III. Government, State

“*Seiji*,” the translation of the word “politics” or “politik” (which has different connotation from *matsurigoto*) may be explained in many ways. But however is the word explained theoretically regarding its system, object, authority, or function, politics is the system for the management of human life, in this world, the method and object of its management. It is essentially connected with life on earth. However, in relation to the importance attached to this earthly life politics—*seiji*—is made much of, or made light of, or even ignored. It appears that since the Modern Ages, like it or not, man has taken a serious view of this earthly life. It must be recognized that gradually politics is gaining importance compared with other aspects of human life.

It is said that the state is established when a minority, to maintain order in social life, gains the power to force the submission of the majority. Accordingly the characteristics of a state vary depending on what coercive power is used, whether a benevolent state emerges or the will of the person in power. Thus it follows that the state as such is not necessarily distasteful. If one deals with the state in a general way one ignores historical facts.

There is a group of scholars who criticize the state as a coercive organ which only secures and protects the interests of a few. There is historical background to this theory of state power. On the other hand, nowadays there is also another theory just as effective which calls the state a “service state” or “welfare state.” Both these theories are heard in Europe and represent a part of the understanding of the facts about state. These various views about the state have been born and have changed in the course of time.

In Europe it is said that the state as a unit of a race, that is, the modern state, was formed after the Thirty Years War (1618–48). As the modern states developed, “separation of power” and the establishment of human rights were sought, and in the 10th century “universal suffrage” spread, causing the birth of the so-called mass democracy. But thereupon the old modern state was severely criticized of having functioned as an organ to protect the bourgeoisie. . . .

ONO SOKYO ON BRANCHES OF SHINTO AND TYPES OF *KAMI*

Ono Sokyō is most famous for his book *Shinto: The Kami Way*, a brief excerpt from which follows this text. It is a useful but innocuous de-

scription of Shinto and its rituals. For many years, it remained the only widely available book written on the subject by a Japanese. The concept of *kami* is central to Sokyo's writing. The first extract deals with types of *kami* and is taken from a paper Sokyo gave at the 1955 Conference on Shinto Studies.

Text: Ono Sokyo, "The Concept of Kami in Shinto," *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Shinto Studies, 1955*, pp. 11–15.

Shinto and Its Branches

The word Shinto has a wide range of applications and is ambiguous. Shinto also can be divided into many very different branches. In my opinion anyone who discusses Shinto must be clearly aware of which branch he is talking about or what perspective he is taking and indicate it. As an expedient I would like to use the following diagram to show that my standpoint is centered around Jinja Shinto as a part of *Matsuri-gata* Shinto (Ritualistic Shinto).

Shinto

Koshitsu Saishi (Imperial Household)

Matsuri-gata (Shinto Rituals)

(Ritualistic Shinto) *Jinju* and *jinja* Saishi—Jinja Shinto

Minzoku Saishi (Folk Rituals)

Kyoha Shinto (Sectarian Shinto)—13 Sects

Oshie-gata Shinto *Shin Kyoha Kyodan* Shinto (Neo-Doctrinal Shinto)

(Sectarian Shinto)—*Shin Shukyo* (New religions)

Types of kami

Kami who are mentioned in the Shinto classics or who are enshrined and thus well-known as to their names and characteristics may be classified as follows:

1. *Kami* who are creators.
2. *Kami* who are personifications of mysterious and spiritual functions.
3. *Kami* who are deifications of human spirits. Included are imperial family, clan ancestors, spirits of persons who contributed to the founding of the state or to local development, spirits of persons who have done great service to the state, spirits of local lords, spirits of victims, spirits of people who devoted themselves to culture, spirits of certain foreigners, spirits of certain priests, spirits of the dead where the tradition of ancestor-worship exists.
4. Spirits of the founders of certain occupations or special techniques.

5. *Kami* found in natural phenomena. Included are *kami* of the sun, moon, stars, fire, water, rain, thunder, wind, and spirits of the earth, of mountains, of the sea, of the river, of ports, of wells, of waterfalls, of rocks, etc.
6. *Kami* related to animals and plants. Included are: Spirits of rabbits, divine snakes, grass, trees, grains, etc.
7. *Kami* related to human life, clothing, food, housing, etc.
8. Others.
 - A. *Kami* whose existence is postulated from certain conceptions of the cosmos—*Kami* of heaven, earth, underground (death), other world (*Tokoyo-no-kami*).
 - B. *Kami* classified by divine characteristics: *Kami* of goodness, evil, rebellion, roughness, purity, fraud, etc.
 - C. Comparative classification: Great *Kami*, little *kami*, high *kami*, low *kami*.
 - D. Relationship classification: Ancestor *kami*, parent *kami*, child *kami*, *kami* of brothers, rulers, subordinates, masters, servants, kings, subjects, etc.

In the above you will notice words that express the concept of classification. In this sort of classification there are many *kami* to whom characteristics contrary to greatness are attributed. In Shinto this does not do any harm to faith, but on the contrary just as with greatness of number, has a positive meaning.

Ono Sokyo's view of *kami* would appear to offer grounds in support of the argument that Shinto is polytheistic. The distinction was created in the nineteenth century as part of the higher versus primitive religions framework of classification. I often wonder why the question of whether Shinto is polytheistic continually arose, even at the end of the twentieth century. For those who think in terms of the traditional Western categories, it seems necessary to offer an answer. Monotheistic religions are seen as pure, whereas polytheistic religions are seen as close to paganism.

Those who work with a different set of conceptual tools may approach the subject in more than one way. The issue may be shifted from polytheistic versus monotheistic, to religion of the earth versus religion of history, for example. In such a framework, the issue shifts from the metaphysical status of the divine to the ways of experiencing and knowing the divine. That approach permits us to speak of both the unity and

the diversity of the ways in which the divine manifests itself in human life.

The Platonic theory of form, *mutatis mutandis*, provides a helpful model. While the world consists of many diverse entities, all of these draw their character from a form that exists in the world of ideas. The inseparability of unity and diversity is one implication of this theory. Because of the unity of the shared common character, we can recognize the diversity. Through perceiving the similarities within the diversity, we can grasp the possibility of unity. Unity and diversity are not therefore exclusive. They are like two sides of the same coin. Without the one we cannot recognize the other.

In his later 1959 text, Ono somewhat refines the concept of *kami*, indicating that in modern Shinto, a concept upon which he does not elaborate, it carries extended meaning. He does point out that the basis of the idea is intuition, and that some attempt is now being made to express Shinto concepts in theological terms.

Text: Ono Sokyo, *Shinto: The Kami Way: An Introduction to Shrine Shinto* (International Institute for the Study of Religion, Tokyo, Bulletin no. 8, December 1959), pp. 7, 8.

It is true, that in many instances there are *kami* which apparently cannot be distinguished from the deities or spirits of animism or animatism, but in modern Shinto, all *kami* are conceived in a refined sense to be spirits with nobility and authority. The *kami*-concept today includes the idea of justice, order, and divine favor (blessing), and implies the basic principle that the *kami* function harmoniously in cooperation with one another and rejoice in the evidence of harmony and cooperation in this world.

Generally speaking, there is considerable difference between the *kami*-concept at present and in ancient times. That is, the concept, while remaining in the same basic tradition, has been greatly refined. Nevertheless, the refined and unrefined concepts may still be found side by side.

There are many points in the *kami*-concept that cannot be fully understood, and there is some disagreement even among modern scholars on this subject. The Japanese people themselves do not have a clear idea regarding the *kami*. They are aware of the *kami* intuitively at the depth of their consciousness and communicate with the *kami* directly without having formed the *kami*-idea conceptually or theologically. Therefore it is impossible to make explicit and clear that which fundamentally by its very nature is vague. Only in recent times have Shinto leaders been endeavoring to develop a unified theology regarding the *kami*. Thus although increasing attention is being paid to this subject, there are still many matters that are not clear even among Shintoists.

SAKAMAKI SHUNZO AND SHINTO ETHNOCENTRISM

Sakamaki Shunzo belongs to the prewar generation in the sense that he became a professor at the University of Hawaii in 1936. The excerpts reproduced here are from a paper written for *The Japanese Mind*, an excellent anthology of philosophical writings about Japanese culture, all the work of the finest representatives of the Japanese academic tradition, including Furukawa Tesshi, Hori Ichiro, Nakamura Hajime, and 1949 Nobel Prize winner Yukawa Hideki. The only paper about Shinto is the one by Sakamaki. Its stated objective is to summarize the "major philosophical tenets propounded by its most articulate protagonists prior to the present period."

The paper begins with a definition of *kami* and a summary account of the mythological origins of the Japanese archipelago. In trying to pinpoint the place of Shinto within the tradition, he draws a parallel with the early Christian era, and through this, identifies some of the distinctive features of the tradition.

Text: Sakamaki Shunzo, "Shinto: Japanese Ethnocentrism," in *The Japanese Mind: Essentials of Japanese Philosophy and Culture*, ed. Charles Moore (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967), pp. 26–27.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, no distinction was made between religious and governmental ceremonies. The chief of a community (*uji*) acted as its spokesman or intermediary in spiritual as well as temporal matters, and the "emperor" was virtually the "high priest" for the whole people.

The *kami* were invoked in prayers of thanksgiving or of supplication for some measures of material blessing, such as good harvests, protection from natural calamities and evil spirits or forces, freedom from sickness and the like. Concepts of moral wrongdoing or sin were barely being adumbrated, so that prayers were not for forgiveness of sins or spiritual blessedness, but for physical well-being and temporal prosperity.

After a brief account of the basic attitudes of people towards life, impurity and pollution, he speaks of Buddhism.

With the arrival of that vast conglomeration of cults and faiths that Buddhism had become by the sixth century A.D., the indigenous faith of Japan took on the appellation "Shinto," The Way of the Gods, to distinguish itself from "Butsuda," The Way of the Buddha. As a vehicle of the culture of the continent, Buddhism effected epochal changes in Japan, and in point of doctrinal content there was a great disparity between it and Shinto. The former found in the latter, a worthy and formidable adversary, inasmuch as the latter was inextricably identified with Japanese ethnocentrism, and so, its temporal power as possessor of land and guardian of the imperial domain could not readily be wrenched from it.

Chapter 9

CONTEMPORARY WESTERN DISCUSSIONS OF SHINTO

INTRODUCTION: THE POSTWAR WESTERN STUDY OF JAPAN AND THE REAPPRAISAL OF SHINTO

In the early postwar years, as a result of the tendencies discussed in the introduction to chapter 7, only negative publications about Shinto appeared in the West until Herbert completed his book in 1958. He was first in the field, and he made a tremendous effort to document what he could of Shinto with little grasp of the Japanese language and little to guide him through the maze. For example, he obviously did not appear fully to realize the nature of the changes that had overtaken Japan. He had a preface written by the Marquis Yukitada Sasaki, although the Japanese House of Aristocrats had been abolished after the war. He did not have any access to sources directly, which is obvious at times. Nevertheless, he is sincere and unpretentious, and he produced a most valuable study. My own work in 1979 was the first book-length attempt to interpret rather than document or simply describe Shinto since 1945. The introduction to that book, written by the first of the postwar Japanologists and later U.S. ambassador to Japan, the late Professor Edwin O. Reischauer, brought Shinto into the mainline of Japan studies of the period. Along with the revived study of Japanese religion, the interpretation of Japan was taken up again by Western scholars as a major task.

The evolution of Japan studies since 1945 is a separate topic that could

fill many pages. However, with regard to the study of Shinto, it is useful to see it in the context of this evolution and to be aware of the influences that prevailing modes of thought may have upon how specific subjects are approached. Three contributions on problems in Japan studies are worthy of note in this discussion. The first is from J. V. Neustupny, professor of applied Japanese linguistics at Osaka University, in "The World of Japanese Studies—Japanology and Beyond" (*Japan Foundation Newsletter* 21, no. 1, pp. 9–12). He made the critical observation from his experience in Europe that "students in the Japanology departments were receiving no theoretical or methodological preparation to face the contemporary world and the problem of Japan in the world." In other words, the question of what counts as evidence in an argument was not raised, nor was the context in which such evidence should be evaluated. He pointed out the disastrous results of what happens when Japanology becomes an area studies project that disregards the existence of disciplines. Second, Alexander M. Kabanoff, senior researcher at the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies, identified some of the phases through which Japan studies had passed in an article titled "The World of Japanese Studies—Collapse or Breakthrough; An Outsider's View" (*Japan Foundation Newsletter* 21, no. 2, pp. 18–21). He traced the rise of the early generalizing Japanologists, from the *Nihonjin-ron* and *Nihon bunka-ron* (theory of the Japanese and theory of Japanese culture) phases of the 1960s to 1970s to the more discipline-focused styles of the 1980s, which he sees as professional with regard to being discipline-focused but lacking breadth of perspective. He criticized specialists in the fields of economics, social sciences, literature, and the arts who lack knowledge of Japanese religion and history. Another publication of this type is *Otherness of Japan: Historical and Cultural Influences on Japanese Studies in Ten Countries* (edited by Marumi Befu and Joseph Kreiner; Monographien aus dem Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien [Munich: Iudicum Verlag, 1992]), which addresses the issue of how the background of researchers affects the creation of knowledge about Japan. I have addressed the same topic, arguing that use of interdisciplinary and comparative models is another option to help offset the "Japan is unique" view while showing that cultural divergence is nevertheless a reality that must be taken into account in pursuing the study of Japan (Pickens, "Some Questions about Japanese Studies: Images, Goals, and Methodologies," lecture to the Department of Japanese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, September 2, 1993): "What is the value of making models of contrast? They simply help us to understand better

the reason why Japanese responses take the form they do, and offer hints on how to explain and persuade as well as grasp differences in basic approach. . . . Japanese studies will continue to be a part of the ongoing process of overcoming the consequences of cultural difference, and as such will be theoretical, practical, academic, and therapeutic" (pp. 13–14). Unless I am completely mistaken, there is a growing awareness of the need for Japanese studies that are integrated, methodologically sound, and in some sense comprehensive, offering an understanding of Japan and Japan's place in the world, past and present. Some of these different trends are reflected in the approaches taken by the generation of scholars whose work appears in this chapter.

Unfortunately, not every Western writer who has written about Shinto since 1945 can be included here. I have selected some who have written about Shinto as such, and others who have written on Japanese religion or culture and who have included asides on Shinto. Herbert wrote on Shinto whereas Reischauer wrote more generally on Japan. Joseph Kitagawa could have been included in either chapter 8 or chapter 9. In view of the fact that he wrote out of Chicago, and that he was an influential member of the school of religion, I felt it was better to include him with the Western writers. I have included also a piece from Allan Grapard's recent work on the cult of Kasuga Taisha, partly because of its intrinsic merits, but also because he makes several important points about methodology in the study of Japanese cults. There is also a paper by my old friend Thomas Imoos on Jungian archetypes and Shinto that he kindly made available.

The final commentators in the section do not fit into the format too readily. The first is Fosco Mariani, the Italian photographer, whose book *Patterns of Continuity* (Kodansha International) is a remarkable visual exploration of Japan past and present, emphasizing the manner in which traditional motifs have found forms of expression in modern society and culture. Mariani is not, per se, even a scholar of Japan but is a man possessed of astonishing powers of observation. He trained these powers on the physical and social aspects of Japan and produced an essay, illustrated by superb photography, on continuity between Japan past and present. His work demonstrates that amid the discontinuity and disruption created by modernization and war, Japanese culture still retains enormous traits of continuity that are quite clearly visible to those who have eyes to see them. The entire text is fascinating, and while it would not appeal to certain types of scholars who indulge in arbitrary definition of terms, the visual impact of juxtaposed images from past and present is

extremely persuasive. It is difficult to gainsay the conclusions of someone who throws down the concepts in a concrete empirical form and asks, "What do your eyes tell you?"

Last, I have included a sample of what are usually referred to as revisionist theories that claim the use of the term Shinto is incorrect or misleading. I respect any scholars with different points of view, but I would have to say that though the arguments are seriously advanced, I cannot subscribe to Susan E. Tyler's conclusions as quoted. This is followed by Okano Haruko's feminist perspective. At the intellectual level, the questions are real, although I consider that they can be answered. At the level of experience, living amid Shinto rituals and practicing *misogi* provides ample phenomenological and existential evidence that what lies beneath the surface, no matter how it is presented, is Shinto.

JEAN HERBERT ON SHINTO

Text: Jean Herbert, *Shinto: At the Fountain-head of Japan* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1967), pp. 25–28.

Chapter 1: Generalities

A somewhat clearer idea may be gained of what the Kami is—or are—if we consider some specific groups coming under that comprehensive designation.

The classical division, on which the Scriptures always insist, is that made between Heavenly Kami (Ama-tsu-kami or Ten-jin) and Earthly Kami (Kuni-tsu-kami). But here also distinctions are rather elusive. There are cases of course in which there can be no doubt. The Kami who prepared and effected the creation of the world were definitely Heavenly Kami. And on the other hand, the dragon whom Susano-wo slays and whom he calls an "evil" Kami, the "evil Kami which buzzed like fire-flies" on the Earth when the Sun-Goddess decided to send her grandson down to set things in order had evidently nothing Heavenly in them, and should therefore probably *a contrario* be considered as Earthly Kami. But both those groups fall into rather special categories: the Creators into that of "ideal" Kami, i.e. probably those which never had a material body, and the "evil" Kami into one of more or less demoniacal beings which we shall consider later.

In most other cases, the reasons for the distinction are not nearly so clear. One thing is certain, that the criterion does not lie in the origin of the Kami: Susano-wo, the ancestor and prototype of all Earthly Kami, and Amaterasu-oo-mi-kami, the highest and most typical of Heavenly Kami, are brother and sister. And we come across many cases in which avowedly Earthly Kami are direct descendents of the highest Heavenly Kami. Neither can any criterion be found in their beneficent or malevolent nature, since Earthly Kami are worshipped

exactly in the same way and the same spirit of love as the Heavenly Kami, and equally shower blessings on their devotees.

The best suggestion I can offer is that—if we leave aside Kami who are known to have trod this Earth as men (*genzai-shin*), and kamified objects, animate or inanimate, Earthly Kami are those who maintain and defend the existing status of the Earth both against further Heavenly infiltrations and against destructive attacks from hostile forces, while Heavenly Kami are those who endeavor to instil into the Earth further Heavenly influence.

It should be noted that among the denizens of the Shinto Pantheon there are a great number of Goddesses, some of whom stand alone, like the Sun-Goddess and the Goddess of Food, or in groups, like the three Munakata-no-kami, while others are closely connected with a male counterpart, such as Izanami. Some people even claim that Goddesses can in most cases be found also in temples to male Gods, and they draw the conclusion that in very old times the social system of Japan was matriarchal—and therefore peaceful.

In Shinto as in most other Eastern religions, there is no very clear line of demarcation between “good” and “evil” Deities. The assembled Kami themselves called one of the most prominent among them “wicked” and there are many other references to “evil Kami.” There are nevertheless some Divine beings who are notoriously and permanently evil by nature. The highest ones in the hierarchy are the Magatsuhi-no-kami, whom we shall discuss later; they are held responsible for all evil, including sin, pollution and disasters. “Things in life that are bad and unfortunate,” wrote Motoori, “are the acts of the Magatsuhi-no-kami.”

A remarkable feature of Shinto cosmogony is that immediately after the birth of the Magatsuhi-no-kami were born the Rectifying Kami, Naobi-no-kami, “who remove all sin, pollution and disasters, restore the normal state, and bring back the pure, bright, proper and straight world of the Gods.”

Hirata explained that men and Kami all have in them both the spirit of the Magatsuhi-no-kami, which becomes violent when something wrong has been committed, and that of the Naobi-no-kami, the *naobi-no-mitama*, as Motoori calls it, which moderates it and leads it to gentleness.

But there are other and lower entities which are more demoniacal, the Oni, whom Motoori calls Ashiki-kami “evil Kami.” They “always come from outside.” They are spirits “possessing a fearful countenance, great strength and near-human form.” One author explains that “the Oni may be blue, pink, or grey; his face is flat, his wide mouth stretches from ear to ear, on his head grow horns; he often has a third eye on his forehead; his feet have three toes with pointed nails, and his fingers are also three in number.” The Oni are *araburu-kami* (wild spirits), *mono-no-ke* (evil spirits), *bakemono* (beings possessed of magical powers). One official standpoint is that “although they do not really deserve to be considered as Kami, in Shinto it has been thought possible to sooth and pacify their evil hearts and actions by worship (*matsuri*) and thus change them into benevolent Deities.” And as a matter of fact, in the Nikko Fire-festival, the three Onibu who play a part are described as friendly and trustworthy.

One specific instance, among many others, is thus given by the *Nihongi*. About the middle of the sixth century, "the men of Su-shen removed to Segaha Bay. The God of this Bay is a dreadful God, and no one dares to approach him. Half of those who drink of that water (presumably of the Segaha Bay) when thirsty die, and their bones are piled up on the rocky steps. The common people call this place Mishihase no Kami."

There are also Earth-spirits that dwell in the far depths of the mountains below the rocks and ores; they are also known as village-protectors who bring tools for cultivation, as well as weapons.

One outstanding aspect of the concept of Kami in actual worship is that it is extraordinarily flexible. To take only a few points:

1. In many cases, we find a large area of disagreement between theologians as to whether different names refer to the same Kami or to entirely different Kami.
2. In many cases also, it is a matter of controversy whether one name designates one single Kami or a group of two or three or more. The *Ise-monogatari* definitely refers to the three Kami of Sumiyoshi as being one single Kami. Apart from such extreme cases, it often happens that several Kami worshipped in the same temple should be considered collectively for all or most practical purposes; such as the case for the three Munakata-no-kami, the four Kasuga-no-kami, the three Kami of the Nikko Futara-san-jinja, the two Oarai-isosaki-no-kami, etc.
3. When several Kami are enshrined in the same sanctuary (*honden*), separate worship is sometimes offered to each one individually, but more frequently no distinction is made within a collective service, even though they may be of entirely different nature, origin and rank.
4. Many cases can be found when the name of a Kami worshipped in a certain temple has changed, and nobody can be quite certain whether it remains the same Kami, or whether there has been a substitution of one for another.
5. It frequently happens that the same Kami enshrined under the same name in different temples is believed by the worshippers to have entirely different powers (*shintoku*) according to the temple.
6. Different aspects (*mitama*) and consequent modes of action of one and the same Kami are occasionally worshipped in different temples, or even simultaneously within the same temple, sometimes side by side in the same sanctuary (*honden*), and to all practical purposes are treated as different entities. And from a theological point of view, Motoori admits further, with his theory

of fractional bodies (*bun-shin*), that one Kami may be one or many.

A Kami may also be “divided” by a decision of the authorities. In the Ideha-jinja of the Dewa-san-dzan, the worshippers believe that the Ideha-no-kami, i.e. the Kami of the temple, is in fact Uga-no-mitama, “because he has among his virtues (*shintoku*) those of Uga-no-mitama.” But after the war they were separated and made into two different Kami.

7. Temples are not rare in which the priests themselves are not quite sure as to what Kami is enshrined and worshipped. When pressed for a precise answer, they are willing to consult their archives, but as often as not do not find in them any relevant information. The striking thing is that as a general rule they are not particularly interested, and they cannot imagine why the foreign visitor should be so inquisitive about it, when the actual worshipper displays no such curiosity. Although, as I was told by a Shinto authority, “the Shinto exercisers who can penetrate into the upper worlds (i.e. mystics who practice spiritual discipline) often deplore it (i.e. that priests and devotees should be content with such uncertainty).” (pp. 30–31)

It should be noted that not even the highest Kami are either omnipotent or omniscient, but that each Kami has some powers (*shintoku*) derived from his “lofty authority” (*mi-itsu*). Aston certainly exaggerated when he wrote: “Almost any Kami, whatever his origin may send rain, bestow prosperity in trade, avert sickness, cure sickness or sterility, and so on, without much discrimination of function.” This may be true to a certain extent of the family-kami or the Kami who looks after a small community (*uji-gami*), but every Kami enshrined in a public temple is more or less of a specialist. Sometimes the belief is based on the myths relating to his origin and his life; sometimes it has as its basis some unexpected miracle which has been attributed to him, and which devotees expect him to be able to repeat in similar circumstances; sometimes it has its origin in a misreading or a mispronunciation of his name. In the Osaka Hirota-jinja, for instance, the “regional Kami” is called Ji (land-locality)-kami—and is believed to be no less a person than the Sun-Goddess; but *ji* (written differently) also means haemorrhoids, and he is credited with great powers to cure that disease; there are many *ex-voto* which testify to numerous cases in which he is believed to have succeeded. More often, however, specialization does not go so far, and the Kami is taken to be a protector either of agriculture, or of shipping and fishing, or of commerce, or of soldiers, or of pregnant or nursing women, or else a bestower of children or of physical health, or of inner purity. We shall have occasion to review a number of specific cases in the second part of this book.

One peculiarity of the Kami is that many of them, even among those who play a part in the earlier stages of Genesis, are reported to have "died." Indeed, in one case, that of Izanami, who was one of the original pair of Creators, lurid details are given about the decomposition and putrefaction of her body. Another among the first Kami, the Goddess of food, is said to have been killed by an infuriated Divine guest. One, Kagu-tsuchi, was beheaded or even cut into three pieces by his own father. Ame-waka-hiko was killed by an arrow and the burial ceremonies are described in detail. Koto-shiro-nushi just 'disappeared.' The supposed graves of many of them are known. The phrases used to describe their disappearance vary: Izanami "divinely retires," Izanagi "apparently retires," O-kuni-nushi "becomes concealed," Susano-wo "enters the Nether-distant Land (Ne-no-kuni)," etc.

Nevertheless, the Kami who thus "die" do not thereby cease to be active on this Earth. They continue to be prayed to for blessings, and they respond. Their "death" should therefore be taken to mean that they discarded the physical body of gross matter with which they were seen on the Earth and subsequently assumed a different body invisible to the human eye.

In cases where a noun standing alone is required, the word Kami is invariably of his name, as for instance in Amaterasu-o-mi-kami, it is often replaced by *-mikoto*, as in Susano-wo-no-mikoto. Translators generally render *mikoto* by His (or Her) Augustness. For some Gods, the word *-kami* is always used, and for others *-mikoto*, but for many—including the most important ones, like Izanagi and Izanami—there is apparently no fixed rule. Of the two greatest Scriptures, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, the former seems to show a slight preference for *-kami*, and the latter for *-mikoto*, and the two are largely interchangeable without any perceptible difference of meaning. A theory noted by an early French author according to which *mi* (to see) *-koto* (august thing), i.e. a visible thing, should be distinguished from *ka* (hidden, intangible) *-mi* (body) i.e. a subtle, invisible being does not find confirmation in the texts. There are, however, elaborate theories and learned disputes among theologians about the difference of meanings between the two titles. Let us only note that whereas *-kami* is occasionally emphasized by the addition of *-o* (great) and becomes *-o-kami*, the same does not occur with the word *-mikoto*.

DELMER BROWN ON ANCESTRAL KAMI

Professor Delmer Brown is what the Japanese national honor system might describe as "a living treasure" concerning the place of Shinto in Japanese history. Even after a long and distinguished career at the University of California, Berkeley, he has continued to work, editing the *Cambridge History of Japan*, and remains extremely active in both lecturing and writing. Although this is one of his older papers, it contains many important themes.

Text: Delmer Brown, "Kami, Death, and Ancestral Kami," *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Shinto Studies*, 1955, pp. 169–81.

By identifying and explaining qualities of Shintoism that have been central to *Kami* worship throughout history, Muraoka Tsunetsugu has enabled us to see, far more clearly, the way this religion has affected the life and culture of the Japanese people. Shinto's most fundamental qualities, in Muraoka's view, are: (1) *kokoku shugi* or Imperial Country-ism; (2) *genjitu shugi* or realism; and (3) *meijo shugi* or "brightness and purity-ism." Certainly these differentiate *Kami* worship from Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. But if Shinto is studied somewhat more broadly—from the point of view of Japanese life as a whole, as well as from the point of view of ancient religions all over the world—it seems to me that *Kami* worship is characterized by: (1) a deep and lasting preoccupation with mysterious power that will create and enrich any form of life here and now; (2) a constant and consistent tendency to think of *Kami* power as being exercised only in limited and particular ways; and (3) an ever-present adaptability to new needs and conditions. The first quality, called "life-centeredness," is most conspicuous when Shinto worship is viewed as a religio-cultural phenomenon. The second, referred to as "limitatiousness" or "particularism," stands out when our study is socio-political in character. And the third, tentatively classified as "adaptiveness," is most clearly revealed when one examines the history of Shinto institutions.

I will attempt—after discussing briefly the relationship between the "life-centeredness" of *Kami* worship and the traditional Shinto attitude toward death—to resolve the apparent paradox of worshipping deceased ancestors as *Kami*.

Life-Centeredness

As is true of very old religions in other parts of the world, *Kami* were, from very early times, thought of as mysterious, unseen beings which had the power to create, prolong, or enrich any form of life—animal, plant, or human.

