# The Origin of Modern Shinto in Japan

## The Vanquished Gods of Izumo

Yijiang Zhong

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# Shinto in Japan

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The Shinto tradition is an essential component of Japanese religious culture. In addition to indigenous elements, it contains aspects mediated from Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, and, in more recent times, Western religious culture as well—plus, various forms of hybridization among all of these different traditions. Despite its cultural and historical importance, Shinto studies have failed to attract wide attention because of the lingering effects of uses of aspects of Shinto for the ultranationalistic propaganda of Japan during WW II. The Series makes available to a broad audience a number of important texts that help to dispel the widespread misconception that Shinto is intrinsically related to Japanese nationalism, and at the same time promote further research and understanding of what is still an underdeveloped field.

*Mountain Mandalas: Shugendo in Kyushu*, Allan G. Grapard

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## The Vanquished Gods of Izumo

Yijiang Zhong

*To*
*Kōno Kōichi and Kōno Junko*

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# Note on Text/Translation

All Japanese names are given with surnames first, as is customary in Japan. Long vowels are indicated with macrons except in the case of commonplace names and terms such as Tokyo and Shinto. Lunar calendar dates before adoption of the Gregorian calendar in December 1872 are indicated in ordinal numbers. For example, the seventeenth day of the ninth month of 1662 or 9/17/1662.

# Introduction

Throughout history, gods have been actively participating in constructing human communities, be they cities, religions, empires, tribes, or nation-states. Just as all communities were not created equal, however, not all gods played equal roles in these constructions. Thus while the city gods of imperial China were frequently subjected to flogging by human officials for not bringing about badly needed rain to ease drought in the realm, the Athenian state could blame its citizen Socrates for undermining social cohesion by doubting the existence of the gods and demand his life as punishment. Indeed, some gods were vanquished along the way while others were able to claim supremacy and announce rules that shaped collective human lives. The stories of successful gods are told far more often than those of the gods who lost because the rules set down long ago by the successful ones remain to convince people of the necessity of telling the successful stories rather than those of the subjugated gods. This is despite the fact that these stories usually subject some groups of humans as well as of gods to exclusion, discrimination, and control by others. Yet gods by definition cannot be annihilated, given their non-corporeal nature of being. How will the vanquished gods tell their stories if they are allowed to speak again? How will their stories change history?

This book tells the story of a vanquished god in the constructions of the community called Japan. This is a Shinto god called Ōkuninushi 大国主神, or "the Great Lord of the Land," whose life is a very long one, as long as the recorded history of Japan. This is also a very tumultuous life, which coincided with two key junctures of political changes in that history. The first juncture is the eighth century when the first Japanese state was constructed. The second corresponds to the late Tokugawa and early Meiji period, or the nineteenth century, the period of the formation of the modern nation-state. It is this second juncture that is the focus of this book.

Ōkuninushi started as a creator god in the stories of two oldest mytho-historical texts *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) and *Nihon shoki* (The Chronicle of Japan), compiled by the imperial court in Japan in 712 and 720 respectively as a central project of state building, that is, establishing the political legitimacy of the imperial house. According to the two texts, Ōkuninushi in his early years underwent numerous extreme ordeals that turned out to be the testing ground for his subsequent emergence as a cultural hero who solidified the floating land, pacified the wild nature, and nurtured human life. Yet, right after these accomplishments of "land making" (*kuni zukuri*), a goddess named Amaterasu decided that the world was to be ruled by her descendants rather than by Ōkuninushi.[1] She sent down generals from heaven to demand Ōkuninushi's surrender. Rounds of fierce fighting forced the creator god to

yield the rule of the land to Amaterasu but on the condition that she would build him a shrine as grand as the palaces in heaven. Receiving Amaterasu's agreement, Ōkuninushi receded to the invisible realm of the gods, or *kami* in Japanese, while taking up residence at the Izumo Shrine built by Amaterasu for him. Ōkuninushi's act of "land transfer" (*kuni yuzuri*) cleared the ground for Amaterasu's grandson to descend onto the land to inaugurate a political rule that later on became known as the unbroken genealogy of the Japanese emperor, often claimed to be the oldest extant royalty in the world.

Ōkuninushi re-emerged during the early modern or Tokugawa period (1600–1867) as a Shinto god when priests and scholars mobilized the two texts of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* to ground an intellectual discourse they called Shinto or "the Way of the Gods" (*kami no michi*) ("Shinto" is another way of pronouncing the two Chinese characters, respectively pronounced "kami" and "michi"). The god's feat of creating the land and enabling human life helped the priests and scholars articulate a new cosmological world and identify this newly imagined world with the Japanese archipelago. They sought to combat "alien" Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism with this new knowledge of the world so as to return Japan to a pristine communal life lost to these forms of foreign knowledge. By the first half of the nineteenth century the god had been elevated by these Nativist (*kokugaku*) scholars to the apex of the pantheon as the Shinto god of creation, protection, and judgment, eclipsing the power of Amaterasu. In attaining such a paramount status, Ōkuninushi was expected to ground Shinto as an authoritative form of knowledge the application of which would save the divinely created community of Japan from the dangers of disintegration and colonization by Western powers.

After political authority was returned to the emperor in the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the new government nationalized Shinto shrines and the priesthood to propagate the Shinto discourse to the populace in hope of creating a modern nation unified under the gods and the emperor. The ambitious Izumo Shrine claimed a status of centrality in this doctrinal and institutional Shinto system by arguing that the divine authority of Ōkuninushi as the creator of the land and as the lord of the invisible world of the gods was as indispensable as Amaterasu whose descendants ruled the visible world of the humans. When the Izumo Shrine's demand for recognition of the authority of Ōkuninushi was repeatedly thwarted by priests of the Ise Shrine, which enshrined Amaterasu, and the government, a conflict between the two most prominent Shinto gods ensued. As the conflict persisted, it became clear that this was a contestation over which kami had the authority to define the new national community: and the contention relativized the status of Amaterasu and risked undermining the ideological foundation of the Meiji state.

In the end, Ōkuninushi was again defeated, not by the generals of Amaterasu as told in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* but by being domesticated into the political and legal structures of the modern nation-state. In the early 1880s, the government categorized the competing claims of Ōkuninushi into a religion and distinguished this Shinto religion from the national shrine ritual system centering on Amaterasu, thereby elevating in effect the mythic claims of Amaterasu above competitions between private, religious beliefs. This religion vs. ritual distinction re-articulated the divine imperial genealogy

as the uncontestable public, secular, political authority of the state in contradistinction to the quarantined power of Ōkuninushi, the Great Lord of the Land, as a privatized religion. Excluded from the newly constituted imperial pantheon, Ōkuninushi and the Izumo gods under his leadership were vanquished and exiled from history.

This book is a project of returning history to Ōkuninushi and the Izumo gods by letting these vanquished gods tell their stories, that is, to let them become the subject of history. They tell a story that is very different from the familiar histories that presuppose a seamless and developmental arc for describing the successful ascendance of the imperial ancestor Amaterasu to the apex of the Shinto pantheon that culminated inexorably in the creation of the divine monarchy as the sovereign of the modern Japanese state.[2] These vanquished gods tell a story of an Other which at two critical junctures compromised the constructions of the divine imperial authority and exposed the contingent nature of those constructions, even as the very voice of this Other was silenced in consolidations of the imperial authority for modern nation-state building. This is a story about a creation myth which was included in the imperial myth of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* but always refused total assimilation by the latter. In its refusal of assimilation, this creation myth symbolized a form of authority outside and alternative to that of the imperial authority. Ōkuninushi as an alternative authority is enabled by the god's ability to claim the land and people as their creator based on a creation myth that remained external to the intention of the imperial claim for the land, even though it is precisely this externality that enabled the discursive construction of legitimation of that imperial claim.

The creation god Ōkuninushi then represents a divine power that competed with the imperial gods for the terms to define the communal order of Japan. The terms were none other than "the Way of the Gods," or Shinto. Indeed, the articulations of Ōkuninushi as a form of authority alternative to and *vis-à-vis* that of Amaterasu marked the transformation of a consciously formulated Shinto discourse in Tokugawa and Meiji Japan. A new way of telling the history of Shinto is thus opened up with the return of Ōkuninushi as its subject. It tells how the Izumo Shrine cashed in on the emerging discourse of Shinto to refigure its god as the Shinto god Ōkuninushi and promoted this Shinto god to nationwide popularity in response to contemporary political and social changes. It also tells how priests and scholars in the second half of the early modern period built upon the god's popularity in constructing Shinto into an authoritative form of knowledge for superseding competing knowledge of Buddhism, Confucianism, Western science, and Christianity, and how these articulations of Ōkuninushi as a divine authority were made at the expense of Amaterasu. The mutually constitutive divine authorities of Ōkuninushi and of Amaterasu formed a dynamic relationship central to the transformation of Shinto and this is a relationship deeply implicated in subsequent constructions of the modern nation-state. Making Ōkuninushi the subject of history then means re-centering the history of Shinto upon the untold story of Ōkuninushi and the Izumo gods through recovering this dynamic relationship.

By calling into question the subject position of Amaterasu for Shinto, the retrieved story of Ōkuninushi points to the indeterminate, contingent nature of the history of Shinto and highlights the fact that the idea of Shinto as the sui generis,

emperor-centered, national or ethnic (*minzoku*) tradition of Japan operates exactly to suppress that very contingency so as to secure a continuous historical narrative of an always-there national community of Japan. Realizing the contingent nature of the Shinto history opens up an investigation into how the emergence of Shinto as the "Learning of Our Land" (*kokugaku*), i.e., as a form of knowledge marked by its claim to indigeneity, or identifying that knowledge with a specific topographical space, transformed to the idea of the national-ethnic tradition of Japan. That is, between Nativist Shinto's claim to indigeneity and the modern notion of Shinto as the national tradition of Japan is both a political and historical distance that requires investigation. The creation of a Shinto discourse which self-identified as local and indigenous in early modern Japan needs to be explained not in terms of an internal necessity to transform the emperor into a political authority for defining the imminent modern nation, that is, as a proto-nationalism. But rather, Shinto is to be explained in terms of the historically formed imperative to construct a supreme cultural authority, by utilizing the divine power of Ōkuninushi, to overcome contemporary epistemological and social crises that resulted from the influx of Western religious and scientific knowledge, and intensified by Western, in particular Russian, colonial expansions in the Far East. The self-consciously articulated indigeneity was none other than the mode of discursive formation that constitutes Shinto into an authentic form of knowledge. By deriving authority from a specific identification of knowledge with space, Shinto theorists believed this knowledge would be able to overcome global expansions of Western colonization.

The retrieved history of Shinto focusing on Ōkuninushi then provides a historical perspective beyond the delimited space of the Japanese archipelago to tell an alternative, nation-transcending history of the genesis of modern Japan. By highlighting the erased history of the Other Shinto, a history of Ōkuninushi's contestations with Amaterasu, this book demonstrates how rival constructions of Shinto in the nineteenth century constitute Japan's engagements with competing regimes of knowledge in transregional circulation as well as Western global colonial expansions. It reveals that the modern history of Shinto is not merely an internalist, national development but a response to early modern and modern global trends, in particular of the nineteenth century. As such, this book replaces introvert narrative models with a history of Shinto that is constitutive of Japan's increasing integration into early modern world history. This integration entered a new phase after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 when the modern discourse of religion started to shape a new conceptual plane for imagining community, society, and state, and the key feature of that conceptual grid is the need to construe and construct modern political authority on the basis of the mutually constituting categories of the secular and the religious. By retrieving the subjugation of Ōkuninushi as religion in Meiji nation-state building, this new history of Shinto shows how the notion of Shinto as the emperor-centered national and ethnic tradition of Japan was historically possible only when Shinto's global, heterogeneous, and contesting character represented by Ōkuninushi was domesticated into the institutional and conceptual structure of the nation-state.

# A New Subject of History

The compilation of two mytho-historical texts, *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, was the major discursive strategy in the project of state building of the eighth century. They were compiled by the imperial court to serve the ideological purpose of establishing the supremacy of the Yamato clan's ancestral or clan deity, Amaterasu, among a group of gods to which the various competing clans traced their ancestry, thereby establishing the legitimacy of the imperial court's rule of the archipelago.[3] The supremacy of Amaterasu was central for legitimating the authority of the Yamato clan as the Heavenly Sovereign, or Tenno, of the new state. Supremacy, however, is a relative notion as its construction is predicated on competing powers which it negates. To be supreme, in other words, requires a contrasting Other, a vanquished underdog that is included in order to be excluded. The god Ōkuninushi was mobilized in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as precisely that indispensable Other for constructing the divine supremacy of Amaterasu and the political legitimacy of the imperial court. It is through the power of Ōkuninushi that the authority of Amaterasu was articulated. In such a mechanism, the more powerful Ōkuninushi was, the more legitimacy Amaterasu and the imperial clan could derive from the former's submission.

Ōkuninushi, "the Great Lord of the Land," did not lack that power. He made the land, put under control the unruly spirits, and taught cures for diseases to enable human life. He was the leading figure in the pantheon associated with the land, identified in the texts as the "terrestrial gods" (*kunitsu-kami*). No other god was in a better position to renounce the right to rule the land to the "celestial gods" (*amatsu-kami*) and Amaterasu so that her grandson and descendants could lay claim to the land which they did not create. The story of Ōkuninushi, which consisted primarily of the two episodes of "land making" (*kuni zukuri*) and "land surrender" (*kuni yuzuri*), is among the most dramatic episodes of the Divine Ages narratives in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. The dramatic effect that resulted from the vivid descriptions of how Ōkuninushi solidified the land and how he fought with the generals sent down from heaven by Amaterasu until his surrender reinforces the ideological function of the episodes because it evidences both Ōkuninushi's power and his right to rule the land as its creator, the right which he renounced to Amaterasu.[4] In turning the creation god into an underdog, the supremacy of Amaterasu was created. That is, Ōkuninushi was the necessary discursive condition for the creation of Amaterasu and the Japanese emperors. In their mutual dependence Amaterasu and Ōkuninushi constitute a contrapuntal relationship that marks the Divine Ages narratives of the two texts.[5]

During the medieval period (1185–1600), *Nihon shoki*, as the first of the six official histories (*rikkokushi*) compiled by the imperial court from 720–901, continued to be read at the court and in elite literary circles while *Kojiki* soon lost its status and sank into oblivion, as using Chinese characters both to transcribe sounds and denote meanings in *Kojiki* rendered the text increasingly unintelligible. It is *Nihon shoki*, in particular the Divine Ages narratives in it, that served as the discursive basis for productions of thought and arts in medieval Japan.[6] Medieval reading of *Nihon shoki* was strongly influenced by Buddhism, the most predominant form of knowledge until

the end of the sixteenth century. Under the influence of such dominant ideas as the Buddha-as-essence vs. kami-as-traces (*honji suijaku*), the varied mythical narrative strands in *Nihon shoki,* which themselves do not cohere into any single theme or emplotment structure, were creatively interpreted and developed in ways radically different from the original political intention of the eighth-century imperial court, leading to the growth of a large body of commentary literature that scholars today call collectively *chūsei Nihongi* or "medieval *Nihon shoki*."[7] Among these new developments were reinterpretations of the episodes of Ōkuninushi and his relationship with Amaterasu.

A particular creative reinterpretation of Ōkuninushi was developed by the courtier scholar, Ichijō Kaneyoshi (1402–81). Ichijō attempted to unify the various forms of knowledge of his time: Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto (or more precisely kami worship), and he did so by annotating the Divine Ages narratives of *Nihon shoki*.[8] With this goal in mind rather than that of erecting the supremacy of the imperial genealogy, Ichijō in his commentary, *Nihon shoki sanso*, singled out two terms in the narrative, the visible realm (*kenrokoto*) and the invisible realm (*kamigoto*), and paired them together to reinforce the effect of his theory of three-teaching-as-one. In *Nihon shoki*, Ōkuninushi retreated to the mysterious invisible realm (*kamigoto*) after surrendering the land to Amaterasu. The location or nature of this realm was never specified in *Nihon shoki* and actually this term never appeared again. The narrative function of the term was to make Ōkuninushi disappear from the scene so as to make room for the imperial genealogy as the ruler of the land, the visible realm (*kenrokoto*). The producers of *Nihon shoki* did not care where Ōkuninushi ended up settling as long as he was made to go and in the visible realm he was stabilized in the Izumo Shrine.

Ichijō's exegesis, however, accorded the twin terms cosmological significance by reinterpreting them to resemble the Daoist yin and yang and the two worlds of earthly life and life after death. Furthermore, Ichijō read the Buddhist notion of hell (*meifu* 冥府) into the pair resulting in the elevation of the invisible realm to a level equal or comparable to the visible world ruled by the emperor. Ichijō specifies the pair categories in his exegesis work, "When humans do evil beneath the light of the sun, they will be punished by the emperor. When they do evil in the dark (*yūmei*), they will be punished by the gods. *Kamigoto* is none other than the invisible court for the dead (*meifu*)."[9] It was contemporary popular knowledge that at the court of *meifu*, departed human souls receive judgment from king *enma*.[10] Ichijō's formulation of the distinction of the visible world and the invisible world with the latter as a court of judgment accorded the invisible world a semantic significance previously unknown in *Nihon shoki* because now the god Ōkuninushi who went to rule this "invisible world" (*kamigoto* or *yūji*) could be identified with king *enma* of the court of the dead (*meifu*) as a god of judgment. That is, even though Ichijō was not interested in defining who Ōkuninushi was, his definition created the condition for possible subsequent articulation of Ōkuninushi as a new type of authority. As it happened, Ichijō's definition would indeed become central for Shinto theorists and Nativist scholars, especially Hirata Atsutane, in their constructions of Shinto into a supreme knowledge centering on the god Ōkuninushi.

The contention for national hegemony by warriors of the sixteenth century, a period known as that of the Warring States (*Sengoku jidai*), cost Buddhism its political primacy. Gone was also its confirmed status as the dominant form of knowledge that heretofore informed much of social life. In the wake of the Buddhist decline, Shinto emerged for the first time in Japanese history as a discourse consciously self-identified as such, accompanied by formulations of new ways of reading *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* as they were elevated to authoritative status for exegesis projects. The emergence of Shinto took form as three Shinto schools: Yoshida Shinto, Principle-Mind Shinto (*Ritōshinchi Shinto*), and Suika Shinto in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which took on an increasingly anti-Buddhist tone in self-articulation. Indeed, Shinto emerged as a new mode of knowledge through a contrast with the negated teaching of the Buddha. In the context of political turmoil, Buddhist decline, and the emergence of Shinto, the kami Ōkuninushi rose from the Izumo Shrine to become the first divine being identified specifically as a Shinto kami disassociated from and in contrast to the Buddhist divinity. According to *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the Izumo Shrine was built by Amaterasu in exchange for Ōkuninushi's surrender of the land. But during the medieval period, it functioned as a ritual institution enshrining a deity which combined both Buddhist and Shinto divine powers. This changed in the 1660s when the Izumo Shrine became the first shrine ever to explicitly claim itself as a Shinto shrine by stripping off all elements identified as Buddhist and by transforming the deity it enshrined from the Buddhist-associated Susanoo to the unambiguous Shinto god Ōkuninushi.

Chapter 1, "Resurrecting the Great Lord of the Land 1653–1667, " recounts this remarkable paradigmatic transformation at the Izumo Shrine. The rise of Ōkuninushi as a Shinto god at the Izumo Shrine directly resulted from the shrine's adoption of above-mentioned new Shinto discourses in order to convince the domain and Tokugawa Shogun political authorities of the need to fund the shrine's costly rebuilding. Securing 500,000 *ryō* of silver from the bakufu, the shrine in 1665–1667 rebuilt the shrine complex including the main sanctuary with all motifs and objects identified as Buddhist carefully removed. After this much-publicized process of "purification," the Izumo Shrine started to claim a new form of authority by announcing itself as the embodiment of the One-and-Only Shinto (*Yuiitsu Shintō*), that is, the most authentic form of Shinto. The source of this authority derived from the resurrected Ōkuninushi, the authority of which in turn came from the god's own feats of making the land and nurturing human life, feats "recorded" in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, rather than coming from the god being a manifestation of the power of Buddha or a Bodhisattva. The resurrection of Ōkuninushi at the Izumo Shrine then signified the emergence of a major ritual institution successfully integrating itself with the emerging theory of Shinto by self-transforming into a Shinto shrine. Resulting from this transformation was a contrapuntal form of authority in competition with Amaterasu. Indeed, the Izumo Shrine did not forget to appeal to its newly discovered Shinto "purity" in front of the bakufu officials by contrasting itself with the Ise Shrine where the enshrined deity Amaterasu was still imagined to be the local expression of the Buddhist divinity Mahavairocara.

It is not just Ōkuninushi's emergence in elitist discursive production that marks the god as a new subject of Shinto. Equally important is an anchoring role the god

was made to play for the daily lives of the general populace in early modern Japan. Chapter 2 uncovers this role by tracing the process of the Izumo Shrine's popular preaching which resulted in the rise of Ōkuninushi to nationwide popularity as a Shinto god of creation, blessing, and good fortune. The shrine's dramatic loss of economic and administrative power led to the shift in the shrine's fiscal management from dependence on land-based resources to relying on popular preaching which in turn gave rise to the development of a series of preaching strategies. These strategies connected folk ideas and beliefs to the newly resurrected Izumo god Ōkuninushi and reshaped the stories of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* to form a doctrinal discourse that linked the entire archipelago to the creation and fortune god Ōkuninushi. The key linkage in this discourse was the popular idea of *kannazuki* 神無月 or the "Month without the Gods," meaning that there are no gods in the tenth month because they all go to the Izumo province. According to the Izumo priests and preachers, in this month all the gods meet at the Izumo Shrine for a grand divine assembly in which the gods work with Ōkuninushi to make knot-tying (*en-musubi* 縁結び) decisions for all people up for marriage. This divine feat was of paramount importance because it helped secure the succession of the household (*ie*), the most important concern for people of early modern Japan. The "Month without the Gods" then constitutes a matrix in structuring the time, culminating in the tenth month, and space, centering on Izumo rather than the imperial court in Kyoto, of the archipelago wherein its past, present, and future all hinge upon the divine power of Ōkuninushi, the Great Lord of the Land, rather than Amaterasu.

The accessibility of the protective and fortune-bringing power of Ōkuninushi was further reinforced by Izumo priests' deliberate conflation, in their preaching, of representations of Ōkuninushi with that of the deity Daikoku, one of the Seven Fortune Gods (*shichi fuku jin*) who became widely popular in the early modern period for their divine power in securing business prosperity and agricultural harvest. By the early nineteenth century active theological construction and nationwide preaching had successfully promoted Ōkuninushi to be a nationally known god who took care of the daily needs of people in all walks of life across the Japanese archipelago. The nationwide popularization of Ōkuninushi as the god of creation, blessing, and good fortune not only brought economic benefit to the Izumo Shrine but at the same time consolidated a form of cultural authority capable of displacing that of Amaterasu.

## Ōkuninushi, Shinto, and World History

The nationwide popularity of Ōkuninushi created the cultural condition for the possibility of his elevation to be a key figure in the Nativist Shinto discourse in the second half of the early modern period. It's no exaggeration to say that the emergence of kokugaku 国学, literally "The Learning of Our Land," or Nativism, was the major event marking this pivotal period in Japanese history. The largest intellectual project in mobilizing the agency of the kami and the category of Shinto to organize a form of knowledge in early modern Japan, kokugaku, has been a subject of study since the Meiji period. As Susan Burns has shown, the objectification of kokugaku in the Meiji

period was energized by the goals of Meiji intellectual-ideologues to quarantine the heterogeneous and competing voices that made up early modern kokugaku so as to "discover" the pre-modern origins of the modern national identity, which not incidentally centered on the imperial institution.[11] The imperative to identify kokugaku with the emperor-centered nationalism gave rise to historical narratives of "Restoration Shinto" (*fukko Shinto*) in which kokugaku, in advocating the revival of a reputedly lost Way of the Gods or Shinto, was thought to have provided the main ideological force for the epochal event of the Meiji Restoration.[12] This reading was maintained by postwar scholars, albeit negatively. Here, Nativist Shinto was equated to a religious nationalism that progressed to its culmination in the restoration of the emperor as a sanctified modern monarchy and the creation of the authoritarian "emperor system" state.[13]

Recent critiques of this classical approach to Nativism that reduces the Nativist discourse to the emperor-centered nationalism and its ideological function downplayed or simply avoided the imperial institution.[14] While releasing kokugaku from the teleological reading of nationalism, in their removal of the imperial institution from analysis these studies chose to ignore the actual prominence it occupied in the Nativist discourse of Motoori and Hirata. They ignored the questions of how and why the politically enervated imperial institution of the early modern period became a key concern for these Nativists and how it was made to constitute the "Learning of Our Land" of Japan, that is, as a native or indigenous form of knowledge. The claim to indigeneity, which I differentiate as a discursive style from proto-nationalism as an ideology, was vital for the Nativist mode of knowledge construction because for them indigeneity engenders authority. Indeed, looking at the notion of indigeneity opens up a new perspective for reinvestigating kokugaku.