This life-giving power was, from earliest times, associated with agricultural production. The earliest *Kami* myths and ceremonies reveal a consistent preoccupation with the growing of rice, and with those forces of nature that obviously affected, directly or indirectly, the life of rice plants. The names of *Kami*, as well as the character or their favorite places of residence, leave no doubt but that *Kami* were valued as divine beings who had the power to make rice grow. To this day, the principal *matsuri* (festivals) are held at the two most important times in the rice-growing season: when rice is planted, and when it is harvested. Although each *matsuri* has its own distinctive features, Shinto scholars agree that every spring festival is essentially a "prior celebration" (*yoshuku*) of a good crop, and that the autumn one celebrates the harvest. Even the New Year festival, which is thought of as being primarily a household function (*katei gyoji*), seems to have had a "spring-festival" origin.

While agricultural concerns are still clearly discernible in *Kami* worship, centuries of non-agricultural concerns have altered *Kami* worship in numerous ways. Of special importance has been the age old practice of using, and explaining, the exercise of *Kami* power in a manner that would justify and strengthen political control. It was such an urge that provided the motivation for the compilation—if not the actual formation—of many of Japan's earliest *Kami* myths and ritual prayers (*norito*). Prolonged economic and cultural development has also caused an increasingly large number of individuals, as well as communities, to seek special benefits from the exercise of *Kami* power. This has resulted in the emergence of belief that certain *Kami* have a special power to protect travellers, bring rain, insure good health, or even facilitate the achievement of intellectual distinction. But throughout all forms of *Kami* worship, at all times and places, the accent has always been on the *creation or enrichment of life here and now*.

Death Contamination

The belief that *Kami* have the power to create or enrich *life* has been consistently paralleled, and further demonstrated, by the pervasive belief that the exercise of *Kami* power is hampered, if not prevented, by the presence of *death-associated tsumi* (pollution).

As Nishida Nagao has pointed out, a *matsuri* lies at the heart of Shinto worship. But he adds that ceremonies called *harai* (purification) and *misogi* (ablution) are necessary preparations for a *matsuri*. *Harai* removes *tsumi* from the worshipper through the use of purifying instruments of various types, and *misogi* removes *tsumi* through the act of washing or rinsing with water. Since *matsuri* are not usually held until such ceremonies have been carried out, it is clear that the presence of *tsumi* is considered to be an obstruction to the exercise of *Kami* power. It is therefore of crucial importance to know what *tsumi* really are.

We do not have much evidence concerning the meaning of *tsumi* before the introduction and spread of Confucian ideas of morality. However, we have some clues in the *Oharai norito*, a great *harai* ritual prayer that was incorporated into the *Engishiki* (compiled in 927 A.D.). This *morito* deals with the casting away of the two kinds of *tsumi*: the Heavenly ones, and the earthly ones. In the former group are listed:

Breaking down the ridges,
 Covering up the ditches,
 Releasing the irrigation sluices, . . .
 Double planting,
 Setting up stakes,
 Skinning alive, skinning backwards,
 Defecation—

The earthly *tsumi*, on the other hand, include:

Cutting living flesh, cutting dead flesh,
 White leprosy, skin excrescences
 The sin (*tsumi*) of violating one's own mother,
 The sin of violating one's own child, . . .

All but the last two Heavenly *tsumi* seem to be agricultural in nature, and may have been assigned positions of special importance as a result of conflicts attending the process of political centralization. Most of the earthly *tsumi*, on the other hand, have a social character. But it should be noted that at the top of the earthly *tsumi* list stand some that are associated directly with *death*: "cutting living flesh; cutting dead flesh; white leprosy; and skin excrescences." Even the agricultural *tsumi* are those which would *destroy* crops, and the social ones are those which would cause the community to *degenerate*.

Harai and *misogi* continue to be important preparations for a *matsuri*. They seem to be concrete expressions of the ancient assumption that *Kami* power cannot be released until death-associated (or life-denying) *tsumi* have been removed from the bodies of the worshippers and from the place of worship. Believers seem to reason that since a *Kami* has a mysterious power to create and enrich life, the *Kami* hates—and the exercise of its power is obstructed by anything which is dead or dying. Most Japanese seem to agree, even today, that the worst *tsumi* is a corpse, and that blood and disease—because they suggest the approach of death—rank next. However, all forms of dirt and filth (which are associated with the death of plants, or animals) are thought to be inappropriate to a place of *Kami* worship. It is because of such aversion to death-associated *tsumi* that the ground of a shrine is usually kept neat and clean, and the buildings in good repair. The best shrines and halls are those that are new or appear to be new, and to this day Japan's leading national shrine (Ise Shrine) is completely rebuilt every twenty years. Graveyards are not usually located at, or funerals held within, the precincts of a shrine.

The traditional Shinto attitude toward death has also affected Japanese ideas about souls of deceased persons, for souls are generally believed to remain for a time somewhere near the corpse and might return to the place of death. Believing that the soul lingers on after death, and might cause difficulties for the living, it was customary, in ancient times, for the Japanese to abandon the houses where the deceased had dwelt. In the Heian Era, extraordinary steps were taken by the central government to appease the Resentful Souls (*onryo*) of prominent persons who were thought to have been treated unjustly while alive. And even now, after centuries of increasing respect for the souls of deceased ancestors, one finds many superstitious beliefs and practices which reveal traces of the old fear that souls of the dead might return to trouble the living.

The Problem

Since *Kami* are believed to have a mysterious power to create and enrich any form of life (and are therefore honored and welcomed) while the souls of the

dead were traditionally feared (and therefore tended to be appeased and kept at a distance from the place of *Kami* worship), how did it happen that some souls of deceased persons came to be worshipped as *Kami*?

In an attempt to arrive at a meaningful answer to this question, I would like to submit for your consideration this set of hypotheses: (1) That *Kami* beliefs were centered, essentially, on life here and now, leading to the common assumption that anything connected with death was abhorrent to *Kami*; (2) That the practice of worshipping souls of deceased persons as *Kami* developed very slowly, coming only after centuries of honoring souls of deceased leaders in ways that had no connection with *Kami* worship, and only after another long period of worshipping ancestral *Kami* that were merely *idealized* ancestral *Kami* (not souls of ancestors who had actually lived and died); and (3) That the practice of worshipping the souls of deceased persons as *Kami* was primarily a result of the interests and pressures of leaders, not the result of popular religious movements.

In trying to test the validity of these hypotheses, I wish to discuss, briefly, what seem to me to be three distinct stages in the development of the worship of souls as *Kami*: (1) The honoring of souls of deceased leaders during the burial mound (*kofun*) age; (2) The worship of ancestral *Kami*; and (3) The worship of some souls of the dead as *Kami*.

Impressive Burials

Those who take the position that the worship of ancestral *Kami* is central to Shinto are inclined to see burial mounds, especially those built in the closing years of the burial-mound age, as proof that the worship of ancestral *Kami* existed in prehistoric times. They are tempted to consider objects placed in the mound with the corpse (*fukusohin*) as offerings to the deified soul, to think of the knolls found on those mounds as places for rites to the deified souls, and to consider messages directed at the souls of persons buried in mounds as prayers. But it seems more appropriate to view all these—the *fukusohin*, the knolls, and the messages—as results of efforts by the living to honor, appease, or communicate with the souls of their deceased *uji* leaders.

Archaeologists have tended to assign special importance to the fact that the *fukusohin* found in early burial mounds were largely treasures, such as bronze mirrors and swords, or claw-shaped jewels called *magatama*; and that those in later mounds included, in addition, such objects of everyday use as horse gear and pots. The difference has been commonly interpreted to mean that during the latter part of the burial mound age people were beginning to insert those things that would be useful to the soul in its life after death. For some, this interpretation adds further support to the view that attitudes toward souls of the dead had changed in some fundamental way, suggesting even that souls were already being worshipped as *Kami*. But recent scholarship, such as that of Kobayashi Yukio, has shown that these changes did not prove a basic transformation in attitudes toward souls. He notes, to begin with, that even the earlier

burial mounds included objects (such as axes, hoes, sickles, knives, and arrow-heads) which cannot be properly classified as treasures. While recognizing definite patterns of change, Professor Kobayashi is inclined to think that these were brought about by technological innovation, not by idealistically different ideas about life after death. The discovery that horse gear was placed only in later mounds may have been due simply, says Kobayashi, to the fact that horse gear was not used in Japan until a later time.

The question of why people of ancient Japan placed objects in the tombs of the deceased cannot be answered easily. My own view is that the motivation is rooted in at least these three separate desires: (1) To honor and glorify the deceased, thereby providing further strength for the position of the living leader; (2) To pacify the soul of the deceased, thereby avoiding the possibility that the soul might become "angry" and cause harm to the living; and (3) To place safely in the grave, with the corpse, all those things that had been contaminated by close association with death, thereby avoiding the trouble and fears that may result from such contamination. Dr. Kobayashi rejects the idea that the desire to avoid contamination (*kegare*) explains any of the *fukusohin*, but I cannot otherwise explain the presence of such items as sickles and hoes. Surely they were not placed there as treasures, nor as something that would appease a soul of a leader in the next life; but they might have been placed there because they had been contaminated by use in building the burial mound, or in preparing for the funeral ceremony. Since the burial of all known *fukusohin* can be explained, roughly, in terms of the above desires, and since there is no evidence that any of these items were ever placed around, or before, a mound once the tomb was sealed, it is hard to think of them as offerings to a *Kami* that had extraordinary power to create or enrich life.

As to the altar-like knolls on the sides of tombs, some scholars have felt that these must have been shrine-like places for conducting *matsuri* to the souls of the person buried in the mound, but a more plausible explanation has been advanced by Professor Ishida Ichiro. He presents evidence to show that it was customary, in those early days, to hold ceremonial readings of genealogy in front of tombs. These knolls may have been places where such ceremonies were conducted. Since the primary value of a tomb to the living ruler lay, it seems to me, in the way the tomb symbolized and legitimized the hereditary position of the living ruler, and since the building of tombs was a logical concomitant of the contemporary interest in genealogy, a genealogy-reading rite appears to be a more appropriate activity for a special place beside the mound. In any case, it does not seem reasonable to think of such a knoll as a location for a *matsuri* to a *Kami*, especially since, to my knowledge, no burial mounds have been found under, or within the precincts of, an old shrine.

References in the early chronicles to "reporting to the mound" have also been thought of as something akin to prayers to *Kami*; but an examination of the "reporting" leaves the distinct impression that this was more like a communication with the soul of the deceased—a communication that may have been

motivated by a desire to induce the soul to cause trouble for certain enemies of the living. At any rate, the contents of the “reports” do not have the character of prayers to life-giving *Kami*.

While available evidence about burial mounds provides no convincing proof that souls of the dead were being worshipped as *Kami*, it is clear that the building of hundreds of burial mounds, and the impressive funeral ceremonies, did—during the some four centuries of the burial mound age—cause people to be more respectful to the souls of deceased leaders. As has been pointed out by Shimoide Tsumiyo, the souls of leaders were beginning to be thought of as having power more like that of *Kami*, just as *Kami*—under the pressure of more advanced cultural and social developments—were beginning to be thought of as acting more like human beings. Thus the honoring of souls of the dead, along with increasing interest in genealogical connections, was narrowing the ancient gap between belief about souls of the dead and beliefs about *Kami*, moving men’s hearts and minds closer to a point where some souls could be worshipped as *Kami*.

Ancestral Kami

The second step toward the worship of souls as *Kami* was taken—probably in the sixth century—when some of the leading *uji* (especially the Imperial *uji*) began to foster the belief that the founder of the *uji* was a *Kami*. By that time, four centuries of mound building—along with impressive funeral ceremonies, and preoccupation with blood ties—had caused various *uji* to place great value on the strength that could be obtained from sanctioned and legitimate blood descent from eminent leaders of the past. And in the sixth century, this interest was further stimulated by greater familiarity with Chinese history and philosophy, for the Chinese had already moved much farther along the road toward ancestor worship. In addition, the sixth century was a troubled time for those powerful *uji* who were supporting the Imperial Court. Internal strife between the *uji*, as well as defeats on the Korean peninsula, were plaguing the central government. Consequently, the leaders were on the alert for new sources of power, and they seem to have realized that they could [draw] further strength from their connection with previous rulers by nourishing the belief that *uji* leaders were descendants of ancestral *Kami*. In this way they would obtain even more impressive symbolization and legitimization of power than was obtained from building monuments to, and holding ceremonies in honor of, their ancestors.

We do not have detailed historical data about the process by which guardian *Kami* of *uji* became ancestral *Kami*. But as a result of the work of Tsuda Sokichi, it is now generally agreed that since all discussions of ancestral *Kami* in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* were confined to the “*Kami* age” sections (as distinguished from the later “human-age” section) of these chronicles, the so-called ancestral *Kami* were not souls of persons who had actually lived and died. Furthermore, it is concluded that these ancestral *Kami* were not *Kami* that were

really being worshipped. Thus, by the time that the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki* were written, in the early years of the eighth century, ancestral *Kami* were neither true ancestors nor true *Kami*. The development did serve to close some of the gap between beliefs about *Kami* and beliefs about souls of the dead, but the gap was still there.

During the seventh and eighth centuries, the ancestral *Kami* idea was further developed. More and more *ji* claimed the honor of being descended from an ancestral *Kami*, and gradually these ancestral *Kami* were identified with the guardian *Kami* of the *Uji*, a *Kami* that was actually being worshipped. Even the aristocratic *uji* in local areas began to refer to their guardian *Kami* as ancestral *Kami*. But there were two definite limitations to this trend: (1) Only the aristocratic *uji*, not the commoners, turned to ancestral *Kami*; and (2) Ancestral *Kami* were not yet thought of as ancestors who had really lived and died. Still, worship of this sort did weaken, to some extent, the traditional belief that souls should be appeased and honored, but not worshipped.

Souls and Kami

The third step toward the worship of souls as *Kami* came when the soul of a deceased Emperor was worshipped as a *Kami*. The first known case emerged when a *Kami* (Hachiman) worshipped at Usa in Kyushu was announced to be the soul of Emperor Ojin. By the middle of the ninth century Hachiman was worshipped by members of the Imperial Court as one of the *two* ancestral *Kami* of the Imperial *uji*. This was a double perversion of traditional *Kami* worship. First, it was a denial of the ancient belief that *Kami* hated anything remotely connected with death. Secondly, it destroyed the position of the Sun Goddess as *the* ancestral *Kami* of the Imperial *uji*.

That the Imperial *uji* could bring itself to think of the soul of a deceased ancestor as a *Kami* may be explained if we consider, in addition to the development discussed above, the interdependent significance of the following: (1) Emperor Ojin was still thought of as a heroic leader of a victorious Japanese military campaign in Korea; and (2) Hachiman worship was, from very early times, deeply affected by Buddhist beliefs and practices, making it easier for the shrine to adopt religious ideas and practices that, at other shrines, would have been taboo.

Recent studies by Nakano Hatayoshi disclose an interesting but unproven theory that the traditional guardian *Kami* of the Karashima *uji* (a *Kami* known then as Yahata) was first identified as the soul of Emperor Ojin in the year 592 A.D.—the very year in which Empress Suiko was placed on the throne and when Buddhism first received official backing from the Imperial Court. This transformation in the sacred quality of the guardian *Kami* of Karashima apparently followed an eight-year conflict between the Karashima *uji* and forces dispatched from central Japan. The invaders (the Omiwa *uji*) were allied with the powerful Soga that was then rising to a position of dominance at the capital. As a result of the Omiwa victory in Kyushu, the Soga gained important backing

to the south. Like the Soga, the Omiwa were generous supporters of Buddhism. (Several Buddhist temples of the *Horyuji* style were built near Usa.) The existence of such connections with the Imperial Court, and with the Buddha-worshipping Soga, makes it easier to understand why the Omiwa could, and did, build a new shrine to Hachiman and also foster the doctrine that Hachiman was really the soul of the deceased Emperor Ojin.

But to see why the Imperial Court should have accepted Hachiman, as well as the Sun Goddess, as an ancestral *Kami* of the Imperial *uji* is more difficult. By the time of the compilation of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*, the Sun Goddess was clearly recognized as the one ancestral *Kami* of the Imperial *uji*. And yet, with the establishment of a new shrine to Hachiman near the capital (the Iwashimizu Hachiman) in the middle of the ninth century, we begin to find numerous references to *two* Imperial ancestral *Kami* and *two* Imperial ancestral shrines (*shobyō*). In fact, on many occasions the Iwashimizu Shrine seems to have rated higher than Ise, even at the Court. Why could the Imperial Court accept a second ancestral *Kami*? And why could it accept one that was identified with the soul of an ancestor whose life and death were matters of historical record?

In addressing himself to this question, Miyaji Naokazu presents a number of interesting theories. The most significant point, in my opinion, is that the Iwashimizu Shrine was established at a time of widespread enthusiasm (especially among the aristocrats at the Imperial Court) for all aspects of Chinese culture, including the study and practice of Buddhism. Even the divine message from Hachiman that a new shrine should be built at the capital was revived by a Buddhist priest (*Gyōko*). Hachiman came to be known as *Hachiman Dai Bosatsu*, or the "Great Bodhisattva Hachiman"; and within the precincts of the new shrine a "Nation Guarding Temple" (*gokokuji*) was erected. The rites conducted at the shrine, the way the priests were trained and functioned, and other aspects of Hachiman worship at the Iwashimizu explain why the shrine often has been described as "half Shinto and half Buddhist." At a time of closer ties between shrines and temples, the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine reached a level of Buddhist accommodation probably unequalled by any other shrine in the whole of Japanese history. Since Buddhist temples were already devoting much of their attention to honoring and appeasing souls, and since the Buddhist doctrine of causality (*in-i-setsu*) was being widely used to explain the relationship between Bodhisattvas and *Kami* (and between Bodhisattvas and heroic figures of the past), it was not difficult for ninth-century aristocrats to think of Hachiman as the deified soul of the Imperial ancestor. But in spite of the power and popularity of Iwashimizu, the distant Ise (where the idealized Imperial ancestral *kami* was worshipped) continued to be highly honored. Eventually, Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine and Usa Hachiman Shrine declined in importance, whereas Ise Shrine has come down to the present as the most important national shrine of Japan—a clear indication that the Ojin-Hachiman development was exceptional and

temporary, not a full and permanent elimination of the traditional and fundamental tension between beliefs about souls and beliefs about *Kami*.

Other souls were enshrined as *Kami* during the Heian Era. The most famous was the soul of Sugawara Michizane, still worshipped as Tenjin in shrines all over Japan. This enshrinement resulted from an extraordinary effort by the government to deal with a particularly disturbing manifestation of Angry-Soul (*onryo*) belief and it, like the Ojin-Hachiman development, was greatly influenced by the current interest in Chinese ideas and beliefs. The persistence of the faith, with transformations that led to the worship of Tenjin as "the *Kami* of Learning," is one of the most prominent and important cases of soul enshrinement in Japanese history.

The number of soul enshrinements increased considerably during the Tokugawa Era, beginning with the enshrinements of the soul of Hideyoshi (at Hokoku Shrine in 1598) and of Ieyasu (at Toshogu in 1617). The souls of several *daimyo* were also enshrined. And after the beginning of the Meiji Period, the souls of persons who had lost their lives in service to the nation were honored as *Kami* at Yasukuni Shrine, and the soul of Emperor Meiji was enshrined at Meiji Shrine. But these all resulted from actions taken by political authorities, and were not products of popular religious feeling. In local areas, more and more guardian shrines are said to be dedicated to the *Kami* of the *uji* (*ujigami*), suggesting to at least some foreign observers that the practice of worshipping ancestral *Kami* had moved down among the common people. But most people do not think of their *Kami* as a true ancestor.

Conclusion

In looking back over the changing pattern of beliefs about *Kami* and souls of the dead, it seems safe to conclude that the worship of ancestral *Kami*, and of souls of the dead, emerged very slowly in Japanese history and never became central to the Shinto faith. Very few ancestral *Kami* were identified as true ancestors. Souls were not worshipped broadly as *Kami* until rather late in history. And the worship of ancestors and souls of the dead never became strong and widespread among the common people. Shinto moves in the direction of ancestor worship were always initiated by political leaders who were apparently seeking definite political advantage, and the institutions arising from such moves usually lost their vitality as soon as political support was reduced.

Although *Kami* abhorrence of death is not as strong as it was in ancient times, the worst *tsumi* are still those which are most closely associated with death. Graveyards and funerals are still not usually connected with shrines. And Japanese interest in souls of the dead (and life after death) is largely expressed in the worship of Buddha, not in the worship of *Kami*. The "life-centeredness" of *Kami* worship is still strong and significant, accounting for some of the most unique features of Japanese life, even helping us to understand why ancestor

worship seems to be much weaker in Japan than in China, Korea, or the Ryukyu Islands.

EDWIN O. REISCHAUER ON SHINTO IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN

The late Edwin O. Reischauer (1910–1985) was the son of August Karl Reischauer, a famous American Presbyterian missionary and scholar of Buddhism who lived in Japan in the early years of the twentieth century. Edwin Reischauer was a wartime teacher of the Japanese language who subsequently became professor of Japanese at Harvard University in 1946. The pinnacle of his career was his appointment as U.S. ambassador to Japan, where he served from 1961 until 1966. He retired from his teaching duties in 1981. He contributed the introduction to my first book on Shinto, *Japan's Spiritual Roots*, quoted later.

In the first passage quoted, Reischauer speaks of the animistic origins of Shinto and its early accommodation to Buddhism. He speaks also of its use by the anti-Buddhist leaders of the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when State Shinto was created in order to foster national values. The American occupation after 1945 attacked Shinto with such vigor that Shinto almost disappeared completely in the antimilitarist reaction. He concludes by observing that Shinto survives mostly in festivals and like events, but very little as a religious tradition that gives people focus to their lives.

While at the time he wrote his impressions may have had some seeming justification, more modern studies by younger scholars using different tools of analysis have revealed links between shrines and communities that suggest a variety of modes in which the life of Shinto continues to be manifest. The simple fact that it has taken root outside of Japan could be considered another indicator of this fact. Within Japan, Shinto, or shrine affiliation, can mean different things to different people. Although most Western scholars are aware of the possibility of having two or more religious affiliations, it is nevertheless still difficult for them to assign to such flexibility the value derived from the kind of existential commitment found in the Western logic of “either-or” in matters of belief.

Text: Edwin O. Reischauer, *The Japanese* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1977), pp. 217–20.

Shinto, the most distinctive of the Japanese religions, has also slipped into a background role in modern urbanized Japan. Early Shinto centered

around the animistic worship of natural phenomenon—the sun, mountains, trees, water, rocks and the whole process of fertility. . . .

Since Shinto was unconcerned with the problem of the afterlife that dominated Buddhist thought, and Mahayana was no exclusive, jealous religion but throughout its spread easily accommodated itself to local faiths, Buddhism and Shinto settled into a comfortable coexistence, with Shinto shrines often becoming administratively linked with Buddhist monasteries. The Japanese never developed the idea, so prevalent in South and West Asia as well as the West, that a person had to adhere exclusively to one religion or another. Premodern Japanese were usually both Buddhists and Shintoists at the same time and often enough Confucianists as well. . . .

The leaders of the Meiji Restoration were thoroughly anti-Buddhist, brutally cutting it off from Shinto, and they attempted at first to create a Shinto-centered system of government. Although they soon discovered that this concept could not be mixed successfully with their basically Western political patterns, they did create a system of state support for the great historic Shinto shrines and developed new national ones, such as the very grand and beautiful Meiji Shrine in Tokyo dedicated to the first modern emperor and the Yasukuni Shrine, also in Tokyo, for the souls of military men who had died in defense of the country. . . .

With “State Shinto” gone, Shintoism has reverted to a more peripheral role in Japanese life. Shrines of all types are scattered everywhere, often in places of great beauty and charm, though usually with signs of quiet decay. . . .

Traditional Shinto seems most alive today in the gay shrine festivals held annually on specific dates by all shrines of any importance.

. . . Shinto continues to be a part of Japanese life, and folklore remains full of Shinto elements. The Japanese love of nature and sense of closeness to it also derive strongly from Shinto concepts. But very few modern Japanese find in traditional Shinto any real focus for their lives or even for their social activities or diversions.

Text: Edwin O. Reischauer, from the introduction to S. D. B. Picken, *Shinto: Japan's Spiritual Roots* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1980), p. 6.

It would be hard to imagine Japan without Shinto or Shinto anywhere but in Japan. The two of course are not synonymous. Japan is Shinto and a great deal more. But no element in Japanese culture has run so persistently through the whole history of the Japanese people from their earliest beginnings right up to the present day or so consistently colored their attitudes toward life and the world around them. Shinto has been an unchanging warp on which a rich and varied woof of other threads has been woven into the constantly changing patterns of Japanese civilization.

J. H. KAMSTRA ON SYNCRETISM AND ENCOUNTER

Kamstra produced his major work in 1967 on the development of Buddhism in Japan in which the syncretistic elements are stressed. Below are a few of his remarks on the indigenous cult, as he saw it, prior to its encounter with Buddhism.

Text: J. H. Kamstra, *Encounter or Syncretism: The Initial Growth of Japanese Buddhism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 16–18.

4. Shinto and *Ujigami* Beliefs

There is mention in various places in this work of Shinto or *ujigami* belief. It is not permissible to see synonyms in these two terms. Here we encounter a starting point and an end point of a development which has needed many centuries. *Ujigami* belief, that is to say the religious convictions which were connected with Japan's oldest social structure, stood, together with other forms which were more or less disconnected, at the beginning of a centuries-long development. Shinto formed a later, streamlined and systematised termination of this.

There was first mention of true Shinto in the year 647, when Emperor Kotoku (645–654) decreed: "In accordance with the will (or the nature) of the gods, my children must rule." According to Kono Shozo the word in the Japanese text was used for: in agreement with the will of the gods, *kannagara*, in order to differentiate between the Japanese indigenous religions and the other foreign ones. This was also expressed in the opinion of a chronicler of Emperor Yomei (586–588): "The emperor has accepted Buddha's teaching and has, moreover, respect for the *paths of the gods*." In the first text *kannagara*, in an additional remark, is clarified by *shin-do*, the path of the gods. In the second text there is mention, without further ado, of *shin-do* = Shinto. Thus Shinto was projected from the very beginning as a local religion in contrast to *butsudo*: The way of Buddha, or Buddhism. Thus it became a concept which, in the course of time, absorbed all kinds of forms of religiosity which lay outside Buddhism. Gradually Confucian, Taoist and even elements affiliated to Buddhism began to belong to this, in as far as they received a position in the world picture of the gods (the *kami*). That this was a true *world* picture follows from the fact that especially in later Shinto there was no longer room for a heaven and a hereafter. It was—and still is—a real religion, because it strove after a harmonious agreement with the will of the gods. In this pantheon were included not only the sun goddess Amaterasu, as was emphatically contended in times of too extreme nationalism, but also the ancestors of famous Japanese families and sometimes even living emperors themselves.

Now in this centuries-long process of development of the fairly liberal and therefore nebulous Shinto, which primarily modelled itself on the systematism of Buddhism, the *ujigami* belief belonged to the initial phase. By this last observation we do not want to deny that besides the religion of Japan's oldest *uji*-society—which we call *ujigami* belief here—there were also religious cults such as ancestor worship and nature worship, which belonged just as much to the initial phase of Japanese Shinto. The same processes therefore, in which *ujigami* belief was concerned, obtained equally in these other cults. We have treated of these only en passant in this work, because their growth processes are harder to follow step by step. Generally they ran parallel to those of *ujigami* belief.

JOSEPH KITAGAWA ON SHINTO AND BUDDHISM

The late Joseph Kitagawa was foremost among Japanese American scholars of the history of religion, and in particular the history of Japanese religion. Although he never wrote solely about Shinto, his understanding of its place in the culture, and of how its influences both function and were transmitted, is clearly explained and expressed in his writings. In the passage quoted here, he summarizes his views on the relationship between Shinto and Buddhism that evolved during the Heian period (1185–1333), when various new traditions of Buddhism entered Japan from China, and various eclectic movements emerged that combined aspects of Buddhist and Shinto culture. The first quotation is a discussion of the character of ancient Shinto. The second is his response to those who argued that during the Heian period, Japan became a Buddhist nation. On the latter point, Kitagawa has serious reservation.

Text: Joseph Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966) pp. 11–19, 85.

Early Shinto

Because of the lack of a better term, I resort to the expression “early Shinto” to refer to the religion of the Japanese people of this period. The term Shinto, literally “the Way of the kami or gods,” has many meanings. It could mean the magico-religious beliefs and practices of the Japanese, derived from the kami. Sometimes this term is used to designate a certain ideology or theology, which implies some normative principles for ethics and other aspects of individual and communal life.

Here I use the term loosely to refer to the not too well systematized, indigenous religious tradition of the early Japanese. The main characteristic of early Shinto was its cosmic orientation, in the sense that no object

or human act has autonomous intrinsic value, for, as Eliade astutely points out: "Objects not acts acquire a value, and in so doing become real, because they participate . . . in a reality [called kami] that transcends them. . . . The object appears as the receptacle of an exterior force [i.e., kami] that differentiates it from its milieu and gives it meaning and value." Central to this simple cosmic religion was the notion of kami, which is usually translated as gods, deities, or spirits, but also means "above," "superior," or the "numinous or sacred nature."

While early Shinto was not interested in speculating on the metaphysical meaning of the world, the early Japanese took it for granted that they were integrally part of the cosmos which they saw as a "community of living beings," all sharing the kami (sacred) nature. . . .

The meaning of human life was understood in terms of man's relation to the kami, who would "enable" (*yosasu*) men to act in their behalf. Herein lies the early Shinto conception of correspondence between the realm of kami and that of man.

Kami, Amida, and Jizo

In retrospect it becomes apparent that all kinds of magico-religious tradition influenced the Japanese people during the Heian period. In spite of all the divinities thus introduced, however, there were only two or three types of divinities that enjoyed a large number of followers. Furthermore, these divinities, the kami, Amida and Jizo, were eclectic and interchangeable except as the type of symbols for the types of religious affirmation on the part of the people in the higher and lower strata of society. Some people hold that Japan became a Buddhist country during the Heian period when Buddhism in effect absorbed Shinto. Yet is it not equally true that Buddhism surrendered to the ethos of that nebulous religion of Japan, which lay deeper than the visible religious structure, commonly referred to as Shinto?

The point of this paragraph speaks for itself most eloquently through pointing out that Shinto is very difficult to define, and consequently may be either overlooked or underestimated with regard to the nature and degree of its influence. I would add that the use of waterfalls and streams by mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*) who practice Buddhist/Shinto austerities (*Shugendo*) was an unconscious transformation of one aspect of Buddhism to include purification as an objective alongside enlightenment or the cultivation of superhuman powers. Buddhist recitation of sutras facing the rising sun is another simple example of cultural influence that was probably also at the unconscious level.

This discussion of unconscious influence is perhaps an appropriate

point at which to make the transition to Thomas Imoos's discussion of Jungian archetypes and Shinto.

THOMAS IMOOS ON JUNGIAN ARCHETYPES IN SHINTO RITUALS

Father Thomas Imoos has lived many years in Japan and is well known in the field of Shinto studies. He has published numerous books and articles on Japanese literature and culture, with special reference to Shinto. The following paper was contributed specially for this source-book, and I am most delighted to be able to include it among the contemporary Western discussions of Shinto. It offers another way of viewing Shinto rituals, namely from the perspective of Jung's theory of archetypes. A shorter version appeared under the title "Archetypes in Shinto Rituals" in the *Sophia University Bulletin*, Tokyo, where Professor Imoos taught.

I. Symbol and Archetype

Modern man could be defined as a human being who forgot the language of symbols. Man on the level of sensual apperception, can reach reality only with his five senses and with signals they send to his brain which then form ideas in his consciousness. Thus man is shut into a closed system. But since time immemorial man was not satisfied with this simple answer to his quest for meaning. In countless ways he tried to break through the walls of this closed universe!

Religion is based upon notions and ideas, accepted as true concerning a reality which cannot be verified empirically in any way. Yet religion is universal in the history of mankind: absurd and normal at the same time and apparently fulfilling some deeply felt needs in the human heart.

In religion, in myths, in philosophy, in mysticism man tries to reach a beyond. In telling myths, i.e. stories of things that never were and always are, the phenomena of nature, the "things," objects in nature, acquire a function which transcends their purely physical empirical entity. Sun and Moon are much more than astronomical objects. The Sun is the bestower of light, of warmth, of life, a powerful deity. Thus the material object becomes transparent for a reality beyond the senses, i.e. it becomes a symbol. And this symbol can by association extend its meaning and function on other material objects, such as the mirror which becomes a symbol of the sun-goddess.

Symbols are visual, auditory or kinetic representations of religious ideas and events. They maintain and strengthen the relationship between man and the sacred (supernatural). They represent a coherent greater whole which is invisible by means of the part, which is accessible to the sensual perception. They have a solid, tangible base in the world of every day sense experiences. Therefore they are familiar to every man, but they are, beyond their cognitive function,

loaded with value judgement. Furthermore, symbols have deeper roots reaching into the subconscious, embodying the experiences of countless past generations. They have a flavor of mystery and power.

For thousands of years man developed an intricate system of such symbols, but with the age of reason much of this coded system was forgotten. And with our modern style of living we are further and further alienated from nature and no longer experience the terror of darkness and the immense joy and happiness of light, when we can simply switch on the electric bulb. In older times light and darkness signified knowledge, goodness, illumination and the opposites.

Japan is the only fully industrialized nation with an archaic religion at its base. Old rituals are preserved here to an extent hardly seen anywhere else in a modern nation. The Japanese never forget anything which they once acquired.

Shinto and folk religion in Japan are called primitive religions, because their tenets are not spelled out in so many words, but if you analyze the concepts involved in ritual and Matsuri, you find a coherent archaic world-view which is far from primitive. In fact, they represent a surprising system of archetypes, as C. G. Jung defined them. Jung, to his great surprise, found in the dreams and in the drawings of his patients forms, objects and events which have parallels in old myths, in religious symbols and rituals, in alchemy, astrology etc. His lifelong search was directed towards the unraveling of the language of symbols. Here Jung evolved the theory of archetypes as kernels of psychic energies which can evoke images in our dreams and visions. Furthermore, he found out that man does not only possess the personal unconscious which Freud already had discovered, but also a collective unconscious which is common to all human beings beyond the frontiers of race or culture. Jung never visited Japan, but if he had, I would have shown him Zeni-Arai-Benten, the most impressive collection of Anima-symbols: the cave, the spring, the pond, the snake, the goddess of beauty and music, Benten, who bestows fertility, if only in terms of money. Here Jung would have found a magnificent confirmation of his theory of the collective unconscious and the archetypes.

Archetypes, like numbers, were not invented, says Jung, they were discovered. Something in the structure and organization of nature, society and psyche corresponds to such notions, and I believe, we can discover to a surprising extent archetypal patterns in Shinto Matsuri. Jung may help in defining their meaning and function.

II. 1. Chaos and Cosmos

Man experiences reality around him as an unending interplay of mysterious powers which are beyond his control. They threaten his very existence when they break loose as earthquakes, inundations, volcanic eruptions. The ancient Greeks called this threatening aspect of nature chaos. This chaos should be transformed into a well ordered, secure cosmos, and the means to effect this change is ritual.

All these powers of nature are ambiguous, benevolent as well as destructive.

In Japan this idea is contained in the notion that every god and spirit has a wild soul, *ara-mitama*, and a mild soul, *nigi-mitama*, and the whole purpose of rituals and *Matsuri* is to put these powers in a gentle, mild mood. (*Kami o nagusameru* = *Kamiasobi*.)

The first step in creating order in the universe is to create a sacred space by putting four bamboo poles into the four directions and joining them with *Shimenawa*, sacred ropes. Thus you carve out a sacred area from chaos, called *Niwa*, garden, you create *Uchi* against *Soto*, and you fix the fifth direction in the middle, called *Yama*. The Greek *temenein*, "cut out," which creates a "temenos," a sacred grove, exactly corresponds to this ritual, the Latin *templum* and *tempus* derive from the same root *tem* and mean sacred space and (sacred) time. *Yama*, the mountain, symbolizes the center of the universe, the Emperor, as essential for the order in the universe.

Emperor is for keeping order in society. (Government means upkeep of cosmic order through the magic power of the emperor.) Into this "Niwa" the God can now descend during the *Matsuri* and reside on the sacred tree. The binding ritual is one of the archetypal ways of taming the chaos (*Musubi*).

Each element in this ritual is archetypal in nature: the *quaternio* is the basic pattern to organize reality: 4 directions, elements, temperaments, psychic functions, 4 gospels, 4 cardinal virtues etc. The very word orientation expresses an archetypal experience (Orient).

The fifth direction, the center, with the world axis, corresponds to the 5 elements in Taoism: 5 tones of the pentatonic scale, 5 colours. The pentagram, the star with 5 tips, is known already from Neolithic finds, as symbol of rebirth and renewal: following its outline, you return to the beginning.

The *Niwa* (garden) recalls the outlay of the Paradise: the tree of life on the central mountain, from which the spring with living waters flows down forming the 4 rivers embracing the garden like *Shimenawa*. The Mandala repeats the pattern with a quadrangular structure which accentuates the center with a figure of highest religious value. The mythic circumambulation of the heavenly pillar by *Izanagi* and *Izanami* is renewed in the round-dance, *Mai*, which keeps the palaces of the moon moving (*Hagoromo*) by anticipative magic. In psychological terms it indicates the way to the self (center) by integration of the various qualities of the psyche.

2. Matsuri

Matsuri is renewal of life-power for gods, men and nature through returning to the origins. By cutting the *Shimenawa* at the end of the year, you return the cosmos to chaos again and abolish time. The old fire is extinguished (*Futami-gaura*, *Myoto-iwa*). Malevolent spirits, and the ancestors, return to the world of the living and must be assuaged and exorcised.

On new year, the cosmos is restored through binding rituals. The emperor offers prayers in the four directions; new water, new fire is brought into the house. . . . the *Kadomatsu* symbolize the new life-power.

In 100 villages around Lake Biwa the old myths are recreated by constructing phantastic figures made of bamboo and reeds, which hark back to the times when the god Ninigi descended unto the Land of the Reed Plains.

3. Living Water

Yudate (Hot-water) *Kagura*, performed in the center of the *Niwa*, symbolizes the Sacred Marriage of the Fire-God with the Water-Goddess. Apart from purification and divination about the future harvest, the *Yubana*, drops of hot water, which are considered *Shintai* (God-body), bring fertility to the crops. The *Yamabushi* entered the hot water, until they fainted, as a rite of passage through death and rebirth (*Kamairi*). The oriental sorceress Medea knew the art of giving new life by the magic of the hot water cauldron (*Trophoi*, *Rhizotomoi*), and the Celtic epic "Mabinogion" lets dead warriors come forth from the same cauldron as new valiant fighters. The cauldron is an archetype for the rebirth of the sun out of the sea (*Kerenyi*).

4. Polarity

The life process evolves in a continual change between the forces of Yin and Yang. Thus evolves the dual structure of many *Matsuri*. In the *Yamabushi Kagura* the divinity in *Otsugunai* is female and the dances and rhythms accordingly are rather gentle, whereas in *Date* they are masculine. At the *Tanabata* festival the whole world rejoices in the one night when the heavenly lovers can cross the Milky Way and perform the Sacred Marriage (*Dengaku Noh "Jisei"*).

At the *Honensai* of *Komaki-shi* the goddess *Tamashime* receives the visit of her husband who died in *Yamato* *Takeru's* war in the north on the very same day when in ancient *Babylonia* the King, representing the vegetation god, visits the priestess in the bridal chamber of the temple.

Jung sees psychic completion in the integration of *animus* and *anima*, the alchemists in the marriage of the King and Queen (*Sun and Moon*).

5. Agon

In many *Matsuri* the antagonism between rivaling groups often leads to dangerous fights (*Kenka-Matsuri*). The *agon* takes many forms: tug-of-war, boat races, running, shooting arrows from horseback, cutting straw-snakes etc. In *Kurokawa*, two guilds carry out their competition by performing 5 *Noh*- and 4 *Kyogen* plays during a whole night and top it with various contests between young men at the shrine (*Tanaagari, Hashiri*). The contests at New Year are considered as means of divination for future crops, but they also set free *mana* which enhances fertility. But considering the ambivalent character of the gods, the underlying principle of the *Matsuri* is not so much victory and defeat, but the symbolizing of the double aspect of the god. *Matsudaira* even conceives the whole universe in a state of war between benevolent and malignant gods and spirits; and the festival is designed to fortify the good powers and establish harmony. In *Jungian* terms this corresponds to the integration of the shadow.

6. Midnight Sun

The most esoteric festival is the *Niinamesai*, the offering of the new rice by the emperor at midnight at the light of torches and Niwabi. The receiving divinity is not mentioned, but is clearly the sun goddess. The fire-festival at Kurama, which reaches its climax at midnight, when huge torches accompany the *Mikoshi* down the hill, is the popular version. Zeami's Koan: "In Shriagi the sun shines at midnight," alludes to this archetype of wholeness, *coincidentia oppositorum*, the overcoming of the deep divisions between heaven and earth, man and woman, day and night, summer and winter, expressed in the mythos of the night-trip of the sun from West to East. The birth of Christ, the light of the world, is celebrated by a midnight mass.

7. God and Ancestors

They are considered *Marebito*, rare visitors, coming over the sea and leaving again. They might have been represented by itinerant performers who performed the myths in ritual dances and left the villages laden with all the impurities of life. The most impressive realization of this scenario is the Onmatsuri in Nara, when near the Yogomatsu where the god first appeared to an actor in time immemorial, a temporal abode is constructed and the whole history of ritual theatre is unfolded as entertainment to the god and as theophany for the people.

8. Mask

The mask is the instrument which enables divinities, ancestors, nature-spirits to take possession of a human body and reveal themselves during the festival. It is a symbol implying real presence of the supernatural being and is therefore regarded as divine, esp. "Okina" in the oldest ritual drama, or the lion-mask in *Yamabushi Kagura*. Through the medium of the mask the god spends peace, prosperity, establishes communion with the group and reveals his myth. It enables the performers to overcome the limitations of sex, and reach beyond death. It is the mask which inspires the movements of the player, not the other way round.

9. Exorcism, Pacification

Chaos is threatening in many forms, including arakami (wild gods), avenging spirits of persons who died a violent and untimely death, influences of pollution, infractions of taboo etc. Even time in its annual cycle can meet corruption which leads to epidemics, plagues of vermin, natural calamities.

Ritual has the power to pacify the malevolent spirits (*Chinkon*), helping them to rise to heaven (*Tenjin*), neutralize inimical powers in nature, strengthen the benevolent divinities. Evil can be concentrated on symbols (*Gionsai*) or persons and accompanied beyond the frontiers of the community. The festival is the battle ground between good and evil powers and the means to make sure that evil will not overcome. In many cases Susanoo is the representant of the malevolent, the archetypal trickster.

In his paper, Professor Imoos brings together many of the comparative points made also by the earlier generation of Japanese scholars, along with some of the alternative ways of approaching mythology and symbol. The reference to the Western classical tradition, the idea of a cosmic interpretation of the mythological stories, and the Jungian interpretation of the entire framework brings together an unusual combination of conceptual tools, illustrating how inaccessible Shinto can be to conventional Western analysis. It demonstrates further how lateral thinking and interdisciplinary activity are valuable when they come together in attempting to explain any features of the Shinto tradition in a way that simultaneously preserves their mystery, but shows how deeply embedded they are in many of the practical facets of life, such as festivals and dances, and art forms such as Noh.

One new area of philosophical investigation is the philosophy of ritual, and following from this, the study of the link between ritual and drama. Since Shinto survives preeminently in ritual, the application of these studies might prove extremely illuminating. In this regard, I draw attention to the Web site of professors James W. Boyd and Ron. G. Williams, of Colorado State University's Department of Philosophy, who have spent time in Japan filming shrine rituals and as a result offer some illuminating observations about them.

Another interesting and not unrelated approach sees Shinto as a form of ethnophilosophy, a term of more recent origin that has replaced older terminology such as "folk culture" with a more profound awareness of the many levels that lie beneath rituals and symbols and infuse them with meaning. The name associated with this discussion is that of Professor Fidelis U. Okafor of the University of Nigeria at Nsukka. In an article entitled "In Defense of Afro-Japanese Ethnophilosophy" in *Philosophy East and West* (volume 47, number 4, October 1997, pages 363–82), Okafor summarizes the concept of ethnophilosophy in the following way:

Ethnophilosophy is so called because its focus is on the thought that underlies the life patterns and belief system of a people. It is folk philosophy insofar as it is an exposition of the philosophical thought undergirding the way of life of a people as a collectivity. African and Japanese philosophy belong to this tradition. Western philosophy, however, is based on reason and logic; in contrast with ethnophilosophy, it developed ab initio as a critique of folk thought and worldviews. Both traditions are not contradictory but complementary. Each bears the marks of its peculiar culture and history.

CARMEN BLACKER ON SHAMANISM IN JAPANESE RELIGION

Dr. Blacker, known earlier for her interest in Buddhism, also researched the shamanistic roots of certain practices in Japanese religion. This is a side of Japanese culture that is still very much alive, particularly in Sect Shinto and New Religions that have an interest in fortune-telling and healing. This is an area where folk religion and Shinto overlap and where it is often difficult to decide where one ends and the other begins. Blacker has taught at Cambridge University and in Japan.

In her book, she also documents actual cases of shamanism and incidents where *kami* appeared to individuals in various forms. Of singular interest is that the guise of the *kami* described by those who experienced such appearances is remarkably similar to the images of *kami* in Noh drama.

Text: Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975), pp. 32–43.

The Sacred Beings

Miss Ishida, however, a clairvoyant medium practising in Tokyo, told me in the summer of 1972 that for her the appearance of a *kami* was usually preceded by sounds. She would hear the sound of footsteps approaching with long strides, or the sighing reedy music of the *sho* or the *hichiriki* or sometimes the harp. Then the *kami* himself would appear and speak. Sometimes she could see only his feet or the hem of his robe, sometimes only his mount, the animal on which he rode. The rest of him was hidden in mist.

Miss Ishida went on to say that certain kinds of flowers, trees, birds, stones or metals were more *reiteki* or “spiritual” than others. These things were closer to the *kami*, partaking more easily of the *kami*’s nature, than the rest of their kind. Among birds, for example, white birds like the seagull or shiny black birds like the crow were more spiritual than others. Among trees, the cryptomeria was the most spiritual, and among stones, the agate and lapis lazuli.

Mrs. Hiroshima Umeko, an experienced ascetic living in the Suishoji temple at the foot of Mt. Miwa, also declared that *kami* appeared to her clairvoyant eyes in many forms. She had seen them in the likeness of flowers, of animals, or human beings. And Mrs. Jin, an ascetic based on Mt. Iwaki in Aomori prefecture, told me that most of the ascetics in the area, including herself, had seen a vision of the deity Akakura Daigongen. This numen was apt to appear in a variety of forms. His *shotai* or true form was that of a tall man with long black hair, hairy all over and carrying in his

hands a flute and a staff with jingling metal rings. But he also frequently appeared in dragon form, and in the form of a white-haired old man.

It is relevant to note here that in the No plays, many of which we should rightly regard as mystical literature deriving from rituals for calling up a numen or a ghost, overwhelmingly the most frequent form in which the *kami* appear is that of an old man.

Blacker cites various Noh plays. In *Awaji*, for example, the god Izanagi appears as an old man. In *Hakurakuten*, Sumiyoshi Myojin appears as an old fisherman. In *Shiga*, Shiga Myojin appears as an old wood-cutter. Sometimes a pair of gods may appear as an old man and an old woman, as in *Ema*, *Genyu*, *Kuzu*, and *Takasago*. She suggests that this might be confirmation of Yanagita Kunio's theory that most *kami* had their origin in the figure of the divine ancestor, of which the prototype is the beaming figure of the *okina*, or old man.

On the matter of approaching the *kami*, ritual purity is stated as being essential. Blood and death are the two principal types of pollution, and the *miko* and the ascetic must keep themselves purified from the influence of these.

The *kami*, she says, represent the power of a mysterious and numinous kind over human life. She describes their nature as nonmoral, ambivalent, perilous, and unpredictable. The reason given for this assertion is that their world can be seen as both away from ours and simultaneously behind it, a reality that makes it possible for that world to manifest itself enigmatically in various ways through the familiar objects and shapes of nature. Her concluding point is that in order to maintain contact between the two worlds, the mediation of uniquely qualified people is necessary. Such people must be endowed with the special powers that can "rupture" and transcend the different levels. This task she sees as assigned to the *miko* (the shrine maiden who is clairvoyant) and the mountain ascetic to accomplish in their complementary ways.

THE SPAE THESIS ON SHINTO AS THE MEDIATOR

Joseph J. Spae is a Roman Catholic missionary scholar who spent many years trying to understand Japanese culture from his base in the Oriens Institute in Tokyo. He produced a number of interesting texts on aspects of Japanese religiosity, and the passage quoted is extracted from his book *Shinto Man*. He tries to understand Shinto, but less in terms of the Western model of religion than in terms of its fundamental social

and existential role. Not everyone would agree with his approach, but in terms of grasping the relevance and power of Shinto in the culture, he has a lot to say. The conclusions to which his ideas lead, however, are probably difficult to grasp. His idea, for example, that Shinto could mediate between Buddhism and Christianity, while theoretically not impossible, is fraught with conceptual difficulty. When he speaks of Shinto as possibly becoming a civil religion of a special type, he tends to lay aside the fact that Shinto was in fact a civil religion, when it was State Shinto, and that much of its vitality was damaged then. That it could be a voluntary civic religion, independent of state control, is another matter. The case could be made that it is a de facto civic religion but does not need state recognition. State recognition in Japan can also mean state control, and here I think Spae is stepping on very dangerous ground. The idea of an independent civic religion is, I think, in any case unworkable in Japan.

What Spae says about mediation between Buddhism and Christianity, in short, while psychologically true, and perhaps even theologically possible, could be politically disastrous in a system where the harsh realities surrounding even religion have to do less with doctrine and belief than with the implication of the total situation for the control and exercise of power. Few would like to see Shinto back in its political garb. This is not, however, a blanket criticism of all of Spae's work, even on Shinto. I strongly recommend those fond of an adventure of ideas to read him in full.

Text: Joseph Spae, *Shinto Man* (Tokyo: Oriens Institute for Religious Research, 1972), pp. 64-70.

3. Shinto: A Socio-religious Interpretation

It is evident . . . that there are contradictions in many statements on Shinto as religion. There is no hope of clearing up these contradictions as long as Shinto is seen primarily as a system, an organization, or a "religion" in the traditional, Christian, sense of the word. Much confusion could have been avoided if these categories had not been used at all, or if they had been tempered by an existential study of the meaning of "Shinto" in the life of the Japanese people.

A Shinto Typology

I suggest that we call "a Shintoist" a person who has quest for meaning, transcendence and ultimacy, from that part of Japan's socio-cultural past which is usually identified with Shinto. For such a person, Shinto either fulfills the function of a conventional religion or of a surrogate religion.

In the first case, Shinto is a functional-equivalent type of religion because it

meets the requirements of one's normative, i.e., pre-established definition of "religion." In the second case, as a surrogate religion, Shinto indicates a special commitment, a fad or -ism which, even though it refuses to acknowledge the supernatural, nevertheless crowds out in one's heart other concerns of a religious nature to the point of becoming, however temporarily, a parareligious factor in one's life.

Applying the above typology to our case, it is suggested that Shinto is the active religion of, at most, some 1.5% of the total population. For these people, Shinto-related convictions govern their social, emotional and ethical style of life because they accept Shinto as their highest level of culture and, when confronted with Shinto values, they experience a certain sense of ultimacy. Many of these people, I surmise, are connected with Shinto institutions.

For a second category of Japanese citizens, decidedly very few at present—there were a good many more, I suppose, in the prewar days of extravagant nationalism—Shinto polarizes a new and probably short-lived emotional involvement in some religious or political cause. For them, Shinto is a surrogate religion.

For millions of other Japanese, however, even though they are counted as parishioners by the shrines, Shinto means little more than an occasional mood, a participation in seasonal folk-celebrations, or an amorphous way of "feeling like a Japanese." For these millions, Shinto is not *the* religion, nor *the* way of life; it is merely a marginal attitude which, as observation proves, does not exclude belonging to some other religion or to none.

The above categorization would also apply to Sect Shinto. It is generally accepted, indeed, that the important church-sect division, popularized by Weber and Troeltsch and drawn from within the socio-cultural context of the Christian tradition, is hardly relevant to Shinto. Few Japanese distinguish between Shrine and Sect Shinto as two different sources of religious inspiration. This fact is borne out by the pluriformity of their religious belonging and by its counterpart, the diffused and homogeneous nature of Japanese religiosity.

Of course, the less "Shinto-istic" a movement is, the less this contention applies to it. I am thinking here of Tenrikyo and PL-Kyodan, two organizations rooted in Shinto traditions and yet finding themselves emotionally miles apart from Shrine Shinto and the other Shinto sects. The case of these and similar New Religions is different and, if we want to know whether they qualify as "religion," they must be judged on their own merit.

Shinto as Religion

Throughout its history, Shinto has left other-worldly concerns to Buddhism. Like Christianity, particularly Protestant Christianity, Shinto basically shows an inner-worldly orientation. But unlike Christianity, Shinto is interested not so much in the "ought" as in the "is." It concentrates on the *naka-ima* or eternal present of the world, and on the *ari no mama* which it sees as the only reality. Shinto accepts this world; it does not want to change it.

The contention that Shinto is not a religion is related to this fact. It is well known that the distinction between the religious and the secular sphere has never come easily to the Japanese. Hence it has been natural for Shinto to proclaim itself, in good faith, both a religion and not a religion, depending on the situation. That this interpretation was often governed by reasons of convenience ought not surprise. Such a recent case was the postwar declaration by its leaders that Shrine Shinto *was* a religion—a declaration made with many reservations as is evidenced from the discussion around the status of the Yasukuni Shrine.

Shinto's practical refusal to distinguish between the religious and the profane, between church and state, the empirical and the superempirical, had interesting consequences. It implied a refusal to distinguish between religion and magic as well as between religion and politics. Such an approach to religion, it is well known, is typical of primitive societies. It remains to be seen how vital this outlook is for the survival of traditional Shinto and whether it can stand up to the demythologizing influences of today's society.

Shinto pan-kami-ism

Shinto sees spiritual forces at work in all things. This has led Christian observers to call Shinto a religious pantheism. By this they mean that Shinto negates an essential difference between God and the world or affirms their unity in a being underlying all reality.

Shinto no doubt is pantheistically inclined. At any rate, Shinto is "pan-kami-ism" by which is meant that it believes in an all-pervasive force, personified in countless manifestations, some of them belonging to the world of man, others to that of nature, and others again to the invisible but anthropomorphically construed world of the beyond and the hereafter. In fact, pan-kami-ism neither accepts nor denies the existence of a monotheistic God. Definitely it is not pantheism.

As I see it, Shinto could afford to be neutral in this matter and invite its followers to opt for either or even both possibilities, pantheism or monotheism, although, everything well considered, a frank acceptance of syncretism would be most suitable to its nature and traditions.

I gather that the relationship of Shinto to monotheism is of great interest to the younger generation of Shinto scholars. I have been told that they consider an evolution within Shinto toward monotheism as a distinct possibility. Thus Professor Hirai frequently insists that "the formulation of a new Shintoism might be made through the investigation of the historic experiences and insights of the Japanese people." He ties in this observation with a survey of monotheistic trends, found in the pre-Fukko Shinto schools. He finds that these schools turned toward the awareness of an Ultimate Reality, expressed as the "universal and primordial Buddha-nature" or as the "One Reality" typical of Tendai Shinto. There is also the "great cosmic Buddha" or the "Great Illuminator" of Ryobu Shinto. Hirai discovers further monotheistic trends in the *kami-nature* of "Chaos" and in the "Non-being" of Ise Shinto; in the "Divine Void" or the

“Great Exalted One” of Yoshida Shinto and, finally, in “*T'ien*” or “the Supreme Ultimate” of Yoshikawa and Suiga Shinto.

Hirai does not mention that these monotheistic tendencies were mostly short-lived and had little influence. The most that can be said about them is that Shinto presents certain openings for monotheism.

It stands to reason that pantheism should have a more powerful attraction for the Shinto of the future than monotheism, particularly if Japan should become more and more familiar with the idea of the Christian God. The reasons for this forecast are the following: (1) the strongly immanentistic nature of Japanese religiosity; (2) the traditional attention to a cosmic order guided from within, toward a harmonious and progressive development; (3) Buddhist influences which refuse to affirm either the objective existence of the world or the individuality of man; (4) the influence of modern philosophy, particularly of currents found in the works of Spinoza, Hegel and Schelling, who maintain that God is not distinct in being and essence from the world.

Should Shinto imperceptibly change from pan-*kami*-ism to pantheism—an unlikely fact, considering that, in 1968, 24% of the population expressed belief in the existence of “an omnipotent God”—the Christian theologian could view this development as a matter of religious progress. Such a development, indeed, testifies to man’s growth toward the Absolute, yearned for and vaguely discovered within the transience and temporality of all things. It is a subdued admission of God’s presence within the world and an expression of that unity which binds the cosmos to the creator. Under favorable circumstances, it could become a useful step leading the Japanese masses toward a more widespread acceptance of monotheism.

Pan-*kami*-ism, much like authentic pantheism, breeds atheism because it *de facto* denies the transcendence of God and reduces him to the stature of the world. Whether Christian influences on Japanese religious thought could be useful to Shinto and help it sublimate its basic impulse toward pantheism by a gradual acceptance of the “unity” of creator and creature “in the Holy Spirit”—this is a matter not for sociology but for Christian hope to decide. These are good reasons, however, for such hope. As Nishitani Keiji, one of Japan’s greatest philosophers, has said, “Christianity has given the concept of *kami* a new dimension, that of God as a personal ‘I-ness’ which overcomes the primitive mythological and anthropomorphic concepts.” This evolution is an ongoing and encouraging fact of history.