First and foremost, the imperial institution took on an importance not as a self-coherent subject, as the reading of Nativism-as-nationalism assumed, but a constitutive component of Shinto as an indigenous form of knowledge. At a more fundamental level, it is not the imperial institution but the kami that made possible the indigeneity claim of this knowledge. It was the kami, a type of identity that was articulated in close association with the land of Japan, that served as the fundamental and operative category for Nativists' discourse of the land, and it was "the Way of the Kami" or "*kami no michi*," more than "kokugaku," that was the term used by Motoori and Hirata to describe and define their life-long projects. Indeed, kami constitutes a central dynamic of the Nativist discourse heretofore largely ignored: it is in their hands that the kami emerged to be an autonomous principle in structuring a new, independent form of knowledge about nature, history, society, and most importantly the human individual, a knowledge that was supposed to be able to supersede all competing knowledge including Western religion and science. As such, Shinto, "the Way of the Kami," points to a particular mode of discursive production rather than to a proto-nationalist ideology. It certainly did not foretell the necessary creation of the divine imperial authority for modern Japan. For both Motori and Hirata, the imperial institution derived its authority from being a constitutive component of this kami-centering Shinto knowledge rather than from itself.

Shinto as a form of knowledge marked by its indigeneity, as claimed by Nativists, betrays exactly the global character of Shinto because it reflected, responded to, and

in turn constituted intellectual and political trends of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that flew across regional boundaries. Nativist Shinto was possible precisely because of its self-identification, through the category of the kami, with the space of the Japanese archipelago. This identification then generated its contrast with knowledge the Nativists could describe as foreign and alien. The claim of indigeneity enabled kokugaku scholars to interact with and domesticate forms of knowledge considered threatening epistemologically and culturally. That is, indigeneity provided the necessary mode of articulation in distinguishing Shinto from other forms of knowledge, from which it actually adopted structural and thematic features for its own construction, while simultaneously subjecting them to fierce attack. In other words, transregional flows of knowledge between Japan, China, and Europe and colonial expansion in Northeast Asia by both European countries and Russia provided the contexts and generated the imperatives for Nativists to formulate Shinto as an indigenous knowledge so that alien forms of knowledge could be superseded. In representing a process of engagement with the global flow of knowledge, a process engendering subsequently lasting political implications, Nativist Shinto symbolized a critical moment in the incorporation of Japan into world history in the nineteenth century.

To further appreciate the global character of Nativist Shinto, it is useful to ask what constitutes the early modern period. Historian of China Evelyn S. Rawski in a recent work on Qing China criticizes studies of the early modern period that want "simply to get aboard a (historical) train bound for modernity," and instead specifies the early modern as a period of broad and deep economic, political, cultural, and epistemological transformations: expansions of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Qing multi-ethnic "universal empires," the development of a single world economic system, and the shifts in "concepts of man's ability to know and ultimately to control the world" stimulated by economic and technological developments.[15] It is necessary to consider Tokugawa Japan in the context of these broader historical transformations. As will be shown, the expansion of what Rawski called the "universal empire" of Russia in the Far East generated profound cultural implications for many alerted intellectuals in Japan. But historians have not looked into these implications. They stopped at identifying the Russian advancement's impact on Japan around the turn of the nineteenth century in political terms, i.e., in terms of the bakufu government's responses.[16] For the Nativist Hirata Atsutane and the Confucian Aizawa Seishisai whom we will examine in Chapter 4, however, the Russians posed a deep ideological threat to Japan. In response to this threat, Hirata Atsutane creatively reconfigured the Shinto discourse in constructing a fearless human subject, which he thought would be able to meet the challenge of a possible Russian invasion. It is for constructing this strong human subject that the Izumo god Ōkuninushi was elevated to the apex of the Shinto pantheon. By thus identifying how nineteenth-century transregional cultural dynamics unfolded in connection with Japan, we can see how and why Shinto cannot be understood teleologically as the emergence of Amaterasu and the imperial house but as the response to contemporary global trends.

In Chapter 3, I trace how, in this world-historical context, the Nativists, and in particular Hirata Atsutane, reconstructed the Shinto discourse to overcome the deepening epistemological and social crisis intensified by new knowledge of Western

astronomical science and Christianity, and by Russian colonial expansion from the North. It is in the Nativist project of Shinto that the kami was raised to a self-independent category for structuring a local form of knowledge and it is here that the global character of Shinto manifested most clearly. In Hirata's mobilization of the agency of the kami as the epistemological principle of a new form of knowledge, the question was how to establish a new human subject position by engaging the questions of death and the afterlife, posed by Christianity, within the parameters set by astronomical knowledge of the earth, sun, and moon as separate yet related spherical entities, and by the Divine Ages narrative structures of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. Among other radical reformulations, this resulted in Hirata's elevation of Ōkuninushi, building on the god's enormous popularity, to the Shinto god of creation, blessing, and judgment, while Amaterasu, conflated with the sun, was externalized from the earth, the ontological center of the newly sanctified order of things. The conviction in the power of Ōkuninushi as the central pillar grounding this Shinto order constituted for Hirata the very true pillar that qualified and upheld a soul as a true Japanese (*Yamato gokoro*); a soul convinced of Shinto as the origin of all knowledge and of the superiority of Japan as the origin of this original knowledge. Here the indigeneity of Shinto, i.e., its identification with the space of Japan, was foregrounded as the securing ground for the claim to authenticity and truthfulness of the Shinto knowledge.

Hirata's disciples and the Izumo priests were quick to disseminate this new Shinto theory across the country. By the 1850s and 1860s, the popular fortune god Ōkuninushi became elevated to the unparalleled status of the Great Lord of the Land that was expected by many to shoulder a country sunken in deepening national crisis. On the other hand, the sense of threat felt by the Mito Confucian Aizawa Seishisai prompted his formulation of an ideological strategy that utilized the agency of the kami in particular Amaterasu, a strategy proposal gaining wide circulation in the same period. The two Shinto gods, Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu, hence entered into a dynamic relationship in late Tokugawa responses to social and national crisis. When Shinto was adopted as the state ideology in the early Meiji period, this relationship and the management of it became a key ideological issue for modern nation-state building.

## Shinto, Religion, and the Secular State

The Meiji Restoration gave rise to a polity that based its claim to legitimacy on the divine authority of the emperor. At the same time, the Meiji polity was confronted with the task of transforming the disparate population into a modern community of integrity and unity, an imperative Benedict Anderson called "official nationalism."[17] This official nationalism manifested in the adoption of the Shinto discourse by the Meiji government for implementing a popular propagation program in creation of a Shinto nation unified under the divine authority of the kami and the emperor.[18] The Meiji government set off the largest state project ever of converting Japan. However, Shinto soon proved to be a potent symbol and discourse difficult to put under control. Contestations in defining the meaning of Shinto invigorated political struggles central for Meiji state building.[19] The "shin" or the kami in the term "Shinto" refers to a

collective existence, a pantheon of which Amaterasu and her divine descendants were a part. It is this collective existence of the kami that the Meiji state tried to mobilize for building a unified nation because it is the kami rather than the imperial institution that provided indispensable discursive and institutional links tying the daily lives of the populace, marked by shrines of all sizes across the country where all kinds of kami were enshrined, to the imperial institution and the new state. That is, it is through the kami that the Meiji government hoped to reshape the archipelago into a national community.[20] The kami, on the other hand, was a collectivity of multiplicity lacking any organizing principle.

If the necessity of resorting to the divine emperor for political legitimacy was recognized by the government, however, it was not clear at all how to deploy the emperor institutionally and doctrinally to constitute that legitimacy. The nationalization of Shinto shrines and the priesthood in 1871 that was expected to project the imperial authority through ritual performance and propagation across the land assumed the supreme status of Amaterasu, but on the ground the shrines throughout the country, like the kami they enshrined, were a messy, unrelated multiplicity that recognized no single structure or leadership. Amidst this multiplicity, the Izumo Shrine soon called into question this assumption by claiming for Ōkuninushi a status of centrality in this shrine system because, it argued, as the lord of the Shinto pantheon Ōkuninushi was as indispensable as Amaterasu. It took nearly twenty years for the Meiji government to rein in the ideological challenge of Ōkuninushi and put under control the heterogeneous and centrifugal forces of the kami. Focusing on the contestations between Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu in Meiji Japan, Chapters 4 and 5 retrace how "Shinto" – priests, shrines, the Shinto discourse, and confraternities – provided the ready-made ideological framework for nation-building and for establishing legitimacy of the early Meiji state, how an ideological challenge however soon emerged from "Shinto", and how the Meiji state mobilized the category of religion in domesticating this Shinto challenge for transforming the imperial institution into a modern form of political authority.[21]

Chapter 4, "Converting Japan, 1825–1875" examines how a tension between Amaterasu and Ōkuninushi unfolded from the final four decades of the Tokugawa period (1600–1867) through the first eight years of the Meiji period (1868–1911). Just when the Nativist Hirata Atsutane devoted himself to mobilizing the agency of the kami especially Ōkuninushi for consolidating a valorous human subject capable of resisting Russian invasion and saving Japan from national crisis, the Confucian scholar Aizawa Seishisai of the Mito domain devised a social reconstruction plan that similarly foregrounded the need to transform the inner dimension of the people to hold back the threatening spread of Christianity. In contrast to Hirata, however, Aizawa's plan centered on Amaterasu as the embodiment of loyalty and filial piety, two moral values considered by him as key for strengthening and unifying the "hearts of the people" (*minshin*). When in the 1850s and 1860s leaders of several domains adopted both Shinto theories to institute social reforms, "Shinto" started to change from a form of learning (*gaku*), i.e., as an ancient, authentic, but eclipsed form of knowledge, to a doctrine (*kyō*) that informed social reconstruction programs.

The early Meiji leadership rode on the ideological momentum of Shinto-informed social reforms and announced the restored imperial polity as based on the doctrinal

teaching given by the kami, represented with the epithet "Unity of Ritual, Rule and Doctrine" (*saiseikyō itchi*). The revived Department of Divinity initiated a propagation program to unify the disparate population under the divine authority of the kami and the emperor and to combat the ideological threat of Christianity. However, from the beginning the Department suffered an internal disagreement between two factions on which kami, Ōkuninushi, or Amaterasu, should be made to lead the Shinto pantheon. Fighting between the gods exposed the heterogeneous nature of the agency of the kami, which complicated the ambitious goal of the government of grounding the new polity upon that divine agency while reshaping the archipelago with that agency. This debilitating internecine competition catalyzed a realization on the part of the Meiji leadership that deploying a propagation program in the name of the kami to resist Christianity relativized the very authority of the emperor because this policy placed the imperial authority as a kami in conversionary competition with the Christian God. If God was not to be trusted and believed, why should the kami? In 1872, the Meiji leadership separated the office managing the propagation project from the office administering rituals in expectation that the Shinto doctrine for the project would be separated from and would not impact on the status of the imperial institution which manifested through state-prescribed rituals. The problem of the kami, however, did not go away.

The Buddhists were dissatisfied with the ostensibly joint but in actuality a Shinto propagation project. They deployed the thesis of religion-state separation they learned in Europe to call into question the state-supported Shinto propagation project which, they argued, amounted to a misguided attempt to create a Shinto religion, whereas Shinto was in actuality the state itself because Shinto essentially was a set of liturgical performances directed toward the imperial ancestors, especially Amaterasu. Buddhists' intervention introduced the modern idea of religion and changed the rules of the game. The Meiji government announced in 1875 that the propagation project was a religious one and withdrew itself from direct management of it in an attempt to retain the Buddhists. This change however generated a space of contestation for Izumo and Ise as it created new questions that rendered Shinto an ambiguity between the religious and the political: if the propagation project was religious that was to be separated from the state, was the kami whose teaching was supposed to be propagated to the populace, and by extension the emperor and the state, also religious? Indeed, what was religion?[22]

This ambiguity gave rise to the need to define the gods, Shinto, and their relationship with the state. As such it provided the context for contestations between the Izumo Shrine and the Ise Shrine. The withdrawal of the government from the propagation project meant doctrinal instructors, now defined as religious people, had to conduct the propagation program themselves which however was still defined as an administrative i.e., political project. Shinto priests organized their preaching Office of Shinto Affairs (*Shinto jimukyoku*) but this supposedly independent office maintained an ambiguous relationship with the government. This ambiguity arose from the conflict between defining Shinto doctrinal instructors as religious people like Buddhists on the one hand, and the Meiji state's continued reliance on Shinto not only for political legitimacy, as the emperor was a kami, but also for turning the populace

into a nation unified under the emperor, on the other. In this ambiguous context, the Izumo and Ise Shrines competed with each other for leadership of the Office by expanding their confraternities and consolidating doctrines of their respective deities, Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu. Chapter 5, "Competing Ways of the Gods, 1872–1889," traces out this competition and its outcome. Contending from 1875 that Ōkuninushi as the god of creation and lord of the Shinto divinity should be enshrined together with the three creation gods and Amaterasu at the apex of the Shinto pantheon, the Izumo head priest Senge Takatomi mobilized the majority of the priesthood in direct confrontation with Tanaka Yoritsune, the unrelenting head priest of the Ise Shrine who responded by arguing that Ōkuninushi posed an ideological challenge to the imperial house. As the contestations escalated to an enshrinement debate (*saijin ronsō*) in late 1880 that involved the entire Shinto priesthood, it became clear that a political solution was required to end the debate, that is, to domesticate the ideological challenge waged by Ōkuninushi against the authority of Amaterasu. That required figuring out how to arrange the state-building components of popular propagation, Shinto, religion, and the authority of the emperor.

The change in conceptions of religion from a doctrinal teaching (*kyō* 教) in the early 1870s to a private belief in creeds of death and the afterlife (*shūkyō* 宗教) in the early 1880s enabled the Meiji government to transform Shinto from an intellectual discourse to a category of political praxis by crafting a discursive distinction, between Shinto as religion and Shinto as public ritual, which worked to shield the imperial authority from, and raise it above, the vexing "religious" doctrinal competition. This distinction marked the critical step in the Meiji state's mobilization of definition of religion as private, individual belief to institute an epistemic and political boundary to reconfigure the divine authority of the imperial institution into a public, political one in contrast to the private belief of the Izumo god Ōkuninushi. When the government re-categorized the claims of Ōkuninushi as Sect Shinto, i.e., as private religious belief, which was then distinguished from the nationalized shrine ritual system directed to Amaterasu, it not only domesticated the heterogeneous claims made by Ōkuninushi but also in effect transformed the divine imperial genealogy into a public, political authority which it subsequently appropriated for converting itself into a centralized modern nation-state.

The eventual exclusion of Ōkuninushi, "the Great Lord of the Land," from the newly constituted imperial pantheon in 1884 signified this bifurcating transformation of Shinto which went hand in hand with the transmogrification of propagation, the central project of early Meiji nation-state building, from doctrinal preaching to public education on the one hand, and technical differentiation of "religious" doctrine from "non-religious" ritual on the other. The distinctions between private religion, the public state, public education, and morality prepared the discursive grounds for the production of the Imperial Constitution of 1889 which proclaimed the modern state as based on the divine imperial institution while at the same time creating the individual citizen-subject through guaranteeing them private freedom of religious belief on the condition that they follow public morality by participating in "non-religious" Shinto rituals. Told from the perspective of the defeated god Ōkuninushi, modern Shinto emerged out of a historical process of contestations, compromise, division,

and cooption where institutionalization of the modern idea of religion was key to the constructions of the political authority of the modern Japanese state. As such, the modern Japanese state should not be understood as a peculiar case in which an irrational and religious form of divine authority was mobilized to justify an authoritarian modern state; rather, the formation of the ambivalent political authority in Meiji Japan was a process galvanized by the imperative to devise and institute the mutually constituting categories of the religious and the secular, in order to construct the formally secular, public, political authority of the modern nation-state.

In the Conclusion, I shift our attention from the nineteenth century to the twentieth. I retrace the post-Meiji history of the Ōkuninushi-centered Izumo kami pantheon to explore how this Izumo history marks a major tension in modern Japanese history, the tension between empire and nation, to which scholars have paid little attention. I closely examine first how the Izumo kami were mobilized to construct Japan as a multi-ethnic empire in the 1910s and then to construct an alternative vision of the Japanese ethnic nation in the postwar period to supersede pre-1945 history of empire and war. In the first case, the Izumo kami were made to serve to justify Japan's colonization of Korea when their origin was traced to the Korean Peninsula resulting in an argument for the annexation of Korea as a family reunion. In the second, the Izumo kami were reinterpreted as an origin of the Japanese nation alternative to the imperial house. This reinterpretation was part of postwar political struggles in preventing the return of Japan to the emperor-centered authoritarian state. Posed as the subject of an equally essentialized Japanese nation, however, the reconstructed Izumo pantheon functioned to restrict postwar political imagination within a mono-ethnic, island vision that eventually discouraged reflections on the prewar empire history. Then, in the new twenty-first-century contexts of the "lost two decades" and rise of China, the Izumo kami appear to have been assimilated into another wave of re-articulations of Shinto that reaffirms the ethnic identity of a nation seeing itself in decline rather than opening the nation up for engagement with the wider world to which the Izumo kami have so many times been connected.

1

# Resurrecting the Great Lord of the Land, 1653–1667

In the summer of 1653, Kurosawa Sekisai (1612–78), the Neo-Confucian scholar of the Matsue Domain in Western Japan and a disciple of the bakufu-hired Confucian-Shinto synthesizer Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), accompanied the domain lord's son on a tour of the domain that included a visit to the Izumo Shrine in the sixth month. For the Confucian-official Kurosawa, this tour was not for leisure but a chance to survey the land and the people for the purpose of governance. This was particularly important for the domain since its lord, Matsudaira Naomasa (1601–66), had moved in only fifteen years earlier (in 1638) and was in the midst of consolidating his rule in the wake of a century-long civil war that had devastated the whole country. In a real sense, the purpose of the trip was less about recording geography and customs than remapping the domain to correspond to the Neo-Confucian-Shinto ideology adopted by the domain lord. Such an active remapping procedure culminated in Kurosawa's subsequent publication of a two-volume gazetteer *Kaikitsudan*: the first volume in 1653 and the second in 1661. Making their way into the pages of the gazetteer were predominantly what Kurosawa identified as Shinto shrines, while only a few of the numerous Buddhist temples in the domain were included. This distinction between Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, and Kurosawa's preference for the latter, gave rise to his dissatisfaction when he visited the Izumo Shrine, known as Kitsuki Taisha at the time.

According to the gazetteer, the Izumo Shrine was a big disappointment to Kurosawa as it fell short of what Kurosawa expected of a prominent Shinto shrine that traced its origin to the age of the gods (The Divine Ages).

> The shrine complex of Kitsuki was filled with Buddha's images and sutras; in the main hall there were several mirror-like objects of worship which however are decorated with Buddhist statues. Buddhist banners are flown in the four corners of the shrine and it's difficult to tell the shrine from Buddhist buildings: in the west, you find a hall housing a rotating sutra shelf, a three-story pagoda, and a hall for the Dainichi Buddha (Mahavairocana). Upon examining the bell in the bell tower, I found on it is inscribed, 'from certain temple in Hōki province in the sixth year of the Jōwa era [839].'
>
> This [historical origin of the bell] means in ancient times there were no bells [i.e., no Buddhism].[1] (Figure 1)
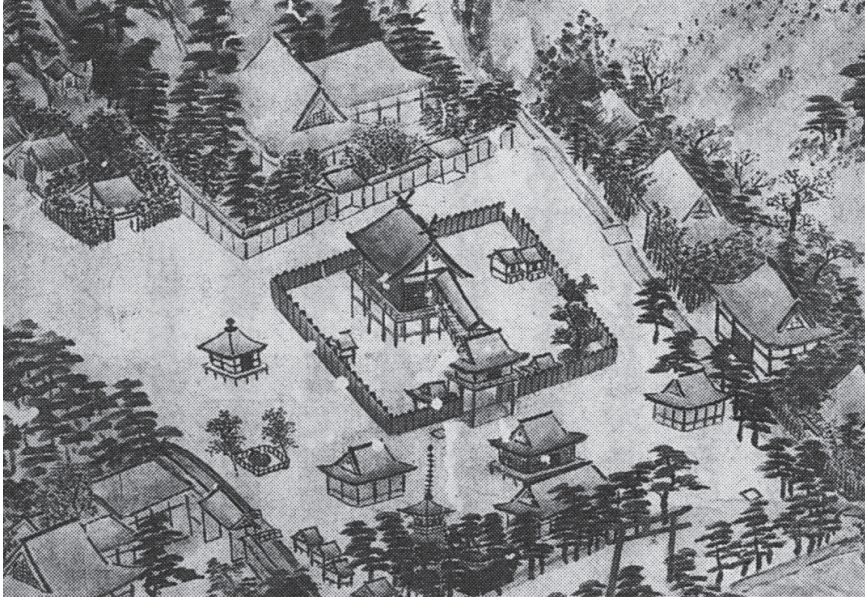
**Figure 1** *Kitsuki Taisha kingō ezu* 杵築大社近郷絵図, seventeenth century. Courtesy Kitajima Tatetaka

Disappointed, Kurosawa questioned a shrine priest about when the shrine became mixed with Buddhist elements. The priest responded that it was the former lord Amago Tsunehisa who allied with the Buddhist priests of a nearby temple, and forced the establishment of these Buddhist buildings and ritual implements: "it is not that we don't know the irreconcilable difference between the gods (*kami*) and the Buddha, but we were in no position to oppose lord Amago."[2]

This interaction between Kurosawa the domain official and a senior priest of the Izumo Shrine marked the beginning of a process that led to the subsequent radical transformation of the shrine. By the 1670s, the Izumo Shrine had changed from a Buddhist-informed ritual institution to a self-identified Shinto shrine after carefully reconfiguring the god enshrined, the main sanctuary, and the lineage of the head priest. In 1667, with generous financial support from the bakufu and the domain, it successfully rebuilt the shrine complex, with all motifs and objects identified as Buddhist carefully removed. At the center of this transformation is the god of the Izumo Shrine who remarkably transmogrified from Susanoo, a god defined as the local manifestation of the Buddha, to Ōkuninushi, a prominent Shinto god of creation and protection. The title of the head priest, *kokusō,* was similarly altered from that of a vestigial provincial administrative post to that of a family genealogy tracing its status and legitimacy to its origin in the distant Divine Ages. It was in the Divine Ages that his ancestor, the god Amenohohi, was appointed by Amaterasu to serve Ōkuninushi as the head priest of the Izumo Shrine, a shrine unparalleled in height and built by the goddess in exchange for Ōkuninushi's surrendering the rule of the land to her

descendants, the Heavenly Sovereign (*tennō*) or the Japanese emperor, as they came to be known. "Purified" architecturally, ritually, and discursively, the Izumo Shrine now started to claim a new form of authority by announcing itself as the first shrine in the land to cleanse itself of the amalgamation practice of mixing the kami with the Buddhas, thereby becoming the embodiment of the One-and-Only Shinto (*Yuiitsu Shintō*), the most authentic and efficacious form of Shinto retrieved from early, authentic texts of the eighth and ninth centuries.

This chapter recounts the remarkable paradigmatic transformation of the Izumo Shrine between 1653 and 1667 which brought about the resurrection of Ōkuninushi as a prominent Shinto god. It traces this paradigm shift within the larger context of intellectual and political developments from the fifteenth century onward, exploring the nature and significance of the emergence of a discourse on the gods (or kami), or "Shinto," as a new mode of authority formation which relativized Buddhism, the previously dominant mode of knowledge. I will then discuss the emergence of Shinto together with an introduction of the major components of the Izumo Shrine as a ritual institution, including the two head priest houses locked in competition with each other. Shinto as a new mode of knowledge, articulated *vis-à-vis* the negated teachings of the Buddha, was made possible by a new way of reading early texts now being accorded absolute truth-value. Rather than being read as part of Buddhist doctrines, the texts started to be read on their own terms, albeit in close association with the Neo-Confucian paradigm.