Shinto as Diffused Religion

Cultural aspects of Japanese religiosity are notoriously difficult to assess and isolate. In the case of Shinto, the reason is clear: Shinto is not primarily an institutional religion; it is a polymorphous, diffused religion because it has remained basically unchanged since it crystallized the religious experience of a primitive society. Hence, in regard to Shinto—and, incidentally, also to other Japanese religious traditions—it would be difficult to accept Glock’s thesis that

“the religiousness of a society is subject to measurement through aggregating indicators of the religiosity of its constituent members.” It seems to me that, notwithstanding the fact that Shrine and Sect Shinto are legal corporations, “Shinto” as such was and remains the focus of a typically Japanese devotional dimension and could be accepted as an instrumental, and not as a consummatory, orientation to further religious activity. As Professor Ono indicated in his statement on “Shinto ecumenism,” Shinto need not pose as its own religious goal but could become a gate to other religions. This novel perception is now generally accepted by many Shinto priests. Recently my local *kannushi* expressed this sentiment and told me: “As a Catholic priest, you too are *myujiko* because you live here. The atmosphere at the shrine will make you a better priest.” This is an important matter to which I shall again refer at the end of this study. The underlying assumption is that Shinto does not set itself up as an autonomous regulator of religious activities and carefully refrains from synchronizing the official, structured, religious culture proper, say, to Buddhism and Christianity, with the individual, subjective, religious dispositions of the Japanese masses.

A similar conclusion will be reached if we apply to Shinto the fourfold typology of religion described by Wallace, namely, the shamanic, the communal, the Olympian and the monotheistic. It is well known that today’s Shinto has strong shamanic features. It has its specialists who, for a fee, intercede with the *kami* on behalf of their human clients. But, at the same time, Shinto is a communal religion: it has its *kami*, many of them related to nature, seasonal festivities and events in the individual’s life, such as birth and marriage. These *kami* are accessible through rituals, performed for the most part at communal celebrations. Shinto is also an Olympian religion: it has its high gods, active in human life, worshipped in shrines and served by a permanent priesthood.

Wallace’s typology is set up in an ascending order: the communal type has some features of the shamanic type; the Olympian has features of the shamanic and the communal type; finally, the monotheistic type has features of the three preceding kinds.

Definitely, I would not call Shinto a monotheistic religion in Wallace’s sense. But the question might be raised, in the light of Shinto’s possible openings to monotheism (as envisaged by Professor Hirai and many others), whether it could not gather the strands of Japanese religious traditions, shamanic, communal and Olympian, and integrate them with elements of monotheism as found in Christianity. I see no reason why the high degree of interaction which characterizes Japanese religious traditions would now come to a stop. I rather suspect that it will advance in the direction of Christian influences and that the Christian concept of God will become more and more accepted by the people of Japan.

This is not to deny that an intensive secularizing tendency is at work, also in Japan. This tendency is visible in the disconnection of religious beliefs and moral commitments, in the popularity of a non-religious humanism and in that general areligiosity which was diagnosed by Weber as the characteristic of industrialized societies manifesting itself in disenchantment and lack of concern

for the basic meaning of life. This areligiosity, widespread in today's Japan, may well turn out to be the most formidable enemy which Shinto—and all other religious traditions in the country—must face.

4. Shinto in a Mediatorial Role

In conclusion to this study of man in Shinto, let me formulate a final suggestion: Shrine Shinto, without doing violence to itself, could play a mediatorial role between Japan's basic religiosity and her organized religions, Buddhism and Christianity.

As Wilfred Cantwell Smith has astutely observed, " 'Shinto' is still not rightly understood if it is thought of as a religion." It would be more exact to view Shinto as "a *kigae-ningyo*," a doll with many changes of clothes, the figure used by Professor Hirai at the Christian-Shinto symposium in Ise, September 1968, to dramatize Shinto's flexibility and power of adaptation.

The younger Shinto scholars acutely feel the need for reform. They deprecate the Japan-centered political philosophy which has become the hallmark of Shinto orthodoxy. They would substitute for it a new view of man, on ethics and society, and make of this view "the mainspring of traditional Shinto thoughts and activities." They do not doubt for a moment that Shinto will lend itself to this unpleasant operation, much like a *kigae-ningyo* whose dress is changed at every *matsuri*.

These men intend to substitute a new dedication to the welfare of the people for the ethical values of the past. They suggest that Shinto shrines be used as "spiritual centers of group life" and thereby re-establish a measure of local solidarity in the wasteland of today's urban conglomerates. As Hirai puts it: The ethics of the new Shinto society should be social ethics based upon the respect for individual personality and moral responsibility as a human being. It has to be a standard of moral conduct both in group and individual life. The basis of moral values in modern Shinto will be found in the last analysis along the lines of world peace and human security by re-organizing our family, village, and nation under the new Shinto life-attitude. Such an opinion has begun to make its appearance among some Shintoists.

I am not optimistic regarding the chances of success for these young Turks of Shinto. I doubt, indeed, whether Shinto can shed its particularism, its pride, and its reluctance to face criticism. Yet, Shinto might solve its problem by simply and wholeheartedly agreeing to be just itself, i.e., the "civil religion" of Japan.

As far as I know, the term "civil religion" was first used in regard to Shinto by Robert Bellah and introduced in the following words:

For one thing such a modern "civil religion" would have to divest itself of the pride and arrogance of prewar state Shinto. It should emphasize the genuinely mediatorial and non-absolute character, not only of the emperor, but even of Amaterasu Omikami, who after all was never claimed to be an absolute creator God. Thus the modern civil Shinto could point to a more absolute and

transcendent reality even while admitting that Shinto itself has very little to say on the matter. Shinto could be presented as a national and civil approach to the transcendent which yet leaves the individual free to pursue his own search for meaning and salvation.

By "civil religion" I mean a religious or ideological system which is dedicated to the social integration of society and relates man's role as citizen and his nation's role among the nations to their ultimate meaning. In such a context, civil religion could function as a half-way shrine between civil society, or the state, and organized religion. In such a capacity, civil religion remains differentiated from both state and church whose tasks it supplements but does not monopolize. Its success would depend upon the degree that it earns their respect and collaboration.

It seems to me that Shrine Shinto could regard itself in good faith as the general depository of Japan's traditional religiosity and, hence, assume without too much strain the functions of a civil religion. To this effect, Shinto need not consider itself as a religion in the same sense as Buddhism and Christianity; nor need it claim to act as the sole agent of national integration or the symbol of national polity, a tendency to which it has succumbed in the recent past. Particularly Shrine Shinto could then legally remain incorporated as a religion, all the while remaining aware of its unique role and of its practically non-religious character. As a result, it could unambiguously state that it expects no preferential treatment from the government.

I submit that, should modern Shinto accept to play the role of a civil religion, it need not fear that the process of secularization might spell its disappearance. To the contrary, it might soon become convinced that the truth will set it free. Obviously this is a tremendous challenge which only people deeply steeped in the Shinto way of life would dare accept.

ALLAN GRAPARD'S APPROACH TO JAPANESE CULTS

Professor Allan J. Grapard, International Shinto Foundation Professor at the University of California's Santa Barbara campus, might be described as a leading figure in the new generation of scholars of Shinto whose research methods acknowledge two important points. First is implicit recognition of the limitations of Western models of analysis when applied to the phenomenon of Japanese religion. Second is explicit recognition of the need for some form of interdisciplinary methodology in approaching particularly the cults of Japanese religion with their multiplex basis. While these points may be true of many aspects of Japanese culture, they are even truer of Shinto, where many elements are fused and a great deal of a priori imagination (in the sense of R. G. Collingwood) is required in order to infer from what *remains* to what must have at one time *existed*. I know that not all scholars, especially some histo-

rians, would be happy with this suggestion. But as Grapard's work shows, the word "history," conceived of as a concept intended to identify a category or modality of learning, may be just as elusive as words such as doctrine, art, or ritual, all of which not only have their own history but are part of the collective account of human experience that we refer to in a general way as "history." Part of the problem really may be that the idea of "history" itself is an empty concept because of its level of generality. Concepts and categories of study without a historical framework may be equally empty and devoid of adequate content. But historical research without concepts and categories of study as a guide is blind. In that sense, the philosophical, doctrinal, sociological, and historical elements in all of these may need to be combined to provide adequate working tools that can deal with such subjects as that of Grapard's work, the Kasuga cult. Grapard's work is a landmark study not simply because of its interesting and illuminating conclusions, but also because it discusses methodological issues with rigor and clarity.

This fact emerges in one of the key observations he makes in examining the traditions of the Buddhist/Shinto meeting of the Nara (794–1185) and Heian (1185–1333) periods. According to his argument, the formula to consider is "not Buddhist or Shinto, but combinative," a concept that he explains in some detail. By "combinative," loosely following the biological model, he means that neither identity disappears completely, that in some way both survive in a mutually mutated form, a fact that makes definition of Shinto or Buddhism as they existed in the premodern period very difficult. He stresses that what existed at the popular level must have been quite different from the academic definition of the various Buddhist "sects," or *shu* in Japanese, which he prefers to refer to individually as a "lineage" of the Buddhist tradition, such as Shingon or Tendai. He states that his study is based on three hypotheses. First is that Japanese religiosity is based on particular geographical sites where beliefs and practices were "combined" and transmitted within the framework of specific lineages before they were opened to the population at large. The second hypothesis is that Japanese religiosity is neither Shinto nor Buddhist, and certainly is not inclined to sectarianism but is combinative. Third, the combinative systems (the cults of the Nara/Heian periods) that came into being at various locations (such as at Kasuga) were indissolubly linked (to use Grapard's own words) in their origins and in their development to the social and economic structures and practices as well as to ideas of political legitimacy and authority, all of which were interrelated and embodied in the rituals and institutions that grew up at those locations. I recommend the entire text as an excellent model

of how such studies might be conducted. I include some words from his own introduction, which includes a summary of the progress of the entire book.

Text: Allan Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), from the introduction.

The Study of Japanese Cultic Centers

Most modern studies of Japanese religious history are characterized by disciplinary categories invented by certain Western cultural systems. The concepts used in those studies, however familiar they may appear to us, are dangerous in that they prevent us from acquiring an adequate understanding of Japanese society. It is commonly asserted, for instance, that there are several religions in Japan: Shinto, Buddhism, popular religion, and more recently, the new religions. Accordingly, scholars and students specialize either in Shinto or in Buddhism; often (there are sound exceptions) they emphasize the elite and scriptural traditions to the detriment of the popular traditions, and they also fail to analyze the interactions between the various currents that compose the Japanese religious tradition. As a result of such attitudes and practices, Shinto has been treated as though it were a single and universally shared body of ideas, practices, and institutions in premodern Japan. Moreover, although scholars have studied the sects of Buddhism, analyzed the teachings of their founders, provided exegesis of their major scriptures, and researched the lives of their great masters, there is no comprehensive study of any of those sects. Thanks to the studies undertaken so far much has been revealed about Japan, but it is becoming increasingly clear that if we continue on the same trajectory our understanding of Japanese religiosity and history will be limited and flawed.

Grapard contends that an analysis of Japanese ritual and belief systems demonstrates that they were locale-specific, combinatory (in the sense defined), and related to shrines and temples and institutions of power, and therefore to political, social, and economic order. Hence he declares it is necessary to discuss the morphology of cultural systems when referring to these complex entities and to the ways in which they were interrelated. One area in which Western studies are defective is their lack of interest in ritual as compared to their obsession with concepts and denominations. Ritual, for example, may disclose more of the nature of the combinative elements and their resulting creation in that they form (again, to use Grapard's own words) the mindscapes through which the cultural systems of Japan found expression.

He suggests that a possible model for the morphology of the pre-Meiji Shinto-Buddhist combination might be developed along the lines of the concept of opposition between marked and unmarked elements as found in the linguistics of Roman Jakobson. Grapard comments that the purpose of the book is not to propose this morphology, but rather to demonstrate the need for one.

Text: Grapard, *The Protocol of the Gods*.

Organization of the Book

The chapters of this study are organized to identify the most important elements of the belief and ritual system of Kasuga and to explain how those elements entered into combination to form a cultural system.

The first chapter discusses the locale of the Kasuga Shrine and the origins and structure of that shrine and of the Kofukuji (hereafter referred to as the Kasuga-Kofukuji multiplex), in order to show that that multiplex was a ceremonial center that embodied concepts of the state and social organization during the Nara period.

The second chapter investigates the associations between the divinities of the shrines and the temples and suggests that the organization of the multiplex during the Heian period gave birth to Nara as a sacred city.

In the third chapter the connections among the ritual, economic, and institutional aspects of the Kasuga cultural system are examined.

The fourth chapter discusses the historical processes by which the combinations between indigenous and imported concepts and practices led from originally simple practices of sacred space to grandiose visions of Kasuga as a metaphysical landscape related to the evolution of the concept of Japan as a sacred land.

The fifth chapter explores what happened to the system in the Edo and Meiji periods.

DAVID C. LEWIS ON THE “UNSEEN JAPAN”

Lewis is an anthropologist looking at Japanese religion from both an academic and a mission-oriented way of thinking. While recognizing as an anthropologist that universal features are to be found within human culture, he notes that cultural predilections toward the definition of the pure and the impure vary according to different traditions. He notes further that the distinction in Japan has very specific nuances that give a distinctive form to the configurations of the culture.

Text: David C. Lewis, *The Unseen Face of Japan* (Tunbridge Wells, England: Monarch Press, 1993), pp. 120–22.

Chapter 6: Purity and Pollution

In one form or another, concepts of “purity and pollution,” or distinctions between “clean” and “dirty,” are found throughout the world. However, cultures differ in which things are considered to be “clean” or “dirty.” For example, in the previous chapter it was noted how menstrual blood and childbirth have been considered sources of pollution in both ancient Israel and modern Japan, whereas other cultures may hold different attitudes to such matters.

Shinto rites in Japan almost always involve some reference to the driving out of impurity and the restoration of purity. The entrance to Shinto shrines (and to some Buddhist temples) contains a hand-washing place where running water can be scooped up to rinse out one’s mouth, wash one’s face or, more commonly, simply to rinse one’s hands. This is concerned with “outward” purification, whereas “inner” or “spiritual” purification comes from the *harai* ceremony. During this ritual, the priest takes a pole (called the *haraigushi*) which is waved in three broad, stylised strokes over the place or people to be purified. Shinto prayers (*norito*) often contain references to, or petitions for, the driving out of pollution, sometimes by asking for both pollution and sins (*tsumi*) to be thrown into the depths of the sea.

Instead of a simple dichotomy between “clean” and “unclean” in Japanese folk religion, Japanese anthropologists speak of a trichotomy which incorporates within it the contrasts between “purity” and “pollution,” “sacred” and “profane.” Their categories are as follows:

Hare: auspicious or happy formal occasions such as New Year, Shinto *matsuri* festivals, *miyamairi* and other Shinto ceremonies.

Kegare: polluting occasions, such as funerals, memorial rites, childbirth, menstruation, wounds or injuries. The pollution can come either from death or blood.

Ke: usual, common or ordinary occasions involving a neutral state which is neither *hare* nor *kegare*. These concepts can be applied to space (Shinto shrines *etc.*) as well as to time.

Namihira describes how one or other of these categories might become particularly emphasized in certain localities, as illustrated by a village or hamlet (Tani no ki buraku) which she studied in Koochi prefecture. There the people fear possession (*tsuki*) or curse (*tatari*) from a wide variety of spirits, both spirits of the dead and also those of other people who are alive. They fear also malevolent effects from a variety of other sources which can be diagnosed by a shaman (*kitooshi*) or medium. Namihira says that the people seem to emphasize *kegare* more than *hare* or *ke*. The same observations could be interpreted by some Christians as showing that these people have a valid fear of demonic powers; their conclusion would be that these people need to be set free through the power and authority of Jesus.

Elsewhere, Namihira comments that in urban areas the concept of *kegare* is

virtually absent from attitudes towards pregnancy and childbirth. Her observations tie in with the attitudes of urban Japanese women who told me that during their periods they normally abstain from sexual intercourse for practical reasons such as not staining the sheets. They were not motivated by concepts of pollution or by religious prohibitions.

Nevertheless, other aspects of purity and pollution concepts do remain in urban areas. A fear of contamination from one person to another makes the Japanese very reluctant to use secondary objects. In general, they never use second-hand clothing unless it is from a family member or a close friend. Some people even leave second-hand books out in the sun for a few hours for the sun's rays to kill any germs before they use them. Most Japanese are reluctant to take anything from the pile of goods thrown out on "big rubbish" (*ogata gomi*) days, even if these include tables, televisions and other objects still in good or usable condition. A concern with purity and pollution pervades many other aspects of daily life, as can be seen from some of the following examples.

Lewis cites numerous examples, all of which suggest that lying behind these preferences is the liking for renewal, freshness, and brightness. The rebuilding of the Grand Shrines of Ise every 20 years is the most obvious example. During the period of protracted recession that began in the early 1990s, secondhand cars and recycle shops began to spring up, and used goods became popular. However, during past periods of economic recession the rebuilding of the Grand Shrines had to be postponed for over a century. What validates Lewis's point is that when financing was available, the reconstruction recommenced. The same may be said of the recession at the end of the twentieth century that many economists have argued will change Japan's consumer habits for ever. If a century of recession did not forever stop the rebuilding of the Grand Shrines, it is hardly likely that the preference for newness will vanish quite so simply.

FOSCO MARIANI ON PATTERNS OF CONTINUITY

Some might consider Fosco Mariani to be ineligible, or at least inappropriate, to be present in this text because he is not a recognized scholar. Indeed, he is better known as a mountaineer, a photographer, and a writer of travel books. However, Mariani has a special claim to be included here by virtue of many factors. He was a student of the famous Italian Orientalist Giuseppe Tucci, and through that association he became Italy's foremost postwar scholar of Asia. His skills lie not in pedantry and narrow logic, but in linking the visual world of the present to its historical roots. On top of that, he possesses a unique perspective

on Japan, one that his experiences did not dilute. He was with his family in Italy in 1943 when Italy elected to leave the Axis. As a result, he experienced internment in Japan and returned to Italy after hostilities had ceased. He later returned to Japan for the purpose of writing a book. It is from that book that the passage below is extracted.

His most profound work is, however, and appropriately, visual. One Japanese colleague, reading my earlier book on Shinto, commented, "Japanese religions are highly photogenic." How right he was. And what culture of Europe is closer to that of Japan, at least at the aesthetic level, than Italy? In his *Patterns of Continuity*, Mariani demonstrates the degree to which, in Japanese culture, the new lies hidden in the old and the old is still visible in the new. If a picture is worth a thousand words, Mariani has left millions of meaningful words that demonstrate the tenacity of Japanese culture and the continuity born of that tenacity to survive. It is interesting also to note that he too sees the analogy with classical Greece and quotes Schiller in support.

Text: Fosco Mariani, *Meeting with Japan*, translated from the Italian by Eric Morsbacher (London: Hutchinson, 1959) pp. 146-47.

The word *kami* is like a signpost which simply indicates. At this point the invisible, the mysterious, begins. No claim is made to explain or discuss the unity, trinity, or plurality, the omnipotence or omniscience, of the supreme jurisdiction, to possess the keys to truth, to have wrested the final secret from the universe. That is why Shinto has been able to co-exist with the highest level of civilization and to provide a way of communion with the ultimate things of the world for minds which were the very reverse of petty or ignoble.

Many aspects of Shinto observable in everyday life are essential to an understanding of Japan, both past, present, and perhaps future.

In the first place, there is the absolutely spontaneous and genuine popular aspect, which in all probability constitutes the most ancient nucleus of this religion. It consists . . . of a sense of deep reverence for the forces of nature, which are always present in a diffuse state, but sometimes manifest themselves at a higher potential, with a warmer glow, in places, things, persons, events. Among the forces which would naturally seem most important to a people of peasants and fishermen are those which manifest themselves in the fertility of the fields, woods, and waters; hence the *kami* of the sun and rich harvests. . . .

. . . Shinto in general is a religion of luminous optimism. Schiller described the cult of the gods of ancient Greece as a *Wonnendienst*, a religion of love, joy, and gratitude rather than of fear. Aston remarks that the same applies to the native religion of Japan. Nearly all the Shinto gods

are benevolent. They do not sit on judgement thrones. The main themes of Shinto prayer and ceremonies are thankfulness and joyous greeting.

SUSAN E. TYLER: THE REVISIONIST VIEW

In contrast to the views I have presented thus far regarding Shinto, I close this section with two viewpoints that, by implication, reject much of what has been presented in this and the preceding two chapters dealing with interpretations of Shinto. In the first, Susan E. Tyler questions the view that Shinto was a primitive religion of Japan that was assimilated into a Buddhist framework, gradually reasserting itself but being derailed with the creation of State Shinto. Tyler states that, after the Pacific War, the “Shinto of shrines today is generally felt to resemble the Shinto of the past.” In challenging this and similar views, Tyler refers to Kuroda Toshio’s theory that *kenmitsu bukkyo*, including Shinto, was Japan’s indigenous tradition. She refers to her work on the Kasuga cult as part of the evidence she offers in support of Kuroda’s thesis.

I take issue with the overall approach for a number of reasons. First, it uses data from a very specific location at a relatively late period to sustain an argument that covers a much wider span of Japanese history. Second, Buddhism (at least in some of its forms) is and always has been aggressive in promoting itself as a state religion. That was one reason that the capital was transferred from Nara to Kyoto. The Tokugawa government divided the Kyoto Hongan-ji into east and west to preempt the risk of a threat to the power of the shogunate. Third, I think there is a failure to recognize that Shinto and Buddhism are religions of a quite different species. Shinto is an earth religion of nature. Buddhism is a religion of revelation and history, a “higher” religion. It is quite natural to think of assimilation taking only one form, lower to higher. But surely *Shugendō* is the best example of the Shintoization of Buddhism. Thomas Imoos’s arguments (already noted) must be taken seriously. Fourth, although Shinto may have been close to Buddhism for long periods, reform and return to roots is found in other religions. I think Anesaki’s observation is apposite here, that whatever Shinto may have received during the 80 years of State Shinto, it needed its older roots in order to finance itself. More attention needs to be devoted not to the links between Buddhism and Shinto, but to the links between Shinto, folk religion, and shamanism, which still exist in plenty, even in modern industrial Japan.

The passage quoted, which summarizes Tyler’s argument most succinctly, comes from a paper presented in 1987 at a symposium on rethinking Japan, held in Venice, Italy. The views represented in this paper

are among those that Allan Grapard would question for making assumptions about the nature of Shinto and Buddhism that do not take sufficiently into account the combinative properties of either.

Text: Susan E. Tyler, "Is There a Religion Called Shinto?" in *Re-thinking Japan*, vol. 11, ed. Andriana Boscaro, Franco Gatti, and Massimo Raveri (Kent, England: Japan Library Limited, 1990), pp. 261-70.

In conclusion, I would like to summarize what I have proposed. The identification of Buddhist counterparts of Shinto deities began in the early ninth century at Kasuga and Kofuku-ji. The Fukukenjaku of the Nan'endo was held to be the Kasuga kami and the Fujiawara *ujigami*. This was a private matter which concerned the Kofuku-ji temple monks and clan members. When Kofuku-ji's power grew, it was able to dominate the shrine more fully and make its religion Buddhist. Shinto then had a double character as an alternate practice of Buddhism and as a private religion. It was a religion within Buddhism. Attention to Fukukenjaku as a *honji* of the first sanctuary was an antique practice within a private Shinto religious context; while belief in Shaka as the *honji* of the first sanctuary was open to all as part of an enlarged Buddhist world. This was possible because of secure belief in the universality of the Buddhist deities and the all-pervasiveness of Buddhist principles. While Shinto can be called a religion which persisted throughout Japanese history, it was immeasurably richer, as people of medieval Japan believed, when it existed within the Buddhist world which Japan had created.

OKANO HARUKO: A FEMINIST VIEW OF SHINTO

The second revisionist thesis to which I would like to accord space is extremely radical, namely that Shinto is the root of sexism in Japanese society. Examining the pre- and postwar discussions of Shinto by non-Japanese, predominant seems to be the association of Shinto with nationalism, Shinto with both capital and small s. Its very existence has also been called into question. However, to place Shinto within the framework of a discussion inspired by Western concepts of feminism brings a new dimension to the debate. Although Okano may write as a Japanese, I include her here because the viewpoint she expresses is based on the premises of a Western style of feminism. The question of the applicability of Western models arises here. However, the argument is open to criticism on many grounds, not least of all its lack of attention

to the fact that both Buddhism and the values of Confucianism introduced the concept of male-dominated culture and social order to Japan.

By merely dismissing the idea that early empresses were probably shaman figures, Okano then simply divides Shinto thereafter into two periods, namely from 645 (the Taika Reform) to 1868 (the Meiji Restoration), and from 1868 “to the present day.” It is doubtful if any historian would accept such an oversimplified analysis. The core of her argument comes from her discussion of the modern period and stresses the problem of Japanese feminism as the “anthropological issue of how each individual can establish his or her identity.” This is discussed in terms of how Shinto contributes to the basis of a “unitary society” in Japan.

Text: Okano Haruko, “Women and Sexism in Shinto,” *Japan Christian Review* 59 (1992): 27–31.

In Japan, imported foreign religions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and even Christianity could not dismantle the Shintoistic unitary community spirit. On the contrary, the Shintoistic community enforced a sense of familial solidarity by means of the extended family. Moreover, by placing the emperor at the top of society, and regarding him as divinely descended, Shinto affirmed the absolute and sacred nature of the nation, while Buddhism and Confucianism assisted in the formation of this ideology by underlining its authenticity. The characteristics of the Japanese unitary society as a pseudo-national community is understood in terms of an all-embracing maternal principle, according to Kawaii Hayao (in *Bosei sahaki Nihon no byori* Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1976).

In spite of Shinto’s maternal principle which operated within Japanese society, the formation of public order and institution of the national community was in the hands of the male with an androcentric frame of mind as I have described above.

The reason why Shinto can sustain meaning in Japan today can be found in the coexistence of the formal side of the androcentric national cult with the ethnic religion represented by women in the background.

Outwardly religion had no role to play in the rebirth of Japan from defeat in war to the democratic state it is today, except for the period immediately after the defeat. However, religion always justified the central institutions and the familial system. Inwardly, Shinto maintained its stronghold on the Japanese people, justifying and supporting sexism and class discrimination, and reinforcing fascism.

Chapter 10

CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE EXPOSITIONS OF SHINTO

INTRODUCTION: THE JAPANESE REASSESSMENT OF SHINTO

We come now finally to some of the contemporary Japanese writers on Shinto and Japanese culture. These thinkers have come to Shinto as a by-product of the *Nihonjinron* (theories of the Japanese) and *Nihon bunkaron* (theories of Japanese culture) that were popular during the 1970s and 1980s as explained in the introduction to chapter 9.

Among the many subjects raised in these discussions, it is hardly surprising that Shinto should eventually make an appearance. Professor Hirai and Professor Ueda both belong to Kokugakuin University, which has a faculty of Shinto theological studies. Professor Asoya also belongs to Kokugakuin University and teaches, among other courses, an introduction to Shinto.

Two of the group are priests. Yamamoto Yuki-taka (1920–2002) was the 96th High Priest of the Tsubaki Grand Shrine in Mie Prefecture, while Katayama Nobuo is High Priest of the Hanazono Jinja in Shinjuku, Tokyo, as well as a medical practitioner. To these gentlemen, Shinto is a way of life for them and for the people they serve as priests.

YAMAMOTO YUKITAKA ON KANNAGARA AND DAISHIZEN

Text: Yamamoto Yukitaka, *Kami no Michi* (Stockton, CA: Tsubaki Grand Shrine of America, 1985), pp. 69–89. Translated and adapted by Stuart D. B. Picken.

Chapter 7, “The Origins and Basis of Shinto”

What is Shinto? The word Shin-to is a combination of two terms, *kami*, which means any divine being or indeed anything in the world or beyond that can inspire in human beings a sense of its divinity and mystery. *Do* or *To* is the Japanese word for a “way.” It can be the ordinary word for a road. It can have the same metaphorical meaning as in English, that is, the way of life or the way of God. Together, the terms mean “the way of the *kami*,” which can also be written in Japanese *Kami no Michi*, the title of this book.

Shinto did not have any formal title until Buddhism came to Japan in the sixth century C.E., when a name had to be given to the older tradition to distinguish it from the new and foreign one. Buddhism then was called *Butsудо*, the way of the Buddha, and to make clear what was what, the older folk way of worshipping *kami* came to be known as *SHIN-DO*, or simple Shinto, the way of the *kami*.

Of one early emperor it was written that he followed the way of Buddha and revered the “way of the *kami*.” This was the first use of the term Shinto as such in the Japanese language. Thus Shinto received a name, and it is that name by which we know it today.

Shinto has no written records as such, but within the ancient Japanese writings that recount the mythological origins of the people and their traditions, the *kami* and the imperial household, there are some ideas and explanations about the origins of Japanese culture and beliefs. There is a text called the *Kojiki*, which means “Record of Ancient Matters,” and it is one of the oldest pieces of writing in the Japanese language. The process of compiling it began around 682 C.E., according to most historians, and was completed around the year 712. In keeping with its legendary origins, it was said to have been compiled by a scholar called Onoyasumaro, who received it in verbal form from a man possessed of an extraordinary memory by the name of Hiedanone. It was then formally presented to the imperial court for its formal approval as the authoritative account of the origins of Japan and of the role of the *kami* in the founding of Japanese culture. Although other writings came later, and in the Chinese style, more historically oriented writings, such as the *Nihongi*, the “Chronicles of Japan,” written around the year 720, the *Kojiki* remains the more prestigious because of its emphasis on the age of the *kami*.

Of the *Kojiki*, Basil Chamberlain, the British scholar who first translated it into English in the late nineteenth century, wrote in his introduction that the *Kojiki* had

preserved more faithfully than any other book, the mythology, manners, language and traditions of Japan. Written by Imperial command in the 8th century, this national history is Japan's oldest connected literary work, and the fundamental Scripture of Shinto. It provides, furthermore, a vivid account of a nation in the making.

I shall now briefly try to summarize the principal points contained in the mythology of the early chapters, which are the most directly concerned with Shinto. If you can, please read the original in English translation. What follows is an explanation of the mythology along with my interpretation of how I believe the mythology should be understood.

When heaven and earth come into being, there are five *kami* born in Takamahara (the plain of high heaven, i.e., the entire universe). They are Ame no Minakanushi (the Master of the August Center of Heaven), Takami Musubi no Kami (the High August Producing Kami), Kami Musubi no Kami (the Divine Producing Wondrous Kami), Umashi Ashikabi Hikoji no Kami (the Pleasant Reed Shoot Elderly Kami) and Kuni Tokotachi no Kami, (the Eternally Standing Heavenly Kami).

At the center of creation is Ame no Minakanushi no Kami, the central figure in the universe (Takamahara). As the universe forms from a chaotic mass, the *kami* of birth and the *kami* of growth initiate the development of the cosmic order because of their power to initiate creativity. The concept of *musubi*, the power of creativity, is shown as a central aspect of Shinto.

The concept of Takamanohara can be interpreted as the solar system. Further *kami* appear, and from them come Izanagi no Mikoto (the Male Who Invites) and Ikanami no Mikoto (the Female Who Invites). The first *kami*, Ame no Minakunishi, orders the later *kami* to model the universe on the concepts of truth, reason and principle. Izanagi and Izanami, the male and female principles, are ordered to create the world. They stand on Ame no Ukihashi (the Floating Bridge of Heaven) and dip the jeweled spear of heaven beneath the clouds and look for land. The brine that drips from the spear coagulates and forms the island of Onogoro, which is usually taken to be the islands of Japan, but can also be understood to mean the entire world. Onogoro in its root meaning describes something that rotates by itself, which suggests the world.

Izanagi and Izanami then descend to the earth, where they make love, after which Izanami speaks of the greatness of the act. After seeking further guidance from the heavenly *kami* on how to fully perform and completely perfect the act of love, they return to the earth and begin to procreate various islands. Various other *kami* appear, and the last *kami* they produce is the *kami* of fire. The utilization of fire by human civilization is marked by this incident. The dangers of fire are shown by the fact that after the birth of the *kami* of fire, his mother, Izanami, becomes sick and finally dies. After her death, Izanagi follows Izanami into the underworld, the land of pollution, Yomi no Kuni, where she is beginning to decompose. He is told not to look at her, but he ignores the order and in

anger, he is pursued by her and other spirits to the edge of the outside world to which he fled. He blocked the entrance to the underworld with a great stone.

The story of the love between them and the death of Izanami is told in quite a moving way. In their closing argument Izanami threatens to kill a thousand people a day if Izanagi comes back. He declares he can assure the birth of one thousand five hundred. This affirms the power of life over death and herein lies the basis of the optimism of Shinto in its view of life.

Also, after leaving the land of pollution, associated with decay and death, Izanagi washes himself in the Tachibana river to cleanse himself completely from the decaying presence. This action of ritual washing is the beginning of the idea of *misogi*, the physical act of ritual purification in water that is the prototype of the Shinto ritual of *oharai*, or purification, performed nowadays most often by a priest waving, in a symbolic way, a wand of paper streamers called a *harai-gushi*.

As Izanagi washes his face, there is born a *kami* from his left eye, who is Amaterasu Okami (the Great August Shining Deity of Heaven, the Deity of the Sun). Tsukiyomi (the Deity of the Moon) comes from his right eye, and from his nose, Susa no Mikoto (the troublesome Swift Impetuous Male Deity).

Happy now that the three illustrious *kami* were thus born, Izanagi then divides the rule of the universe between them. Amaterasu Okami receives power and authority to preside over the universe and the solar system. To Tsukiyomi, the power is given to reign over the night, and to Susano no Mikoto is given the right to rule over the sea and the stars. In this way, the light and energy necessary for life comes from the *kami* of the sun, while that of the moon presides over quietness and growth. The *kami* of the seas is responsible for the rhythmic movement of the earth and its daily life as the stars are lit and life follows its cycle.

The restless and infinite movement of the heavenly bodies is what in Shinto we call *Kannagara*, meaning movements that go "along with the *kami*."

Kannagara

Kannagara would probably be called in the West "natural religion" (not meaning a religion of nature, but "natural" as opposed to "revealed"). The life of man is located in *Daishizen*, Great Nature, the vast cosmic setting into which we are born, where we live, and within which our lives find any meaning. Natural religion is the spontaneous awareness of the divine that can be found in any culture. People learn to see in the flow of life and in the processes of nature promptings from the creative origins of the world.

In response to these, the basic ideas of religion come into being at the birth of a new culture. The Japanese mythology speaks of how the ancient Japanese felt about their world, its origins and the origins of the world around them. These historical events mark the beginning of basic religious systems and human cultures. Shinto reflects an awareness of the divine that calls for man to live "according to the *kami*" so that he can find happiness and fulfillment in experiencing the basic joys of life.

Kannagara is not itself a religion, nor is it the basis of a religion, although it is at the heart of Shinto. It is best understood as a nonexclusive principle of universalism that can exist in all religions and should exist as a self-corrective idea that calls every historical religion back to its fundamental roots and to the basic insight of all natural religion that the finest results for life are achieved when man lives "according to the *kami*."

This is why a Shinto believer will not reject something just because it is not Shinto. A Shinto believer can be at home with any *kami* that shows the power to elevate his soul. This kind of approach to religion can be called the *kannagara* understanding of the place of religion in human life, human society, and human culture in general. In a sense, *kannagara* refers to the underlying basis of spirituality common to all religions. Religions should therefore try to realize the spirit of *kannagara* in order to remain true to themselves. *Kannagara* need not be understood necessarily as unique to the Japanese but is a concept with universal significance and applicability. *Kannagara* has to do with spirit, and with bringing the spirit of man and his activities into line with the spirit of Great Nature. The spirit of Great Nature may be a flower, may be the beauty of the mountains, the pure snow, the soft rains, or the gentle breeze. *Kannagara* means being in communion with these forms of beauty and so with the highest level of experiences of life. When people respond to the silent and provocative beauty of the natural order, they are aware of *kannagara*. When they respond in life in a similar way, by following ways "according to the *kami*," they are expressing *kannagara* in their lives. They are living according to the natural flow of the universe, and will benefit and develop by so doing.

To be fully alive is to have an aesthetic perception of life, because a major part of the world's goodness lies in its often unspeakable beauty. Unlike Western thought, which has reservations about beauty as a basis of understanding life, Shinto has never denied it. These ideas cannot be taught directly. They can only be captured by someone whose experience of them is sufficiently moving for him or her to realize their fullest meaning. This is also why Shinto is associated with sacred spaces, originally places of either striking natural beauty, or places that had an atmosphere that could strike awe in the heart of the observer.

This is also why Shinto has no need of formalized systems of ethics that instruct people how to behave. People who are trying to express *kannagara* will be living "according to the *kami*" and therefore will not require detailed regulations. If man were in need of detailed rules, claimed Motoori Norinaga, he would be little better than an animal that needs to be trained and retrained in order to behave properly. Humankind is surely beyond this type of morality. Beauty, truth and goodness are essentially related, and when beauty is perceived, truth and goodness follow close behind.

Through participating in the spirit of *kannagara*, human beings, earth, and heaven can achieve harmonious union. When their relationship is indeed perfectly harmonious, the ideal universe comes into being. But of course, this does not always happen, and the reason is that man often makes mistakes that lead

to his becoming impure. When people become impure in this sense, they stray from themselves and they have to find themselves again. If people can return to being themselves, then the *kami* rejoice and human progress and prosperity become possible.

The manner by which that purity is restored is purification, or *oharai* in Japanese. The acts of purification are performed by priests who act as intermediaries in the sense of speaking to the *kami* when they are themselves purified on behalf of people they will in turn ceremonially purify. There are many forms of *oharai*, but from the point of view of the traditions of Tsubaki Grand Shrine, *misogi harai* or purification under a freestanding waterfall is the profoundest, most efficacious, and most visibly symbolic form of how mankind can restore the spirit of *kannagara* in the soul, can renew the spirit, and can revitalize the creative force and energies of life. This we do at the shrine, and this is perhaps a good point at which to introduce the shrine, the enshrined *kami*, Sarutahikio Okami. Later I will discuss the meaning and practice of the *misogi* ritual of which I have already spoken.

Chapter 8, "The Tsubaki Grand Shrine and Sarutahiko Okami"

Tsubaki Grand Shrine lies . . . at the foot of Mount Takayama and Hikiyama up the stream of the Suzuka River in Mie Prefecture where Sarutahiko Okami was said to have lived and died. The *Kojiki* already mentioned indicates that a *jinja* was established around 300 C.E. to enshrine his soul. This was done on the sacred order of Princess Yamatohime-no-Mikoto, a descendant of the *kami* of the sun, Amaterasu. The highest of the heavenly *kami* is Amaterasu. The highest of the earthly *kami* is Sarutahiko Okami, the pioneer of the Way of rightness and justice.

Sarutahiko Okami appears in Japanese mythology in the following incident. (You can read the details in the *Kojiki* Vol. I, Section XXXIII.) He is depicted as standing at the junction of earth and heaven to carry out his mission to guide the grandchildren of Amaterasu to the earth, the imperial family, and the founders of the human race. He is also described as extremely masculine, with a long, long nose, and he stands a majestic seven fathoms tall. His eyes shine like mirrors, and light emits from his mouth and from behind him. He is considered the *kami* of guidance and positiveness, and he embodies the spirit of true courage.

Sarutahiko Okami is enshrined in the *Honden*, or *Shinden*, as it is also sometimes called. No one but purified priests may enter, and the sacred doors are opened only on special festival days. His grave is located within the shrine grounds and is also a sacred place where a small altar stands.

In the side buildings there is a place of worship where the soul of his wife, Ame-no-uzume-no-kami, is enshrined. In Japanese mythology, the *kami* of the sun, Amaterasu, hides in a cave, and Ame-no-uzume-no-kami performs a somewhat indecent dance that provokes massive laughter among the other *kami*. The world has been plunged into darkness, but when Amaterasu comes out to see

what the noise is about, the other *kami* immediately put a rope over the entrance to the cave, called in the *Kojiki* Ame-no-iwato. Thus she must remain outside, and the world again has light. (This is recorded in the *Kojiki* Vol. I, Section XVI.)

Amaterasu then tries to send her grandson, Ninigi-no-Mikoto, to rule over the earth, but a *kami* on reconnaissance tells Amaterasu that there is a massive manlike *kami* blocking the path to earth at the heavenly junction. This massive *kami* terrifies the others, and it is again Ame-no-uzume who comes to the rescue. She is asked by Amaterasu to go meet this frightening *kami*. Being afraid of nothing, she goes to meet Sarutahiko and persuades him that he should guide the grandson of Amaterasu to the earth so that he may rule over it. After coming down to earth, Ame-no-uzume marries Sarutahiko, and they settle on the site of what is now Tsubaki Grand Shrine.

Ame-no-uzume has many talents. Because of her dance that attracted the attention of Amaterasu, she is respected as the guardian *kami* of entertainment. Marriage also comes under her purview, and she is regarded because of her fearlessness as the *kami* of defense, and therefore, among other people, of lawyers. Sarutahiko is, of course, also the *kami* of bravery, as we saw, and therefore he acts as the guardian *kami* of the Japanese martial arts, particularly the form of self-defense known as *Aikido*, which I spoke of earlier.

Chapter 9, "Shinto and World Religion"

One of the easiest ways to get inside the basic spirit of Shinto is to put it alongside other world religions for comparison. This helps also to pinpoint the distinctive qualities of Shinto. As I explained when I was discussing how we reconstructed the Tsubaki Grand Shrine, the core concept was what I called *vertical musubi*. This we can now call the *vertical musubi of kannagara*. It is the attempt to bring the *kami*, the divine, into direct relation with man. In the Shinto rituals, the *kami* alights on the *sakaki*, the evergreen tree, and so the blessings and benefits are possible. The spirit or *mitama* of any *kami* can be invited to alight on a sacred purified place, and so people may commune with the *kami*. Shinto thus grew and developed from these basic insights, and none of these can be attributed to any particular historical founder. Shinto grew as a folk way of people seeking to meet their *kami*, and consequently, the tradition expanded without particular historical personalities behind it.

This development contrasts markedly with Christianity, for example, which came into being because of the person of Jesus of Nazareth, whose historical life, teaching, death, and resurrection became the basis of the faith of the early Christians. Buddhism looks to the statue of its founder, Gotama, whose historical experiences led him to sit under the Bhodi tree and meditate until he had unlocked the secrets of existence. Thus he formulated the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path, known also as the Middle Way, and his teaching, the result of his Enlightenment, led to the historical person becoming known as the Buddha, the Enlightened One. The same may be said of Islam, whose founder

understood himself to be a prophet of God. The tradition of Judaism looks back to a catalog of founding figures, to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and on through the ages of Hebrew history, which is rich in dynamic and powerful personalities.

The characteristic feature of these traditions is what I call their *horizontal musubi*, that is, that the founder was a historical person who transmitted the religion or who embodied it in a way that it was transmitted horizontally from that point of history to other people.

Shinto, at different times in its history, found able exponents and scholars among its priests and devotees, but fundamentally, none of these could be called "founders." They were engaged in the creative transmission of the traditions, in interpreting the Japanese classics, or in researching the history of a particular *kami*. They were not in the Indo-European sense "founders" or "spiritual leaders," although Japan has had these, in Buddhism in particular.

The point I wish to make about *vertical musubi* and *horizontal musubi* can be stated more simply in terms of the "warp" and the "woof" as in a piece of tapestry. Put it this way. The horizontal and the vertical are basically alike and the same in that they are constituents of a pattern. But the difference lies not in their substance, or form, but in their role. The warp is constant and continuing. Therefore the thread must be long, steady, regular, and firm. The woof, which makes the actual design, reflects the time, era, and circumstances and consequently is capable of making a variety of designs according to the way it is used. Because the warp functions as the base, the woof can act with freedom, and in turn, because of the designs made by the woof, a patterned fabric can be made. The warp and the woof complement each other. The question is not which is more important or which is "correct," more useful, or even ultimately valid. The same applies to the relationship between *vertical musubi* and *horizontal musubi*. Neither is more important than the other. The spiritual fabric I would call *kannagara* cannot be manufactured without both warp and woof, that is, without both *vertical musubi* and *horizontal musubi*.

In *kannagara* there must always exist the two dimensions, we might even call them forces. Sometimes, they are vertical-horizontal, sometimes it is light-dark, or up-down, or right-left. It is the blend that creates *kannagara*.

Therefore I would have to say that a Shinto believer who denounces other religions is not a real Shinto believer. A real Shinto believer can be at home in a Shinto shrine at New Year, a Buddhist Temple at the Obon festival for the souls of the ancestors, or a Christian church on Christmas Eve. All of these make individual sense. They are authentic. In some way they complement each other. This principle applies not simply to religion but to all the cultures of mankind.

Nonrational creatures (plants and animals) do not possess the means necessary, namely, language to create the *vertical musubi* without which a culture cannot come into being. Thus development is not possible even after tens of thousands of years. Through language, man has been able to create traditions

and to take what has been handed on to him from his forefathers and make it develop. Language can thus make possible the flourishing of human culture through the *vertical musubi*, that is, the specific time and environment of the development of a specific phase or moment of cultural creativity. Once created, it can be transmitted through the *horizontal musubi*.

Through this process the various cultures of the world have come into being and man has developed as a species and prospered by extending himself intellectually, socially, and geographically. Although the core of the *vertical musubi* is *kokoro*, the heart, the *horizontal musubi* is necessarily accompanied by the material objects and artifacts of civilization. In a sense, physical objects (including man in this sense) are the core of the *horizontal musubi*.

At New Year, around 80 million plus Japanese visit shrines such as the Grand Shrines of Ise, Izumo Taisha, Tsubaki Grand Shrine, Meiji Jingu, or shrines of Inari, Hachiman, or other *kami*. But how many Japanese could actually name the *Gosaijin* or enshrined *kami* in each case?

From the viewpoint of Shinto, whether these people could answer the question or not, or whether they could answer further questions about who built the shrine, how it is administered, or indeed anything else specific, is immaterial. But then in contrast, we see Christians going to Lourdes for cures, or pilgrims going to the Holy Land or Mecca, or even in Japan followers of Kukai or Nichiren climbing mountains or traveling great distances. Here the difference between Shinto and other religions becomes much clearer. Other religions are specific, with devotions being focused not necessarily on one person, but certainly owing the transmission of the tradition to a "saint" or sacred messenger like a prophet or apostle. They are cultural expressions or manifestations of *horizontal musubi*.

It is also pointed out quite often that Shinto has few doctrines and virtually no canon of sacred writings. Muslims have the Koran, Buddhists have the sutras, Christians have their Bible, and followers of Judaism have their writings that they share with Christians. It is not that Shinto has nothing at all. There are some writings, the ancient mythology, some *norito* or ritual addresses to the *kami*, but basically, these are short and fragmentary compared to anything in these other religions whose written records and teachings are so important. In other religions these doctrines become the basis of authority as to how the tradition should be interpreted and transmitted.

Shinto is often classified as a polytheistic type of culture. However, the sense of polytheism is quite different in Shinto compared to that found in primitive cultures, which is usually contrasted with the higher level of monotheism. There is ultimately only one *kami*, and all *kami* share the same quality. But the one *kami* can divide itself into several parts, and these can function in different places at one time—in Takamahara (the cosmos), Takamanohara (the solar system), and Onokorojima (the earth). Each part has its own function that it exercises almost like parts of the human body, functioning separately but retaining nevertheless integrity of existence because there is total organic unity.

According to the idea that the one is many but the many are one, reverence for one *kami* means reverence for all *kami*. Irrespective of individual shrines or groups of shrines, reverence of the *kami* means all *kami*. This is in fact one very significant part of Shinto that makes impossible, in effect, any kind of conflict between either denominations (for example, any of the officially acknowledged 13 sects) or any shrines in particular. Since Shinto is not an anthropomorphic religion, with man at the center, it can more easily follow the way of *kannagara*. Religions that have derived from some human initiative or inspiration require some form of interpretation. This is how their transmission and continuity is assured.

The more profound and subtle in a philosophical sense a doctrine is, the higher the standing of that religion. But human beings have their limitations and make imperfect judgments, and therefore disagreements and conflicts are inevitable. This is particularly true in the case of religions where doctrines are formalized and stated. The more subtle a doctrine, the greater the likelihood of disagreement among the various individuals or groups involved in interpreting it. The best example of this in the West is the battle in early Christianity over the definition of the *substance* of the person of Christ, whether it was like or the same as the *substance* of God. The difference in Greek was the letter *iota*. Here was a case of subtlety where there was literally not much more than "an *iota* of difference." When such divisions occur on how a doctrine is interpreted, rival groups will appear and new movements will be formed. These will probably be subject to further dispute and subdivision. As this process goes on, endless numbers of new groups begin to appear.

This is the situation of religion today. There are in Japan, for example, around 45 denominations of Nichiren Buddhism. There are an estimated two thousand Christian denominations in the United States. When religions have "objects" at their center in the sense I defined earlier, these tendencies are unavoidable.

There is a saying in Japanese: "Shuron wa dochira makete mo Shaka no haji," which means, "It doesn't matter which sect teaching loses to which, it is all to the shame of the Buddha."

Shinto is, in a sense, a pure and simple way of thinking about the divine in the universe. It constantly emphasizes happiness within life and within the world. It is concerned about human life within nature and under heaven, that is, the relationship between man and *kami*. In Shinto the attitude and approach to the world and to human life is positive, optimistic, and open-minded.

In this sense it is simple. Other religions may be more formalistic in matters of doctrine and more extravagant in terms of philosophy and ideas. But these also may have deep concern over sins, human weaknesses, and anxieties and therefore cannot encourage an optimistic and positive approach to life. Christianity in the West might disapprove of suicide, but according to a Japanese American scholar of suicide in Japan, Mamoru Iga, it actually promotes a suicidal tendency in the Japanese mind because, as he says, "Self-awareness and

the sense of guilt are emphasized in Christianity. Self-awareness produces internal conflict in that country where 'selflessness' (or merging into society) is the basic value." He notes that this tendency to melancholy is notable among intellectuals in Japan who become Christian. He documents his argument with many interesting examples taken from writers in Japan who committed suicide. The point is simply that the more seriously certain aspects of inwardness are emphasized, the greater the risk of occurrence of these kinds of ambiguity.

In Shinto, the *goshintai* or object of reverence may be a single *gohei*, the piece of white cut and folded sacred paper that can be said to reflect the simplicity of belief and the simplicity of original Shinto. Others may have one or another of the *Sanshu-no-Jingi*, the three sacred treasures of the imperial regalia, the mirror, the sword, and the jewel. Others yet again may have a natural object such as a rock, as a *goshintai*. Some people interpret the three sacred treasures rather narrowly from an old-fashioned Confucian standpoint as the symbol of *chi-yu-jin*, wisdom, valor, and humanity. But taken in the wider sense, the three should be taken to represent the *sammi-sangen*, the principle of the three elements that constitute existence. Gas, liquid, and solid are three elemental basics, and their role can be expanded to explain and interpret such elements as truth, reason, and principle or mission, existence, and destiny, or life, soul, and spirit.

The objects revered or worshipped in other religions, such as in some forms of Christianity or in Buddhism, are much more grand and perhaps gorgeously artistic than anything in Shinto. The same may be said of buildings and architecture. In contrast to the simple and usually unadorned wood used in traditional shrine building, the buildings of other religions, such as the Vatican in Rome, often seem to be competing with each other in size and extravagance. There is a song that goes as follows:

Iwa to kagura no jindai yori miki agarume kami wa nai

The meaning of the words is interesting because *kagura* is a combination of two Chinese characters, one being *kami* and the other being *tanoshii*, meaning happiness. *Jindai* or sometimes *Shindai* is another combination, using *kami* and a character meaning "ancient" or "classical." *Miki* is another combination, of *kami* and *sake*, and means the sacred rice wine placed before the *kami* in rituals. No *kami* from the classical age of the *kami* ever refuses the sacred dance or the sacred wine.

Being translated freely, this means that in Shinto, the *kami* and the people join together and enjoy the activities of the *matsuri*, the festival that includes eating and drinking as necessary components of the ritual, along with music and dance known as *kagura*, which are enthusiastically performed in the great act of celebrating life.

Perhaps the best symbol of all these points is the *torii*, the gatelike entrance-way to shrine precincts. These have no doors and are open summer and winter, day and night. The open-minded and open-hearted aspects of Shinto become quite visible in this way.

Shinto and Buddhism in Japan

Buddhism was the first foreign religion to come to Japan, and because of this, it has a peculiar relationship with Shinto, unique to Buddhism anywhere and perhaps even unique among all religions. The relationship is long and complicated, but somehow over the centuries, Buddhism and Shinto managed to work out a kind of relationship that involved both arguments as well as compromise. Sometimes the advantage went to Buddhism, sometimes to Shinto. In the case of the doctrine of *Honji-Suijaku-Setzu*, the idea of the one religion being the manifestation of another, Buddhism took the advantage by having Shinto *kami* understood as manifestations of the Buddha. In *Ryobu-Shinto*, Shinto of both parts, the advantages were more even. Shinto had complete control in the era of State Shinto when Buddhism and Shinto were radically separated by order of the government.

No matter the era, no single Buddhist leader or founder of a Buddhist sect ever overlooked the existence of Shinto. Nichiren, the famous Buddhist figure of the Kamakura age, was given a name that uses two characters. One, *nichi*, means the sun, and of course, the principal divinity of Japan is Amaterasu Omokami, deity of the sun. The other is *ren*, which means Lotus, the principal flower symbol of Buddhism. There is a statue of Nichiren holding a *sutra* in one hand and a *shaku* (the flat wooden stick carried by Shinto priests) in the other. When Saicho was building the Enryaku-ji, the head temple of the Tendai sect on Mount Hiei in Kyoto, he first built a protective shrine. The other great leader of the Heian age, Kukai, acted in a similar way when he erected the Kongobu-ji, the head temple of the esoteric sect called Shingon, on Mount Koya. To ignore or belittle Shinto would be to ignore *kannagara*, and that is something that even the most convinced or dogmatic would not do. It is as though they knew it in their blood that such an attitude was not permissible.

Prince Shotoku Taishi, the regent to the imperial house who is credited with formally introducing Buddhism to Japan, was never seen in Buddhist dress. He always wore the court dress appropriate to a Shinto priest, and thus he was depicted on the old Bank of Japan ¥10,000 banknote. He gave the nation a guide for national life, called in Japanese the Seventeen Clause Constitution. But while it speaks of Buddhism and Confucianism, it is deep down based upon *kannagara*.

Japanese religion in its roots is founded on the open spirit of *kannagara*, which is best seen in the simplicity of Shinto that can freely meet and mix with any tradition that seeks for the highest in man to be infused with the finest that the divine can inspire in it. This is the secret of the way of the *kami* and its long history both within the religious life of Japan and among the great religions of the world.

Text: Yamamoto Yukitaka, *Speaking Peace to the Nations* (Stockton, CA: Tsubaki Grand Shrine of America, 1987), pp. 2–3, 17–18.

1. For the Renaissance of Mankind

Since the dawn of history, mankind has been foolish enough to fight constantly against himself and against his own nature. Man against man, group against group and nation against nation, we have fought for centuries. These wars have not only been for political and economic reasons alone, but also for academic, ideological, and religious reasons. These wars were in total and direct opposition to the will of the *kami*, the manifest presence of the divine in the world.

Today we face a world filled with confusion, disunity, and despair. More than one third of the world's population lives under an ideology that denies the existence of *kami*, of the divine. But even in the free world, an ever-increasing lack of faith is evident, especially among the young. Why is this so? It is so because mankind has concentrated all its effort on material development while the development of the spiritual dimension has been entirely neglected. Contemporary man is, in a sense, crippled both mentally and spiritually.

In order to relieve this condition we must create a new unity of spiritual enlightenment and realize *a renaissance of mankind*. How can we do this? We can do it only by possessing the wisdom we can attain through philosophy, and to me, philosophy, the love of wisdom is following the will of the *kami*, the will of the divine.

We find as a characteristic of the twentieth century the claim that "*God is dead*," made by many philosophers and even some theologians. Here we see God crucified, leaving man alone and abandoned in the universe. The true value of man's life is undermined by a totally materialistic civilization. In the confusion of modern society we find a limited and twisted Man, divorced from and hostile to the universe, united only in the desperate pursuit of false values, empty pleasures, and fanatic, inhuman ideologies.

Does God exist or not? This is a question whose answer can never be empirically proven. It can be only answered by Faith. Shinto's answer to this question is that God/*kami* is Spirit without form ever present in both Heaven and earth. When we interpret this statement, Heaven and earth means the universe itself. The symbol of the universe is the Spirit and that Spirit is God/*kami*.

Mother Nature in this universe gives us daily blessings and the force of life. This life force is called *kannagara* which, directly translated means "like *kami*" or "the Way of the *kami*." This concept is the source of Shinto religion; it is the Principle, the Truth, and the Way to perfect ourselves in the ideal of the plan of the *kami* and Mother Nature. Although the name may differ, *kannagara* is in fact the basis of all religions. Its presence in all religions unites them inherently and also allows the unity of mankind, but only through our realizing the truth enshrined in this point.

This is the basic idea and teaching of Shinto. The teacher who shows us the way to live according to nature is *Sarudahiko*, primal *kami* of guidance, and I am the 96th generation of High Priests to serve this *kami*. God/*kami* ceases to exist only when the image vanishes from man's mind, when we lose track of the way or when everything in the world ceases to be meaningful.

Present-day institutionalized religions have not been able to save the world or convince mankind of the affirmative reply to the vital question of the existence of God/*kami*. This is due partly to the inability of the world's religions to unite in self-examination. Superficial differences in rituals and interpretations of belief have kept them in constant conflict. The young are losing confidence and faith in institutions they feel do not live up to their own standards. And if we cannot inspire our youth, we cannot expect a meaningful future.

How, then, can the world's religions revitalize and unify themselves to complete the task that God/*kami* has given to us? Now is the time for us to lay aside our trivial differences and concentrate our energies on a more constructive effort to create a basic unity among the world's religions. Present-day religions as they are are unable to save mankind, and yet it is only religion through its contact with cosmic powers that can in fact save mankind. We must realize, therefore, that despite the differences in style, the purpose of our worship is the same. We must unite in a firm belief in each other before we can make a serious effort to deal with the critical issues faced by modern man.

We cannot hate the world we live in, nor can we live hating ourselves. We cannot sit back, shaking our heads and criticizing ourselves. Today, half the population in the world is starving while the other half, better off materially, is dying of spiritual starvation. A famous Japanese writer once said of this century as experiencing the laughter that comes at the end of a civilization. Indeed, our empty laughter with no spiritual joy seems to echo wildly in this vast solitary universe. God/*kami* intended an ideal world in which man could live in perfect moderation balancing the material and spiritual life. Rather, we live in a world of excess. There is little or nothing spiritual but an excess merely of material greed and isolation.