The emergence of these early texts to the authoritative status as authentic texts of Shinto or the teaching of the gods, generated the textual condition for the rise of Ōkuninushi, the god who figured prominently in the most important of these texts, *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Articulations of the authority of Shinto at the Izumo Shrine derived from the narratives of the two texts portraying the power and accomplishments of the god Ōkuninushi, a power at variance with that of Amaterasu.[3] The rise of Ōkuninushi at the Izumo Shrine as a Shinto god then took place in terms of the god's relationship with Amaterasu and her descendants, the emperors. In other words, the significance of the restoration of Ōkuninushi, or "the Great Lord of the Land," at the Izumo Shrine lies in the emergence of an institution capable of integrating itself with the emerging theory of Shinto in constituting a contrapuntal form of authority in potential contestation with that of the imperial institution.[4]

## "The Great Illuminating God"

Kurosawa's gazetteer did not simply problematize the architectural features of the Izumo Shrine. It actually called into question the whole paradigm within which the shrine had operated as a ritual institution throughout the medieval period (1185–1600). Both the power of the god enshrined there and the rituals with which this power was evoked were then challenged and were envisioned as false if not completely heterodox. This challenge came from the Confucian-Shinto scholar Kurosawa through a fundamental negation of Buddhism as a valid form of knowledge. The Izumo god

and the rituals serving the god, on the other hand, were deeply intertwined with themes and elements that Kurosawa perceived as nothing but Buddhist.

Two sources from the medieval period show how the Izumo god was defined with reference to Buddhist theories and mythologies. The first is a short tract composed by the shrine's head priest in 1336 very likely in response to a demand from a local warlord of the time for an explanation of the god enshrined at the Izumo Shrine, as the text emphasizes the military power of the god. It is partially quoted as follows:

> The Great Illuminating God (*daimyōjin*) enshrined at this shrine is Susanoo, the son of Izanagi and Izanami, the younger brother of Amaterasu, and the god of All under Heaven (*tenka*). Waving ten swords in a bundle, he slated the eight-headed snake; releasing ringing arrows, he shot the fierce bandits. Peace in the land was thus ushered in. He built a high shrine to protect the Four Seas; he also uses it to hide himself in the Floating Mountain (*furō-san*). So the shrine is called the Great Kitsuki [literally, "to build with a pounder"] Shrine … Seeking blessing from the original essence (*honji*), wise kings revere this god devotedly; depending on the divine traces (*suijaku*) for protection, warriors respect this shrine above all others.[5]

The second source is a document written in about 1570 by the Gakuenji Temple, a few miles from the Izumo Shrine.

> This temple [Gakuen-ji] was constructed by Susanoo when he stopped a floating land that broke off from the southeast corner of Gridhra-kuta Hill [a mountain in India where Buddha preached the Lotus Sutra for the first time]. It is then known as Floating Mountain [*furō-san*]. He built a shrine at its foot to nurture life and made it the place for all gods to descend to; he built a shrine on the top to accommodate the original essence of divinity and marked off a realm for the Buddha to manifest in all forms … As such, Kitsuki and Gakuen are but one; the Way of the Buddha and the Way of the Gods never alienate from one other.[6]

These two texts, when read together, reveal a set of relations that articulated divine power and identities. At the basic level was the idea of *honji suijaku*, or Buddha-as-essence vs. kami-as-traces. Appearing as early as the ninth century and also used by scholars as an analytical category to recapitulate religious landscapes of medieval Japan, the twin idea of essence and trace refers to the Buddhist divinity (the essence), in unbounded compassion, manifesting itself provisionally in the form of local gods or kami (the traces) to save sentient beings.[7] It is through this mutually constitutive relationship that the efficacy of both Buddhist divinities (Buddhas and Bodhisattvas) and local gods was imagined and the ways in which to evoke their power formulated. However, this relationship is unambiguously a hierarchical one; whatever power the gods could possess was fundamentally that of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva. Institutionally, this unequal yet interdependent relationship translates into pairing Buddhist temples with Shinto shrines, with Buddhist priests participating in rituals and even the management of shrines. Many temples established shrines to house invited kami as tutelary gods; shrines on the other hand identified and named certain Buddhas or Bodhisattva as the essence of their gods and explained their own origins in terms of Buddhist teachings and mythologies.[8]

The above-quoted texts show that three specific discursive strategies were used to articulate the essence-trace relationship in the case of the Izumo Shrine and Gakuenji Temple. First, both the shrine and the temple were located on the Floating Mountain, which originated from the original site of the Buddha's Dharma expounding. That this piece of original land came all the way from India accentuates metaphorically the power of the Buddha's will to save all the humans living on the Japanese archipelago. Second, it was Susanoo, a prominent kami in local mythologies (as the brother of Amaterasu), who erected the Floating Mountain so that the will of the Buddha could be realized. The double fact that Susanoo was a god of world pacification and, at the same time, his power supported the promulgation of the teaching of the Buddha was accentuated. The world-pacification mythology of Susanoo in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, which in later times was re-read as purely Shinto, was here incorporated into the essence-trace paradigmatic relationship, and made to serve the interests of Buddhism. Third, the power of Susanoo in pacifying and protecting the realm, including the capacity to build an enormous shrine on the Mountain, came from his being the embodiment of the indivisible unity of the original essence and the manifested trace. As such, Susanoo, the Great Illuminating God, was none other than a manifestation in the local kami of the original, Buddhist essence.[9] The light that emanated from him did not come from his own self but was a reflection of the power of a higher source. Susanoo's Buddhist origin calls attention to the significant fact that although both texts expound the divine power of Susanoo, they were motivated by different aims.[10] The first one, by the Izumo Shrine, was more interested in emphasizing the power of Susanoo as a god of pacification and protection whereas the second, by Gakuenji, had the explicit purpose of assimilating the Izumo Shrine into its institutional structure, especially by emphasizing the primacy of the temple despite its claim that the two were as one.

## "Kami Affairs" and Offerings to the Buddha

Susanoo, as the Izumo god of layered divinity, as a pacification god, and as the Buddhist trace, gave rise to and was sustained by year-round rituals that had a similarly layered structure, officiated by the shrine priests and participated in by priests from Gakuenji. Family documents of the the Izumo Shrine head priests have enabled historians in Japan to reconstruct this liturgical repertoire as practiced in the second half of the sixteenth century and to trace some of the changes leading to the formation of this repertoire. I will examine some of them to see how the power of Susanoo was evoked through these rituals and how the modes of evocation served to translate the god's power into functions of the Izumo Shrine in the medieval political structure. During the medieval period one shrine in each province was designated as *ichi no miya*—"The Primary Shrine"— that served as the social and political center of the province. Functioning as a regional administrator, the Primary Shrine together with the provincial headquarters (*kokushi*) constituted the local government of the imperial *ritsuryō* (penal and civil codes) state established in the seventh and eighth centuries. When the *ritsuryō* state began to decline, from the ninth century, however,

emergent regional powers were interested in domesticating the divine power of the Izumo god to strengthen their control of the region. Sponsoring or abolishing the rituals of the Primary Shrine turned out to be one of the major means to achieve this control.

The rituals specifically identified as *jinji* or literally "kami affairs," i.e., rituals performed for Susanoo and other lesser gods, included the Praying-for-Spring-Planting Ritual performed on the first day of the first month (hereafter abbreviated as 1/1, month/day), the Gods Welcoming Ritual on 3/3, the Praying-for-Harvest Ritual on 5/5, the Grain Offering Ritual on 7/5, the Thanksgiving Ritual on 9/9, and the Gods Send-off Ritual on 10/18.[11] Together, these rituals formed a temporal frame that accommodated other minor rituals and constituted a yearly calendar for agricultural activities that characterized the life of the medieval Izumo province. The praying and thanking (grain offering included) rituals performed on 1/1, 5/5, 7/5, and 9/9 were addressed to Susanoo directly. Performed by the Izumo priests, these rituals (except for the grain offering) were attended by the higher stratum of the farming communities in the region. The efficacy of Susanoo in securing every step of the yearly agricultural cycle derived from his being a god of pacification and protection.[12] The Gods Welcoming Ritual (3/3) and Gods Send-off Ritual (10/18) similarly presupposed utilizing the power of Susanoo to summon all gods to the Izumo Shrine to join him in securing the agricultural harvest—this being one of the reasons for his constructing the shrine, as we have already seen: "He built a shrine at the foot to nurture life and make it the place for all gods to descend." It is by way of these rituals that the power of the kami Susanoo was evoked and resulted in maintaining agricultural production. Based on this outcome, the functions of the Izumo Shrine as a regional center of the imperial state ritual network materialized.

The Gods Welcoming Ritual of 3/3, however, had another layer of significance that was more explicitly Buddhist. Compounded with the Izumo priests' ritual for inviting the gods, Buddhist priests from Gakuenji chanted sutras, made offerings to Susanoo, and lectured on five Mahayana sutras in the main hall.[13] Furthermore, on the twentieth of the first month, amidst the "kami affairs," a ritual called *tendoku,* "chanting the Great Wisdom Sutra," was performed, which Gakuenji appeared to have succeeded in inserting into the Izumo Shrine's ritual schedule as early as the 1330s. Chanting the Great Wisdom Sutra was believed to, or advocated to be able to, evoke the power inherent in the teaching of the Buddha so that this ritual could generate particular efficacy in exorcizing evil spirits.[14] The sutra-chanting ritual did not simply function to represent Susanoo as a Buddhist god and de-emphasize his status as the protective god of agriculture of the province. It incorporated the Izumo Shrine into the power bloc of Buddhist institutions that constituted the major political complex of the medieval period.[15] Sutra chanting as a way of praying and making offerings to a Buddha was not for securing local harvest but for the safety and prosperity of the emperors and the warrior rulers. As the major Tendai temple in the Izumo province, Gakuenji functioned as the local branch of the powerful network of Tendai temples centered in the head temple on Mount Hiei, the Buddhist stronghold on the north-east side of the capital city of Kyoto.

Mount Hiei was a center of power capable of competing with the imperial court and the samurai warriors. The source of Mount Hiei's power was based, among others,

on the theory that the imperial institutions and Buddhism were interdependent.[16] Sharing the mode of discourse with the essence-trace paradigm, the interdependence of the two prioritized the Buddhist institutions. Emperor Shirakawa expressed this theory clearly in 1123 in a pronouncement: "by subordinating the imperial law to the Buddha, the state prospers; thereby, Buddhist law spreads by way of protecting the imperial law."[17] This theory did not lose legitimacy even after the samurai rose to power because they claimed legitimacy by obtaining imperial titles, especially that of the *Seii Taishogun*, or Barbarian-subduing Generalissimo. That is, warriors utilized an ideology that did not transcend the power of the Buddha. Although competitions between Buddhist institutions, warriors, and the imperial court characterized much of medieval Japan, their mutual dependence and penetration were also features of how ideological and political struggles were waged.

## Bell, Pagoda, and the "Original Vow"

The Gakuenji's efforts to assimilate the Izumo Shrine was one force contributing to changes at the shrine. The shrine's "Buddhification" was also closely tied to regional power struggles that sought to domesticate both the divine power of Susanoo and the enormous amount of resources possessed by the shrine. By taking the lead in land reclamation, promoting farming in the western part of the province from the eleventh century, and receiving donations, primarily in the form of land, from the imperial court, aristocrats, and warlords, the Izumo Shrine accumulated vast expanses of land, the ownership of which included the farmers themselves who inherited only the right of cultivation on a specific plot of land. The shrine sources usually refer to its landholding by the phrase "twelve towns and seven beaches," meaning that the shrine owned the land cultivated by farmers living in these twelve towns and also owned the right of using the seven beach areas for extracting resources such as fish, shells, and salt, and controlling water transportation.[18]

The weakening of the rule of the Ashikaga Shogunate from the mid-fifteenth century resulted in an extended period of civil warfare, a period known as that of the Warring States (1467–1600), during which warriors competed for control of regions and then of the whole country. By the early sixteenth century, the Amago clan, formerly the constables (*shugo*) of the Izumo province for the Ashikaga Shogunate, emerged as the strongest warlord in the region. To consolidate its power base, the Amago house set out to bring the Izumo Shrine under control. Their strategy was not to directly appropriate the resources of the shrine but to weaken its sources of power. First, warlord Amago Tsunehisa (1458–1541) deliberately fostered the expansion of the Hinomisaki Shrine, a few miles away from the Izumo Shrine. The former shrine had tried for some time to gain independence from the latter, and was used by Tsunehisa to counterbalance the Izumo Shrine's influence. Tsunehisa appointed the Hinomisaki Shrine to be the Amago house's tutelary shrine and ratified the shrine's lucrative right to register and administer the priests of shrines in its vicinity.[19] Second, while recognizing the land ownership and other rights of the Izumo Shrine and furthermore donating land and rice, Tsunehisa made efforts to transform Izumo into

a Buddhist institution with the goal of neutralizing the divine power of the Izumo god Susanoo as the god of the Primary Shrine of the region, the power that defined Susanoo as a kami securing successful agricultural productions.

When he sponsored the rebuilding of the Izumo Shrine in 1509–19, Amago Tsunehisa ordered the construction of a series of Buddhist structures in the shrine compound. First he rebuilt the Praying Hall in the style of a Goma Hall (for performing the goma fire ritual) and had a bell tower constructed in the southwestern corner of the compound; in 1524, he added a hall for Dainichi Nyorai (Mahavairocana Buddha), and three years later a three-story pagoda. Finally, in 1537 a hall for housing sutras, the *issaikyōdō*, was built and endowed with a vast scripture collection purchased from Hyogo and Setsu provinces.[20] The addition of Buddhist structures was coupled with an enormous sutra-chanting ritual event, performed three times over nine years (1522–30), at the Izumo Shrine, with more than a thousand Buddhist priests mobilized to participate for twelve days each time.[21] By so doing, Amago not only further weakened the Izumo Shrine by taking away the head priests' power in administering the shrine affairs, but also consolidated his alliance with the Buddhist institutions in the province, especially Gakuenji, which was similarly reaffirming its supremacy over the Izumo Shrine by reiterating the essence-trace theory, as demonstrated in the 1570 tract examined previously.

Furthermore, political control, persistent warfare, and growth of popular Buddhist practices together contributed to another significant "Buddhifying" change at the Izumo Shrine: the way in which funds were raised for shrine rebuilding. Built of wood and bark, the shrine required a complete rebuilding every thirty to fifty years (although new design and new materials used in the 1744 rebuilding enabled the shrine to stand much longer, that is, until the present day). The priests' focus on the shrine's height and size, factors which were deeply tied to the ways in which the shrine was constructed and enunciated its authority, made rebuilding a costly matter. As the central ritual institution of the Izumo province that helped secure work in the field, i.e., securing tax, thereby supporting the rule of the imperial court, the shrine was aided by the provincial headquarters from which the governor levied a tax throughout the province for rebuilding and renovation.[22] While this fund-raising mechanism worked relatively well during the early medieval period when the provincial headquarters was able to collect the levied tax, by the mid-fifteenth century its authority had been consistently eroded by warriors rising from various backgrounds but particularly by constables (*shugo*), a post instituted by the Kamakura Shogunate (1185–1333) for maintaining order in the provinces, in addition to the weakened role of the provincial governor. Into the sixteenth century, the title of governor (*kokushi*) as the head of the provincial headquarters lost its substance and remained more or less only a title used by warriors to confer themselves some honor and prestige.[23]

In response, the Izumo Shrine followed the example of other prominent shrines and temples in hiring itinerant monks to raise funds. Such monks, whether officially ordained or not, traveled to various parts of the country practicing healing, praying, and preaching. They also involved themselves in raising funds for temple building. What made Buddhist monks the preferred choice in this case was that they were able to pass checkpoints freely and were probably also exempted from paying the fees

charged at checkpoints, privileges apparently not enjoyed by Shinto priests.[24] Also, the emergence in the fifteenth century of a pilgrimage circuit tour to thirty-three Buddhist temples in the Izumo province contributed to the increasing popularity of monks and temples, making travel in the guise of Buddhist monks or nuns relatively easy.[25] By 1550, the ad hoc monk-hiring practice was formally institutionalized at the Izumo Shrine, at least partially arranged by Amago Tsunehisa. A document recording the shrine rebuilding of that year retrospectively recounts the reasons:

> This time rebuilding took place in the midst of warfare among provinces. In the Izumo province alone there were numerous checkpoints making travel difficult. So the two head priests (*kokusō*) appointed Nankai Jōnin as *hongan* [the fund-raising specialist] and made him responsible for managing the rebuilding business. That is how *hongan* started.[26]

The term *hongan*, or "original vow," refers to the vows made by the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in their determination to save all sentient beings from suffering.[27] Over time, the term *hongan* developed into *honganshu*, referring to lay or clerical Buddhists who, out of devotion, initiated the construction of temples and pagodas or hosted events of sutra chanting and preaching.[28] Gradually, *honganshu* came to be called simply *hongan*. The term used in this book refers to the second meaning: Buddhists who followed the Buddha's Original Vow.

The responsibility of the *hongan* of the Izumo Shrine was however quite different. The Izumo *hongan* did not solely collect donations but, empowered by Amago Tsunehisa who was intent on weakening the power of the shrine, encompassed a wide range of the shrine's business: organizing fund-raising preaching; managing the funds so raised; administering rebuilding projects; negotiating with warlords with regard to shrine rebuilding; and even daily administration of the shrine including its forest land.[29] The role of the *hongan* for the Izumo god Susanoo was both ideological and administrative: because they raised funds by primarily propagating the power and virtues of Buddhist divinities, they contributed to the further erasure of the significance of Susanoo as a kami since Susanoo was represented as no more than a manifestation of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. The *hongan* post, like the insertion of Buddhist rituals performed by Gakuenji priests, encroached deeply upon the authority of the head priests in administering the affairs of the shrine.

Ironically however, Amago's domestication of the Izumo Shrine, marked the beginning of the end of a long period of Buddhist predominance in Japanese history. The coming to a close of Buddhist dominance of medieval Japan corresponds to a period of persistent warfare that would not end until the early seventeenth century. This period of devastating conflict however stimulated socio-cultural transformations that would bring about fundamental changes to the Izumo Shrine. To appreciate these transformations, we should look at one of the most capable warriors of the period, Oda Nobunaga, and the ensuring emergence of the Shinto discourse.

# The Genesis of Shinto

Out of the congeries of contenders for power that turned the Japanese archipelago into battlefields emerged Oda Nobunaga (1534–82), a warrior driven by the ambition to defeat all rivals and put the entire country under his control. His skillful deployment in battles of the muskets newly introduced to Japan by Portuguese merchants proved a valuable strategy contributing to his successes in military campaigns. Rising to national prominence in 1560 by defeating a strong warlord, Oda proceeded to conquer his military competitors one after another. At the same time, he set out to subjugate another powerful institution, the Buddhist temples. Claiming legitimacy for his campaigns as fighting in the interest of the whole realm or All under Heaven (*tenka*), he tackled two major power blocs: the Tendai sect complex on Mount Hiei, which allied its military force with rival warlords, and the Pure Land sect in Sakai near Osaka and in the northwestern provinces. By 1582, when he was assassinated by one of his own retainers, Oda had succeeded in destroying the military power of Buddhist temples and undermining the economic basis of their power. More significantly, Oda's destruction of the Buddhist institution helped overturn the fundamental principle that underlay the institutionalized political power of Buddhist temples in medieval Japan: the interdependence of Buddhist law and imperial law.[30] Oda's use of the idea of the realm called for the replacement of this traditional Buddhist-state ideological thesis. He was making an appeal to an abstract idea of the interest of the realm, which he thought could lend him legitimacy in establishing a new power structure without relying on the power and authority of divine beings, in particular those of Buddhism. A historian of sixteenth-century Japanese Buddhism assesses the significance of Nobunaga's achievement as follows, "From Nobunaga's time onward Buddhism was to be a buttress, not a Lord of state policy: the latter supports a structure from within, the former from without. Buddhism was no longer to be a major actor in the play of state; it was moved from a center-stage position in Japanese society to one in the wings."[31]

This general observation about Buddhism's loss of power in terms of its relationship to the state, however, should not be construed as meaning that Buddhist temples similarly lost their influence on social life. Among other things, Buddhist temples had previously performed funeral rites for people. The incorporation of Buddhist temples into the Tokugawa state in the early modern period as the prescribed funeral performer was based on this earlier social function of Buddhist temples and priests.[32] While the paradigmatic essence-trace conception of the Buddha-kami relationship came to be questioned and negated in some quarters, it continued to inform much of the intermingled religious practices of the early modern period. Nevertheless, one can argue that the receding of Buddhism as a politically significant institution was contemporaneous and coterminous with a gradual erosion of the hold on society of Buddhist ideas and theories as the dominant form of knowledge. The concurrent introduction of Catholic teachings and European astronomical knowledge from the 1550s by enthusiastic Jesuits further worked to relativize the basic categories with which the world, natural as well as cultural, had been imagined and made sense of.[33] Oda himself actively welcomed and patronized the new knowledge of Jesuits in an effort to relativize and de-legitimize the intellectual and political power of Buddhist

institutions.[34] The previously dominant Buddhist mode of viewing the world came under the attack of the Jesuits, as evidenced by debates between Jesuits and Buddhist scholars who perceived each other as rivals.

A major debate took place in the ninth month of 1551 in the Yamaguchi town of Western Japan. Two Jesuits Cosme de Torres (1497–1570) and Juan Fernandes (1525–67) debated for ten days with Buddhist priests and lay Japanese on such fundamental categories and tenets as the beginning of the world, the existence of an eternal Creator, the nature of *anima* or human soul, and human's relation with good and evil.[35] The argumentation skill and theological complexity of the Jesuits marked the dynamic of the debate. The ideas of Deus as the non-beginning and non-ending, transcendental Creator and of an eternal human soul had a tremendously unsettling impact on Buddhist theories resting on the key idea of emptiness.[36] Although the debate ended without a clear-cut result, it exposed that the largely unquestioned efficacy of Buddhist knowledge had come to be relativized for many Japanese, lay or Buddhist, whose curiosity propelled them to flock to the residence of the Jesuits to ask questions and hear or even participate in the debates.[37]

In the wake of the eclipse of Buddhism as a sociopolitical power house and as the dominant form of knowledge, a discursive space opened up and from that space two discourses that had been submerged under the intellectual crosscurrents of the Warring States period emerged one after the other to vie for legitimacy as theories that truly explained the world and, after the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1603, as fitting ideologies for a unified political state. Both claimed to be Shinto: more precisely, true and authentic Shinto, despite the fact that both were highly syncretistic. The rise of these self-conscious Shinto discourses that focused on the gods (kami) as their subject and used the term "Shinto" for self-identification provided intellectual and ideological drives for the transformation of the Izumo Shrine to a self-identified Shinto shrine and its deity to a Shinto kami, Ōkuninushi. Contemporaneous with the emergence of the two Shinto discourses was a gradual yet significant change at the Izumo Shrine, a change influenced by and reflecting larger political and epistemological transformations. This change pertains to the ways in which the two Izumo head priest houses competed against each other for authority as the legitimate successors of the head priest title (*kokusō*). The power struggle between two priest houses of the Izumo Shrine, intersecting with the emerging Shinto discourses, pushed from within for the "Shinto" transformation of the shrine. Let us now turn to these two Shintos before examining the struggles between the two head priest houses of the Izumo Shrine.

## The One-and-Only Shinto

The first Shinto, the Yuiitsu Shinto, arose from the efforts of Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511) to revive the lost prestige and authority of the Yoshida house, a high priest lineage that traditionally administered rituals and divinations in the Ministry of Divinity (*jingikan*) of the imperial court in Kyoto. The Ministry of Divinity, however, along with the weakened court, had fallen into obscurity and dilapidation by the fifteenth century in the midst of escalating warfare between competing warriors,

which destroyed the city of Kyoto in the 1460s. Kanetomo decided to reform and unify various shrine traditions in order to "return" to what he termed the "One-and-Only Shinto" (*Yuiitsu Shinto*), which he argued to have been the central ideology and practice of Japan before the introduction of Buddhism. He claimed that this tradition had been transmitted exclusively within his family lineage, generation after generation since the age of the kami, and that the time had come to reveal it to the world. He stressed the originality of the Shinto teachings of his house, and boasted that he "did not drink even one single drop of the three teachings," namely, Buddhism, Confucianism, and conventional Shinto including what he disapprovingly called "Co-dependent Essence and Trace Shinto" (*honjaku engi Shinto*). In actuality, his doctrines included a combination of elements taken from esoteric Buddhist and Daoist thought.[38] While attributing his own writings to his divine ancestors, Kanetomo in effect created an entirely new doctrinal and ritual system.[39]

Kanetomo's combinative strategy in establishing his doctrinal system is most conspicuous in his definition of "Shinto," a compound he separated into two characters, *shin* 神 and *tō* 道. As he put it in his major work *Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshu*, composed in the 1480s:

> The term *shin* denotes the foundation of the ten thousand things in Heaven and Earth. Therefore, it is also qualified as unfathomable Yin and Yang. The term *tō* denotes the rationale of all activities. Therefore it is said, 'The Way is not the constant way.' As a consequence there is nothing in the material world, nor in the worlds of life, of animate and inanimate beings, of beings with energy and without energy, that does not partake of this Shinto. Hence the verse: *Shin* is the heart-mind of all beings, *tō* is the source of all activities. All animate and inanimate beings of the triple world are ultimately nothing but Shinto only.[40]

Despite its apparent use of Daoist or Neo-Confucian themes of yin-yang and substance-function, Kanetomo's definition of Shinto was nevertheless significant. He not only self-consciously distinguished his "Shinto" from the varieties which he called the "Co-dependent Essence and Trace Shinto" and discredited the latter, but also helped elevate Shinto to the level of discourse able to stand on its own by rearranging the valence of the various themes to foreground shin-tō as the central subject.