It is for us to decide the fate of modern mankind. We are responsible to God/*kami* for deciding whether our technical civilization will lead us to Heaven or to Hell. We must unite ourselves in prayer, self-examination and purification in the spirit of *kannagara* to realize the spiritual re-awakening of mankind. Only when we have done this successfully can we dare to say that we have a truly modern civilization, in which the spiritual aspects of life are in perfect balance with the technical.

The philosophy of life and the philosophy of the conscience are the necessary tools for man to achieve this goal. Shinto can contribute these tools to this common effort. It would give me the greatest joy, pleasure and pride, as the High Priest of the Tsubaki Grand Shrine, to be able to join and make my contribution, however modest, to the monumental task of helping to bring about a renaissance of mankind.

10. The Formative Influences of Shinto on Daily Life

Shinto differs from other world religions in one important respect. Most have founders. Shinto does not. It grew with the life of the people of ancient Japan.

It is supremely a religion of life—religion in its truest etymology—something that binds society together.

Shinto in Japanese means “way of the *kami*,” the way of the divine in Japanese life. Shinto is a *way*, the basis of a life-style, the most fundamental, although often unspoken influence on the Japanese way of understanding the world and of living in it. Shinto has no official scriptures or holy writings. It has no formalized system of doctrines. Yet its basic beliefs and presuppositions have survived through its rituals and ceremonies and in some of the most basic habits of daily life in Japan, such as washing the *genkan* in the morning and relaxing in the *ofuro* at night.

I: Shinto and the Rites of Agriculture

Shinto in its origins is closely related to Japan’s traditional rice culture. Even Buddhism could not escape this influence. The earliest use made of Buddhist sutras in Japan was the readings of them to induce the rain necessary for the rice to grow! Shinto rituals were designed to keep the fields free from pestilence and other threats to the rice and the final harvesting was marked by a festival of thanksgiving to the *kami* for the protection of the crop and the people. *Kan-sha*, or thankfulness, is a basic Japanese emotion which comes from this way of thinking. People will often say, “This has gone wrong or that—but somehow I still feel *thankful*.” It expresses belief in the beneficence of nature of which our lives are a part.

In rural communities still, the shrine is at the center of life. The *ujikosodai*, a kind of local committee, organizes the annual festivals and other events and ensures the continuity of the tradition. These festivals may be famous ones, like the *Chichibu Yo Matsuri*, attended by about a quarter of a million people which involves great planning, building of stages and grandstands for visitors and hundreds of extra police for traffic control. Or they may be small, local affairs. But whichever, they are never quiet! They express the community sense of thankfulness and celebrate the life of nature of which man’s life is a part. They are full of vigour and music, eating and drinking, dancing and fireworks. If the Japanese people have an unusual enthusiasm for life and a capacity for enjoying themselves, the origin has to be in the festival, the *matsuri*, the most natural formal expression of spontaneous religious feeling among the Japanese people.

Spirituality, however, is not only celebration. It is also discipline. At the Tsubaki Grand Shrine, we practice *misogi*, which means purification by water under a freestanding waterfall located within the shrine, near to the main buildings. This is performed either early in the morning, or late at night, or both. Unlike those religions where water is used to symbolize purification prior to initiation, *misogi* is practiced frequently and thus symbolizes the continual role of purification in the lives of the people—to restore them to their prime condition as children of the *kami*. The importance of a natural setting for *misogi* underlines again the closeness of its meaning to nature’s own powers of growth, purification and renewal. *Misogi* helps us to replicate this in our own experience.

These two activities are only examples of a whole cycle of annual events by which the year's life is structured. Other events include festivals for children, special festivals such as *Setsubun*, New Year and others. At New Year, over eighty million Japanese visit shrines the length and breadth of land.

II: Shinto and Industrial Society

I am sure you are saying, "This is very interesting, but Japan is also an industrial nation as well as a rice culturing nation!" True, but there is no disjunction between the two. There is no major conflict between science and religion as there has been in the West. Shinto has not been forced to retreat in the face of science, or industry or technology. It never made claims it could not support. Our Tsubaki Shinto is based on an appeal to man's highest common sense. It speaks to what people feel naturally, and in that way it helps to sustain them even in the more severe surroundings of concrete and steel.

People in cities support their local shrines as they do in the countryside. When they build a new house, a priest will perform *jichinsai*, a ceremony to pacify the ground where a *kami* might feel distressed at a 50-story building going up without prior notice. Just as with the people, Japanese like careful negotiation and advance notice—so too with the *kami*! People have their own homes ceremonially "purified" at important times. Companies also do the same. Before major works of civil engineering like railways or bridges are opened to the public, a priest will perform *oharai*. Even automobiles are purified for purposes of road safety! These are not to be seen as superstitions, but as a form of what Schleiermacher described as the basis of religion, a sense of *dependence*. The structure of the relation of human life to the divine might be called one of dependence. Shinto rituals accompany all the stages of life, from presenting a child to the tutelary shrine after birth, through marriage, the years of misfortune and the happy years to life's completion. Most people have a small *kamidana* (literally, *kami*-shelf) in their homes. There, they can express their own gratitude in a personal way for themselves and their family. Dependence is thus shown.

Finally, Shinto has one distinctive virtue. It is tolerant. It can co-exist. It can see its highest thoughts, *kannagara*, the way of the *kami*, expressed differently in other traditions and can allow other traditions to understand themselves in terms of Shinto. It has lived with Buddhism in Japan, peacefully for centuries to the point where people can identify with both, without having to make a choice. This tolerance is based on the belief that the highest common sense for man is or should be self-evident to man. As one great Shinto thinker, Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), wrote and pointed out, "If man needs to be taught morals and behaviour, then he is less than an animal that needs to be trained." Purified to his best, man can rise to his highest. That is the spirit of Shinto.

FURUKAWA TESSHI ON *SEI-MEI-SHIN*

Furukawa taught at Tokyo University and is best known for his work on Western and Japanese ethics (for example, his essay in *The Japanese*

Mind, edited by Charles Moore [Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1968]). He made the presentation reproduced below at the 1955 conference on Shinto studies, which gathered together many of the finest scholars in the field. In this paper, he draws attention to the generic role of the notion of purity as paradigmatic to the Japanese cultural value system.

Text: Furukawa Tesshi, "The Tradition of "Sei-mei-shin," *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Shinto Studies*, 1955, pp. 49–54.

Dr. Masami Kihira, a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Tokyo, once said to us that the spirit of Japan (the *Nihon-seishin*) is like the refreshing feeling a man has who has just taken a shower and is wearing a "yukata" (Japanese bath-robe) on a hot summer evening. This expression, though very sensual and not academic, seems rather fitting to the spiritual climate of our country. Expressions like "kiyoshi" (clean) or "Sayaheshi" (refreshing) which we often find in the *Man'yoshu* (collection of Nara period "waka") might also be close to the refreshing feeling of a yukata which I have just mentioned.

The term "kiyoshi" or "sayakeshi" can be found over one hundred times in the *Man'yoshu*. (3 times in vol. 1, 4 times in vol. 3, 4 times in vol. 4, 21 times in vol. 6, 24 times in vol. 7, 4 times in vol. 8, 4 times in vol. 9, 9 times in vol. 10, twice in vol. 11, trice in vol. 12, thrice in vol. 13, once in vol. 14, 5 times in vol. 15, 11 times in vol. 17, once in vol. 18, 4 times in vol. 19, 8 times in vol. 20, 109 times in *Man'yoshu*. Since the *Man'yoshu* includes 4,516 waka in the Iwanami-Bunko edition, this means that the term "kiyoshu" or "sayakeshi" appears in every 40 waka.) The first waka is one included in the two "hanka" attached to his waka on "three mountains in Yamato" by Nakanooeno Oji, later Emperor Tenchi.

Watatshumi no
Toyohatagumo ni
Irihi sashi;
Koyoi no tsukuyo
"Ahirakeku" koso.

The term "akirakeku" (bright or clear) has been interpreted in quite various ways. But its meaning is roughly equal to "sayakani" (clear or clean). The general meaning of this waka is as follows:

On the rich banner-like sounds
 That rim the waste of waters
 The evening sun is glowing

And promises to-night
The moon in beauty!

Terms like “kiyoshu” or “sayokeshi” in Man’yoshu are related to heaven and earth or nature epitomized by moon-light, streams of river, dry riverbeds, murmurs, breaths of air, white beaches, etc. The esthetic point of view of people in the Man’yoshu mostly depends upon the term “kiyoshi” or “sayakeshi.”

In the famous “choka” by Yakamochi Otomo, however, a phrase “kiyoshi” appears in different sense as follows:

. . . *Otomo no*

Totsu kamuoya no

Sonona oba

Okumenushi to

Oimochite

Tsukaeshi tsukasa

Umi yukaba mizaku kabane

Yama yukaba kusamusu

kabane

Okimi no henikoso shiname

Kaerimiwa seji

To kotodate

Masurao no

“Kiyoshi” sonona o

Inishie yo

Imano otsuzumi

Nagasaeru

Oyano kodomo zo

Otomo to

Saeki no uji wa

How to the Otomo clan belongs a great office
In which served our far-off divine ancestor
Who bore the title of Okume-nushi.

We are the sons of the fathers who sang,
“At sea be my body water-soaked,
On land be it with grass overgrown,

Let me die by the side of my Sovereign!
Never will I look back!”

And who to this day from olden times
Have kept their warrior’s name forever clean.
Verily Otomo and Saheki are the clans
Pledged to the maxim, as pronounced . . .

And the same writer also says:

Tsurugi tachi

Iyoyo togubeshi

Inishie yu

“Sayakeku” ohite

Kinishi sonona zo

Polish it like a double-edged sword,
Make it ever bright—the name
Borne through ages, clean and without spot!

Thus the term “kiyoshi” is also used to boast the tradition of an unspotted clan.

In what sense, then, are they “unspotted”? By “unspotted” they mean that one is not ashamed of (i.e. one has a clean conscience) even if he dies at any time beside his sovereign—that is to say, absolute dependence upon the Imperial Household. Atsutane Hirata, a famous scholar on Shinto, even found the essence

of shinto in this absolute dependence upon the Imperial Household. Compared with this essence of readiness to die, the ways of common priestly service are only side issues—this was the opinion of Atsutane. In the Man'yōshō “misogi” (ablution) or “uranai” (divination) as similar to “the way of Miko” appears very often. This kind of expression too was somehow related to “kiyoshi” or “sayakeshi.”

For instance,

<i>Tamakuze no</i>	
<i>Kiyoki kahara ni</i>	Clean precious riverbed
<i>Misogi shite</i>	In it do I purify myself
<i>Iwau inochi wa</i>	For my wife's sake.
<i>Imoga tame koso</i>	

In this waka we can find the ethos of the people in the Man'yōshū who had purified themselves by bathing in clean water and wished for long, prosperous life. Their way of thinking was this: the clearer the river, the purer their bodies would become; and the purer their bodies, the clearer the river would become.

Therefore there seems to have been an inseparable relationship between doing “misogi” and the deed of Shinto ritual and the sense of “kiyoshi.”

<i>Imo ni awazu</i>	I have not met
<i>Hisashiku narinu</i>	My wife for a long time;
“ <i>Nigishi-gawa</i> ”	In every clean stream
“ <i>Kiyoki</i> ” <i>segoto ni</i>	Will I do my water-divination.
<i>Minaura haetena</i>	

By this waka (or tanka) too we can discern that the people whom we see in the Man'yōshū did “water-divination” in almost every clean shallow. Although we do not know how they told fortune, “water-divination” was also able to be assumed as one of the Shinto rituals—but anyway for this “water-divination” the shallows must have been clean.

Thus “kiyoshi” or “sayakeshi” seems to have meant religious sentiments of Shinto as well as esthetic-ethical ones. However, I do not mean that this happened suddenly in the Man'yō period. Japanese people seem to have begun to use the term “sei-mei-shin” in the time of the Kojiki. The concept of “sei-mei-shin,” if we follow the explanation by the late Dr. Tetsuro Watsuji, is the clean state of feeling by which one can keep a clean conscience even when one lets oneself belong to a community. That is, “wajun no shinkyo” (harmonious, obedient state of mind) is, for Dr. Watsuji, the “sei-mei-shin.” One of the old legends in early Japan records is that Susa-no-ono Kikoto tried to prove his “sei-mei” (i.e. cleanliness) in order to clear suspicion of his “dirty mind” (which intended to take over the heavenly land) when he visited his sister Goddess, Amaterasu Omikami.

The tradition of “sei-mei-shin” seems to have been carried over even to the Showa period in Japan, e.g. by the poet Kotaro Takamura in his emphasis on “junsui” (purity) and by the poet Mokichi Saito in his “zenryoku-teki” (whole-heartedness) that were also included in the ethics of Bushido, epitomized in “dying” as it was emphasized during the Samurai period in Japan. The emphasis on “dying” can be clearly seen if one looks to the Hagakure, a well-known canon of Japanese Bushido. In the Hagakure extreme cases are present. One, among others, is the whole-heartedness of a Buddhist monk who made a dead patient alive by his death-daring prayers. The Ako-roshi is also criticized, for they assume that they lived only for their telos as revenge and not by their motives. The spirit of Bushido presented in the Hagakure put the ultimate emphasis on “dying.” The so-called “whole-heartedness” or “purity” is assumed to be the concrete virtues of this Bushido. Thus “whole-heartedness” and “purity” are not unrelated to the tradition of “sei-mei-shin.” The Confucianism which we Japanese have imported from China, especially the Shushigaku school, has put its emphasis on “makoto” (sincerity), whereas the Shushigaku school in China put its emphasis on “Kei” (respect). This kind of transition is very suggestive of the spirit of the Japanese people. For the tradition of “sei-mei-shin” seems to have operated in this transformation. “Sei-mei-shin,” if we use it in the way of Watsuji, was a harmonious, obedient state of mind toward one’s community as a totality. “Makoto” was also assumed to be something like that, for instance, by Shoin Yoshida in the late Edo period. In Kono Yowa (Lectures on Mencius) Shoin writes as follows:

Born as a man, and yet ignorant of the way of man; Born as a subject, and yet ignorant of the way of the subject; Born as a son, and yet ignorant of the way of son; Born as a soldier, and yet ignorant of the way of soldier. Shouldn’t we be ashamed? If we have the mind of shame, then there is no other way of learning the way except by reading books. And if we came to know several ways of learning, wouldn’t we be always happy? “If we hear the way in the morning, we won’t care even if we die in the evening.” This is it. And if so, how shall we discuss its utilities?

This kind of “makoto” or sincerity transcends the realm of success or failure, or cleverness or foolishness, and hence disregards it. This point needs our special attention. This is my point.

HIRAI NAOFUSA ON INDUSTRIALIZATION AND SHINTO

Professor Hirai has considerable international experience and is one of Japan’s best-known exponents of Shinto ideas. The topic addressed here is the relation between Shinto and industrialization. I discussed this in chapter 3 in the context of Shinto as the ideological component of Japan’s early modernizing process. (See also Stuart D. B. Picken, “Shinto

and the Beginning of Modernization in Japan," *Proceedings of the Toho Gakkai*, no. 22 [Tokyo: Toho Gakkai, 1977], pp. 37-43.)

Text: Hirai Naofusa, "Industrialization and Shinto—a Historical Study," *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Shinto Studies*, 1955, pp. 146-51.

One of the greatest concerns of the Meiji Government which assumed the political responsibility of the country after the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate, was how to protect Japan from colonization by Western nations. It was necessary for them, for that purpose, to bring together all the Japanese people, who had been divided into various feudal *han* (clans), into one united nation. In the political structure of the new government, the *Jingi-kan* (Shrine Bureau) which had its origin in ancient times, was revived to take charge of national rites and the great promulgation of Shinto teaching. This of course reflected, on one hand, the political philosophy of the government as the officials sought to administer the affairs of the state according to their religious consciences. At the same time, from the social viewpoint, it was a scheme which tried to strengthen the unity of the people by institutionalizing the old historical Shinto tradition of unifying regional communities by means of Shinto.

Obviously, the great promulgation of Shinto teaching was not just a religious movement. The number of illiterate people in Japan immediately after the Meiji Restoration was great, and this great promulgation provided the Japanese people with the necessary common-sense knowledge and education which is required of a people in any modern nation, as well as propagating the teaching of Revival Shinto to the people. This fact is to be well remembered, for by it Shinto served to fill in the educational blank period in Japan before the effect of compulsory education came to be felt as one of the provisions necessary to bring about the modernized Japan.

The great promulgation of Shinto teaching first started in 1869, but was inactive after May 1875, though the name itself was existent, and in August 1884 it came to a complete downfall. Prior to that, in January 1882, the government prohibited the priests of national *jinja* from preaching or presiding at funeral services. The purpose of this measure was to keep Shinto from free competition with other religions, for Shinto had to constitute the backbone of the national structure of the day. They hoped that Shinto would play the central role in national rites and ethics, and that in this way the unity of the community could be maintained. This intention of the government was seemingly successful. On the other hand, however, it plucked out the seedlings of Shinto theology, which were just about to sprout, and turned out to be an obstacle to the satisfactory development of rich religious spirituality in Shinto. The fact that six organizations out of the thirteen Sectarian Shinto sects all simultaneously became independent bodies in May 1882 show that these Shintoists were not happy about

the prohibition, and they tried to develop their religious spirituality outside the framework of the shrines.

The religious policy of the government went so far as to regulate the festivals and religious events of *jinja*, and to standardize their liturgical practices. The liturgical practice of Jinja Shinto was established by adopting the liturgical practices of the *Shirakawa* school, *Yoshida* School, etc., which had been popular since olden times at the Imperial Court and various *jinja*, with some manners and etiquettes of *Samurai* and nobles added to them.

The national crises of the Japan-China War and the Japan-Russian War served to invite the people's attention to the guardian *kami* of the community. Thus it became more and more popular to have great rituals and ceremonies observed at *jinja* to send soldiers to the battlefields, or to pray for the victory of the nation. It was also at this time that the premier position of agriculture, which had so far been the major industry, came to be threatened by other industries. In other words, industrialization, in the narrow sense of the term, was about to take place in Japan. Still, however, such agricultural rites as *Kinen-sai* (prayer for good harvest) or *Niiname-sai* (harvest festival) were considered to be of importance in Shinto rituals. Old systems handed down from the pre-Edo period like *Miyaza* and *Toya* still existed with some transformation. *Ko* organizations were developing even in the Meiji period. This might be due to the anxiety felt by the people in the days of disturbance, or to the increase in mutual relationships in space of people in a united country, or the stimulation given by the great promulgation of Shinto teaching. After the Meiji period, however, generally speaking, *Ko* seem to have begun a decline.

There are certain "rites of passage" in which Shinto priests came to participate in and after the Meiji period, although they were primarily folk customs within families in most cases. The festivals for children of seven, five and three years of age, prayers for successful education of children, wedding ceremonies, etc., are some examples of these. Shinto weddings have become very popular recently at *jinja* in big cities. This tendency started in the mid-Meiji period. Apart from the religious element involved, the sense of nationalized living of urban residents is to be noted in this case.

The number of *jinja* officially recognized by the government as of 1877 was 54,106 (including 120 national *jinja*). It kept on increasing, and in 1900 the figure reached 196,358. In 1906, however, the government initiated and encouraged the amalgamation of *jinja* in the same region. In certain prefectures this advisory policy was forced, and caused trouble with the residents. As many as seventy thousand *jinja* were discontinued during the period between 1905, the year prior to its enforcement, and 1913, when the objective was accomplished to some extent. Even after it was over, the number of Shinto shrines kept on decreasing. In 1938, the recorded number of *jinja* was 110,238 (including 205 national *jinja*), and in 1965 it came down to 78,806.

The combination of Shinto and the state was abolished by the "Shinto Directive" issued in December 1945. The same policy has since been followed, and

has been stipulated in the new Constitution which was drafted during the occupation period. This law left certain subtle problems concerning "freedom of faith" and "separation of state and religion." The cases at the Grand Shrine of Ise and Yasukuni Jinja reveal some of these problems. In any case, it is apparent that Shinto may not be able to survive in modern society unless it establishes and develops its own mission activities.

Right after the end of the War, the urban population in Japan was about 30% of the whole, because of the war damage. After the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, however, an extraordinary concentration of population into cities began. The national census in 1965 showed a complete reversal of the situation, for 70% of the whole population was then urban population. The mobility of population meant a fundamental change in social structure. Traditionally, the "inner mission system" of Shinto, primarily an ethnic religion, was based on the life orientation of families and villages, but the above social change has made such an orientation extremely difficult. Furthermore, *jinja* in cities are hardly taking steps to meet the tremendous increase of population.

In 1930, the number of workers connected with agriculture, forestry and fishery was recorded as 49.9% of the whole working population. In 1965 it decreased to 25.5%, and is still further decreasing. This means that it is now necessary for Shinto to promote new rites and services that would be directly connected with modern ways of living and productive activities, in addition to the traditional *matsuri* (like agricultural rites). There are already some examples in this new direction such as launching ceremonies for mammoth tankers, firing ceremonies for new boilers, opening ceremonies for atomic energy research institutions, etc.

An average family used to consist of five members in Japan, both before and after the War. In 1960 it decreased to 4.5, and to 4 in 1965. In Tokyo the minimum figure of 3.5 was reached. This decrease of family constituents is reflected on the distribution of *taima* (a symbol of *kami* to be kept on the family altar) sent from the Grand Shrine of Ise every year to the believers' families. In 1933, altogether 6,650,000 pieces of *taima* were distributed in Japan, which covered 52% of all the families in Japan. In 1965, however, 6,780,000 were sent, which reached just 28% of the whole.

In order to meet the situation produced by the industrialization of Japan, some big *jinja* believers' associations have recently been formed, and they are active in various ways. Most *jinja* are, however, still facing many problems yet unsolved. To mention some of them: the re-examination of doctrines, the training of Shinto priests and leaders for young parishioners, the establishment of religious counseling centers, the encouragement of religious activities by believers' groups, the establishment of efficient "bureaucratic" structures to look after believers and to take care of their training, the promotion of cultural activities to unify regional communities, etc.

Lastly I should like to refer to the will-to-work of the Japanese people, which greatly helped the industrialization of Japan. This will-to-work has its root in

the attitude toward life of the Japanese people, who are realistic and oriented toward the life in this world. They say, "It is shameful not to work." This disposition cannot be solely due to the climate or the poor living conditions of this country. There is a firm-rooted traditional view of life which has formed the cultural undercurrent of the race, and I find that Shinto has had much to do with forming it.

Originally the Japanese are a people who tend to affirm this world. For them, this world is a highly important place where various ideals are to be realized. Here man has been entrusted by *kami* with *yosashi* (divine commission), and carries out *kami's* will. What he does is man's work, but it is at the same time the work of *kami* who has entrusted it to him. *Kami* and man, who is *mikoto-mochi* (*kami's* proxy) are one through the deeds he does, and there exists no distinction between them. The ideas of *yosashi* and *mikoto-mochi* have been stressed by Shinobu Origuchi and Nagao Nishida, and they correspond to the sense of "calling" or "vocation" in Protestantism.

Similarly, we find the idea of *naka-ima* (middle present) repeatedly mentioned in *Senmyo* (Imperial Edicts) around the eighth century. This is the idea that the present forms the center of the whole eternal stream of time. In other words, the present where man meets with and crosses with the eternal progress of history is the most significant time. This is the Shinto concept of time. When man does his best to enrich and perfect this most valuable present, and makes it as worthy and significant as possible, *naka-ima* is accepted as his attitude toward life. How can such ideas as *yosashi* and *naka-ima* work in the industrialization of Japan, now in the latter half of the twentieth century, as well as in the future? This is the question to which Shintoists have to give an answer.

UEDA KENJI ON MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN JAPANESE AND WESTERNS IN SHINTO STUDIES

Professor Ueda teaches at Kokugakuin University, where he is director of the Institute of Japanese Culture, of which he became president in 1995. He is a renowned modern academic apologist for Shinto. He was reticent to have the entire paper reproduced in this anthology, mainly because it was, like the other papers, about 50 years old. However, I felt it was desirable to include some sentences for two principal reasons, one general and one particular. First, although 50 years may have elapsed since the conference, and it is perhaps overdue that a third conference be held, much of the material remains valuable, either because it reflected issues of the time and should be documented in this sourcebook, or because it dealt with issues that still have relevance. Either way, it is desirable to have these materials available, at least in summary, for the sake of completeness. The particular reason, in the case of Professor

Ueda, is that he raised some valuable critical points that call for frank discussion between Japanese and non-Japanese interested in Shinto. Even after 40 years of public awareness of these problems since Professor Ueda raised them, they have proven very difficult to resolve, and even where understanding has been deepened, they remain points that must be borne in mind constantly as reminders of the limitations to be acknowledged of anyone working in the area of Shinto studies.

Text: Ueda Kenji, "Blind-Spots in Shinto Studies," *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Shinto Studies*, 1955, pp. 101-4.

The paper commences with a statement of purpose and a definition of the subject that concerns "the nature and content of blind-spots which have made difficult mutual understanding between Westerners and Japanese in Shinto studies."

. . . blind-spots mean misunderstandings caused by the researcher's lack of knowledge, shortage of material, of limitation of method.

He amplifies the point as follows:

. . . until recently I find many cases in which authors introduced unconsciously a specific standard of value-judgment and gave dogmatic evaluations which distorted the whole picture of Shinto, though they claim that the study was done scientifically or should be done so. I am not sure whether or not this kind of misleading results came from a so-called blind-spot, but it is quite sure that they disturb us a lot. My intention here is to point out some such problematical subjects for the better development of discussion.

Professor Ueda, among other issues, raises the topic of *matsuri* and *norito*, which he claims are inadequately appreciated by most Western observers. He traces this to two roots. First is a misunderstanding of the role of ritual in Shinto.

It is . . . widely believed among Westerners that prayer in Shinto is not a petition to the supreme deity for redemption but it is aimed at such a low level of return as direct improvement of life conditions or happiness in this world. In other words, Shinto prayer is nothing but a spell.

The second root is the nature of language.

Religious language usually has special nuances which are quite difficult to translate into foreign languages. Prayers like *Norito* contain many fixed

patterns of expressions and historically loaded technical terms, so it is almost impossible to transfer their exact meanings into another tongue . . . therefore, even Mr. D. L. Philippi's work cannot be accepted as an exception. In short, religious language will be dead if it is understood as communicating its meaning in the letter because the living reality which is the source of every religion will be left out.

Professor Ueda's paper was the first clear recognition by a Japanese scholar that Western methods of study have their limitation in the study of Shinto. I take that one stage further by pointing out that many contemporary Japanese scholars suffer from the same "blind spots" where assumptions about Western methods have been excessive.

ASOYA MASAHIKO ON SHINTO AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JAPAN

Professor Asoya (born 1940) also teaches at Kokuganuin University and is an expert in Japanese thought. His first main book, *Nihon no Shiso no Keisei* (The Formation of Japanese Thought, Tokyo: Pelikansha, 1985), deals with various traditions, especially Yoshida Shinto.

Text: Asoya Masahiko, *Shinto to wa Nanika?* (What Is Shinto?) (Tokyo: Pelikansha, 1994), pp. 211–16. Translated by Stuart D. B. Picken.

In recent years the term *kokusaika* has become the key word depicting the trends of Japanese society. The nuances of this relatively new coinage, however, cannot be conveyed accurately in English. Although it is most commonly translated as "internationalization," the English term denotes a situation where something is placed under international, cooperative supervision or administration (*kokusai kyodo kanri*), as in an "internationalized district." It does seem that more people are becoming acquainted with the Japanese version of internationalization, that is, *kokusaika*, perhaps because of its frequent usage. But we should bear in mind that there is no such phenomenon as "internationalization" being discussed or occurring in the West the way it supposedly is in Japan, suggesting that *kokusaika* is exceptional to this country. Yet, even in Japan, the usage and definition of the term seem to fluctuate.

In my article "*Kokusaika to Nihon no Dento*" (*Kokusaika* and the Japanese Tradition) I have offered a tentative definition of this concept as "the development in the exchange of goods, information, and the interaction with people from other nations in a way that promotes a mutually beneficial state of coexistence." In addition to this definition, several points should be examined in order to establish a clearer image of *kokusaika*. First, the Japanese should not

interpret the term merely as an increase in the import of commodities and information from abroad. Not only is it necessary that the movement of tangible and intangible items goes both ways, that is, there is import and export, but this exchange between peoples of different cultures must be implemented for the benefit of both parties.

In other words, coexistence is the premise. A second point is that the increased opportunities for the Japanese to interact with foreigners, a key factor in *kokusai-ka*, cannot be truly meaningful so long as people retain the tendency to resort to physical force when complications occur in the interaction. *Kokusai-ka* can never be if one country attempts to solve a conflict or dispute by acts of aggression, a mentality that clearly denounces any notion of coexistence of nations having a mutually beneficial relationship.