Equally significantly, the very source upon which Kanetomo claimed legitimacy for his Shinto doctrine was the genealogy of the Yoshida house, which Kanetomo identified with this authentic doctrine. As he claims in *Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshu*, "the One-and-Only Shinto is the divine mark of transmission."[41] This identification in effect helped Kanetomo construct a family lineage that was both divine and authentic, originating at the moment when the gods created the world and initiated the divine imperial genealogy from Amaterasu, thereby laying the foundation for the rule of the imperial government. Indispensable for this foundation, Kanetomo asserted, was the appointment of the god Ama-no-koyane, the ancestor of the Yoshida house, by the primal gods to administer rituals and other divine affairs for the imperial government. Identifying a genealogy with a teaching, thereby claiming an authoritative voice for that teaching, did not begin with Yoshida but was common as the dominant mode of knowledge transmission in the medieval period[42]; but the combination of a divinized

genealogy as specifically the kami, the canonization of early texts, and the claim for a lost "Shinto" purity was a distinct strategy deployed by Kanetomo, and was soon to be adopted by the Izumo Shrine's priest in constructing their own form of "One-and-Only Shinto."

The god Ama-no-koyane who Kanetomo claimed to be his ancestor made appearances in the Divine Ages narratives of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* although the narratives did not identify the Yoshida as a genealogy embodying the true and authentic "Shinto." Nevertheless, these two texts and a third one, *Sendai kuji hongi*, which told about similar stories of the gods and emperors, constituted the textual basis for Kanetomo's claim of the divine Yoshida genealogy. He advocated them as the three classics of the original and true Shinto.[43] As we know, however, the origin of the first two texts had nothing to do with "Shinto." Their production came out of the aim of building political legitimacy in the eighth-century state building. However, in the hands of Kanetomo, the texts started to emerge as authoritative for articulating the theory of Shinto. Indeed, here started the process of the canonization of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki,* which continues to this day.

The One-and-Only Shinto doctrines helped the Yoshida house compete for social influence and authority. Kanetomo himself attained the exclusive authority to confer the title of Kami on humans, both to establish rankings for the kami, and to appoint Shinto priests. Yoshida Kanemigi (1516–73) took a more active approach in expanding the Yoshida Shinto by visiting regional shrines and issuing more licenses to priests. His sons Yoshida Kanemi (1535–1610) and Bonshun (1553–1632) joined the entourages of Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, in their attempts to strengthen the position of their lineage. Kanemi in 1590 reconstructed the Hall of Eight Kami, a central piece of the erstwhile Ministry of Divinity, at a reduced scale to resume rituals on his own family compound in Kyoto. The Yoshida's efforts were rewarded after the Tokugawa Shogunate was established. In 1665, the bakufu issued the Ordinances for Shrine Priests (*Shosha negi kannushi hatto*) mandating all shrine priests, except those from several large shrines such as the Izumo, to obtain licenses from the Yoshida house thereby putting the Shinto priesthood under the Yoshida's control.[44] Yoshida's bakufu-endorsed prerogative, it should be noted, was never uniformly recognized; neither was this certifying right accompanied by Yoshida's preaching of its Shinto theory to priests seeking licenses. As it happened, Yoshida's licensing prerogative was motivated more by political and economic than by doctrinal goals.

## The Principle-Mind Shinto

Just as the Yoshida family was actively promoting its brand of Shinto and expanding its influence through issuing licenses, the second consciously articulated Shinto, the "Principle-Mind Shinto" (*Ritōshinchi Shintō*), was under construction by Hayashi Razan, a one-time Buddhist priest who spent most of his life synthesizing and promoting a Neo-Confucian-Shinto combinatory theory. Neo-Confucianism had been in circulation among Buddhist scholar-monks for centuries who used it to

support and reinforce the validity of Buddhist doctrines. The political eclipse of Buddhist temples in the sixteenth century provided a chance for Neo-Confucianism to emerge as an alternative way to explain things, particularly in terms of how a unified society could be run.[45] Hayashi Razan was one of the former Buddhist monks (or priests) who made the shift to Neo-Confucianism. Hayashi made his name by conducting a debate in 1605 with a Japanese Christian named Fabian Fucan. Upholding the Neo-Confucian Hun-tian theory of round sky/heaven (*tian*) and flat earth, he challenged, among other things, the validity of the European astronomical knowledge, especially the sphericality of the earth, introduced to Japan by Fucan's Jesuits teachers.[46] Neither won a clear-cut victory but the debate seems to have helped establish Hayashi as a committed if not excellent Neo-Confucian scholar, directly contributing to his success in pursuit of a political career. This can be inferred from his rise, after serving the Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu for two years, to be the tutor of the future third Shogun Iemitsu on Confucian texts from 1607, and also as an adviser to the bakufu in drafting legal documents.[47]

Starting from Herman Ooms, scholars have suspected that the whole of the Hayashi vs. Fucan debate was fabricated later by the Hayashi house to establish its authority as bakufu-endorsed Neo-Confucian scholars. The historical veracity of this debating episode is not relevant to my argument here about the volatility and contesting nature of knowledge at the beginning of the seventeenth century from which "Shinto" emerged. Even if it were fabricated, the very fact that the Hayashi manufactured a debate about the fundamental tenets of Neo-Confucianism and Catholicism, apparently considered by him a useful means for establishing name and authority, betrays the shifting and contested nature of the field of knowledge and ideology at that time. The Hayashi well understood that the fundamental categories of each of these forms of knowledge were not self-evident but relative to each other and needed committed defense. This volatile condition resulted from the recession of Buddhism as much as from the penetration of the Catholic doctrine and astronomical theories brought by the Jesuits. In this sense, the creation of the Principle-Mind Shinto out of the intersections of competing forms of knowledge has a trans-national character, and should not be thought of as a moment of development of an internalist tradition.

Like Yoshida Kanetomo, Hayashi employed a philosophical scheme to elevate Shinto to a doctrine not only independent of but superior to Buddhism. He actually borrowed many terms from the Yoshida. In *Shintō Denju,* written sometime between 1645 and 1647 in response to a request from a senior councilor of the Tokugawa bakufu, Hayashi spelled out this doctrine. As a Neo-Confucian who was obliged not to recognize the literal existence of gods or spirits, Hayashi struggled to compromise over the various semantic values of *shin*, the first character of Shinto 神道. His text begins with his strenuous definition of *shin,* a definition process continuing in subsequent sections. He first identified "Shinto" and *shin* 神 or kami with the ultimate Neo-Confucian Principle or *ri* 理: "Shinto is the Principle. Nothing exists outside the Principle"[48]; and "*Shin* is the foundation of heaven and earth, the substance of all things … Because of this foundation, humans are born and things grow."[49] He then equals *shin* with the *kami*, written as 神, and *rei* 霊 or spirit, trying to bridge the gap between the metaphysical principle *shin* and the substantive, albeit invisible, essence of

life embodied with the terms *kami* and *rei* in the mythological narratives of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. "The kami (*shin*) who created heaven and earth is called Kunitokotachi no mikoto … The divided bodies of this kami form the myriad gods (*shoshin*)."[50] "*Shin* is the spirit of heaven and earth" and permeates the world. At the same time the spirit of ancestors is also *shin* 神, which when humans are alive is housed in the mind-heart 心. That is to say, "The *shin* housed in the mind-heart of humans is none other than the Principle."[51] While these linguistic gymnastics do not seem to have helped Hayashi the Neo-Confucian successfully collapse the multivalences of the ideograph 神 (*shin* and/or *kami*) so as to elevate the kami to stand on an autonomous ontological ground, his efforts nevertheless offered a new, Neo-Confucian paradigm for discussing the kami outside of the dominant Buddhist framework.

What distinguished Hayashi from the Yoshida, however, were his vehement anti-Buddhist stance and his historicist approach to reestablishing Shinto as a pure, ancient form of life that he claimed had been adulterated by Buddhism. The Neo-Confucian retroactive view of a bygone good age that should be revived in order to realize a perfect society undoubtedly worked here to structure a temporal argument against Buddhism. As part of this revival project, Hayashi set out in *Honchō jinja kō* or "A Study of Shrines in the Realm," for a historical investigation of the origins of all the major shrines. While Hayashi lamented "the mixing of shrines and temples" and the "mingling of priests and monks" leading to the effect that "the gods are all dead," he was confident that early historical and ritual texts such as *Nihon shoki, Kojiki, Sendai kuji hongi*, and *Engi shiki* provided access to the history of the shrines which recorded the straightforward and pure life of the ancient past.[52] Based on these old texts Hayashi traced the origins of the shrines. He was ambivalent in making a final decision on when history properly started: he claimed that Japan was a divine land (*shinkoku*), suggesting his recognition of the divine origin of the imperial genealogy, but at the same time he asserted that history began from Emperor Jimmu, the first human emperor, despite the Divine Ages narratives in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* relating how Jimmu succeeded the rule of Amaterasu's divine descendants. This ambivalence, however, did not prevent him from using those narratives as literal evidence of the shrines' origins. He started from the Ise Shrine, where Amaterasu was enshrined, and examined all the major shrines of the country, including the Izumo Shrine which he simply called *Taisha*, or the "Great Shrine."

Hayashi relied on *Nihon shoki* primarily for retrieving the Izumo Shrine's origin. Apparently he favored this text over others as a trustworthy and sufficient source because of its resemblance to Confucian-style historiography on which the text itself was modeled. He started his account of the Izumo Shrine's origin from the god Susanoo, who was born from the pair of deities, Izanagi and Izanami. A fierce personality, Susanoo kept crying after the death of his mother Izanami, causing humans to die and plants to wither. The upset Izanagi decided to banish Susanoo to the realm of death. Appealing to Izanagi that he wanted to bid farewell to his sister Amaterasu, Susanoo, upon ascending to heaven, nevertheless started to make mischief for his sister, who became terrified and hid herself in a rock cave. The other gods made strenuous efforts to lure her out of the cave so that sunlight (and life) could be returned to the world. The gods then angrily expelled Susanoo from heaven; he thereby descended to

the land of Izumo. He slew a fierce, eight-headed snake and saved the daughter of two terrestrial deities. He built a grand palace, married the daughter, and fathered her son Ōkuninushi, before he withdrew to the realm of death. Hayashi goes on to introduce how Amaterasu decided to have her descendants rule the pacified land of Japan and dispatched gods to subdue Ōkuninushi and his son Kotoshironushi. The two deities eventually agreed to submit to Amaterasu's command.

Hayashi goes on to introduce another strand of the narrative—to relate Susanoo and Ōkuninushi to the Izumo Shrine. He again quotes from *Nihon shoki*. The god Takami-musubi told Ōkuninushi upon the latter's surrender: "The affairs of the visible world (*kenro no koto*) that you rule shall be ruled by my grandson while you shall rule the divine affairs (*jinji*). And you shall live in the Palace of Amanohisumi which I will have built promptly. ... And Amenohohi will be in charge of the rituals devoted to you." Hayashi next quotes a lesser-known text, the *Shinshoshō* 神書抄, which has roughly the same content as the Divine Ages stories of *Nihon shoki*: "the Palace of Amanohisumi is in the Izumo Province. It is also called the Palace of Kitsuki which is the [Izumo] Grand Shrine (*taisha*)."[53] While he was so far able to confirm the origin of the Izumo Shrine, he was less sure about the god enshrined there. He referred to *Jingiryō*,[54] which indicates Susanoo was the god enshrined at the Izumo Shrine. On the other hand, *Nihon shoki* showed that the Izumo Grand Shrine was built for Ōnamuchi, another name for Ōkuninushi. Hayashi held *Nihon shoki* in higher esteem but surmised the palace Susanoo built for his wife could be the Izumo Shrine. His tenuous conclusion was that the Ōkuninushi and Susanoo were co-enshrined at the shrine.[55]

The episode Hayashi consulted in *Nihon shoki* for retracing the origin of the Izumo Shrine is the most dramatic part of the Divine Ages narrative. His account is a shortened version of that section, which recounts extended contestations between Amaterasu on one side and Susanoo and his son Ōkuninushi on the other. Hayashi omitted the section of Ōkuninushi's accomplishment in solidifying and pacifying the land into a habitable place. It is Ōkuninushi, according to the narrative, who taught herbal medicine and exorcizing spells for diseases of humans and animals. Neither did Hayashi feel the necessity of introducing the bouts of fighting that foregrounded the power of Ōkuninushi in holding back the invading celestial gods. The final surrender of Ōkuninushi, briefly recounted by Hayashi, immediately preceded the descent of Ninigi, the grandson of Amaterasu, to the earth to establish the imperial rule, thus creating a link that functioned to sustain the progression of the major narrative theme of *Nihon shoki*, i.e., the construction of the legitimacy of the imperial rule. As discussed in the Introduction, it was to establish the supremacy of Amaterasu that this myth was incorporated into *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*. To emplot a powerful god who made and pacified the land but eventually relinquished his right of rule to Amaterasu and her descendants is the major narrative strategy employed in the two texts to establish Amaterasu's supremacy and the legitimacy of the imperial line to rule the Japanese archipelago.

The political valence of this episode was lost in Hayashi's reading. But in his attempt to retrieve a pre-Buddhist Shinto, Hayashi not only contributed to the elevation of a set of earlier texts into prominent status, but also generated a history for the Izumo Shrine totally different from the ones created from the Buddhist essence-trace paradigm. By promoting a new textual base and formulating a new method of

reading, he established strategies to articulate "Shinto" into a new form of knowledge and authority, strategies his disciple Kurosawa implemented in his representation of the Izumo Shrine as a Shinto shrine. When the Izumo Shrine changed to be a Shinto shrine and the deity enshrined there changed to Ōkuninushi, the political valence inherent in the narratives of *Nihon shoki* emerged to constitute the identity and authority of Ōkuninushi through his relationship with Amaterasu.

## Divine Fire and Divine Water

Now let us examine how power struggles within the Izumo Shrine contributed to its identification with Shinto. This struggle started from the division of the post of the head priests of the shrine in the fourteenth century. The title of the head priest of the Izumo Shrine was *kokusō* or *kuni no miyatsuko* 国造. While the origin of the title can be traced back to earlier times, during the medieval period, *kokusō* referred to an administrative post that managed gods-related affairs of the Izumo province, in particular that of the Izumo Shrine as the Primary Shrine of the region, for the purpose of securing tax and maintaining social stability by ensuring the gods' protection for agricultural production.[56] It was a hereditary post, but its succession through patrilineal principle did not prevent problems from arising during successions. In 1343/4 three sons of the incumbent head priest got involved in a succession dispute which led to the eventual break-up of the *kokusō* line into two. The poor health of the eldest son made his father decide that the third son, Sadataka, was to be his successor. The eldest son asked his grandmother to convince his father of the necessity to follow the patrilineal principle. He promised his father that the third son would take over after his term.

This however did not happen; it was the second son, Takamune, who was inaugurated as the head priest after the first son. Sadataka brought the case to the provincial constable who allowed him also to be instituted as *kokusō*. This second line evolved into the Kitajima house, while the second son Takamune later took the last name Senge. Land and ritual responsibilities were split between the two, with the Senge house hosting rituals in odd-numbered months and the Kitajima house in even-numbered months.[57] From then on both houses claimed the title and status of *kokusō*; their ensuing rivalry in competing for legitimacy and authority, especially that of ritual performance, generated a dynamic that proved significant for the Izumo Shrine in the early modern period. The focus around which this rivalry unfolded was none other than the question of what constituted a proper succession. I will examine several documents to retrace how the ways in which the two houses defined and defended a proper succession changed, and how these changes led to the creation of a divine genealogy that contributed to the transformation of the Izumo Shrine into a self-identified Shinto shrine.

At the center of the succession was a fire-drill ritual called *hikiri*: essentially, making fire by drilling into wood. It seems this ritual had been instituted early on as the standard format to effectuate the inauguration of a new head priest because neither the Senge nor the Kitajima house ever questioned the validity of the ritual

itself. Performing the ritual was a very demanding task. The ritual had to be completed in one day, that is, twenty-four hours. At the moment of the death of the current *kokusō*, the chosen successor, rather than performing any filial duties, would have to receive from the god a wood fire drill at the main sanctuary, then rush on foot with a small retinue of priests to a shrine eleven *ri* (nearly twenty-eight miles/forty-four kilometers) away, and start making fire by drilling on the wood mill and fetching water from a specific well nearby to cook his meal. After first offering food to the gods, he needed to eat his meal at that shrine and then rush back carrying the fire, without it ever going out, to the Izumo Shrine to report to the god that now he had completed the ritual and thereupon had been officially inaugurated as the new *kokusō*. The fire must be maintained by the head priest who would use it to cook until his retirement or death.[58] In the documents the ritual was always referred to as *shinka shinsui* or "divine fire and divine water," apparently because of the use of fire and water in it. However, how to engage the fire and water was the focal point of disagreement.

The first documented conflict between the two *kokusō* took place in 1365, twenty-one years after the split. The second generation *kokusō* in the Kitajima line, Mototaka, challenged the legitimacy of Takamune and thereby the Senge line as *kokusō*. Believing he had the sole right to the *kokusō* title, Mototaka was more strongly motivated by his desire to host exclusively, rather than sharing, the two most prestigious and lucrative events of the shrine: the annual Gods Welcoming Ritual of 3/3, and the rebuilding of the shrine.[59] According to Mototaka, Takamune no longer had the right to succeed the "divine fire and divine water" because he, instead of leaving the shrine to perform the fire-drill ritual, stayed to conduct the funeral for his father. This not only broke the family ritual tradition initiated by the first *kokusō* Miyamukai but the proximity with a dead body breached a serious taboo for priests in service of the kami. Takamune was therefore defiled and lost his right to succeed the *kokusō* title. In contrast, Mototaka claimed he had not only strictly followed the succession ritual requirements but also possessed the architectural charts and related objects required to administer the shrine rebuilding in proper fashion. Only a properly conducted rebuilding could ensure that the high and wide shrine would be the proper space for housing the Great Illuminating God Susanoo.[60] It is possible that Mototaka submitted his appeal to the provincial constable as the latter was involved in the break-up dispute earlier[61]; but no sources can be found to let us know the development and outcome of the conflict. It is clear, though, that the Senge line continued after Mototaka's challenge. The two lines remain at the Izumo Shrine until today.

Another episode of struggle for authority was recorded in 1568. This time it was the Senge who challenged the Kitajima. Senge Yoshihiro on 9/9 submitted a letter to the Mori, the warlord controlling the Izumo region during the second half of the sixteenth century, reporting that Kitajima Hisataka after his father died on 9/8 went on performing the inauguration ritual without actually taking the fire-drill. Senge asserted that the drill was conferred by the deities Izanagi and Izanami to sustain the head priest line so that the land could be protected; while Kitajima could start fire without using it, this would result in the loss of the "profound Shinto" embodied in the drill.[62] It turned out, however, that Hisataka did take the drill and the misinformation originated from an internal fight between Hisataka and his brother who

most likely disseminated the rumor. Senge Yoshihiro thereby sent Hisataka a letter on 9/27 congratulating him on successfully succeeding the "divine fire and divine water" and, as he put in another letter, carrying on the age-old "Shinto" tradition vital for the whole realm (*kokka*).[63] Here Senge traced the origin of the drill back to the age of the gods as "recorded" in *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, implying the divine origin of the *kokusō* lineage whereas Mototaka in the last case of 1365 traced the *kokusō* to a human ancestor named Miyamukai. Further identifying the drill with "Shinto," Senge made the connection between the *kokusō* lineage and "Shinto" despite the fact that "Shinto" referred to no more than the *kokusō* lineage itself. It is very likely that Senge modeled his discursive strategy after the One-and-Only Shinto of the Yoshida which identified the family genealogy with the transmission of a Shinto teaching.[64] Notably, Senge did not relate the *kokusō* to the god enshrined at the shrine. It might be that Senge regarded the *kokusō* as a lineage capable of being the source of its own authority.

During 1624–34 the Kitajima waged another challenge to the Senge, albeit without much success. Kitajima Hirotaka charged that because Senge Takanori's succession ritual took as long as ten days, he should be disqualified from the post of *kokusō*. To reinforce his argument, Kitajima built upon the connections implicitly made in the earlier case between the drill ritual and ideas of lineage, divine origin, and Shinto by integrating them into a legitimacy theory of *kokusō* as a divine Shinto genealogy. The development of the theory took place over a span of ten years in the appeal letters Kitajima wrote to Horio, who replaced Mori as the lord of Matsue, and the imperial court in Kyoto. In his 1624 memo, Kitajima explicitly connected the *kokusō* to a divine origin in the god Amenohohi, "*kokusō* originated from Amenohohi, the second child of Amaterasu and Susanoo. When Amaterasu sent her grandson Ninigi to rule the world, Amenohohi was decreed to perform rituals for Ōkuninushi at Izumo Shrine."[65] By 1629, in an appeal letter to the court, Kitajima had constructed the *kokusō* into a divine, Shinto genealogy regularly sustained by the drill ritual:

> This position [*kokusō*] has its ancestral origin in Amaterasu and transmitted from Ōkuninushi to Amenohohi. From the age of the gods to the age of humans, with the divine water, the *kokusō* needs not receive birth; with the divine fire, the life of *kokusō* is not broken by one single day. This is the mystery of the Unborn and Undead Shinto (*fusei fumetsu shintō*). Generations of *kokusō* took the divine decree [of serving Ōkuninushi at Izumo Shrine] as his mission without fail until Takanori.[66]

In comparison with two earlier definitions of *kokusō*, Kitajima's theory shows several significant developments. First, *kokusō* was transformed into a divine genealogy with its dimension of an administrative post largely dispersed. Second, in divinizing the genealogy to emphasize the importance of unbroken succession for the authority of *kokusō*, Kitajima ended up shifting its ultimate source of legitimacy. It now comes from its relation with the god Ōkuninushi, i.e., as the god's head priest, rather than from its own divinity or from the god Susanoo, the god the Kitajima head priest identified with in 1365. Third, by tying the *kokusō* divine genealogy with a form of Shinto, Kitajima most likely was consciously following the discursive model of the Yoshida Shinto, which identified a "One-and-Only Shinto" with "a divine mark of

[genealogical] transmission." That is, in his struggle with the Senge line of *kokusō*, the Kitajima helped bring articulations of the authority of *kokusō* into the emerging discursive field of "Shinto" built upon the textual basis of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*. Kitajima's articulations remained within the context of disonance with the Senge house and did not engender changes in ritual or discursive representations of the god or the Izumo Shrine. It nevertheless constituted a dynamic particular to the shrine that would soon converge with parallel dynamics in generating radical transformations. Two most important dynamics were the need to raise funds for shrine rebuilding and the political push by the domain scholar Kurosawa Sekisai for the Izumo Shrine to move toward "Shinto."

## Creating the Creation God

As a disciple of Hayashi Razan who recommended him to the Matsue lord Matsudaira Naomasa, Kurosawa Sekisai followed closely his teacher's priorities and methods in his gazetteer *Kaikitsudan* in remapping the cultural and geographical landscape of the Matsue domain to forge a realm created and inhabited by kami rather than by Buddhist divinities. He was as explicitly anti-Buddhist as Hayashi, discrediting for example as "cannot be trusted" the popular theory that the Floating Mountain was the Buddhist paradise to which the gods would go.[67] With Buddhist temples erased as much as possible from his ideological landscape, Kurosawa's text came to focus on shrines and sites from where he could retrieve the deeds of the gods. Emerging from the text was a land where gods sang, fought, mingled with humans, and ruled. Kurosawa specifically characterized the Izumo province as a place where the gods liked to gather and as such it commanded a prestigious central position in the whole land of Japan because it exemplified the sentiment of reverence for the gods no longer found elsewhere due to the infiltration of the foreign, false Buddhist teaching, which he declared were to be exorcized through the original and ultimate Principle-Mind Shinto.[68]

In dissolving geography's Buddhist connotations, Kurosawa was particularly interested in introducing Ōkuninushi as the god creating the world and bringing about human life, because it provided a counter-narrative to Buddhist theories of origin, such as the Buddhist origin of the Izumo Shrine introduced earlier in the chapter. His reliance on *Nihon shoki*, which gave more extensive coverage of Ōkuninushi than of any other god associated with the Izumo region, contributed to the sense of necessity to map the creation process onto the landscape. Kurosawa followed Hayashi in concluding that both Ōkuninushi and Susanoo were enshrined at the Izumo Shrine, but his portrayal of Ōkuninushi differed from that of Hayashi. While Hayashi was mainly concerned with establishing the historical origin of the Izumo Shrine without particular interest in the kami enshrined there, arising from Kurosawa's gazetteer was Ōkuninushi the prominent and powerful Shinto god of creation and pacification. Kurosawa deployed his counter-Buddhist narrative strategy when he explained the origin of the name of a small island on which was located a shrine popular among local people. He called into question the popular understanding of the island's name,

*Tema* 手間, as referring to the popular god of scholarship, *Tenman* 天満, and decided to retrieve its true, original meaning. He quotes at length the section in *Nihon shoki* where Ōkuninushi set out to pacify the land but felt he was in need of help. At this moment a shining, small god arrived from the sea. The little god, however, refused to reveal his identity, leading the curious Ōkuninushi to inquire of the Takami-musubi god in heaven. The Takami-musubi god told him this must be his little child Sukunabikona who was unruly and ended up one day slipping from between his fingers. Taken great care of by Ōkuninushi, the reticent yet all-knowing Sukunabikona thereafter helped Ōkuninushi in domesticating the wild spirits, healing cattle and poultry, exorcizing disasters and nurturing human life.[69] Because Sukunabikona was identified as the god who slipped from between ("between" is *aida* or *ma* 間 in Japanese) fingers, which Kurosawa read metonymically as hand or *te* 手, Kurosawa announced, the god enshrined at the shrine on Tema Island was none other than Sukunabikona, and the island was the site where the god met Ōkuninushi and embarked on their project of land making.[70]

After identifying the god in the Tema Island shrine as Sukunabikona rather than the Buddhicized *Tenman*, Kurosawa set out to redefine origins. Kurosawa drew an analogy between the pair gods of Ōkuninushi and Sukunabikona in their creation of the land on the one hand, and the Chinese gods Fu-Xi and Sheng-Nong who taught humans planting, fishing, and writing at the earliest moment of history on the other.[71] Most importantly, Kurosawa asserted, because Ōkuninushi and Sukunabikona taught humans how to heal diseases, they were actually ancestral gods of medicine and should be revered as such. However, not only did people not know the divine power of the gods, they even failed to remember their names. Instead, they trusted the ridiculous teaching from the far west and worshiped Buddhist figures such as the Medicine Buddha: "It's like valuing wild chicken but despising those at home."[72]

The account of Ōkuninushi as a creation god was reinforced by Kurosawa's explanation of the seven names used to refer to the god. Again he was referring to *Nihon shoki* which however only listed the names without defining them. For Kurosawa, they pointed to the various dimensions of the unsurpassed power of Ōkuninushi that is encompassed under the literal and metaphorical values of the epithet *nushi*, "proprietor," "master," "center," or "lord":

> The name Ōkuninushi no mikoto means the god is the lord of the world (*sekai*);
> The second name Ōmononushi no mikoto, the lord of all things;
> The third name Kunitsukurashishi-Ōnamuchi no mikoto, his majesty as the creation god;
> The fourth name Ashiharanoshikowo no mikoto defines him as the lord of the wild gods;
> The fifth name Yachihoko no kami marks him as the military god in command of ninety-eight thousand gods;
> The sixth name Ōkunidama no mikoto means he is the spirit of the people of the whole world;
> The seventh name Utsushikunidama no kami refers to the god's accomplishment in creating the world of humans.[73]

Kurosawa's definition of these names appears in the section on the Izumo Shrine in *Kaikitsudan*. While his explications of these names did not tie the god directly to the shrine, he brought Ōkuninushi in relation with the shrine when he provided explanations for the origins of the shrine and of its head priest *kokusō*. He introduced the shrine's origin by quoting from the section in *Nihon shoki* where Ōkuninushi was forced to surrender the land he created to Amaterasu:

> Takami-musubi sent the two gods back to deliver orders to Ōnamuchi by saying, 'Now I hear your words and they contain truth. Therefore I give these orders. The affairs in the visible world are to be ruled by my grandson. You shall rule the gods' affairs. And you shall live in the Palace of Amenohisumi, and I will have it built in no time … And this palace will be built with tall and big pillars and thick boards.' That's why it's called the Grand Shrine (*taisha*).[74]

A few pages later, Kurosawa quoted *Nihon shoki* again to demonstrate the origin of the *kokusō* in relation to the god Ōkuninushi: "Takami-musubi orders Ōnamuchi, 'the god hosting your rituals will be Amenohohi.' Then *kokusō* are the descendants of Amenohohi. The eighteenth generation received the surname Izumo." He then followed the by now standard version of the divine genealogy theory: "From Amenohohi through the current fifty-eighth generation is divine transmission of the Unborn and Undead … the succession is called divine fire and divine water, [with a new *kokusō*] using a drill transmitted from the age of the gods to start a fire for cooking …"[75]

When Kurosawa published the second volume of *Kaikitsudan* in 1661, the message transmitted by the text was sufficiently clear: it was in the interests of the Izumo Shrine to distinguish, if not utterly dissociate, itself from Buddhist ideas and institutions if it were to ally itself with the ideological and political agenda of the domain. The message was reinforced by a de-Buddhified version of the Izumo Shrine created by the text, as a shrine that supposedly had existed in the long past. The text did so by putting forward a new mode of representation with which the god Ōkuninushi, the head priests, and the shrine complex could be articulated together, all by referring back to the now authoritative *Nihon shoki*.

Change at the Izumo Shrine, indeed, had been suggested by the response of the Izumo priest to Kurosawa's questioning, as quoted at the beginning of the chapter: "it is not that we don't know the irreconcilable difference between the gods (*kami*) and the Buddha, but we were in no position to oppose lord Amago." In other words, the Izumo Shrine had adopted Kurosawa's stance in recognizing the necessity of distinguishing the kami from the Buddha. This transformation was prepared by the conflict between the two competing *kokusō* houses, which increasingly emphasized Ōkuninushi rather than Susanoo as the basis for articulating their divine genealogy. The shrine was as eager as Kurosawa to return to an earlier, pure state of things by separating what had now become two irreconcilable divine beings and modes of constructing power, if, as it turned out, that "return" could help secure financial support from the bakufu and the domain for its upcoming rebuilding.

# Resurrecting the Great Lord of the Land

Kurosawa's influence on the Izumo Shrine should be assessed in the immediate contexts of first, ideological consolidation of the Matsue domain by its lord Matsudaira Naomasa, and second, the Izumo Shrine's urgent need to locate funds to rebuild its main sanctuary. These dynamics in turn should be put in the broader context of early Tokugawa state building so that their mutual bearing can be traced out. While during the Warring States period the shrine depended on the Buddhist itinerant *hongan* priests for fund-raising, once the country was unified under the Tokugawa bakufu, the shrine returned to its earlier practice of seeking support from the political power (through the *hongan*'s mediation), although they soon found out that this time they needed to put forward a new theory to justify their request. In other words, the Izumo Shrine's reliance on the bakufu and the domain for financial support for rebuilding contributed to the shrine's adoption of Kurosawa's explicitly anti-Buddhist vision of itself.

What accentuated the ideological effect of Kurosawa's visit to the Izumo Shrine was Matsue domain lord Matsudaira Naomasa's pro-kami, though not necessarily anti-Buddhist, stance, in which the Izumo Shrine perceived a possibility for obtaining financial support from the domain. According to the family record of the Matsudaira house, Lord Naomasa was "committed to Chinese and Japanese learning, but especially had a deep reverence for the gods (*keishin*)."[76] While it is difficult to gauge the strength of Naomasa's belief in the kami, it is safer to interpret this hagiographical statement in terms of the strategies often employed by rulers in Japan to sponsor Shinto shrines to put them under political control while at the same time harnessing the agency of the kami to assist their political goals. Soon after Naomasa moved into Matsue in 1638, he issued a Kitsuki Code to the Izumo Shrine, requiring it first to "devote itself to reviving the practices of old Shinto, and to all ritual performances," and also to "maintain shrines in good shape, repair in time and rebuild old ones."[77] This code was part of the ideological consolidation process in which Naomasa set out to put Shinto shrines (and Buddhist temples) back in shape after persistent destructive warfare because these institutions, Naomasa understood, functioned ideologically to anchor local social life and prevent the spread of Christianity, completely banned by the bakufu in 1614.[78] For Naomasa, it was a strategy of domestication by way of sponsorship; it was control at minimum cost.

Furthermore, political authority had to be bolstered with divine power. Although like other warlords Naomasa aimed to domesticate all and any divine power and was not particularly concerned about whether that power was Buddhist or Shinto, he was nevertheless making a distinction between kami and Buddhas, and, by hiring Kurosawa, he certainly showed a leaning toward the former. While his reliance upon these divine powers derived from the need to steer them toward strengthening his political rule, Naomasa's prioritization of the kami sent the Izumo Shrine a message that was explicitly delivered and magnified by Kurosawa's visit to the shrine: if the shrine wanted support from the domain, it needed to identify itself as a site for the kami rather than as a Buddhist ritual institution. As it turned out, at the time of Kurosawa's visit to the shrine, the Izumo priests had already actively adopted his

anti-Buddhist Confucian-Shinto ideology. The draft of his gazetteer, Kurosawa later reported, was circulated among the shrine priests and it is based on their advice that Kurosawa revised the text before it went into print.[79] It seems then that at the time of Kurosawa's visit the Izumo Shrine decided that the impending shrine rebuilding would be the chance to "return" to the earlier, pure form as a Shinto shrine, as in actuality prescribed by Kurosawa.

Even before Kurosawa's visit in 1653, the Izumo Shrine already saw a chance in the pro-kami announcements made by Naomasa. As early as 1646, it explored that chance by asking Naomasa for funds for rebuilding. Naomasa in return took this as a chance to consolidate his power, and on behalf of the the Izumo Shrine appealed to the bakufu for financial support.[80] His ability and willingness to do so was encouraged by the favored status Naomasa enjoyed in the bakufu. Naomasa was the grandson of the founder of the Tokugawa bakufu, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who was impressed with Naomasa's samurai valor that he had demonstrated in the Osaka Castle battle of 1615. This was a decisive battle that successfully annihilated the military force of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the hegemon preceding Ieyasu, thereby clearing the major obstacle for Ieyasu to claim the authority for a new, centralized polity. This helps explain the transfer of Naomasa in 1638 from a small domain of 80,000 koku of annual rice product to the wealthy Matsue domain with 180,000 koku. In the same year, the senior council of the bakufu decided in favor of Naomasa's appeal and expressed its willingness to support the Izumo Shrine's rebuilding project, which the shrine hoped to rebuild in its earlier, larger, though not explicitly pre-Buddhist, form.[81]

Naomasa's special relationship with the bakufu, however, should not be interpreted as the primary reason for the latter's sponsorship of the Izumo Shrine's rebuilding. The bakufu itself likewise was in the same process of reining in the power of the Buddhas and the kami in consolidating the newly established political state. Sponsoring the Izumo Shrine's rebuilding was a means to appropriate the divine power at the shrine, one of the most prominent in the realm, and to relativize the status of the gods associated with the imperial institution, which it had effectively put under control by providing for the court's existence with just a minimum amount of financial support. At the center of this consolidation project was the deification and enshrinement of the founder Tokugawa Ieyasu at the Grand Shrine Tōshōgū, literally meaning "the Illuminating Shrine in the East," in Nikko (northeast of Tokyo) in an obvious challenge to the divine authority of the emperor who resided in Kyoto. One major step in subjecting the imperial power took place in 1646, the year the bakufu made the initial decision to sponsor the Izumo Shrine's rebuilding, when the bakufu required the imperial court to dispatch annual envoys to make offerings at the Tōshōgū while at the same time reinstituting the practice of sending imperial envoys to the Ise Shrine, which the poverty-stricken court had a long time previously no choice but to stop, thereby essentially putting the power of Amaterasu under its control. By demanding that an imperial envoy come to the Nikko Shrine annually, the bakufu not only demanded the obeisance of the emperor to the power of the bakufu but by turning its founder into a divine being, directly challenged the imperial genealogy tracing back to Amaterasu, enshrined at the Ise Shrine.[82]

The bakufu next sponsored the renovation and maintenance of the twenty-two shrines traditionally connected to and supported by the imperial court. In return, it

demanded that these shrines pray for the safety and longevity of the Tokugawa bakufu, not for the imperial court.[83] Over the first six decades of its rule, the bakufu donated landholding worth more than 115,000 koku to shrines across the land.[84] Similarly, the bakufu ordered a number of Buddhist temples (whose establishment in earlier times was for the very purpose of protecting the imperial court) to pray for the Tokugawa polity while incorporating the rest of the temples into the political structure as its anti-Christian surveillance and census apparatus.[85] In the 1630s, the bakufu reinstituted the post of *jisha bugyō*, or the Temple and Shrine Magistrate, in charge of all matters and institutions involving various kinds of divine powers including particularly Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. The Temple and Shrine Magistrate reported directly to the Shogun. This made it stand out in importance in comparison to the Finance Magistrate (*kanjō bugyō*) and the City Magistrate (*machi bugyō*), two magistrates under the supervision of the senior councilors (*rōjū*). In the larger, political context of the bakufu's institutionalization of religious policies, the visit of Kurosawa, a disciple of the bakufu-hired Hayashi Razan, to the Izumo Shrine in 1653 worked as a catalyst that pushed the shrine to decide, in order to secure the funds from the bakufu, to transform itself through rebuilding from a Buddhist-informed ritual institution to a self-identified Shinto shrine.

This transformation started in 1661 when the Izumo Shrine, in claiming itself as explicitly Shinto, spelled out the architectural forms the new shrine would take by erasing the "Buddhist" elements denounced by Kurosawa. Sakusa Norikiyo (1615–95), a priest at the level of *jōkan*, a rank immediately below the head priest *kokusō*, whom Kurosawa conversed with at the shrine in 1653, reported to the bakufu that the Izumo Shrine planned to rebuild the main sanctuary based on the doctrine of "the One-and-Only Shinto" while abolishing the "mixed Shinto" practiced previously.[86] Sakusa's announcement was endorsed by the *kokusō* head priests who expressed to the domain lord Naomasa the necessity to return to "old practice."[87] The shrine's specific claim for reviving a "One-and-Only Shinto" apparently followed preceding formulations modeled on the Yoshida Shinto by the two head priest houses in their fights for orthodoxy. The first step in spelling out the content of this epithet was revising the rebuilding blueprint.

On 8/11 of 1661, the Izumo Shrine received official notification from Matsue, the domain headquarters, of the bakufu's decision to sponsor the rebuilding of the shrine. Sakusa of the Kitajima house and Nagase of the Senge house, together with carpenters specializing in shrine building (*miya daiku*), were sent to Matsue to discuss the rebuilding plan and the cost with the domain intendants. They were, however, surprised to find the planned new shrine looked the same as the current one whereas they had expected that all Buddhist architectures and motifs would be removed.[88] They realized that it was the *hongan* priests, the mediators between the domain and the shrine, who had made the plan. Apparently, the priests tried to keep the shrine in its current form as a ritual institution underpinned by Buddhist theories. Sakusa and Nagase went to Edo, the seat of the Shogun's government, removed the *hongan* priests from their position as mediators and negotiated funding matters directly with the bakufu officials.[89] In expressing the shrine's plan to rebuild the main sanctuary according to its earlier, larger, pre-Buddhist form, Sakusa explained to the bakufu

that during the period of warfare it was difficult to maintain a consistent shape, and that under the rule of the Amago house the shrine was subject to the lord's policy of adding Buddhist buildings and implements to the shrine.[90] He suggested that the establishment of the Tokugawa bakufu had enabled the reinstitution of a proper relationship between the shrine, as a Shinto shrine, and the political state. Reinstituting this relationship meant that the shrine would return to its earlier, larger, and properly unadulterated form, with the bakufu's support.

Knowing their career was in danger, the *hongan* priests sued the two priests for violating their traditional right in making plans for shrine rebuilding. Sakusa and Nagase responded that the *hongan* priests were subsidiary to the head priest *kokusō* and had always followed the head priest's orders. The post was merely a little over a century old and could not possibly possess, as the *hongan* priests claimed, the original documents for rebuilding the shrine in its original form. The Shrine and Temple Magistrate by the name of Inoue Masatoshi, for reasons to be explained below, sided with the two priests and judged that the *hongan* priests had lost the case. Upon advice from Sakusa, Inoue abolished the post all together in the seventh month of 1662.[91] Sakusa and Nagase thereafter revised the rebuilding blueprint and provided their assessment of the cost to the bakufu. By revising the blueprint, the Izumo priests made clear how the "One-and-Only Shinto" would be reflected in architectural forms.

In their efforts to convince the bakufu of the need for the amount of money they proposed, the priests made Ōkuninushi the unambiguous god enshrined at the Izumo Shrine. As it happened, it is the Temple and Shrine Magistrate Inoue Masatoshi (1606–75), a disciple of the Neo-Confucian scholar Yamazaki Ansai (1619–82), who helped push the Izumo Shrine to eventually identify itself with Ōkuninushi rather than the combinatory Susanoo. Inoue Masatoshi at first was surprised at the rebuilding budget proposed by the Izumo Shrine as he was not even sure which kami was enshrined at the shrine. On 3/29 of 1662, he asked Sakusa and Nagase, "Which god is enshrined at the Izumo Shrine, Susanoo or Ōnamuchi?" When Sakusa answered it was Ōnamuchi, Inoue questioned how the Izumo Shrine could ask for tens of thousands of taels of silver for rebuilding since the Great Shrine of Ise for Amaterasu, of whom Ōnamuchi was but a subordinate, needed only 15,000 taels.[92] Only six days later, however, Inoue changed his opinion, most likely as a result of talking to his teacher Yamazaki who stayed at Inoue's residence-cum-office during his visit in Edo in the fourth and fifth months.[93] Inoue told the Matsue domain representative Shiomi on 4/5, "The rebuilding of the Izumo Shrine must be sponsored following the example of the Ise Shrine. This is because Ōnamuchi is the lord of Japan and enshrined at the Primary Shrines (*ichi no miya*) of all the sixty-six provinces [of Japan]."[94] What did Inoue mean by this high appraisal of Onamuchi?

Ōnamuchi, or Ōkuninushi, as the lord of Japan being enshrined at all the central shrines, was an idea emphasized by Yamazaki Ansai in his Suika Shinto theory. In the largest effort in Tokugawa Japan to synthesize Neo-Confucianism and Shinto, Yamazaki continued the anti-Buddhist views and many themes of Yoshida Shinto and Hayashi Razan's Principle-Mind Shinto, but developed them into a more complex discourse. Essentially, he constructed a moral-political theory centering on the imperial genealogy within the explanatory parameters of Neo-Confucianism, a

project of "embodying the Way in Japan," as defined by Herman Ooms.[95] The major way in which to construct this theory was through exegesis on *Nihon shoki*. Yamazaki held that the essence of the Neo-Confucian Way, which boiled down to unswerving loyalty, selflessness, and a reverent, vigilant mind-heart, was embedded in the *Nihon shoki* mythological narratives.[96] He read the episodes of Ōnamuchi aka Ōkuninushi's creation, pacification, and eventual surrendering the land as embodying precisely the reverent mind-heart of loyalty and selflessness:

> Ōnamuchi said, 'I will retreat to the invisible realm carrying the Yasaka bead with me.' … the Yasaka bead refers to his mind-heart. This means Ōnamuchi submitted absolutely to the emperor. From during his life [to after his retreat to the invisible world after surrendering, Ōnamuchi] possesses profound divine commitment to protect the state (*kokka*) … [That's why] the tutelary gods enshrined at the Primary Shrines (*ichi no miya*) of all provinces are none other than Ōnamuchi.[97]

For Yamazaki, the kami Ōnamuchi served to exemplify the Neo-Confucian value of loyalty, hence the kami's importance for his own theory. Inoue followed his teacher in recognizing Ōnamuchi as the creation and protective god of Japan. From this recognition came the necessity of sponsoring the rebuilding of the Izumo Shrine, where Ōnamuchi was enshrined.

Inoue's recognition of Ōnamuchi and endorsement of the Izumo Shrine's proposed budget expedited the bakufu's provision of money. On 5/5, the bakufu announced it would provide 2,000 *kan* of silver (500,000 *ryō*) for the Izumo Shrine's rebuilding. Two months later, Inoue further permitted Sakusa's request to remove Buddhist buildings and objects from the shrine compound. On 7/21, he even sent an explicit order of removal to the Matsue domain representative Shiomi: "the mixed practices [based on the essence and trace theory] at the Izumo Shrine are inappropriate for a kami of such extraordinary divine potency as Ōnamuchi and must be immediately removed."[98] The twin agenda of rebuilding and purifying the Izumo Shrine was set.

Self-transformation into a Shinto shrine offered an opportunity for the Izumo Shrine to present itself as superior to the Ise Shrine, which, while distinguishing kami from the Buddhas, never went so far as the Izumo Shrine did in articulating its new Shinto identity through negation of Buddhist divinities.[99] In demonstrating his opposition to Buddhism, Inoue worked with Sakusa in orchestrating a drama of humiliation of the Ise Shrine. In front of the Ise priests summoned to the scene by Inoue, Sakusa expressed gratitude to Inoue for his support for the rebuilding. Inoue then asked him if the Izumo Shrine had now truly become "the site of the Way of the Gods (*Shinto no chi*)." Sakusa responded that "returning to the One-and-Only Shinto, the Izumo Shrine rather than the Ise Shrine is to be admired." Inoue affirmed by saying "indeed the Izumo Shrine is now on a whole different level (*ichidan no koto*)."[100]

The Izumo priests began to remove Buddhist architectures and objects in the second month of 1664, in the midst of preparations for the construction of the new main sanctuary. On 2/20, the residence of the former *hongan* priests, located behind the main sanctuary, was torn down. After the statue of Dainichi Nyorai (Mahāvairocana Buddha) was transferred from the Hall of Dainichi Nyorai to Shōrinji, a subsidiary temple of the Izumo Shrine, the Hall was destroyed on 2/26. Its destruction led to

"great rejoicing among priests at the revival of the One-and-Only Shinto."[101] The bell tower, the bell, the Hall for the Goma Fire Ritual, and a number of Buddhist statues were also moved to the Shōrinji Temple.[102] The shrine initially planned to destroy the three-storied pagoda but found a better way to dispose of it. The priests had since 1663 been in search of appropriate trees for the nine Lords that structure the main sanctuary. In connection with their claim of revival of a previously practiced pure Shinto, the priests decided to revive what they thought to be the larger, pre-Buddhist main sanctuary, the Lords of which required larger and taller trees, 11.2 and 15.5 meters in length and 1 meter in diameter at bottom. They eventually found suitable ceder trees in the Myōken Mountain to the west of Osaka: but the forest belonged to the Taishaku Temple, which was unwilling to cut down its divine trees. When the temple abbot heard of the planned destruction of the pagoda, however, he offered to sell the trees in exchange for the pagoda. Reaching an agreement with the Taishaku Temple, Izumo priests had the ceder trees cut in the fifth month and transported to the shrine ground on 8/28 of 1664, and on 9/16 announced the commencement of the construction with the *ochōna-hajime* ritual, or "the beginning of ax work for construction." The dismantling of the pagoda took place on 3/8 of 1665; it was then reconstructed at the Taishaku Temple, where it remains to this day.[103] By 5/11 of 1665, when the sutra repository hall was destroyed, all Buddhist architectures and objects had been completely removed from the Izumo Shrine.

On 5/3, the Izumo Shrine received the 2,000 *kan* of silver provided by the bakufu. In less than a year, a grand new main sanctuary was completed beside the old one. Rather than being painted in red like the old one, the pillars of the new sanctuary were left in their natural white color, symbolizing the restored, natural, pure Shinto. the Izumo Shrine was now "purified" into a Shinto shrine. Together with architectural purification there was a liturgical one. In 1666, the Izumo Shrine notified the Gakuenji Temple that from the following year its monks would not be allowed to perform Buddhist rituals including sutra chanting and Dharma lectures at the Izumo Shrine.[104] On 3/30 of 1667, the god Ōkuninushi rather than Susanoo was transferred to the new sanctuary from the old one, which was dismantled in the following month. Together with the "purification" of the Izumo Shrine, a pure Shinto was "revived" and the Great Lord of the Land, Ōkuninushi, was resurrected. The "revived" architectural configuration of the shrine compound would remain till the present day (Figure 2).