Also significant is, third, the level of "balanced" exchange. As stated in the definition above, "development" is the key. Today the chances of communicating with foreigners may happen more frequently, yet the actual number of such occurrences, when considering the degree of interactions in ratio to the Japanese population, seems to be limited. Although the amount of exchange has become substantial, the effect is inconsequential for it to be called a sign of *kokusai-ka*. The exchange with foreigners has increased steadily since 1982, when the per capita income of the Japanese increased dramatically. This resulted in greater savings, allowing the Japanese to spend more money on leisure. Advantaged by the high yen rate, traveling overseas became affordable; thus, a growing number of people have been exposed to countries never visited before. In addition, there was the influx of foreigners attracted to the economic affluence of Japan, seeking better opportunities in this country. It can be said that in the background of Japanese *kokusai-ka* was the blessings of its economic wealth.

The fourth point, which has contributed to the economic development of Japan, is the Japanese work ethic, marked by diligence and the enthusiasm for innovation. Although these contributed to the prosperity of present-day Japan, the important fact that this country relies heavily on raw materials imported from other nations must not be ignored. Thus it remains that the exchange with foreign nations must be a mutually beneficial one; otherwise, Japanese economy (the basis of *kokusai-ka*) itself will cease to function. Bearing the above-mentioned points in mind, we can turn to the imminent question regarding *kokusai-ka* in Japan—what role does Shinto have in the sphere of Japanese internationalization?

From a global perspective, a monoethnic nation that speaks one language and has its economic foundations on rice agriculture is very rare. The Japanese, throughout their history, had experienced very limited contact with peoples of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Where a hierarchical structure pervades and characterizes the society, its people do not handle "horizontal" relationships very well. Consequently, interacting with other peoples in a mutually beneficial manner can be a demanding task. Since the Japanese method of thinking (i.e., the tendencies of their ways of thinking) and their culture (or the way

they live) have exempted the people from the experience of interacting with different cultures, what each Japanese is confronting today is an entirely new challenge.

Incidentally, an increasing number of towns and cities all over the nation are in fact experiencing difficulties handling foreigners working without proper visas. How should Japan approach such situations, and how should the people confront *kokusaika*? One possibility would be for the Japanese to learn more how to discuss or communicate with words about their culture, in the same way that people of multiethnic countries can. A reassessment of cultural identity was, in fact, what the modern Japanese intellectuals had hoped to attain. However, to require this change of attitude from all Japanese overnight would be impossible. A more realistic way for the Japanese to tackle *kokusaika* may be to first reacquaint themselves with their own distinct modes of thought, then proceed to understand and select what aspects of their psychology or values are appropriate for meeting the demands of *kokusaika*.

For example, Dr. Nakamura Hajime, in *Nihonjin no Shi-i Hoho* (Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples), has discussed four basic aspects that describe Japanese social tendencies. He argues that the Japanese mentality is characterized by the notion of the "limited social nexus." Citing the influences of Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism, Nakamura presents 13 attributes, including "the emphasis on social relations," "the precedence of the social relationships over the individual," "unconditional belief in the limited social nexus," and "emphasis on rank and social positions," which verify the tendency of the Japanese to place greater importance on the group rather than on the individual.

The prevalent "groupism" of the Japanese is well represented in Shinto, a religion of *matsuri*, or festivals. The sole purpose of the festivals and rites in Shinto is "prayer" or the paying of homage by the community to the various *kami* for the benefit of its members as a group. The spring festival (*Kinen-sai*) and autumn festival (*Niname-sai*) represent this type of Shinto *matsuri* and have been held at various towns and villages all over Japan throughout its history. The community, whose life is sustained by agriculture, pray to and thank the *kami* for abundant harvest. The Jingiryō recorded in the Taihō-Ritsuryō list 19 annual Shinto festivals, all held for the single purpose of maintaining peace and prosperity of the community. In other words, the heart of *matsuri* is the notion of communal service (*hoshi*), for the benefit of the community by the members of the community.

The spirit of *matsuri* should now be reevaluated since *kokusaika* is an attempt to promote the welfare of the global community, that is, the coexistence and coprosperity of different groups of people. The community is the center of Shinto festivals, where individuals set aside their personal or individual preoccupations temporarily in order to serve the group. People come together at the *matsuri* and cooperate as a group. Without this kind of effort to serve the community, a *matsuri* cannot take place. And perhaps, this Japanese spirit to work for communal well-being is lacking in this country today. The pursuit of personal

interests, although important, can potentially be an obstacle in view of the furtherance of *kokusaika*. Therefore, every individual will be required to feel a stronger sense of responsibility not only to the nation but also to the global community. In this respect, a reanalysis of the spirit of Shinto and the appreciation of the spirit of *hoshi* may help the Japanese to approach and live in the era of internationalization.

KATAYAMA FUMIHIKO ON SHINTO AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

The Rev. Katayama Fumihiko (born 1936) is High Priest of the Hanazono Jinja, located in Shinjuku's pink district of Kabukicho. He is deservedly known as one of the most intriguing personalities of Shinto in Tokyo. First, he is a qualified physician. He has had experience working in the field of public health and organizes a group for the study of many related subjects.

He and Professor Asoya have one further interesting thing in common that prompted me to include extracts from both individuals. They teach the same course, *Shinto Gairon* (Introduction to Shinto), a basic course of Kokugakuin University. In that respect, albeit representing differing points of view, they speak to the rising generation for the academic aspect of the Shinto mind of today.

Text: Katayama Fumihiko, *Jinja Shinto to Nihonjin no Kokoro* (Shrine Shinto and the Japanese Mind) (Tokyo: Nihon Chikishakai Kenkyujo, 1983), pp. 52–56. Translated by Stuart D. B. Picken.

Shrine Shinto: The World of *Sein*

There seems to be a tendency to emphasize the trivial and overlook or pay little attention to what bears greater and practical relevance in our life. Education at present focuses on rote memorization and nothing more. It even appears to avoid giving any guidance on the more complex but significant issues ranging from those that are related to our health to the awareness of our spiritual well-being, notably, the understanding of religion. From this concern I have founded the Shinto Jiji Mondai Kenkyukai (Society of the Study of Shinto and Current Affairs), which focuses on emergent social, political, and environmental issues in and out of Japan, as a source of information on worldly affairs. Of course, it is also my humble hope that this society and its publications serve as a channel through which the religion of shrine Shinto may be better known.

The reason why the society does not place as much emphasis on Shinto itself is explained by the expression "*koto agezu*." In shrine Shinto, excess verbalization has often been discouraged, especially where the matter involved is so plainly obvious that there is no need for verbal communication. It is understood

that unnecessary talk can interfere with one's instinctive ability to have a "feel" for subtle nuances and implications. Spoken words can complicate rather than simplify communication. One's effort to explain can end up in a digression from the central thought that was meant to be discussed. Hence the exercise of one's natural ability to "perceive" the issue at hand has always been preferred.

On the one hand, though, as more Japanese travel abroad, they will probably find themselves confronted by the question of what faith or religion the Japanese believe. In addition, I have noticed an increasing number of Japanese to whom *koto agezu* does not apply and who are linguistically alienated from their own native tongue. The average person is not as conscious about his or her country's history, tradition, and religion and does not know the means of explaining the information verbally—in other words, we are unable to make any rational statement about our own culture. It seems inevitable that the Japanese will improve their knowledge of their cultural and religious heritage and learn to explain intelligibly about Shinto and Japan.

My attempt to describe Shinto, being a mere town priest, may be far from scholastic. However, as I stated above, it is important for every Japanese to be able to understand and talk about their own cultural identity. And it is my hope that there is something to be learned from what may be my personal viewpoint on shrine Shinto and the Japanese, which I have offered here. I hope that this book will serve as a supplementary source to the more "academic" endeavors and that it may bridge the gap between the lay person and the intellectuals in their understanding of Shinto.

There are various classifications of religion, but I would like to present the broad categories, or *sosho shukyo*, the religions that are based on the teachings of an individual founder, and the second group, the *shizen shukyo*, which has its origin in the very history and development of a group of people. In the former group belong the three great world religions, namely, Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism, as well as the so-called new religions. Shrine Shinto, Judaism, and the religious practices of primitive societies may be included in the latter group. The reason for choosing to use the term "shrine" Shinto in this text is to differentiate it from the 13 *Kyoha* (Sect) Shinto groups such as Kurozumi-kyo and Tenri-kyo.

A reason for placing shrine Shinto under the category of *shizen shukyo* is that it is a religion unique to the Japanese people and their history. Dating back to the origin of the civilization itself, it has evolved along with and as a part of the Japanese culture. While it is an expression of the Japanese way of life, it can be said that the foundation of shrine Shinto was greatly influenced by the geography, climate, flora, and fauna of Japan. Thus it embodies the Japanese way of thinking nurtured over the course of its history and is, in essence, the Japanese heritage itself.

In contrast, the aforementioned "new" religions I have classified as *sosho shukyo*. These are also Shinto groups, which means they have their foundations in the traditions of shrine Shinto, but such sects were founded by charismatic

individuals who, occasionally, have dubious backgrounds and phony claims about religion.

What differentiates shrine Shinto from other religions, in particular the *sosho shukyo*, is the absence of absolute creeds, doctrines, or dogmatic teachings, which usually characterize religious belief. An authoritative system of religious principles and tenets, absent in shrine Shinto, has often resulted in exclusive-mindedness and self-righteousness of the religion, frequently to the complete negation of other faiths as being defected or debased. The new religions in Japan, especially those which emerged and expanded into a large organization in a relatively short time, show these tendencies, and one often hears of or witnesses cases where people are coerced into joining the religious group. Historically speaking, this form of religious self-complacency has become the cause of religious wars, a phenomenon that has never occurred in Japan. Of course, there were times of religious oppressions during Japan's course of history, yet none led to or caused a full-scale war. Even the conflict between the rival clans of Soga and Mononobe was a contest for political power and prestige rather than a battle for religious supremacy.

In shrine Shinto, the appreciation of *shizen* (nature) is of prime importance. To clarify the meaning of *shizen* I would like to use the German words *sein* and *sollen*, the former referring to a state of a thing as it is, and the latter, a condition as it ought to be. In Buddhist terms the equivalent would be *nyojitsu-chiken*, or the "awareness of truth as it manifests itself." Shrine Shinto aspires to eliminate any prejudice or bias and accept the phenomenal world as it is, that is, in its "natural" state. From this perspective it is understandable that Shinto never came into conflict with natural science, since it is the study of worldly phenomena (as opposed to social science, which, in my view, explores the ideal conditions of a society, an individual, etc.).

The exact opposite of the Shinto notion of *shizen* is the "ideal." However, is any "ideal" (the *sollen*) state of society or way of living really possible, and does it bear any realistic meaning in this world? A set of standards or principles conceived as ideal is usually a matter of one's perspective, values, or even prejudices about what is good or bad that are projected onto a visionary world in a romantic manner. It is not unlike one's perception of the beauty of a mountain seen at a distance—its beauty is appreciated precisely because it is out of reach. In speaking about "ideal" states, for example, the Japanese have become an economic giant in less than half a century from the debris after World War II and the acute shortage of food, clothing, or shelter. It is now an ideal country where the basic standard of living allows people to eat and live well enough. Yet despite the affluence of present-day Japan there lingers a sense of dissatisfaction and the desire for something better. Bearing these points in mind, would it not be more realistic to concentrate on the importance of living each and every moment to the fullest, rather than contemplating what idealistically could or should or perhaps be our life?

Regarding this discrepancy between *sein* and *sollen*, shrine Shinto takes the

position of the acceptance of the phenomenal world with its philosophy of *naka ima*, or the existing, immediate "now." The *naka ima*, one of the central concepts of Shinto thinking, stresses the permanence and the significance of the very moment of human existence. Tomorrow and the future will, in due course, become today, and subsequently, now. Time is a boundless, limitless ethereal continuum of successive "nows," and the future is simply viewed as *iyasaka*, in Shinto terminology, implying everlasting prosperity. This notion is also revealed in the belief in the permanence of the imperial line and the perpetual and endless progress of the nation as suggested in the *shinchoku* (oracle) of the infinitude of the great heaven and mother earth.

Correlated to the thinking of *naka ima*, Shinto is very much a tolerant, receptive, and broad-minded faith, and therefore very unreligious if one considers the etymology of the Western word *religion* (derived from the Latin *religio*, which means to be bound by vows and rules). Shrine Shinto has no severe restrictions and its openness can be observed from the structure of the shrine compound. At most shrines there is nothing that resembles a gate (i.e., that can be closed and locked) save the *torii*, and with the exception of the *tamagaki* many shrines do not enclose themselves behind high walls. In addition, the *keidai*, or the shrine precinct, frequently serves as a public playground, and the *shamusho* (the office of a shrine) can be casually used as a place for social gatherings or town meetings. Indeed, the shrine is open to residents of the community at all times, and its candidness and accessibility allow the *ujiko* (parishioner) to feel closer, spiritually, to the *ujigami*, the guardian deity enshrined within the compounds.

Shinto may appear to be too liberal, unstable, or even indifferent and, thus, less of a religion compared to other faiths that are more stringent and for which creeds and teachings are strictly observed by their followers. However, Shinto could not possibly have survived for 2,000 years if it had no religious purpose to exist. The reason for the endurance of Shinto is found in the continued existence of the shrine itself as a phenomenal manifestation of the divine. The shrine and its precincts have always been considered sacred and alive, housing the tutelary deity. It can be likened to material objects, comprising and containing within the dynamic forces of immaterial energy. Thus it is often said that a presiding priest is an imperative for the survival of a church or temple, but this does not apply to Shinto shrines. The presence or absence of a priest does not affect the divinity of the *kami* enshrined, nor does it make any difference to the sacredness of the shrine. Therefore, a shrine stands, occupying a space that will continue to be revered, and defilement of the shrine is unthinkable, as it will incur "divine punishment."

Thus shrine Shinto has survived despite the introduction of Buddhism and, later, Christianity. Even after the introduction of Western civilization in the Meiji era, the Japanese people have remained unaffected in their essence of being Japanese. Even with some changes in the mentality or the lifestyle of the modern Japanese, we still retain our preferences about many things. The manner in

which people hold reverence for the divine has remained the same, although it is not uncommon to see people praying at a shrine chanting Buddhist sutras, which is awkward but nevertheless permissible, and even humorous. The cohabitation of the *kamidana* (Shinto altar) and the *butsudan* (Buddhist altar) in the same household has been long established as tradition, and this liberal attitude of the Shinto faith and the flexibility of the Japanese is probably difficult to understand from a foreign perspective.

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Appendix 1

LIST OF IMPERIAL INCUMBENTS

List of *Nengō* (Imperial Eras)

	Emperor	Reign	Death	<i>Nengō</i>
1.	Jimmu	660-585		
2.	Suizei	581-549		
3.	Annei	549-511		
4.	Itoku	510-477		
5.	Kōshō	475-393		
6.	Kōan	392-291		
7.	Kōrei	290-215		
8.	Kōgen	214-158		
9.	Kaikwa	158-98		
10.	Sujin	97-30		
11.	Suinin	29 C.E. 70		
12.	Keikō	71-130		
13.	Seimu	131-190		
14.	Chuai	192-200		
15.	Ojin	201-310		
16.	Nintoku	313-399		
17.	Richū	400-405		
18.	Hanzei	406-410		
19.	Ingyō	412-453		
20.	Ankō	454-456		
21.	Yūryaku	457-479		
22.	Seinei	480-484		
23.	Kenzō	485-487		

24.	Ninken	488–498		
25.	Buretsu	493–506		
26.	Keitai	507–531		
27.	Nankan	534–535		
28.	Senka	535–539		
29.	Kimmei	539–571		
30.	Bidastu	572–585		
31.	Yōmei	585–587		
32.	Sushun	587–592		
33.	Suiko	592–628		
34.	Jomei	629–641		
35.	Kōgyoku	642–645	661	
36.	Kōtoku	645–654		Taika (5) Hakuchi (5)
37.	Saimei	655–661		
38.	Tenji	661–671		
39.	Kōbun	671–672		
40.	Temmu	672–686		Hakuhō (14) Shuchō (1)
41.	Jitō	686–697	702	Sucho (10)
42.	Mommu	697–707		Taihō (3) Keiun (4)
43.	Gemmei	707–715	722	Wado (7)
44.	Genshō	715–723	748	Reiki (2) Yōrō (7)
45.	Shōmu	724–748	756	Jinki (5) Tempyō (20) Tempyō-kampō Kampō (1)
46.	Kōken	749–758	769	Tempyō-shōhō (8) Tempyō-hōji (2)
47.	Junnin	758–765		
48.	Shōtoku	765–769		Tempyō-jingo (2) Jingo-keiun (3)
49.	Kōnin	770–781		Hōki (2)
50.	Kammu	781–806		Ten'ō (1) Enryaku (24)
51.	Heizei	806–809	824	Daidō (4)
52.	Saga	809–823	843	Konin (14)
53.	Junna	823–833	840	Tenchō (10)
54.	Nimmyō	833–850		Shōwa (14) Kajō (3)
55.	Montoku	850–858		Ninju (3) Saikō (3) Ten-an (2)
56.	Seiwa	858–876	880	Jōgan (18)
57.	Yōzei	876–884	949	Gangyo (8)
58.	Kōkō	884–887		Ninna (3)
59.	Uda	888–897	931	Kampyō (9)
60.	Daigo	897–930		Shōtai (3) Engi (22) Enchō (8)
61.	Suzaku	930–946	952	Shōhei (7) Tengyō (9)
62.	Murakami	946–967		Tenryaku (10) Tentoku (4) Ōwa (3) Kōhō (4)

63.	Reizei	967-969	1011	Anna (2)
64.	En'yū	969-984	991	Tenroku (3) Ten'en (3) Jōgen (2) Tengen (5) Eikan (2)
65.	Kazan	984-986	1008	Kanna (2)
66.	Ichijō	986-1011		Eien (2) Eiso (1) Shōryaku (5) Chōtōku (4) Chōhō (5) Kankō (8)
67.	Sanjō	1011-1016	1017	Chōwa (5)
68.	Go-Ichijō	1016-1036		Kannin (4) Jian (3) Manju (4) Chōgen (9)
69.	Gosuzaku	1036-1045		Chōryaku (3) Chōkyū (4) Kantoku (2)
70.	Goreizei	1045-1068		Eishō (7) Tengi (5) Kōhei (7) Jiryaku (4)
71.	Gosanjō	1068-1072		Enkyū (4)
72.	Shirakawa	1072-1086	1129	(1) Jōhō (3) Shōryaku (4) Eihō (3) Ōtoku (3)
73.	Horikawa	1086-1107		Kanji (7) Kahō (2) Eichō (1) Jōtoku (2) Kōwa (5) Chōji (2) Kajō (2)
74.	Toba	1107-1123	1156	Tennin (2) Ten'ei (3) Eikyū (5) Gen'ei (2) Hōan (4)
75.	Sutoku	1123-1141	1164	Tenji (2) Daiji (5) Tenshō (1) Chōshō (3) Hōen (6)
76.	Konoe	1141-1155		Eiji (1) Koji (2) Ten'yō (1) Kūan (6) Nimpei (3) Kyūju (2)
77.	Goshirakawa	1155-1158	1192	Hōgen (3)
78.	Nijō	1158-1165		Heiji (1) Eiryaku (1) Ōhō (2) Chōkan (2)
79.	Rokujō	1165-1168	1176	Eiman (1) Ninnan (3)
80.	Takakura	1168-1180	1181	Kaō (2) Shōan (4) Angen (2) Jishō (4)
81.	Antoku	1180	1185	Yōwa (1) Juei (4)
82.	Gotoba	1183-1198	1239	Genryaku (1) Bunji (5) Kenkyū (9)
83.	Tsuchimikado	1198-1210	1231	Shōji (2) Kennin (3) Genkyū (2) Ken'ei (1) Jōgen (3)
84.	Juntoku	1210-1221	1242	Kenryaku (2) Kempō (6) Jōkyū (3)
85.	Chūkyō	1221-1221	1234	
86.	Gohorikawa	1221-1232	1234	Jō ō (2) Gennin (1) Karoku (2) Antei (2) Kwangi (3) Jōei (1)
87.	Shijō	1232-1242		Tempuku (1) Bunryaku (2) Katei (2) Ryakunin (1) En'ō (1) Ninji (3)
88.	Gosaga	1242-1246	1272	Kangen (4)

89.	Gofukakusa	1246–1259	1304	Hōji (2) Kenchō (7) Kōgen (1) Shōka (2) Shōgen (1)
90.	Kameyama	1259–1274	1305	Bun'ō (1) Kōchō (3) Bun'ei (11)
91.	Go-uda	1274–1287	1324	Kenji (3) Kōan (10)
92.	Fushimi	1287–1298	1317	Shō ō (5) Einin (6)
93.	Gofushimi	1298–1301		Shoan (3)
94.	Gonijō	1301–1308		Kengen (1) Kagen (3) Tokuji (2)
95.	Hanazono	1308–1318		Enkyō (3) Ōchō (1) Shōwa (5) Bumpō (2)
96.	Godaigo	1318–1339		Gen'ō (2) Genkō (3) Shōchū (2) Karyaku (2) Gentoku (2) Genkō (3) Kemmu (2) Engen (3)
97.	Gomurakami	1339–1368		Kōkoku (7) Shōhei (23)
98.	Chōkei	1368–1383		Kentoku (2) Bunchū (3) Tenju (6) Kōwa (3)
99.	Gokameyama	1383–1392	1424	Genchū (6) Meitoku (2)
100.	Gokomatsu	1392–1412	1433	Ōei (19)
101.	Shōkō	1412–1428		Shocho (15)
102.	Gohanazono	1428–1464	1471	Eikyō (12) Kaikitsu (3) Bun-an (5) Hōtoku (3) Kyōtoku (3) Kōshō (2) Chōroku (3) Kanshō (5)
103.	Gotsuchimikado	1464–1500		Bunshō (1) Ōnin (2) Bummei (18) Chōkyō (2) Entoku (3) Meiō (9)
104.	Gokashiwabara	1500–1526		Bunki (3) Eishō (17) Daiei (6)
105.	Gonara	1526–1557		Kyōroku (4) Temmon (23) Kōji (3)
106.	Ōgimachi	1557–1586	1593	Eiroku (12) Genki (3) Tenshō (14)
107.	Goyōzei	1586–1611	1617	Bunroku (4) Keichō (16)
109.	Meisho	1629–1643	1696	Kan'ei (14)
108.	Gomizunoo	1611–1629	1680	Genna (9) Kan'ei (20)
109.	Meishō	1630–1643		
110.	Gokōmyō	1643–1654		Shōhō (4) Keian (4) Jōō (3) Meireki (3)
111.	Gosai	1654–1683	1635	Manji (3) Kambun (2)
112.	Reigen	1663–1687	1732	Empō (8) Tenna (3) Jōkyō (3)
113.	Higashiyama	1687–1709		Genroku (16) Hōei (6)
114.	Nakamikado	1709–1733	1737	Shōtoku (5) Kyōhō (20)
115.	Sakuramachi	1735–1747	1750	Gembun (5) Kampō (3) Enkyō (3)
116.	Momozono	1747–1762		Kan'en (3) Hōreki (12)
117.	Gosakuramachi	1762–1770	1813	Meiwa (7)
118.	Gomomozono	1770–1779		An'ei (8)
119.	Kōkaku	1779–1817	1840	Temmei (8) Kansei (12) Kyōwa (3) Bunka (13)
120.	Ninkō	1817–1846		Bunsei (12) Tempō (14) Kōka (3)
121.	Kōmei	1846–1867		Kaei (6) Ansei (6) Man'en (1) Bunkyū (3) Genji (1) Keiō (3)

122.	Meiji	1867–1912	Meiji (45)
123.	Taishō	1912–1926	Taishō (15)
124.	Shōwa	1912–1989	Shōwa (69)
125.	Heisei	1989–	

Hokucho (Northern Dynasty)

	Emperor	Reign	Death	Nengō
1.	Kōgon	1332–1333	1364	Shokei (2)
2.	Kōmyō	1336–1348	1380	Ryakuō (4) Kōei (3) Jōwa (4)
3.	Sukō	1348–1351	1398	Jōwa (1) Kan'ō (2)
4.	Gokōgon	1352–1371	1374	Bunna (4) Embun (5) Kōan (1) Jōji (6) Ōan (4)
5.	Goen'yū	1371–1382	1393	Eiwa (4) Kōryaku (2) Eitoku (2)
6.	Gokomastu	1382–1392		Eitoku (1) Shitoku (2) Kakei (2) Kōō (1) Meitoku (3)

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Appendix 2

THE *MISOGI* RITUAL

Misogi, or ritual purification, as I have argued elsewhere in this volume, is a generic ritual of Shinto, performed first by Izanagi-no-mikot. It may be performed in rivers, in the sea, or under a waterfall. It may take different ritual forms, and there are numerous ways in which *chinkon*, the calming of the soul after *misogi*, may be performed. I have included here a brief lecture that attempts to summarize the meaning of *misogi* treated as a Shinto ritual but within the context of Shinto as a religion of the earth. I delivered this lecture to a group of scholars who visited Japan to experience *misogi* at the Tsubaki Grand Shrine. The second part of this appendix offers an outline of how *misogi* is performed at Tsubaki Grand Shrine.

THE MEANING OF *MISOGI SHUGYO*

Text: Stuart D. B. Picken, lecture given at Ise Conference to commemorate the centenary of the World Parliament of Religions, 1993.

Shinto and the Intuitive Awareness of the Mysterious

Religion in modern society is studied from the viewpoint of economics, sociology, politics, philosophy, and psychology. But surely alongside these it is also fair to look at religion from the point of view of religion itself. From this direction, we can speak of Shinto as one way of affirming the mysterious in the face of attitudes and beliefs that deny mystery in favor of "explicit rational provenness." Without a sense of the mysterious, life becomes meaninglessly dull and empty of possibility. Acceptance of the

mysterious is the recognition of *knowledge beyond knowledge*. There are the things we know and there are the things we do not know. There are also things that, when the technology arrives, we can know. But there is also *knowledge beyond knowledge*, the knowledge that by the nature and constitution of the human mind is impossible to know. We may know that it exists, but not what it is. It is the core of the mysterious and magnetic origins of faith.

Western religions, especially Christianity, in an attempt to reconcile belief with the age of science, have tried to “demystify” the universe, to *demythologize* it, as was the buzzword of the 1950s and 1960s. Strip away the old-fashioned cosmic terminology to let the message speak was the idea. But the message and the myth both vanished because the message and myth were more closely related than people cared to think. Some things can be said only in the form of a myth. If myth is then eliminated from discourse, nothing can be said. Consequently, there is no “God is dead” kind of pronouncements in Shinto, and no sense of the demise of religion. Atheism belongs in a system where there is a limited, arbitrary, and rationalistic definition of the divine. If theism is challenged, atheism is the result.

The mysterious should not be confused with the occult. The occult belongs in a dualistic system, where such contrasts exist. Japan’s cultural dynamics are based on monism, on ideals such as harmony and peace, where conflict and confrontation are not a part of life. This seems to be an intuition of nature.

Asceticism: Western and Japanese

An ascetic, according to William James, is someone who lives at the core of his or her spiritual energy and therefore whose actions and responses are perhaps slightly exaggerated. This is certainly true of some kinds of asceticism that have shown the tendency to go to extremes. The ascetic has grasped a way, and he or she travels along that way as far as possible to the point of the extinction of the self in some cases. But from the ascetic, we can learn the way in to the deep metaphysic of inner experience.

Asceticism itself has little to commend it or to attract great followings in the West, mainly because of its history. Western asceticism, with its absolute body/soul distinction, was designed to punish the body to save the soul. The medieval hair shirts, burrs in the shoes, self-flagellation, and other forms of punishment and self-abnegation have given to it an air of the morose and even psychotic. Its actions betrayed a gloomy view of humankind and an equally negative view of God combined with a totally pessimistic view of humankind’s hope of salvation. It is here that the contrast with Japanese ascetic practice becomes crucial for creativity and renewal. The Japanese ascetic, in his practices, seeks to enhance his pow-

ers, to become a new person through the rituals and disciplines to be undergone. There is nothing gloomy or pessimistic about them. They radiate with vitality and are performed with joy and enthusiasm. They may be serious ceremonies, but they generate energy and induce the lightness of heart that comes from growing inner confidence and heightened awareness of the natural and the cosmic that puts all other things into true perspective.

What Is *Misogi*?

Misogi is the generic form of the act of purification. It can be traced back to the Japanese mythology narrated in the *Nihongi* and the *Nihon Shoki* when Izanami left the land of impurity and bathed himself in the river Tachibana. The response of Japanese culture to all of life's boundary situations, as existentialists have called them, is purification to seek renewal. *Misogi* can be performed in many ways. It can be performed in the sea, in a river, or by standing under a free-flowing waterfall. The form we will discuss here is the waterfall variety, because it is dynamic and profoundly inspirational. The purpose is to commune with the *kami* of the fall, to be united with great nature, to touch the cosmos, and to seek renewal through purification.

Misogi, to be visualized correctly, requires that you imagine yourself with the minimum of body covering standing under a cascading fall with only your head projecting from the flow. The weight of water hits your shoulders and the back of your neck and completely absorbs you within itself. And as you stand, you simply utter the words

harai tamae—kiyomi tamae—rokonshojo

“Purify my spirit—wash away my impurities from the six elements of existence.”