A little over two months later, Sakusa Norikiyo embarked on another trip to Edo. The purpose of this trip was to visit Hayashi Gahō, who was completing the bakufu-sponsored historiographical project *Honchō tsūgan* left unfinished by his father Hayashi Razan. Sakusa was seeking the authority of the official historiographer Hayashi Gahō to transform what happened at the Izumo Shrine into a public event of revival and purification with significance going beyond the province of Izumo and thus in need of endorsement and commemoration as official history.[105] On his part, Hayashi was more than happy to use this case to publicize and reaffirm the Principle-Mind Shinto established by his father. The whole event, after all, was triggered by the critique of Kurosawa Sekisai, disciple of Hayashi Razan. Resulting from their cooperation was *Izumo kuni Kitsuki Taisha saikō ki* or *The Revival of the Great Kitsuki Shrine of the Izumo Province,* which Gahō included in the *Honchō tsūgan*. The succinct text starts
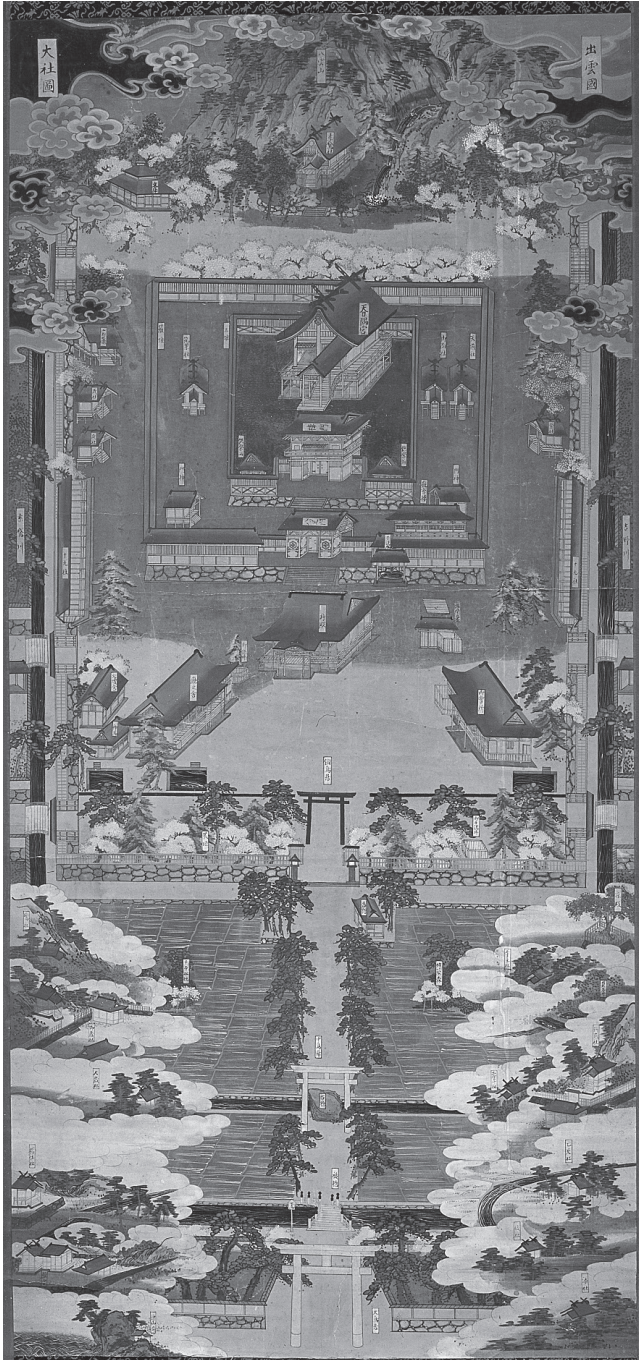
**Figure 2** *Izumo koku Taisha zu* 出雲国大社図, c. late Tokugawa period. Courtesy Shimane Museum of Ancient Izumo

with the announcement that enshrined at the Kitsuki Taisha (i.e., the Izumo Shrine) was Ōnamuchi, the kami who accomplished the divine deeds of pacification (*heijō*) and creation (*sōsō*) of the world. Because of Ōnamuchi's creation accomplishment, generations of emperors starting with Saimei built the grand Izumo Shrine for him. As warriors rose to power at the expense of the imperial court, the rebuilding of the shrine had been compromised in size; the warlord Amago Tsunehisa, in particular, in his mixed belief in the Buddha and the kami, built many Buddhist buildings at the Izumo Shrine. The two *kokusō* houses, however, having originated from the god Amenohohi as the head priest for Ōnamuchi, took great pleasure in the opportunity of revival ushered in by the establishment of the Tokugawa bakufu. Supported by the bakufu's generous funding of 500,000 *ryō* of silver and the deeply kami-revering Matsue lord Naomasa, the Izumo Shrine was rebuilt in its original form with all Buddhist buildings and facilities removed. The revival of Shinto at Izumo would bring forth the flourishing of Confucianism: "The ways of the gods (Shinto) and of Confucianism have never been separated."[106] Now "the One-and-Only Original Shinto is revived. How wonderful (*yoikana* 懿哉)! How magnificent (*sakarikana* 盛哉)!"[107]

# Conclusion

This chapter recounted the remarkable architectural, liturgical, and discursive transformations of the Izumo Shrine from a Buddhist-informed ritual institution to a self-identified Shinto shrine that brought about the resurrection of Ōkuninushi as a prominent Shinto god. It retraced this significant paradigm shift within multi-level contexts of intellectual and political developments in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: the eclipse of Buddhism as the dominant form of knowledge and social institutions, the unification of the country and political consolidation, the rise of Catholicism, Western astronomy, and Neo-Confucianism as competing knowledge, and, most importantly, the emergence of a new discourse that focused on the kami as a new mode of knowledge and authority construction. Two factors contributed to this paradigmatic transformation from within the Izumo Shrine: the claims for authenticity of the two head priest *kokusō* houses, and the necessity to raise funds for shrine rebuilding. The rivalry between the two head priest houses led to the shift of the title *kokusō* from that of a vestigial provincial administrative post to that of a divine genealogy, which traced its legitimacy and status to its origin in the old Divine Ages and depended for this very divine nature on Ōkuninushi. The need for the state's financial support for shrine rebuilding pushed the Izumo Shrine to identify itself with the official Neo-Confucian-Shinto theory adopted by the Matsue domain, a theory that focused on the Shinto god Ōkuninushi, rather than Susanoo as the manifestation of a now discredited Buddhist divinity.

While the resurrection of Ōkuninushi as specifically a Shinto kami at the Izumo Shrine was historically contingent, the implications were nevertheless significant. The significance of this resurrection lies in the formation of a ritual institution that consciously united itself with the emerging theory of Shinto in constituting a contrapuntal form of authority in potential contestation with that of the imperial institution.

Accompanying the emergence of Shinto was the rise of two early texts, *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, to authoritative status as authentic texts of Shinto, which generated the textual conditions for the ascent of Ōkuninushi. Articulations of the authority of "Shinto" at the Izumo Shrine derived from the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives in which the power, accomplishments, and authority of the god Ōkuninushi were articulated through his relationship with Amaterasu and her descendants, the emperors. Indeed, Ōkuninushi stood for a form of divine authority that could supersede that of Amaterasu because of his accomplishment as a creation kami, a status Amaterasu was unable to claim. The creation god Ōkuninushi in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* was the underdog submitting to the imperial gods, but, by the seventeenth century, he was refashioned to be a Shinto cultural hero who created the land and nurtured human life. As changes of social conditions compelled renewed re-articulations of Shinto, the creation god Ōkuninushi would undergo successive transformations through the early modern period.

# The Month without the Gods, 1600–1871

Ōkuninushi's return to history in the 1660s as a prominent Shinto god at the Izumo Shrine was made possible by the bakufu's generous financial support for the shrine's rebuilding. As it turned out, however, the shrine would never have the luck to receive this generosity again as the bakufu itself soon ran into financial difficulty and stopped sponsoring temple and shrine rebuilding. Actually, it will not be inappropriate to describe the Izumo Shrine of the early modern period as in a constant struggle to secure sufficient financial resources to sustain itself. Its dire financial situation can be traced back to a gradual downturn that started in the second half of the sixteenth century when the shrine's proprietary and administrative authorities were successively encroached upon by warlords who considered the control of the shrine as vital to their power consolidations as regional hegemons. That downturn was precipitated by a major blow in 1591 when Mori Terumoto (1553–1625), the warlord controlling the Izumo region, conscripted more than half of the Izumo Shrine's sizable landholdings to sponsor the then hegemon Toyotomi Hideyoshi's military campaign of invasion into the Korean Peninsula. Left with an annual revenue of a little over 2,000 *koku* of rice,[1] the shrine was unable to conduct necessary repairs, let alone the rebuilding of its buildings and even had difficulty in maintaining regular liturgical schedules.

The dramatic reduction in economic and administrative power led to multiple, long-term changes at the Izumo Shrine. Most important was the change in ways in which the shrine raised funds. While previously the shrine lived off its enormous land-based resources, drastic loss of landholding pushed it to tap into the commercializing society for revenue through developing active popular preaching. This resulted in the creative formation of a series of preaching strategies. These strategies combined folk ideas and beliefs with the stories of the newly canonized texts of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* in active construction of a doctrinal discourse that linked the whole nation to Ōkuninushi as the Shinto god of creation, blessing, and good fortune. At the center of this discourse was the popular idea of *kannazuki* 神無月 or the "Month without the Gods," meaning that there are no gods in the tenth month because they all go to the Izumo province. For centuries the idea was unrelated to the shrine or the god Ōkuninushi, but according to the Izumo priests and preachers, all the gods meet at the Izumo Shrine in the tenth month for a grand divine assembly where they work with Ōkuninushi to make knot-tying (*en-musubi* 縁結び) decisions about all prospective marriages. A good marriage was not just auspicious but also necessary because it could secure the succession of the household (*ie*), arguably the largest concern for

people in early modern Japan. The "Month without the Gods" then helped constitute a doctrinal discourse that structured a new temporal-spatial order of the archipelago that culminated in the tenth month and centered on the Izumo Shrine, with the result that the past, present, and future of the archipelago all hinge upon the divine power of Ōkuninushi, the Great Lord of the Land, rather than Amaterasu and the imperial court at Kyoto.

Furthermore, the Izumo priests and preachers mobilized another strategy to reinforce the accessibility of the protective and fortune-bringing power of Ōkuninushi. They deliberately conflated their preaching representations of Ōkuninushi with that of the deity Daikoku, one of the Seven Fortune Gods (*shichi-fuku-jin*), who became widely popular in the early modern period for their divine power in securing business prosperity and agricultural harvest. So the Izumo god Ōkuninushi became not only a god of creation and blessing but also of good fortune. As such, the Izumo priests and preachers advocated the divine power of the creation god, which, despite his surrender of the rule to Amaterasu, continued to emanate from the invisible realm of divinity to this world for protecting and blessing each and every family and thus the whole nation. The multifaceted power of Ōkuninushi enabled Izumo preachers to formulate various types of confraternities (*kō*) into which followers of the Izumo Shrine of various social and occupational backgrounds could be organized. By the early nineteenth century, active theological construction and nationwide preaching had successfully promoted Ōkuninushi to a nationally known god who took care of the daily needs of people in all walks of life across the Japanese archipelago. The nationwide popularization of Ōkuninushi as the god of creation, blessing, and good fortune not only brought economic benefit to the Izumo Shrine but also consolidated a form of cultural authority, articulated in terms of the new idea of "Japan" and in contrast to and capable of displacing that of Amaterasu.

## A Weakening "Great Shrine"

The Kitsuki Taisha or the "Great Kitsuki Shrine," as the Izumo Shrine was known during the medieval and early modern periods, experienced a progressive loss of power and authority in the sixteenth century. The administrative and judicial powers of the medieval period fell into the hands of warlords: first the Amago through the 1560s, and then the Mori to the 1600s, each of which maintained extended periods of control of the Izumo region and made consistent efforts in consolidating their power as regional overlords. Besides inserting Buddhist rituals into the shrine's liturgical schedule and constructing Buddhist architectures on the shrine compound, Amago Tsunehisa deployed the strategy of instituting the post of *hongan* in control of the most important business of the shrine: periodic rebuilding of its main sanctuary. In the capacity of *shasō*, or a Buddhist priest affiliated with a Shinto shrine, the *hongan* was given enormous administrative power by the Amago, not only responsible for managing the entire business of rebuilding but even the daily administration of the shrine.[2]

In tandem with the weakening of the head priests' authority resulting from these domesticating strategies was the increasing independence of the farmers affiliated with the shrine. A development reflective of a large trend of pursuing autonomy and self-rule by farmers amidst incessant, disruptive warfare and lack of centralized political control, farmers of the Izumo Shrine organized communal agricultural activities under the leadership of local farmer-warriors (*ji-samurai*), displacing the control from the Izumo Shrine.[3] The situation worsened to such an extent by the final decades of the sixteenth century that the shrine needed the warlord Mori Terumoto, who defeated the Amago and took control of the Izumo region in 1566, to confirm in 1572 its ownership of the "twelve towns and seven beaches" it had possessed since the early medieval period. In other words, the Izumo Shrine's centuries-old ownership of a considerable amount of land, cultivated by farmers living in these towns, and the beach areas near the shrine, had become increasingly nominal.[4]

The Izumo Shrine's reliance on the Mori subsequently enabled the latter to exercise effective control over it and, given the status of the shrine as the Primary Shrine (*ichi no miya*) of the province, to control the whole Izumo region. That control was realized through a variety of means but most significantly, as in the case of the Amago, it was by way of managing the rebuilding of the shrine. The project of shrine rebuilding of 1577–80 was entrusted by the shrine to the Mori as it could not raise funds on its own.[5] Mori Terumoto levied a rebuilding tax (*zōei dansen*) in the provinces under his control and appointed three Buddhist priests including the third generation *hongan*, Bun'yō, to form a rebuilding committee which took complete control of the project. Yūkō, one of the committee members, was promoted by Mori to abbot of both Shōrinji and Shosanji, temples affiliated with the Izumo Shrine. Jusan, the third priest, served Mori as his close aide in association with Yūkō.[6] Upon the completion of the new sanctuary, the *kokusō* head priests of the Izumo Shrine hosted the rituals of transference of the god from the old sanctuary to the new one in the eleventh month of 1580 but beyond that ceremonial role they had no say in the project of shrine rebuilding, including the decision about which carpenters to hire.[7]

The worst, however, was yet to come. In 1592 and again in 1598, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98), the overlord who succeeded Oda Nobunaga (1534–82) in gaining control of all Japan, twice waged military campaigns to invade the Korean Peninsula with the ultimate goal of conquering Ming China. The impact of the (eventually) failed Korean invasions was far-reaching for Japan, Choson Korea, and Ming China, causing the devastation of the Korean Peninsula and what one historian called "regimes changes" in both Japan and Ming China, a reference to the Ming's replacement by the Manchu Qing in China in 1644 and the establishment of the Tokugawa bakufu in Japan in 1600.[8] At a more local and concrete level, the impact of Toyotomi's military campaign was most acutely felt at the Izumo Shrine even before the campaign took place. Providing the largest number of troops (30,000 soldiers) for both invasions was Toyotomi's close ally Mori Terumoto, who drafted many farmers from the Izumo region.[9] He initially made a request in the tenth month of 1591 to the Izumo Shrine for "borrowing" its farmers for his army, but when the shrine refused on the ground that its farmers never participated in military fighting, Mori went ahead confiscating all the landholding of the shrine for use through the duration of

the campaign—or so he claimed.[10] In return for conscription of the land, the value of which amounted to 5,450 koku of rice, Mori reassigned to the shrine in the twelfth month a much-reduced amount of tax-exempt land that stood at the value of a little over 2,000 koku.[11] The ostensibly temporarily conscripted land and the farmers who cultivated it, however, were never returned even after the campaign was called to end in 1598. Through the early modern period until the 1850s, although the shrine received donations from domain lords and the bakufu, its landholding never went much beyond 3,000 koku.[12]

The conscription severely constrained the Izumo Shrine's ability to maintain regular liturgical schedule. The 1590s saw the termination of four of the major, communally performed rituals (on 1/7, 5/5, 7/7, 9/9) that structured the shrine's annual liturgical cycle in correspondence with the agricultural and social life of the province, a ritual scheme that spelled out the anchoring function of the shrine as the Primary Shrine of the province.[13] With the disappearance of these major rituals, the relationship of the shrine with society and political power underwent a transformation. Indeed, as the Mori proceeded in their political consolidation of the region, the rituals of the Izumo Shrine were not just reduced and restructured; their very nature was to be fundamentally redefined.

When Mori Terumoto allocated the reduced amount of land to Izumo Shrine, he not only designated specific landholding for financing corresponding rituals, but also determined the amount of rice for these rituals. The Landholding Authorization Edict (*ateokonai jō*) he issued on 12/8 of 1591 for the Kitajima head priest house, one of the two houses of the shrine's *kokusō* head priests, had this specified content. The edict allotted the Kitajima house a stipend of 1,000 koku in landholding value, but prescribed only fifty koku of rice for each of the two rituals that headed the list of six rituals, a much-reduced form of the Kitajima's traditional ritual repertoire. The first of the two was *sangatsue*, jointly hosted by the two head priest houses in the first three days of the third month, with the first two days hosted by the Senge and the third day by the Kitajima. This was the largest ritual event at the shrine; like the Amago, Mori Terumoto arranged sutra-chanting sessions during the event. The second ritual, referred to in the edict as the ritual for the *kamiaritsuki*, or the Month with all the Gods Present, was performed in the tenth month. Following these two major rituals were four smaller ones, performed in even-numbered months, which received stipend as small as one to three koku.[14] A little while later, the Mori prescribed a similar ritual and stipend scheme for the Senge, the other house of head priests.[15]

With a nominal rice stipend, the ritual performance of the Izumo Shrine and by extension the very sustenance of the shrine itself came to be dependent upon the Mori's support, a fact that placed the shrine under the Mori's complete control. An appeal letter from the documents of an Izumo Shrine mid-level priest house foregrounds this dependence. The shrine had to submit the letter to plead Mori for another thirty *kan* of coin and twenty-five koku of rice to perform the three-day *sangatsue* ritual, which was known as the "ritual of thousand kan and thousand koku" but in this year (in the 1590s) had to be performed on the radically shrunk budget of fifty kan and thirty koku.[16]

A more fundamental goal of the Mori was to transform the nature of the Izumo Shrine's rituals and incorporate them into its power structure. As the Primary Shrine

of the Izumo province during the medieval period, the Izumo Shrine performed rituals to evoke the power of the gods to secure successful agricultural activities and good harvest; these rituals, however, now under the control of the Mori, were performed to secure the longevity and the fortune of the Mori house (*buun chōkyū no okinen*).[17] Sources show that the shrine was repeatedly urged and sometimes ordered to diligently pray for the Mori's welfare safety and success. Although praying had long been embedded in the shrine's ritual schedule and praying sessions for a specific purpose, e.g., praying for warlords' recovery from disease, were held on an irregular basis, the Mori were keen in redefining the rituals as a constitutive component of its political rule rather than letting them remain in the earlier framework of the Primary Shrine. Furthermore, Mori Terumoto did not seem to attach as much importance to the shrine's own scheduled rituals as he did to the Buddhist sutra-chanting rituals performed by the Gakuenji priests at the Izumo Shrine. In one case, Terumoto asked the shrine's priests to submit only the records of sutra chanting performed as the report of the *sangatsue* ritual event.[18] This could be interpreted as another step in controlling the shrine by reducing its most important ritual to a Buddhist one.

The control of the Mori house, however, did not last long. Mori Terumoto after the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1598, which brought the Korean invasions to an end, stood at the forefront of the "western army" in fighting Tokugawa Ieyasu, who was braced to replace the Toyotomi as the overlord of all Japan. Ieyasu's victory at the decisive battle of Sekigahara in 1600 secured his success at the expense of Mori Terumoto whose territory was subsequently reduced to two provinces of Suō and Nagato to the west of the Izumo province. In place of Mori Terumoto, Ieyasu transferred into Izumo another former rival, Horio Yoshiharu, who constructed the small village Matsue, roughly thirty-one miles (fifty kilometers) from the Izumo Shrine, into his castle town and with that construction the domain came to be known as Matsue. In 1633, the bafuku reassigned the Matsue domain to Kyōgoku Tadataka after Horio Tadaharu died without a male heir. The Kyōgoku house similarly failed to produce a successor and did not sustain itself. As a result, in 1638 Matsudaira Naomasa, the grandson of Tokugawa Ieyasu, moved in and initiated the Matsudaira house which ruled the domain until the abolition of domains after the Meiji Restoration in 1871. Neither the Horio nor the short-lived Kyōgoku house seemed to have tried to put the Izumo Shrine under their firm control, and both reaffirmed the Izumo Shrine's landholding and probably also the ritual stipends determined by Mori Terumoto.[19] So after the Mori were gone, the shrine did not see improvement in its economic situation and continued struggling to make ends meet. Matsudaira Naomasa donated several hundred koku of land to the shrine but that did not significantly improve its financial situation.

The need to share the limited resources aggravated the perennial tension between the two head priest houses. Indeed, the 1620s and 1630s saw an escalation in the conflict between the two. In Chapter 1 we saw how this escalated infighting contributed to the creation of the *kokusō* as a divine genealogy. In trying to make the most of the restructured, severely under-funded ritual schedule, the Kitajima house spearheaded the efforts from the 1600s in reconfiguring its rituals so as to re-articulate their importance for society and political power and based on that, making claims for legitimacy

as the authentic *kokusō* lineage. As we will see in this chapter, ritual reconfiguration was closely tied to the development of popular preaching by the Izumo priests across the country. Those reconfiguring efforts started from promoting the *kamiarisai*, or the All-Gods-at-Izumo Ritual, performed in the tenth month, above the *sangatsue* ritual of the third month. Although the two rituals were given an equal amount of funding, in the case of the *sangatsue*, the Kitajima only performed on the third day of the three-day ritual event and the event as a whole was under the administration of the Senge, which hosted rituals of odd-numbered months. As such, the *sangatsue* could not serve nearly as good a platform for redefining rituals and developing anti-Senge arguments as the All-Gods-at-Izumo Ritual, performed solely by the Kitajima and in an even-numbered month, that is, a temporal segment allotted to and "owned" solely by the Kitajima.

## Promoting the Tenth Month

In an official statement in 1604 on the amount of its landholding and its distribution as stipend for rituals, the Kitajima house rearranged the rituals prescribed by the Mori in 1591. At the top of the list was the ritual for the Month with all the Gods Present (*kamiaritsuki*), followed by the *sangatsue* ritual, both supported by fifty koku of rice. Following these two, four rituals were performed respectively on 4/8, 6/28, 10/11, and 12/27, even though the amount of rice stipend assigned to these rituals did not follow this order.[20] That is, differently from the Mori's edict, which ranked the rituals in terms of the participation of Buddhist priests, the Kitajima set out to formulate an annual liturgical structure that gravitated toward the tenth month, rather than the third month. The attempt was clear: the Kitajima tried to displace both the influence of Buddhist insertions and the Senge house by creating the definitive ritual scheme for the Izumo Shrine.

Four years later, when the Izumo Shrine was in the midst of another rebuilding, the then head priest from the Kitajima house, Hirotaka, seized the chance to tie the shrine symbolically to what he argued was the anchoring importance of the tenth month. The symbol he used was the shrine crest. Hirotaka sent a memo to two domain officers in charge of the rebuilding, reminding them of the importance of putting on the correct shrine crest. First pointing out that "the crest of the Taisha is the character *u* 有 (lit. to be or to have) within a tortoise shell-shaped [hexagonal] rim (*kikkō ni u moji nari* 亀甲に有文字也)," not the character *sa* 左, Hirotaka explained that the character *u* 有 was actually the written form of *jūgatsu* 十月, i.e., the tenth month of the lunar year, and this knowledge originated from the fact that the Izumo Shrine was located in the direction of *ken* 乾.[21] According to the Chinese zodiac correspondence system used in pre-modern East Asia to value and measure both time and space, *ken* marks the northwest quarter of space as seen from the center, or in the case of the Izumo Shrine, the northwest direction from the imperial court in Kyoto, a direction corresponding to *gai* 亥 of the twelve zodiac signs.[22] In this temporal-spatial scheme, *gai* at the same time refers to the tenth month in the lunar calendar as well as the spatial direction of northwest. By thus connecting the symbol of the shrine to the tenth

month (*ken-gai*—tenth month), Hirotaka went on to claim that the tenth month was the focus of the activities of the Izumo Shrine, which constituted the "profound secret of Shinto" (*shintō no jinmitsu nari*).[23]

Hirotaka applied this identification theory in his fight against the Senge *kokusō*. In 1639, he appealed to the new domain lord Matsudaira Naomasa for an official discrediting of the Senge as the legitimate successor of the *kokusō* lineage. He started by outlining the *kokusō* genealogy which started from its ancestral god Amenohohi in the age of the gods (*jindai*). The single-line lineage however branched into two when Kiyotaka established a "private" Senge house. Hirotaka then stated that the legitimacy of the Kitajima house could be verified by official documents possessed by it. These documents could certify that the rituals performed by the house in the even-numbered months, in particular the tenth month, were authentic rituals of the Izumo Shrine. This was due to the fact that

> The tenth month is the month of culmination (*kiwamaru no tsuki* きわまるの月) of Shinto, that is, of the transformation of yin and yang (*tenchi no ryōgi* 天地の両儀). This is the profound reason why my house hosts the rituals of the tenth month (*tōke saiban no gi shisai kore ari* 当家裁判之儀子細有之).[24]

By the end, Hirotaka was referring to the temporal scheme formed by the yin-yang dynamic mapped onto the twelve months of a year. Because the winter solstice, when yin and yang start to interact again, falls in the eleventh month, the tenth month was considered the concluding and culminating moment of the year-long cycle of the life-generating yin-yang dynamic. Hirotaka's further identifying this culmination with Shinto was probably borrowing the legitimating power of the emerging discourse of Shinto, like the Principle-Mind Shinto of Hayashi Razan, which tried to ground discussions of the gods (*kami*) on Neo-Confucian themes and theories, particularly the dynamic of yin-yang interaction.

At the same time when Hirotaka mobilized the zodiac and yin-yang theories to accentuate the tenth month, he introduced another discursive thread to tie the tenth month to what he argued was the profound truth of Shinto: a month that brought all the gods across the land to the Izumo Shrine. In an appeal letter he submitted to the domain lord Naomasa to again discredit the Senge house, Hirotaka gave a more detailed account of the divine origin of the *kokusō* lineage, the "illegitimate" estab-lishment of the Senge house, and the resulting sharing of rituals and administration of the shrine. Hirotaka underscored the vital status of the tenth month in the shrine's annual ritual scheme by linking rituals to the idea of *kannazuki* or the Month without the Gods and then to Shinto. He wrote:

> What for the Taisha is the tenth month is for the province the month with all the gods of Japan present (*kamiarizuki*). In turn, for all other provinces it is the month without the gods (*kannazuki*). That means that throughout Japan all the gods without exception [come to the Izumo Shrine]. The profundity of Shinto is thereby revealed through this month … The fourth month is the second time [after the tenth month] to enshrine all the gods … In Senge's months, which one is nearly as important as the tenth month? There are rituals in the first, fifth, and

ninth months; they are however conducted by Buddhist priests. These rituals cannot reach the gods (*jingi* 神祇) at all.[25]

According to Hirotaka then, the tenth month was important because it was the time when all the gods came to the shrine, and this was the profound truth of Shinto. In contrast, the Senge's rituals were performed together with Buddhist priests, and because of their mixed or adulterated nature could not have any effect in engaging the gods. Consequently, the Senge could not possibly be the authentic and legitimate head priest house serving Shinto gods. If in the case of the zodiac and yin-yang theories Hirotaka was mobilizing authoritative yet specialized knowledge in formulating arguments to discredit the Senge house, we see here a case of actively domesticating popular ideas in constructing a new, "Shinto" form of authority for the Kitajima house and for the Izumo Shrine. Whereas the zodiac and yin-yang theories provided Hirotaka with an intellectually more sophisticated mode of authority construction, the ideas of months with (and without) the gods enabled him to link the tenth month and thereby the Kitajima house's rituals to daily social life, and upon that link build a popular form of knowledge and authority. In other words, in challenging the Senge, Hirotaka was mobilizing the legitimating power of popular culture. Indeed, the ideas of months with (and without) the gods could be traced back to as early as the twelfth century and had become widely popular by Hirotaka's time, even though the ideas had heretofore never been consciously employed by the Izumo Shrine as a strategy for articulating authority.

The origins of the idea of the Month without the Gods are unclear. Its first appearance can be traced back to a literary work on Japanese poetics called *Waka dōmōshō,* the authorship of which is attributed to the twelfth-century courtier poet Fujiwara Norikane (1107–65). That work states: "In the tenth month all the gods go to the province of Izumo. That's why this month is called the Month without the Gods (*kannazuki*)." On the other hand, the first mention of the term "month with the gods" is found in a dictionary titled *Kagakushū* and compiled in 1444 which briefly notes: "In the Izumo province it [the tenth month] is called the Month with the Gods (*kamiaritsuki*)."[26] It may be that these two ideas were mutually referential. These ideas, however, while being about the Izumo province, were only occasionally linked specifically to the Izumo Shrine; most references simply mentioned that the gods went to the Izumo province (*Izumo no kuni*). When attempts were made to pin down the specific destination, there was no agreement. In addition to the Izumo Shrine, the Sada Shrine, about twenty miles (thirty-two kilometers) east of the Izumo Shrine, was identified as another destination; another theory even argued that the gods went to the Ise Shrine, where the god of food and Amaterasu were enshrined.[27]

By the sixteenth century, however, that the gods go to the Izumo Shrine in the tenth month seems to have gained an unparalleled popular recognition even though disagreement continued in literary and philological discussions. This popularity is substantiated by theatrical performances of the time. Among them was a Noh play entitled none other than *Taisha*, as the Izumo Shrine was known at the time. The play portrays two pilgrims on their way to the Izumo Shrine in the tenth month. While enjoying the scenery of spring, they explained the reason for their trip, "in the Izumo province this month is called the month with the gods (*kamiaritsuki*). All the gods

manifest here. Matters pertaining to the gods are at their best this month, so we are now paying this visit to the Izumo Shrine."[28] While not included in the main text but in a passage between the two acts of the play, the explanation of a Shinto priest to a pilgrim gives further details on the Month with the Gods at the Izumo Shrine:

> The gods of all the sixty-six provinces of Japan visit the Great Shrine this month. So you can plead to the gods to ensure the safety of the land. Furthermore, the gods also decide on the nuptial connections between men and women. That's why in other provinces it is called the Month without the Gods whereas in this province it is called the Month with the Gods.[29]

It should be noted that even when the Izumo Shrine became connected to the ideas of the Month without the Gods and the Month with the Gods, nobody asked who the god was, or how many gods were enshrined there.

No sources, however, show that the Izumo Shrine related itself to the ideas of Months with and without the Gods until the conflicts between the two *kokusō* houses pushed Kitajima Hirotaka to make the connection in the 1630s. Arguably, the agricultural nature of the shrine's rituals through the medieval period contributed to the lack of need in making the connection. It was a liturgical framework temporally cyclical and spatially delimited to the Izumo province because as the most important shrine of the province the Izumo Shrine served an administrative role of the province primarily by soliciting, through ritual performance, the gods' protection for agricultural production in the province thereby securing tax for the imperial court. In this cyclical framework, the major ritual in the tenth month, *kamiagejinji* or Gods-Sending-Off Ritual, was paired with the rituals of the third and fourth months including the *sangatsue* ritual. In correspondence with the spring rituals, which welcomed the gods from mountains and seas to the paddy fields to protect planting and harvesting, the rituals in the tenth month were performed to express thanks and send these gods back to mountains and seas.[30] Such a ritual framework worked without the need to distinguish Izumo from other provinces, the very distinction structuring the twin ideas of the Month with and without the Gods. Associated with this medieval ritual rationale was the prestigious status of the shrine as the Primary Shrine of the province, a status officially confirmed by the imperial court since the ninth century. This official status might also have contributed to the disinterest of the shrine in appealing to the popular idea of the Month without the Gods.

In this sense, when Hirotaka brought those ideas into his arguments against the Senge, he also introduced to the Izumo Shrine a new mode of discourse with which its identity could be enunciated in a popular cultural form; and more significantly its authority could be constructed in relation to the province-transcending idea of Japan. Indeed, after Horotaka, the Month with and without the Gods became the necessary discursive themes for foregrounding the tenth month in self-representations of the Izumo Shrine. Along with this shift to self-identification with popular culture, the Izumo Shrine started to transform from a ritual institution defining its purpose and practice as a constitutive component of the *ritsuryō* state of the ninth century to a shrine that depended on and catered to the interests and needs of the general populace across the whole archipelago.

When Kurosawa Sekisai, the Confucian-Shinto official of Matsue, conducted his inspection tour of the domain in 1653 and composed the gazetteer *Kaikitsudan*, he was equally interested in determining the meaning of the Month without the Gods, as the idea provided him with a device to forward his agenda of remapping the domain as the land of the gods rather than of the Buddhas, an ideological orientation he shared with his teacher Hayashi Razan. In his gazetteer, he extolled the Izumo province as the place where the gods liked to gather and as such it commanded a prestigious central position in Japan because it exemplified the sentiment of reverence for the gods no longer found elsewhere due to the infiltration of the foreign, false Buddhist teachings.[31] The prestige enjoyed by Izumo would certainly be reinforced by the idea of the Month without the Gods if all the gods indeed came every year to meet at the Izumo Shrine. In his *Kakitsudan*, Kurosawa devoted several pages to introducing different theories on the ideas of the Month with and without the Gods (*kannazuki* and *kamiaritsuki*) only to discredit them as unfounded.[32] Sharing his teacher Hayashi's dilemma, Kurosawa apparently tried to bridge the gap between the Neo-Confucian qualms in recognizing the literal existence of the gods on the one hand, and the need to define the fundamental category of the kami that was the subject of the stories in *Nihon shoki* and other texts, the exegesis of which grounded his production and promotion of Shinto, on the other. By negating those theories that took the existence of the gods as literal truth, Kurosawa meant to explain the Month with and without the Gods in terms of Neo-Confucian yin-yang theory, that is, by unifying the two theories that Hirotaka mobilized in promoting the tenth month. In this explicatory approach, Kurosawa again was following Hayashi's example, who, in his *Shintō denju*, discussed the Month without the Gods in terms of the yin-yang dynamic.[33]

According to Kurosawa, then, the tenth month was one without yang because it was the month of extreme yin before yang started to resume after the winter solstice in the eleventh month. Because yang corresponded to "above," or *kami* 上, in contrast to yin, which meant "below," and "above" can be transcribed as *kami* 神, or the god(s), eventually the tenth month, which was without yang or "above" (*kami*), came to be known as the Month without the Gods (*kami*).[34] Quoting the phrase *yang-zhi* 陽止, or literally "the ending of yang," from the *Book of Poetry (Shi Jing)*, one of the five Confucian classics, Kurosawa argued that the tenth month could be read as either the month with, or without, the gods.[35] Thus walking around the thorny issue of defining the gods, Kurosawa went on in his introduction of the Izumo Shrine a few pages later to praise the Izumo province as an especially divine place in the divinely created Realm of the Sun (Japan)—as the divine land "where yin-yang starts and ends, and where is located the Kitsuki [Izumo Shrine] at which all the gods assemble."[36]

After the Izumo Shrine's major rebuild in the 1660s, which resurrected Ōkuninushi as its main god, the tenth month as the period of a divine assembly at the Izumo Shrine was adopted as part of the reconfigured representations of the shrine as a Shinto shrine. Sakusa Yorikiyo, the *jōkan* priest of the Izumo Shrine who conversed with Kurosawa during the latter's visit to the shrine in 1653 and led the efforts in rebuilding the Izumo Shrine in the 1660s, introduced the Month with the Gods in a work he composed in 1694, *Izumo mitsuharu zuihitsu*. This text concluded the decades-long efforts in reconfiguring the Izumo Shrine into a Shinto shrine by

providing comprehensive explanations of the head priest genealogy, rituals, and composition of the shrine complex, which all converged onto the main god enshrined in the main sanctuary, Ōkuninushi. Now with Ōkuninushi as the central figure in defining the shrine, Yorikiyo explicitly connected Ōkuninushi to the ideas of the Month with and without the Gods while appealing to the authority of tradition of the shrine to bolster this newly discovered connection.

> Japan is a divine country and Izumo is the most divine land in Japan because in Izumo is located the Hisumi no miya [the Izumo Shrine] where Ōnamuchi [another name of Ōkuninushi] is enshrined and in Izumo all the gods meet every year … All things return to their roots in the tenth month. Following this deep, ageless truth, the Izumo Shrine conducts the All-Gods-in-Izumo Ritual (*kamiarisai*) from the eleventh to the seventeenth in this month. During this period small snakes with exquisite bodily patterns arrive at the Kitsuki beach amidst abrupt thunderstorms. They are met by formally attired priests and are enshrined before the god of the shrine. This is the age-old custom of our divine land. Isn't it a sure proof of the assembling of the gods?[37]

The text provided a full list of the revamped rituals performed at the Izumo Shrine by both the Kitajima and Senge houses. The major ritual in the tenth month, the *kamiage jinji*, or Gods-Sending-Off Ritual, was reconfigured as the *karasade jinji*, or the Gods-Departure Ritual, thereby stripping off the ritual's association with the erstwhile agricultural cycle and erasing the shrine's previous role as the Primary Shrine of the Izumo province.[38] Instead, Sakusa was claiming Ōkuninushi as a god of Japan, and substantiated that claim with the Gods-Departure Ritual that confirmed the meeting of all the gods across the archipelago at the Izumo Shrine.

While the connections of the Izumo Shrine with the Month without the Gods were first made for the purpose of winning the infights between the two *kokusō* houses, over time the idea became a way of relating the shrine, and after the 1660s, the god Ōkuninushi, to the whole country rather than simply the Izumo province. Such a mode of linking proved a valuable strategy for the development of the major effort of the shrine in overcoming economic difficulties in the early modern period: popular preaching.[39] Actually, it is precisely based on the Month without the Gods that a complex theological discourse about the Izumo god Ōkuninushi was constructed in the eighteenth century, which contributed to the successful preaching across the nation that promoted the god Ōkuninushi as the popular Shinto god of creation, blessing, and fortune.

## "Respected Teachers"

Popular preaching is the most significant fund-raising practice developed by the Izumo Shrine in the early modern period. Its development reflected the double shift at the shrine: first, a shift from a primary reliance on land-based resources to raising money directly from the increasingly commercialized society and, second, a shift from a focus on the province to the entire archipelago in its search for financial resources.

At the center of popular preaching was the traveling preacher called *oshi* 御師 in Japanese, literally meaning "respected teacher."

The origin of the *oshi* at the Izumo Shrine goes back to the fifteenth century when, in the Kitsuki town, the community surrounding the Izumo Shrine, there appeared a group of inn owners who monopolized the provision of accommodation for pilgrims from within the province.[40] More specifically, each owner developed an exclusive patronage relationship with Izumo followers from a particular area. This exclusive right to accommodation provision is known as "room-right" or *muroshiki*. The formation of room-right holders' relationship with their patrons was not based on doctrinal preaching or conversion but primarily on authorization from warlords of the region.[41] That is, it was local warlords who gave these *muroshiki* holders the right to maintain the patronage relationship with people living in the areas under their military control. During the rule of the Amago house in the first half of the sixteenth century, it was the Amago and the head priests of the Izumo Shrine who jointly authorized sixteen room-rights, which comprised a local system of franchised room-right holders and pilgrims.[42] Preaching or belief did not figure prominently in this relationship as no record shows any particular concern in this regard, but parish-like communities that focused on a shared, specific god could easily develop from this relationship. Indeed, many room-right holders grew into major *oshi*, or popular preachers, in the early modern period.[43]

Financial stress resulting from landholding conscription in 1591 pushed the Izumo Shrine to increase its franchising of more room-right holders who in turn started more actively engaging in preaching, not just in Izumo but going to different provinces, a move also stimulated by favorable social conditions of peace, stability, and the development of commercialization in the wake of the establishment of the Tokugawa bakufu in 1603. This expansion contributed to the above-mentioned transformations of the room-right holders into *oshi*. By the early seventeenth century, the relationship between inn owners and pilgrims had come to rest at least partially on satisfying the requests of the pilgrims rather than solely on political authorization. In 1626, Horio Yoshiharu, the then domain lord of Matsue, issued the Kitsuki Code to the Izumo Shrine in which he ordered the inn owners (known as *shukushu* 宿主) not to fail to arrange praying sessions for parishioners (*danna*) who made such requests.[44] The "room-right holders" gradually transformed into the "respected teachers" as the central institution in support of the shrine doctrinally and financially. The status of the latter, unlike the former, came to be verified primarily by the shrine rather than military leaders.[45]

In many cases, an *oshi* was a merchant but received authorization from the Izumo Shrine as its franchised preacher.[46] So *oshi* refers to both a hereditary and transferable right to preach and the holder of that right. A documented deed signed in 1827 between the Kitajima head priest of the Izumo Shrine and an *oshi* preacher named Tanaka Kazuma shows what constituted an *oshi* in terms of rights and activities.[47]

**Permanent Sale and Transference of Parishioner Community (*danjo*)**
The Kogura region of Buzen province [of Kyushu], which includes,
The entire Kogura castle town

The entire Takawa county (*gun*)
The entire Jōmo county
The entire Kiku county
Except for the Tomino sub-county area (*tenaga*)
With [transference of] printing blocks, documents, books

The sale and transfer as specified above is true and evident. The person indicated below can begin distributing shrine print materials from this fall. He can also perform praying rituals (*kidō*) and organize confraternities to bring pilgrims to the Izumo Shrine. This transference shall remain valid into late generations without any violation. If there are attempts of violation and disruption, the shrine will take immediate action. This permanent transfer deed is sealed for long-term purposes.

Third month of eighth year of the Bunsei era [1827]
Seller: Kitajima Shuzen (seal)
Witness: Jūtarō (seal)
Witness: Tokuzaemon (seal)

[Buyer] Mr. Tanaka Kazuma

While this deed did not specify the price for this sale or the annual franchise fee Tanaka was obliged to pay to the shrine, it clearly stated the sale and transference of rights to Tanaka Kazuma and guaranteed their protection by the shrine. The rights articulated in the deed, namely, distribution of print materials, ritual performance, and confraternity organization, point to two main general categories of activities of an Izumo *oshi*: first, travel to provinces to perform praying rituals, distribute paper-strip amulets, tracts, images of the Izumo gods in scrolls and prints, and establish parishioner communities (*danjo*) in rural or urban areas, and collecting offerings called *hatsuho* or "first harvest" in cash or kind; second, provide accommodation to pilgrims whom the oshi organized into confraternities (*kō*) and brought to the shrine for pilgrimage. The oshi income was the *hatsuho* offerings minus the cost of producing amulets and prints, accommodation, transportation, and labor hire.[48] To the shrine, the oshi preachers brought two kinds of revenue: the franchise fee (it is likely that oshi further made an annual payment for the franchise), and offerings in the form of rice or money from pilgrims brought to the shrine by the oshi.[49]

The usual schedule of an oshi preacher was to travel from the ninth month to the third month of the following year in their exclusively designated preaching areas, usually in units of province or domain.[50] In many cases oshi also brought along Izumo products for distribution among local officials and local people of some status or merchants. Among this latter group were people called *sewanin*, who facilitated preaching by helping the oshi with organizing communities, distributing amulets, and collecting offerings. Into the eighteenth century, organizing Izumo followers into parishioner communities (*danjo*) came to be the dominant mode of preaching. By the early nineteenth century the Izumo Shrine's oshi preachers had expanded to regions as far north as Ezo (i.e., present-day Hokkaido, where only the southern tip was inhabited by the Japanese in the early modern period), and as far south as Kyushu, reaching into

various local communities including rural villages, urban areas, and trading centers, but also itinerant communities such as merchants-cum-ship owners who operated the thriving *kitamae-bune* transportation business along the Sea of Japan coast.[51]

The recently discovered diary of the afore-mentioned Tanaka Kazuma (1797–1862), entitled *Reflections on a Straw Pillow* (*Kusamakura sansei ki* 草枕三省記), gives us a concrete example of the activities of an oshi preacher. The diary records Tanaka's preaching travels in parts of the years of 1820, 1821, 1822, 1855, 1857, 1858, 1859 during the Kaei (1848–55) and Ansei (1855–60) eras. While no record for any year is complete, the diary does show a pattern of travel, with Tanaka leaving the Izumo Shrine for the Buzen region of northern Kyushu in the tenth month and returning at the end of the following spring.[52] Each year he brought along local products from Izumo as gifts while most of the tools and materials for preaching were left at a certain house in Buzen where he regularly stayed. These gifts included seaweed, *motoyui* (hair-tying string), salve, cotton, chopsticks, blowfish skin, and glass.[53] Tanaka offered the gifts to the Kogura domain house, county and village leaders, preaching facilitators (*sewanin*), and those Izumo followers who gave particularly large amounts of offerings.[54] Tanaka covered a large region of parishioner communities: the fifty-four-warded Kogura castle town and 237 villages amounting to a total of 13,264 households in the three counties of Takawa, Jōmo, and Kiku. The total number of households Tanaka attended to may have exceeded 15,000. This shows that at least in this case the scale of popular preaching of the Izumo Shrine was not much smaller than that of the Ise Shrine where one of the Ise preachers served 22,527 households.[55] This requires a reassessment of the popular religious landscape of the early modern period, which has been dominated by scholarly attention to the Ise preachers and pilgrimage to Ise. With such a large number of households, Tanaka could not possibly distribute the amulets and other materials all by himself. In practice, he trusted their distribution and collection of *hatsuho* offerings to elders of wards, counties, and villages while trying to visit as many communities as he could. Winter and spring in Kyushu have a lot of snow and rain, which further kept Tanaka from going out on his travels.[56] Tanaka also recorded the amount of offerings he collected. For instance, in 1860, offerings Tanaka collected in cash and kind stood at the value of 48.5 *ryō*.[57] It is not clear, however, what his net income was when all costs were deducted.[58]

Parallel to the transformation of room-right holders to traveling oshi preachers of the Izumo Shrine was periodic preaching for the specific purpose of raising funds for shrine rebuilding and renovation. This practice can be traced to the fifteenth century when itinerant Buddhist practitioners were hired to collect donations for rebuilding when the province-wide tax could no longer be easily collected. They traveled in the provinces of Izumo and neighboring Ishimi, propagating the virtuous power of the Buddha, rather than of Shinto gods, and collected offerings.[59] By 1550, the ad hoc practice had been institutionalized as the *hongan* post by the warlord Amago Tsunehisa, who gave the *hongan* enormous authority at the expenses of that of the head priests of the shrine. After the transformation of the Izumo Shrine into a self-consciously defined Shinto shrine in the 1660s, however, the *hongan* post was abolished and it was the Izumo Shrine's priests themselves who started to go out preaching to raise rebuilding funds. During 1726–41, sixteen Izumo priests conducted

bakufu-sanctioned shrine rebuilding preaching after the financially stressed bakufu rejected their request for funding.[60] In 1806, Izumo priests again conducted the same kind of fund-raising campaign for its final shrine renovation of the early modern period.[61]

Both itinerant preaching and periodic preaching for raising rebuilding funds helped bring in monetary funds to the Izumo Shrine from across the country; more significantly, these preaching efforts reaped enormous cultural capital for the shrine, transforming it from essentially a provincial ritual institution into a Shinto shrine of national renown and popularity. They achieved this transformation through actively shaping the popular idea of the Month without the Gods into a theological discourse that linked the nation to the creation god Ōkuninushi while developing a series of preaching strategies that translated this doctrinal discourse into a new form of cultural authority for Ōkuninushi and projected this authority throughout the archipelago.

## Ōkuninushi: The God of Creation and Protection

The active incorporation of the idea of the Month without the Gods into the Izumo Shrine's self-representation in the seventeenth century provided popular preachers with a valuable discursive tool to link the shrine with people across the land. But while the Month without the Gods had come to be related specifically to the Izumo Shrine rather than the Izumo province in general by the first half of the seventeenth century, the idea was probably not explicitly connected to the newly resurrected Ōkuninushi until the end of the century, since, as we have seen, Sakusa made this connection in 1694. The connection made by Sakusa may reflect the increasing need to specify the doctrine of the Izumo Shrine when popular preaching developed through the seventeenth century. We can assume that a slow process of centering preaching on the propagation of the divine power of Ōkuninushi took place through the second half of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century because by the second part of the eighteenth century a complex theological discourse on Ōkuninushi had been constructed, and laid the foundation for subsequent successful popular preaching of the Izumo Shrine. The major components of this discourse lasted until the present day in the form of the teachings of the Izumo Ōyashiro-kyō or Religion of the Grand Izumo Shrine.

One of the earliest cases of theological construction that connected Ōkuninushi to the Month without the Gods is found in a tract distributed for the Izumo priests' preaching for raising rebuilding funds in the 1720s–30s. The period no longer saw the generous support from the bakufu to the Izumo Shrine as in the 1660s. From the early eighteenth century, the bakufu started to experience chronic financial difficulties over governance as it was confronted with the problem of population growth. Totman describes the problem as "how to allocate the resources of a realm whose material production … no longer reliably met the basic needs of a population that had more than doubled in a century's time."[62] In the 1710s, the bakufu stopped financing renovation and rebuilding of prominent temples and shrines.[63] In return, it allowed the institutions to raise funds through popular preaching (*kange*). In 1725, the Izumo

Shrine received preaching permission and began itinerant fund-raising preaching that lasted fifteen years. The priests were able to raise about 12,500 *ryō* of silver, a quarter of the total cost of the rebuilding. Borrowing the rest of the cost from the bakufu as a ten-year loan, the Izumo Shrine completed the rebuilding of the main sanctuary in 1744.[64] This officially sanctioned popular preaching did not meet the fund-raising expectation of the Izumo Shrine priests but their preaching was an early, if not the first, step in popularizing the Izumo god Ōkuninushi as important to all the people across the land, and they corroborated their claim with an authoritative discourse of the divine power of the god.