It seems a simple act, but if we break down its various facets, we can see where its power, its attraction, and its efficacy can be found; why for centuries Japanese have gone to the mountains to perform *misogi*; and why it is such an important part of Shinto. Let me suggest four ways of talking about it that will add weight to these observations.

1. *Misogi is a basic form of primal experience.*

There is ultimate authenticity in the act of standing under the fall and being immersed in nature itself. You will not know where your physical existence ends and the flow of the fall begins. For that moment, you and nature, *daishizen*, the cosmos, are one. *Misogi* simultaneously creates the awareness and satisfies the longing of the hungry to feel and experience nature in a way that assures and confirms that we are rooted in its life and processes. Standing under the fall, we are a part of that process, for that time, an indistinguishable element of it returning to the source of life itself, living water.

The world we live in is not a place where primal experience is readily available. Indeed, to many, experience is almost entirely secondhand. We learn from others what an experience *should* be. Our experiences tend to be measured by what others say or by what they claim, by what so called “experts” tell us. So we never really know for ourselves because we depend on others for evaluation or as a model for our activities. *Misogi* calls us back to our primal roots, back to the discovery of pure experience, and back to the search for authenticity.

2. *Misogi can be experienced as the power of renewal through ritual.*

Nowhere is the power to be born again, and again, and again more visibly demonstrated. Individuals with needs and groups with purposes have found *misogi* a help to becoming what they seek to be and to fulfilling their ultimate potential. There is nothing about *misogi* that makes it a once-only and absolute experience. Repetition heightens the need for quality and awakens us to the fact that in renewal, we see and realize that life itself is not a static substance but a flowing, living, and moving process. Over the many years during which I have practiced *misogi*, I have led many groups of students and businessmen, more Americans than Japanese, to undergo the experience. Never in those years have people failed to find the experience stimulating and awe inspiring. Many have made the great effort to come back not once but as often as circumstances would permit. They had begun to experience the meaning of renewal and they wanted to travel on that road. It becomes simultaneously the confirmation of human endeavor and the beginnings of that process that creates and re-creates ourselves in ways we cannot do on our own.

3. *Misogi can be experienced as a profound discipline of the spirit*

Part of the power of *misogi* to renew stems from its role as a discipline of the human spirit. The Reverend Yukiitaka Yamamoto, 96th High Priest of the Tsubaki Grand Shrine, in response to his own basic need and yearning, performed *misogi* every night at midnight for 10 years to discover the meaning of spirituality. His experiences are remarkable. He spoke of many strange and inexplicable physical sensations. He also spoke of seeing the brightness of the rising sun at midnight. Such states of altered consciousness with tremendous symbolic power represent renewal through the development of spirituality. To meet Yukiitaka, you would recognize him at once from the vitality that comes from renewal. The repetition and the discipline make steady renewal possible as a form of personal growth and development. *Misogi* is indeed on a par with physical training to become an athlete. This is psycho-physical training to become a spiritual athlete. This is what Japan’s ascetics are indeed—spiritual athletes. They are Olympians of the spiritual world. They are pioneers and discoverers of the vast tracts of uncharted inner experience that leads to outer change

and renewal. They are bearers and practitioners of one of life's greatest secrets.

4. *Misogi stimulates cosmic awareness.*

The final point I would like to make about *misogi* is its power to generate the cosmic awareness that we earlier identified as missing from modern life. The power of the cosmos is unleashed in *misogi*. You can touch the infinity of the cosmos for a second. Visit the outer domains of space in your own existence for a split second. Transcend time, motion, or place. The location of humanity within the great cosmic configuration of power and energy is confirmed, and awareness of quality and possibility becomes heightened. This is *enlightenment* gained in a second. Of course it is too brief an encounter for any articulation to take place. Therefore it must be repeated so that you can become familiar with that sense of the cosmic and come to feel at home and natural within it.

From Homo Sapiens to Homo Excellens

This title is one way to describe the form of the human pilgrimage, from the substance/mechanistic being of wisdom to the creative being of excellence. Quality must now become an equal value—excellence in being a human being as well as in being a technical human being. Life is at the center of this. Discipline also matters. The discipline of *misogi*, the rituals and the spirituality are designed to improve a person's quality as a human being. Progress within human civilization and for individual human beings becomes possible in these ways. This is the meaning of the process of transition from *Homo sapiens* to *Homo excellens*.

The Waterfall and the Holism of the Cosmos

Shinto is a religion that concerns itself with purity and purification. It is also a religious tradition that not only brings humanity and nature close together but also seeks to remind humanity that its life is embedded within nature. And within the ritual of *misogi* this meaning is stressed. *Misogi harai* is performed by the *gyoja*, the person undertaking the discipline, entering the fall before midnight or at the rising of the sun. Before the person enters there is a sequence of rituals and calisthenics, as well as a variety of esoteric actions to perform, but the culmination is achieved by stepping into the flowing water in front of the fall, bowing, clapping, and then turning around and standing under the fall, taking the full weight of the water on the back of the shoulders. This seeks to purify, to cleanse, and to restore. The entire theology of Shinto is symbolized in the act, in the belief that human nature can be purified and restored by returning to its deepest roots and the place of its origins.

How to Perform *Misogi Harai*

The following is a description of how *misogi* is performed at the Tsubaki Grand Shrine. It deals with the various stages before and after.

Before *misogi*, the mind and body should be conditioned. On the night before, it is recommended that meat not be eaten and alcohol not be drunk. The senses should be freed through the avoidance of any physical substances that might cloud or distort them. They should be ready to be receptive.

Preparation begins when the people taking part assemble in front of the shrine office at the agreed time and from there proceed into the hall beside the *Haiden* to receive a simplified form of *oharai* (purification) called *shubatsu*. Since the waterfall, which is called *Konryu Myojin* (*Myojin* means “gracious *kami*”), is a *kami*, there is need for purification before entering. Thereafter, the participants move to the dressing rooms. Men wear a white loincloth with a *hachimaki*, or headband. Women also wear the *hachimaki* in addition a long, white kimono-like robe. After coming out of the dressing areas, the participants move down to an open area above the entrance to the fall and face the *Honden* (main worship hall). They bow twice, clap twice, and bow once and are ready to commence the warm-up exercises.

Exercise 1 *Furitama (Soul Shaking)*

1. Stand with the legs about shoulder-width apart.
2. Place the hands together in front of the stomach with the right hand over the left. Leave space between them big enough for an imaginary Ping-Pong ball.
3. With the hands in that position, shake them vigorously up and down.
4. While shaking them, concentrate and repeat the words *Harae-dono-Okami*, an invocation to the *kami* of the place of *harai*.

The object of exercise 1 is to generate an awareness of the soul. *Kon* (the soul), in Shinto, is one of the four important elements, along with *Mei* (life), *Rei* (spirit), and *Ki* (spirit in its causal aspect—*Ki* is a kind of energy source). *Kon* is the most important of the four since human beings can also be described as *Waketama* (separated individual souls), which is another way of saying “children of the *kami*.”

Exercise 2 *Torifune (A Bird Rowing)*

1. Stand straight and put the left leg forward.
2. Clench both fists with thumbs inside.
3. Lean forward and move the arms as though rowing a boat, starting from the left knee and ending near the armpits. While “rowing,” shout “*Yie*.”
4. Perform this 20 times and then repeat Exercise 1, the *Furitama*.
5. Changing to a right-leg stance, repeat steps 1 to 3, shouting “*Ei*”

and “*Ho*” alternately. Do this 20 times, and then repeat Exercise 1, the *Furitama*.

6. Return to the left-foot stance, clenched the fists as before, and bring the hands up to the chest to a shout of “*Yie*.” Thrust them down and forward, with hands open and fingers extended, to a shout of “*Se*.” After this, once again repeat Exercise 1, the *Furitama*.

The object of exercise 2 is to introduce a dimension of physical calisthenics along with the spiritual. Since *misogi* is a psycho-physical experience, both types of warm-up exercises are necessary.

Exercise 3 Otakebi (*Shouting*)

1. Stand up straight, leaving the feet slightly apart.
2. Place hands on the hips.
3. Follow the *Michihiko* (the leader of the group who presides over the ritual) as he shouts the following three invocations: *Iku-tama!*
Taru-tama! *Tama-tamaru-tama!*
4. Follow him in repeating three times the long invocation *Kami!*
Okami! *Kunitsu-Okami!* *Sarutahiko Okami To-toshi-ya!*

The object of exercise 3 is threefold. Shouting *iku-tama* activates the soul, which is just coming to awareness. *Taru-tama* affirms the awareness that you can realize the infinite in your soul. *Tama-tamaru-tama* confirms both and keeps the soul activated at its quantum level. The closing invocation addresses *Sarutahiko Okami*, head of the earthly *kami*, and acknowledges him to be of great power.

Exercise 4 Okorobi (*Yielding*)

1. Stand as in exercise 3.
2. Place the left hand on the hip, and with two fingers pointing, extend the hand in a gesture that resembles the “Boy Scout Salute.”
3. Three *kami* are invoked here, and with each invocation, you cut the air in a sweeping gesture with the right hand:

Kunitoko-tachi-no-Mikoto! “*Yie!*”

Sarutahiko-no-Okami! “*Yie!*”

Kokuryu-no-Okami! “*Yie!*”

At each time of cutting the air, take a step forward with the left foot and then back again.

The object of exercise 4 is achieved by specifying these three important *kami*, *Kunitokotachi-no-Mikoto* (the earthly *kami*), *Sarutahiko Okami* (*kami* of guidance and head of the earthly *kami*), and *Kokuryu-no-Okami*

(*kami* of water, life, and *ki*). By doing this, the *gyoja* can be united with them, have their impurities removed, and receive their power as their own.

Exercise 5 *Ibuki (Breathing)*

1. Stand with the feet slightly apart.
2. Lower the hands and arms toward the knees in front of the body.
3. Lift the arms above the head by extending them fully outward.
4. Inhale while raising the arms.
5. Exhale slowly and deliberately while lowering the hands again.
6. Place hands and arms down by the knees and exhale completely.
7. Repeat five times.
8. Turn to face the waterfall, bow twice, clap twice, and open arms, palms facing up toward the waterfall.
9. Go down the steps toward the waterfall.

The object of exercise 5 is to conclude the preparation by taking deep breaths that have the effect of raising the metabolism of the *ki* to its highest level of sensitivity and receptivity by absorbing the *ki* of the cosmos.

Exercise 6 *Nyusui (Getting into the Water)*

1. Just before entering the water, participants will receive from the Michihiko *Sakashio*, or purifying salt that will be sprinkled on them.
2. Each participant receives a ladle with Japanese *sake* and salt. Spray it from the mouth in three mouthfuls into the stream.
3. The Michihiko recites the nine-letter prayer as follows:
Rin-Pyo-To-Sha-Kai-Zin-Retsu-Zai-Zen
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
4. The Michihiko then cuts the air symbolically nine times, and shouts “*Ye!*”

Diagram of the Square

The Meaning of the Prayer and the Square

In Shinto, the numbers from 1 to 9 symbolize the secular world and its impurities. Before entering the water the cutting of the square implies removing the impurities of existence from its nine areas.

5. Enter the water and spray water on the face, chest, and loins.
6. Clap the hands twice, and bow once.
7. Cut the air from right to left with the right hand as in exercise 4.
8. Approach the waterfall and enter, right shoulder first. Turn round and face the *Michihiko*, holding the hands in front with middle fingers together pointing away.

9. Shout the following:

Harae-tamae-Kiyome-tamae-ro-kon-sho-jo!

Continue until the Michihiko shouts “*Yei*” as a signal to come out.

The Meaning of the Final Prayer

The expressions *harae* and *kiyome* ask for the purifying of the individual by the washing away of all *tsumi* from the *ro-kon-sho-jo*, from the six elements of human beings that Shinto identified, the five senses and the mind.

After this is completed, participants return to the *Haiden* after drying off, for a period of *chinkon*, to pacify the soul. This in turn is followed by a *naorai*, a ceremonial drinking with the *kami*, which has the effect of strengthening the vertical *musubi*. In other words, the links between those purified and the *kami* become stronger. But also as people celebrate with others, the horizontal *musubi* also becomes stronger—that is, the *kami*–human being and human being–human being connections become more effective, and people in relation to people and people in relation to the *kami* can begin to understand how to realize their human potential.

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Appendix 3

THE ASSOCIATION OF DISTRICT FIRST SHRINES (ICHI-NO-MIYA KAI)

The Ichi-no-miya Kai was revived in 1985 but dates back to at least the Heian period (1185–1333) if not earlier. It consists of shrines that were recognized by popular acclaim as socially important centers of worship based on the numbers of people who performed *sampai* (a formal act of reverence) at them. They became known as Ichi-no-miya, first shrines of the ancient province (*kuni*) in which they were located. There were also Ni-no-miya (second shrines) and even San-no-miya (third shrines) that were similarly recognized.

Data below were taken from the general list of shrines issued by the Jinja Honcho (the Association of Shinto Shrines) each year and cross-referenced with information found in the work of Irie Koichiro, *Ichi-no-miya Junpai no Ryo* (A Journey of Pilgrimage to the First Shrines, Tokyo: Mikuni Publishing Company, 1988).

Among the list of the enshrined *kami* will appear many names scattered throughout the text, some mythological (such as Sarutahiko-okami or Yamato-takeru-no-mikoto), some emperors' names (such as Ōjin Tennō), some extremely local *kami*, and some names that belong to nationwide cults (such as the well-known figures of Hachiman or the Sumiyoshi-*kami*). There is no declared hierarchy in shrines or *kami*, except within particular groups, and acclamation as a First Shrine was popular, not official. The variety of shrines and *kami* in the list below illustrates the enormous diversity, particularity, and local empirical character of Shinto.

The groupings of the shrines calls for some explanation. They are grouped as they are linked by the old arterial roads that ran through the country. Shrines in the first group lie around the Kyoto area (Kinai). The Tokkaido was the road

that ran from the Nihonbashi in Edo (Tokyo) to Kyoto. The Nishikaido runs through Kyushu, and the Hokuriku links Fukui and Niigata. The prefectures identified in each list will enable the reader to follow the old roads. Following the list on a map becomes a fascinating tour of both Japan's history and geography. The evolution of Shinto and the First Shrines parallels the evolution of Japanese history and helps to define it.

REGIONAL NAME (*KUNI*, THE ANCIENT PROVINCE, AND MODERN NAME) SHRINE NAME, ADDRESS, TELEPHONE NUMBER, AND PRINCIPAL ENSHRINED *KAMI*

Kinai (the Five Ancient Provinces around Kyoto)

Yamashiro no kuni (Kyoto-fu)

Kamo-mioya Jinja

630-8047, Kyoto-shi, Kita-ku, Kami Kamo Honzan 339, 075-781-0111

Enshrined *Kami*: Tamayorihime, Kamotaketsunemino-no-mikoto

Kamo-wakei-kazuchi Jinja

606-0807, Kyoto-shi, 59 Senkawacho Shimogamo, Sakyo-ku, 075-781-0010

Enshrined *Kami*: Kamo-wakei-kazuchi-no-kami

Yamato no kuni (Nara)

Omiwa Jinja

633-8538 Nara-ken, Sakurai-shi, Miwsa, 0744-42-6633

Enshrined *Kami*: Omononushi-kami, Onamuchi-no-kami

Kochi kuni (Osaka-fu)

Hiraoka Jinja

579-8033 Osaka-fu, Higashi Osaka-shi, Izumoi-cho, 0729-81-4177

Enshrined *Kami*: Amenokoyane, hime-no-kami

Izumi no kuni (Osaka-fu)

Otori Jinja

593-8328 Osaka-fu, Sakai-shi, Otori-kita-machi 1-1-2, 0722-62-0040

Enshrined *Kami*: Murajinomioyano-kami, Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto

Setsu no kuni (Osaka)

Sumiyoshi Taisha

558-0045 Osaka-shi, Sumjiyoshi-ku, Sumjiyoshi-cho, 06-6672-0753

Enshrined *Kami*: Sumiyoshi-no-kami

Ikasuri Jinja

541-0056 Osaka-shi, Chuo-ku, Kutaromachi 4-chome, Watanabe, 3 06-6251-4792

Enshrined *Kami*: Ikui, Sakui, Hahiki, Asuha-no-kami**The Tokkaido*****Iga no kuni (Mie Prefecture)***

Aekuni Jinja

518-0003 Mie-ken, Uneo-shi, Ichi-no-miya 877, 0595-23-3061

Enshrined *Kami*: Ohohikona-no-mikoto, Kanayamahime-no-mikoto***Ise no kuni***

Tsubaki Okami Yashiro (Sarutahiko Dai-hongu)

519-0315 Mie-ken, Suzuka-shi, Yamamoto-cho 1871, 0593-71-1515

Enshrined *Kami*: Sarutahiko-okami, Ame-uzume-no-mikoto

Tsubaki Nakato Jinja

513-0031 Mie-ken, Suzuka-shi, Ichinomiya-cho 1174, 0593-82-3547

Enshrined *Kami*: Sarutahiko-okami***Shima no kuni***

Izawano Miya

517-02 Mie-ken, Shima-gun, Taishi-ueno, 0599-95-0038

Enshrined *Kami*: Amaterashimasu-sumi-okami-no-mitama***Owari kuni (Aichi Prefecture)***

Masumida Jinja

491-0043 Aichi-ken, Ichinomiya-shi, Misumida 121, 0586-73-5196

Enshrined *Kami*: Hoakari-no-mikoto

Okami Jinja

491-0924 Aichi-ken, Ichinomiya-shi, Yamato-cho, Obo 2410, 0586-45-5846

Enshrined *Kami*: Omononushi-o-kami

Mikawa kuni

Toga Jinja

441-1231 Aichi-ken, Hoi-gun, Ichinomiya-cho, 0533-93-2001

Enshrined *Kami*: Onamuchi-no-kami***Toatomi no kuni (Shizuoka Prefecture)***

Okuni Jinja

437-0226 Shizuoka-ken, Shuchi-gun, Morimachi Ichinomiya 3956-1
0538-89-7302Enshrined *Kami*: Okuni-no-kami

Kotomama Hachiman Miya

436-0004 Shizuoka-ken, Kakegawa-shi, Yasaka 642, 0537-27-1690

Enshrined *Kami*: Hohotawake, Okinagatarashi, Tamayorihime***Suruga no kuni***

418-0012 Shizuoka-ken, Fujinomiya-shi, Miya-cho 1-1, 0544-27-2002

Enshrined *Kami*: Konohanasakuya-hime-no-mikoto***Izu no kuni***

Mishima Taisha

411-0035 Shizuoka-ken, Mishima-sgu, Omiya-cho 2-1-5, 0559-75-0172

Enshrined *Kami*: Oyamazumi-no-mikoto, Kotoshiromeshi-no-mikoto***Kai no kuni (Yamanashi Prefecture)***

Asama Jinja

405-0056 Yamanashi-ken, Higashiyachiyo-gun, Ishinomiya-machi, Ich-
imnomiya-1 0553-47-0900Enshrined *Kami*: Ohanasakuya-hime-no-mikoto***Sagami no kuni (Kanagawa Prefecture)***

Samukawa Jinja

253-00195 Kanagawa-ken, Koza-gun, Miyayama 3916, 0467-75-0004

Enshrined *Kami*: Samukawahiko-no-mikoto

Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gu

248-8588 Kangawa-ken, Kamakura-shi, Yukinoshita 2-1-31, 0467-22-
0315Enshrined *Kami*: Hachiman-kamai (Ōjin Tennō)

Musashi no kuni (Saitama Prefecture)

Hikawa Jinja

330-0803 Saitama-ken, Omiya-shi, Takahana-cho 1-407, 0486-41-0137

Enshrined *Kami*: Susano-o-no-mikoto, Onamuchi-no-mikoto, Inadahime-no-mikoto

Hikawa Jotai Jinja

336- Saitama-ken, Urawa-shi, Miyamoto 2-17-11, 0488-85-7412

Enshrined *Kami*: Inadahime, Mihotsuhime, Onamuchi-no-mikoto***Awa no kuni (Chiba Prefecture)***

Awa Jinja

294-0233 Chiba-ken, Tateyama-shi, Daijingu 589, 0470-28-0034

Enshrined *Kami*: Ame-no-futatama-no-mikoto

Sunosaki Jinja

294 Chiba-ken, Tateyama-shi, Furasaki 379, 0470-29-0713

Enshrined *Kami*: Ama-no-hiritome-no-mikoto***Kazusa no kuni***

Tamasaki Jinja

299-4301 Chiba-ken, Chosei-gun, Ichinomiya-cho, Ichinomiya 3048,
0475-42-2711Enshrined *Kami*: Takasaki-no-kami***Shimo-osa no kuni***

Katori Jingu

287-0017 Chiba-ken, Sahara-shi, Katori 1697, 0478-57-3211

Enshrined *Kami*: Futsunushi-okami***Hitachi no kuni***

Kashima Jingu

314-0031 Ibaraki-ken, Kashima shi, Miyanaka 2306-1, 0299-82-1209

Enshrined *Kami*: Takemikazuchi-no-mikoto**The Higashi Sando*****Omi no kuni (Shiga Prefecture)***

Takebe Taisha

520-2132 Shiga-ken, Otsui-shi, Shin-ryo 1-16-1, 0775-45-0038

Enshrined *Kami*: Yamato-takeru-no-mikoto

Mino no kuni (Gifu Prefecture)

Nangu Taisha

503-2124 Gifu-ken, Fuwa-gun, Taruimachi, Miyashiro 1734-1, 0584-22-1225

Enshrined *Kami*: Kanayamahiko-no-mikoto***Hida no kuni (Gifu Prefecture)***

Minashi Jinja

509-3512 Gifu-ken, Ono-gun, Miya-mura 5253, -577-53-2001

Enshrined *Kami*: Mizunashi-no-kami***Shinano no kuni (Nagano Prefecture)***

Suwa Taisha Kami-sha Hongu

392-0015 Nagano-ken, Suwa-shi, Nakasu, Miyayama 1, 0266-52-1919

Enshrined *Kami*: Takeminakata-no-kami, Yasakatome-no-kami

Suwa Taisha Shimosha Akimiya

393-0052 Nagano-ken, Suwa-gun, Shimosuwacho 5828, 0266-27-8035

Enshrined *Kami*: Takeminakata-no-kami, Yasakatome-no-kami***Kozuke no kuni (Gunma Prefecture)***

Nukisaki Jinja

370-2452 Gunma-ken Fujioka-shi, Ichi-no-miya 1535, 0274-62-2009

Enshrined *Kami*: Futsumeshi-no-mikoto, Hime-okami***Shimotsuke no kuni (Tochigi Prefecture)***

Futarusan Jinja

320-0026 Tochigi-ken, Shitomiya-shi, Baba-dori, 0286-22-5271

Enshrined *Kami*: Toyoki-irihiko-no-mikoto**The Michinoku*****Mutsu no kuni (Aomori Prefecture, Fukushima Prefecture)***

Tsutsukowake Jinja

963-6131 Fukushima-ken, Higashi Shirakawa-gun, Tanakura-cho, Baba
39 0247-33-7219Enshrined *Kami*: Ajisukitahikonunomi-no-mikoto

Iwatsutsukowake Jinja

963-5672 Fukushimaa-ken, Ishikawa-gun, Tanakura-cho, Hakkimiya 66
0247-33-3505Enshrined *Kami*: Ajisuki-takahiko-nu-no-mikoto

Shiogama Jinja

985-8510 Miyagi-ken, Shiogama-shi, Moriyama 1-1, 0223-67-1611

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0234-77-2301Enshrined *Kami*: Omonoimi-no-kami**The Hokurikudo*****Wakasa no kuni (Fukui Prefecture)*****Wakasahiko Jinja**

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Enshrined *Kami*: Onamuchi-no-kami***Etchu no kuni (Toyama Prefecture)*****Takase Jinja**932-0252 Toyama-ken, Higashi Tonami-gun, Inami Takase 291, 07763-
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930-14 Toyama-ken, Nakaniikawa-gun, Tateyama-mine 1, 0764-92-0993

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942-0081 Niigata-ken, Joetsu-shi, Gochi 6-1-11, 0255-43-4354

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Sado no kuni

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952-0053 Sawa-gun, Hamocho, Iioka 550-4, 0259-88-2030

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Tango no kuni

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Enshrined *Kami*: Ame-no-hoko-no-mikoto

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669-5125 Hyogo-ken, Asago-gun, Santo-cho, Awaga 2152, 0796-76-2465

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680-0151 Tottori-ken, Iwami-gun, Kojukachi, Miyashita 651, 0857-22-5025

Enshrined *Kami*: Takenouchinosukune-no-mikoto***Hoki no kuni***

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689-0707 Tottori-ken, Tohaku-gun, Togo-cho, Miyauchi 754, 0858-32-1985

Enshrined *Kami*: Takeazuchi-no-mikoto, Shitateruhime-no-mikoto***Izumo no kuni (Shimane Prefecture)***

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708-0815 Okayama-ken, Tsuyama-shi, Ichinomiya 695, 0868-27-0051

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747-0065 Yamaguchi-ken, Bofu-shi, Osaki 1690, 0835-21-3915

Enshrined *Kami*: Tamanoya-no-kami***Nagato no kuni***

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Enshrined *Kami*: Sumiyoshi-kami**Nankaido*****Kii no kuni (Wakayama Prefecture)***

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Itakeso Jinja

640-0361 Wakayama-ken, Wakayama-shi 558, 0734-78-0006

Enshrined *Kami*: Susano-o-no-mikoto, Itakeru-no-mikoto

Niyutsu-hime Jinja

649-7141 Wakayama-ken, Ito-gun, Katsuragi-cho, Kamiamano 230,
0736-26-000102

Enshrined *Kami*: Niyutsuhime-no-kami

Awaji no kuni (Hyogo Prefecture)

Izanami Jingu

656-0025 Hyogo-ken, Tsuna-gun, Ichinomiya-cho, Taga 740, 0799-22-
0049

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Sanuki no kuni (Kagawa Prefecture)

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1541

Enshrined *Kami*: Yamato-totohimo-mosohime-no-mikoto

Iyo no kuni (Ehime Prefecture)

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794-13 Ehime-ken, Ka gun, Omishima-cho, Miyaura 3327, 0897-82-
0032

Enshrined *Kami*: Oyama

Tosa no kuni (Kochi Prefecture)

Tosa Jinja

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Enshrined *Kami*: Ajisuku-takane-hiko-no-kami

Nishikaido

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Enshrined *Kami*: Ōjin Tennō

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092-91-2670

Enshrined *Kami*: Sumiyoshi-no-kami

Chikugo no kuni (Saga Prefecture)

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Enshrined *Kami*: Takara-no-tamadare-no-mikoto

Buzen no kuni (Oita Prefecture)

Usa Jingu

872-0102 Oita-ken, Usa-shi, Minami Usa 2859, 0978-37-0001

Enshrined *Kami*: Hachiman Kami (Ōjin Tennō), Hime-okami

Bungo no kuni

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870-1123 Oita-ken, Oita-shi, Sasumata 1644, 0975-69-4182

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Isuhara Hachiman-gu

870-0808 Oita-ken, Oita-shi, Taishi Hachiman 987, 0975-34-0065

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Hizen no kuni (Nagasaki Prefecture)

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840-0047 Saga-ken, Saga-gun, Yamato-cho, Kawakami 1, 0952-23-6091

Enshrined *Kami*: Yodohime-okami

Chikuri Hachiman-gu

849-0111 Saga-ken, Miyaki-gun, Kitamoyasu-cho Chiguri, 0942-89-
5566

Enshrined *Kami*: Hachiman-kamai (Ōjin Tennō)

Higo no kuni (Kumamoto Prefecture)

Aso Jinja

869-2612 Kumamoto-ken, Aso-gun, Ichinomiya-cho, Taishikan 3083-1
0967-22-0064

Enshrined *Kami*: Takeiwatatsu-no-mikoto, Asotsuhijme-no-mikoto, Hayamikatama-no-mikoto

Himuka no kuni (Miyazaki Prefecture)

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899-1201 Miyazaki-ken, Koyu-gun Tonomachio Oaza 13294, 0983-25-3256

Enshrined *Kami*: Onamuchi-no-kami

Osumi no kuni (Kagoshima Prefecture)

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899-5116 Kagoshima-ken, Aira-gun, Hayatocho Aza Uchi 2496, 09955-42-0020

Enshrined *Kami*: Amatsu-hidaka-hiko-hohdemi-no-mikoto

Satsuma no kuni

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895-0065 Kagoshima-ken, Sendai-shi, Miyauchi-cho 1935-2, 09996-22-4722

Enshrined *Kami*: Ninigi-no-mikoto

Hirakiki Jinja

891-0603 Kagoshima-ken, Ibusuki-gun, Kaimono Jucho 1366, 0993-32-2007

Enshrined *Kami*: Hirakiki-okami

Iki no kuni (Nagasaki Prefecture)

Amenotanagao Jijna

811-5461 Nagasaki-ken, Ikigun, Gonoura-cho, Tanakafure, 0920-45-2439

Enshrined *Kami*: Ame-no-osihomi-no-mikoto

Tsushima no kuni

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817-1303 Nagasaki-ken, Shimoken-gun, Mine-cho, Taishi-kizaka, 0920-83-0139

Enshrined *Kami*: Wadatsumi-kami

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