The tract the Izumo priests distributed focused on introducing four closely related themes: Ōkuninushi as a creation god; Ōkuninushi as a god of protection; the manifestation of his power through the divine assembly in the tenth month at the Izumo Shrine; and the importance of rebuilding the shrine as Ōkuninushi's residence. The tract begins with an account of Ōkuninushi's divine accomplishments in creating the land of Japan: "The wise and valorous Ōnamuchi suppressed the evil gods of all regions to pacify the land and then yielded his rule to the grandson of Amaterasu so that the land was unified."[65] As the lord of the land full of exuberant life (*ashihara no jishu*), Ōnamuchi is also known as Ōkuninushi, "the Great Lord of the Land," among other names. Just as the god taught medical knowledge for curing diseases of humans and animals in generating life in the land, Ōkuninushi has the power to sustain the state and society. Indeed,

> Whether military campaigns, agriculture or treating diseases, everything is secured as long as the god is pleaded to. He is the protector of the state, the god of military forces and none other than the god of good fortune, Daikoku, enshrined in every household.[66]

It is because of his power that Amaterasu built a grand shrine at Izumo for him and arranged for her second son Amenohiho to serve as its chief priest. The shrine is not only the residence of Ōkuninushi but also his office—indeed, the "guardian of Japan" (*Nihon no shugo*)—because the god's protective power is realized through the divine assembly at the shrine. That is, all the gods in Japan gather at the Izumo Shrine in the tenth month to join Ōkuninushi in "nurturing all the people in the Land of Exuberant Reeds (*toyoashihara,* an ancient appellation of Japan)."[67] Because of this assembly, each and every household in all generations and in all the provinces receives the blessing of Ōkuninushi. During the assembly, the whole shrine area abstains from house cleaning, business transactions singing and dancing in observation of the purification practice started from times immemorial. A day before the arrival of the gods, an exquisitely patterned Dragon-Snake God serving as their messenger would appear on the seashore near the shrine to commence the seven-day assembly. Thus emphasizing the importance for each and every person of the shrine, which was now old and in need of repair, the tract concludes with the statement that the priests thereby conduct officially sanctioned fund-raising for rebuilding.

Another preaching tract from fifty years later shows further discursive developments. Not only did the interlinked themes of the creation and protective god Ōkuninushi and the idea of the Month without the Gods come to be enriched with

a process of textual verification but a significant new idea, that of the distinction between the visible human world and the invisible divine world, was introduced and incorporated into existing themes in construction of the god's power, leading to the creation of a complex theological discourse. Sasa Seishō, an *oshi* traveling preacher based in northern Kyushu, composed in 1772 a tract entitled *Taisha yūmei shi,* which he distributed among patrons including domain officials in the provinces of Tsukushi and Bungo.[68] The tract, running for thirty-two pages in modern print form, is divided into three volumes.[69] The first volume is an annotation of the ten names of Ōkuninushi. With a strategy similar to that of Kurosawa Sekisai in constituting the creation god through annotating the names of Ōkuninushi in his 1653 gazetteer *Kaikitsudan*, Sasa established the divine power of Ōkuninushi by explicating the same set of names, which in turn constituted the reasons why the god required veneration. Sasa also developed in this volume the important idea of the distinction between the world of the gods (*yū*) and that of humans (*mei*), which gives the title to the tract (*yūmei*). The second volume quotes various sources to discredit the claim that Ōkuninushi was an enemy of the imperial court, thereby establishing the legitimacy of the god in the Shinto pantheon. The third volume explicates the importance of the tenth month, the specific skills that Ōkuninushi taught humans to enable their lives, and the head priest genealogy.

Sasa tells us that his explication about Ōkuninushi is entirely based on historical records as all things about Ōkuninushi could be found in the texts of "national history" (*kokushi*).[70] Sasa's primary textual foundation was indeed the now canonized Shinto classical text *Nihon shoki*. In particular, the land-making and land-surrendering episodes in the Divine Ages chapter where Ōkuninushi played a central role in the establishment of the legitimacy of the imperial authority served as the basis for his tract. Building upon the story of Ōkuninushi's surrender of the land to Amaterasu, Sasa brought the creation and protective god Ōkuninushi to an unprecedented high status of authority in the Shinto pantheon, side by side with the authority of Amaterasu from whom the imperial house derives its political authority. The "land-transfer" (*kuni-yuzuri*) episode in *Nihon shoki* about Ōkuninushi's forced renouncement of the rule of the world to Amaterasu includes a series of themes from which Sasa picked up four for explication. First, when Ōkuninushi was forced to agree to relinquish to Amaterasu the rule of the land he created and pacified, the Takami-musubi god, one of the gods making the earliest appearance in the text, decreed that Ōkuninushi was to lead the myriad Shinto gods in supporting the rule of Amaterasu's offspring while taking up residence at the Izumo Shrine. Second, the Takami-musubi god further arranged to have his daughter married to Ōkuninushi to guarantee that he would honor the conditions under which Ōkuninushi agreed to surrender and to demonstrate that their former rivalry relationship had changed to a familial one. Third, at the moment of surrender, Ōkuninushi offered a spear to Amaterasu which he said could ensure the smooth rule of her descendants. Fourth, Ōkuninushi retreated to the invisible world, holding in front of him a large jewel (*yasakani*).[71] The four themes of leadership, marriage, spear, and jewel were brought together by Sasa to organize a set of relationships that elevated Ōkuninushi, by way of the tenth month, to the status of an unparalleled divine authority.

The most creative part of Sasa's reading is about the sacred jewel. The jewel was mentioned in the *Nihon shoki* narrative twice. In the first case, when it was held by Ōkuninushi, the jewel does not play any semantic or discursive role, being mentioned only in passing. In comparison, the second case of mentioning is more significant. The jewel, now appearing as *yasakani no magatama* or "large curved jewel," was given by Amaterasu to her grandson Ninigi together with a sword and mirror as embodiment of political authority when Ninigi descended onto the land as its ruler upon Ōkuninushi's surrender. The jewel, the sword, and the mirror came to be known as "the three imperial regalia" (*sanshu no jinki*), the symbols of political legitimacy. While it is clear Amaterasu gave the jewel to Ninigi for legitimacy, *Nihon shoki* did not explain why Ōkuninushi held one in his hands when he withdrew from the world he ruled. Sasa however attached great importance to it and creatively read into the text that the jewel was given to Ōkuninushi by Amaterasu as a symbol of authority, just like the one given to Ninigi. From here, he developed some highly significant interpretations. Pairing the jewel with the spear which Ōkuninushi gave Amaterasu, Sasa held that Amaterasu and Ōkuninushi exchanged one item for the other. The exchange of jewel and spear stood for an exchange of authority: that is, in return for his renouncing the rule of the visible human world to Amaterasu, Ōkuninushi was given the authority to rule the invisible world, i.e., the world of the gods.[72] The jewel for Sasa was the symbol of Ōkuninushi's authority to command the entire Shinto pantheon or the "eight million gods" (*yaoyorozu no kami*), as it is known in Japanese.

Through this interpretation of the jewel, Sasa transformed Ōkuninushi from a god with a past feat of creation to a god that, because of his creation feat, rules at the top of the Shinto pantheon. In *Nihon shoki*, Ōkuninushi retreated to a certain mysterious realm and was asked by the Takami-musubi god to assist the imperial rule from there. Sasa redefined the role of Ōkuninushi with his creative idea of an exchange between him and Amaterasu. This exchange, Sasa argued, spelled the essence of Shinto, that is, the unity of the gods and the emperor (*Shinto no kongen wa shinnkō ittai* 神道の根元は神皇一体) which means that whereas the emperor ruled the visible world of humans, Ōkuninushi ruled over the invisible world of the gods.[73] Indeed, in representing yin and yang, which in combination give life to the world, Sasa argues, Ōkuninushi of the Izumo Shrine and Amaterasu of the Ise Shrine should be called the two pillars of Japan.[74] The invisible world, as explicated by Sasa, does not mean a realm belonging to the gods alone and cut off from human affairs. In a way reminiscent of the medieval literary scholar Ichijō Kaneyoshi's definition of the mysterious realm (*yūji* or *kamigoto*), this realm includes human affairs that are concealed from human eyes. As such, the imperial rule was necessary but could only take care of things that are manifest. Beyond that, the divine rule of Ōkuninushi

> administers the governance (*matsurigoto*) of the hidden virtues and evils of human affairs. Thus, people with kind heart and virtuous deeds will necessarily receive help from Ōkuninushi and their misfortune will transform into fortune. On the other hand, people of evil thoughts and secret plotting commit crimes and their fortune will turn into misfortune.[75]

These are unprecedented statements. Despite Sasa's claim for unity of the gods and the emperor, his elevation of Ōkuninushi to the ruler of the invisible world of the gods and also the manager of hidden but important human affairs implied that in the Shinto "unity of the gods and the emperor" Ōkuninushi had a higher status than the emperor. In order to promote the importance of Ōkuninushi for his preaching, Sasa elevated this god to the unparalleled status that is aptly captured by his very name—"The Great Lord of the Land."

Subsequently, in volume three, Sasa used the yin-yang theory to connect Ōkuninushi's rulership to the tenth month as the Month without the Gods. The gods under the leadership of Ōkuninushi included unruly demons that, before being pacified by Ōkuninushi, roamed freely and caused trouble to the land in darkness. Sasa reinterpreted this description in *Nihon shoki* in terms of the yin-yang dynamic. These demons in command of the darkness were therefore yin, in contrast to the gods in the bright heaven, who were yang. Ōkuninushi's rule of these yin gods in nature in the invisible (yin) world, in alignment with the temporal rhythm of yin-yang fluctuation, culminates in the tenth month, the month of maximum yin in the year.[76] In other words, the tenth month was of utmost importance in Ōkuninushi's administrative calendar. Marking the importance of the month was precisely the divine assembly when all the gods go to Izumo to decide on matters of great importance, an event that always began with the appearance of the Dragon-Snake God on the coast near the Izumo Shrine.[77] To corroborate his theory of the Month without the Gods, Sasa told us that the performance of the Ritual of Sending the Gods (to the Izumo Shrine) (*kamiokuri*) at the end of the ninth month and the ritual of Welcoming-the-Gods-Back (*kamimukai*) at the end of the tenth month in numerous places across the archipelago corresponded extremely well with the timing of the assembly at the Izumo Shrine.[78]

Sasa next brought together the three themes—the tenth month, marriage, and Ōkuninushi's divine rule—to explain that the most important thing at the divine assembly at the Izumo Shrine in the tenth month was deciding on people's marriages (*enmusubi*). Because the Takami-musubi god arranged Ōkuninushi's marriage in conjunction with his decree for the latter to rule the invisible affairs, Sasa argued, marriage enabled Ōkuninushi's divine rule and was its proof. As such, marriage arrangement was the principal issue at the divine assembly as the Takami-musubi god's divine arrangement embodied the positive karmic connection (*aien no kanno* 相縁の感応) which, upon praying to Ōkuninushi and his wife, people would be able to experience. When marriages are made according to these connections, households will continue for many generations.[79] Sasa's reasoning here may sound forced, but it served his purpose. By relating the widely popular idea of *enmusubi* with Ōkuninushi via the tenth month, Sasa made Ōkuninushi able to address an issue of utmost concern for most people of the time: to ensure continuity of a family line.[80]

Sasa's preaching tract then elevated Ōkuninushi to a Shinto god whose divine power related directly to both the daily life and the most vital concern of all people. By so doing, the tract articulated a popular and theological form of authority that relativized the authority of the imperial house and Amaterasu. It transformed the idea of the Month without the Gods into a matrix structuring time, which culminates in

the tenth month, and space, which centers on Izumo, of the archipelago, wherein its past, present, and future all hinged upon the divine power of Ōkuninushi, the Great Lord of the Land. Such a matrix, despite Sasa's claim for Ōkuninushi as yin which needs the yang of the imperial rule to be complete, implicitly displaces the discursive and ritual structure in which the authority of Amaterasu was articulated and the imperial court was organized. It does so by presenting an alternative mode to relate the gods to the humans, not by justifying a political state but by speaking to people's ordinary concern.

As we will see, by the end of the early modern period, the theological discourse represented by Sasa's tract had become the standard textual basis for the Izumo Shrine's popular preaching. The themes of creation, the Month without the Gods, marriage arrangement, and the Dragon-Snake God all became the warp and weft with which the protective and blessing power of Ōkuninushi was articulated discursively and institutionally. But the power of Ōkuninushi was not limited to creation and protection; it could also bring about fortune. That is, traveling proselytizers reinforced the power of their god by implementing another proselytizing strategy: to promote Ōkuninushi as the god of good fortune (*fuku no kami*).

## Ōkuninushi: The God of Good Fortune

The idea and image of Ōkuninushi as the protective god of the nation, constructed through refiguring the idea of the Month without the Gods, were further reinforced by Izumo preachers' deliberate conflation of representations of Ōkuninushi with those of the fortune god named Daikokuten (Sanskrit: Mahākāla), thereby transforming Ōkuninushi simultaneously into a Shinto god of creation and protection and the popular deity of good fortune. Taking advantage of the phenomenal development of commercialization in early modern Japan, the Izumo Shrine's strategy of representational conflation of Ōkuninushi with Daikokuten (Mahākāla) met the needs of a society for protection from the precariousness of business investment and transactions and in turn succeeded in popularizing Ōkuninushi as a god capable of taking care of each and every dimension of people's lives.

The origin of the god Mahākāla can be traced to early India where he was described as an incarnation of the god Shiva known for destruction. But when that destructive power was domesticated by Buddhism, he was also depicted in that capacity as a figure with three scowling faces and six arms in protection of the Buddhist Dharma.[81] On the other hand, according to the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* (Jp. *Nankai kikinaihōden*), a travelogue composed by the Tang-dynasty Yijing (Jp. Gijō, 635–713) about his visit to India, Buddhist temples there enshrined Mahākāla on kitchen pillars as a god of good fortune, depicting him as a dark-colored, two-armed figure shouldering a sack. This cult of Mahākāla was brought into China along with Esoteric Buddhism and in turn was introduced to Japan by the Tendai monk Saichō in the ninth century, resulting in the practice of enshrining Mahākāla as a kitchen tutelary god in Tendai temples. Mahākāla, whose name meant literally "great black," took on the Sino-Japanese name Da-hei-tian (pronounced Daikokuten in Japanese, meaning "great black deity") and

came to be depicted with a pleasant facial expression in place of the fearsome scowl of earlier manifestations. By the sixteenth century, the belief in Daikokuten as a god of good fortune had moved beyond temple walls into popular culture. The most common representation of Daikokuten in the popularization process changed to that of a chubby, smiling old man with a "wealth-pounding" wooden mallet in his right hand and a treasure sack over his left shoulder while standing on two bales of rice, symbolizing bountiful harvest.

On the other hand, the god (or gods, as the Japanese term *kami* can be singular or plural) enshrined at the Izumo Shrine was also identified as the god of good fortune from at least the sixteenth century despite the fact that the specific name or identity of the god was left unarticulated. Like the association of the Month without the Gods with the shrine, the identity of the god enshrined there as one of good fortune was depicted in popular theatrical performances of the time such as that of *kyōgen*, a short, comical play performed between two acts of a Noh play.[82] One of the *kyōgen* plays was titled *The God of Good Fortune* (*Fuku no kami*). The play tells about two pilgrims journeying to the Izumo Shrine to make their spring offerings to the god of good fortune and when the god manifested himself, asked him for wealth and honor. As it turned out, the fortune god needed a large amount of wine before bestowing the secret of good fortune, which the pilgrims had brought with them apparently in anticipation of that demand. Upon consuming plentiful "sacred wine," the fortune god revealed the secret:

> Rise up swiftly in the morning, with compassion in your heart. Man and woman joined in wedlock, never let anger come between you … To all the joyful gods, always give them the very best of all your possessions. And when you serve wine to guests, give them your best wine. If you pour their cups brimful, until they cry stop … you will find that you are blessed with joy unbounded.[83]

Leaving aside the didactic and satirical tone of the play, the appeal of the twists ending with the punch line of the god's revealing the secret was based on the idea of the Izumo god as the god of good fortune, an idea arguably popular enough to have given rise to the creation and circulation of the play.

Nevertheless, no evidence shows that the Izumo god was associated or identified with the fortune god Daikoku in the sixteenth century. This may reflect the fact that the fortune god (*fuku no kami*) was a generic category that could be identified with different gods at the same time. Indeed, seven gods of different origins came to be worshiped together as the Seven Fortune Gods (*shichifukujin*), from the sixteenth century, and remain widely popular in Japan.[84] In any case, the well-known Neo-Confucian-Shinto theorist Yamazaki Ansai (1619–82) made one of the first identifications of the god Ōnamuchi, i.e., Ōkuninushi, as a god of good fortune. Apparently out of his desire to domesticate the foreign Mahākāla into the Shinto divinity, Yamazaki argued that Daikoku (Mahākāla) was none other than Ōnamuchi or Ōkuninushi, which could also be pronounced as Daikoku.[85] This strategy of conflating the two gods to create Ōkuninushi as the god of good fortune was enabled by similarity in the pronunciations of the two gods' names. The first two Chinese characters of the name Ōkuninushi, meaning respectively "great" and "land," can be

read as "daikoku" in Sino-Japanese pronunciation, the same as the Japanese reading of Mahākāla, Daikoku, meaning "great" and "black." Their names written in katakana or pronounced in shortened versions are therefore the same: Daikoku.

Yamazaki Ansai's phonetic strategy was adopted by the Izumo Shrine.[86] From the early eighteenth century if not earlier, the Izumo Shrine and its preachers made consistent efforts to present and propagate the god Ōkuninushi as the fortune god Mahākāla, i.e., Daikokuten. Similarity in names facilitated imitation in visual representations of Ōkuninushi as Daikokuten. This conflation strategy first appeared in the preaching tract, introduced earlier in this chapter, distributed by the Izumo priests on their fund-raising tours of the 1720s–30s. As has been shown, the tract explicitly identified Ōkuninushi with Daikokuten in order to cash in on the popularity of the latter god to emphasize the divine power of Ōkuninushi to satisfy all needs of society:

> Whether military campaigns, agriculture or curing diseases, everything is secured as long as the god is pleaded to. He is the protector of the state, a military god and none other than the god of good fortune, Daikoku, enshrined in every household.

At the same time or earlier, priests and preachers distributed images of Ōkuninushi modeled after that of Daikokuten. Kisaki Tekisō, a resident of Ohama town to the north of Kyoto, recorded in his 1757 essay collection *Shūi zatsuwa* an episode that helps us catch a glimpse of these efforts.

> In the third year of the Kanpō Era (1743), the Izumo priest Kitakawa Sangita came to Ohama for the first time and presented *tamagushi* (camellia branches attached with folded paper strings as offering to the kami) to our domain lord. I also received the *tamagushi* and had the pleasure of viewing the painting of Ōnamuchi painted by the Kitajima *kokusō* of three generations. It looks the same as the popular Daikokuten.[87]

If we count twenty years as one generation, then the painting Kisaki viewed was made by a *kokusō* before the end of the seventeenth century, prior to the preaching tract of the 1720s. Even if the exact date cannot be determined, it is evident that the Izumo *kokusō* head priest backed, if not actually took the lead in deploying, the strategy of visually conflating, partially or completely, Ōkuninushi with Daikokuten, as early as the turn of the eighteenth century. That this preaching strategy was endorsed and supported by the head priest of the Izumo Shrine is clear from another painting, which was signed (that is, endorsed if not painted) by Senge Toshikatsu, the Senge *kokusō* at the turn of the nineteenth century.[88] Here, Ōkuninushi was made to squat on two bales of rice, referring to the image of good fortune and the god Daikokuten (Figure 3). At the same time, Ōkuninushi held in front of him a jewel which, according to the popular preacher Sasa, signified the god's authority in commanding the entire Shinto pantheon. Here we see the conscious deployment of the strategy of conflation to borrow the power of Daikokuten while simultaneously maintaining the symbol of authority that defines Ōkuninushi as the paramount Shinto deity.

Images that conflated Ōkuninushi and Daikokuten may have been widely known in the eighteenth century. An interesting recent discovery at the Izumo Shrine's main sanctuary, which underwent large-scale renovations in 2009–13, lends support to

**Figure 3** *Senge Toshikatsu san Daikoku shinzō* 千家俊勝賛大国神像 turn of the
eighteenth century. Courtesy Isonomiya Hachiman Shrine

this assumption. Around 2010, renovation workers found images of Ōkuninushi as Daikokuten painted in ink on several planks that formed the wall of the main sanctuary (Figure 4). Carpenters specializing in shrine and temple construction determined that these planks were the original ones used in the 1744 rebuilding (while other pieces are post-1744 replacement of original but decayed ones). When I visited the shrine in December 2011 and took the picture, the priest guide told me that the image, painted in black ink, was left as a signature by a carpenter of the time who tried to remind later generations of his and his colleagues' work. In one image, Ōkuninushi was squatting on two bales of rice. Sasa Seishō in his 1772 tract also identified Ōkuninushi as the god of good fortune. This was evident for Sasa because the protective power of Ōkuninushi secured not only the efforts of warriors, farmers, and artisans, but also of merchants. As such, Ōkuninushi "made sure of the realization of the successes and fortunes of all people."[89]

If the extent to which Ōkuninushi was also known as Daikokuten in the eighteenth century is not easy to determine, a rich array of preaching tools and materials left by Izumo preachers of the nineteenth century speak strongly of the nationwide popularity that Ōkuninushi as Daikokuten most likely had attained in the second half of the early modern period. To give a sense of how that popularity resulted from the iconographic conflation strategy of the two deities, I would like to introduce here two images from the second half of the Tokugawa period. Figure 5 is a painting of Ōkuninushi qua Daikokuten by the Izumo priest-scholar Senge Kiyotari (1770–1851). In this image, the Ōkuninushi-Daikokuten conflation is clear: wooden mallet, treasure sack, and two bales of rice in combination with court attire symbolizing status and authority. Figure 6 is an Izumo amulet that *oshi* preachers printed out to distribute among Izumo followers. The *oshi* actually brought with them the print block so that they could produce many prints with the image of Ōkuninushi on site. The amulet



**Figure 4**  Ōkuninushi painted on shrine wall plank, c. 1744. Photo taken by author

**Figure 5** *Ōkuninushi shinzō* 大国主神像, early nineteenth century. Courtesy Izumo
　Bunka Densho Museum

**Figure 6** *Shusse chōju Daikokuten gohu* 出世長寿大黒天護符, 1863. Courtesy
Izumo Bunka Densho Museum

was printed in 1863 (3rd year of the Bunkyū era) and shows Ōkuninushi in complete conflation with Daikokuten, with the caption saying "Rising in the World and Living a Long Life: Daikokuten (Amulet)" without even mentioning Ōkuninushi.

The Izumo Shrine's representational strategy in promoting Ōkuninushi as the popular god of fortune, however, did not render invisible the implicit political statement. While the images of Ōkuninushi were sometimes conflated with those of Daikokuten, many of them, as the one endorsed by the Izumo head priest, were explicitly recognizable as the unique Ōkuninushi: standing on two bales of rice yet holding a large jewel in his hands rather than the fortune-bringing mallet and the sack. The jewel, as Sasa made abundantly clear in his tract, symbolized an unparalleled form of divine authority. The images then were a visual confirmation of the claim to that authority while at the same time presenting the god as capable of meeting the various practical needs of society, including the need for a sense of security in the unpredictable world of business. In other words, the Izumo Shrine's claim for a supreme form of authority, in replacement of that of Amaterasu to whom Ōkuninushi surrendered the rule of the land, was based on Ōkuninushi's power to satisfy all the needs of the society rather than to justify the rule of the imperial court.

## Father and Son: Two Gods of Good Fortune

In its promotion of Ōkuninushi, the Izumo Shrine did not stop at conflating the representation of that god and that of Daikokuten the good fortune god. Another strategy was to couple Ōkuninushi with his son Kotoshironushi and to combine the father-son



**Figure 7** *Nishinomiya Daijingū oshinsatsu* 西宮大神宮御神札, late Tokugawa period. Courtesy Hakushika Sake Museum

gods with the images of Daikkuten and Ebisu, the latter being another popular god of good fortune, known for securing a bountiful catch for fishermen. By so doing, Izumo preachers borrowed the popularity of Daikokuten and Ebisu as the paired fortune gods worshiped from the sixteenth century.

The origin of the god Ebisu is difficult to trace, although his connection with the sea became from early on the major dimension of the god's identity. As a *kyōgen* play entitled *Ebisu and Daikoku* from the sixteenth century shows,[90] Ebisu had been identified with Hiruko, the leech child whom the gods Izanami and Izanagi generated in their act of engendering the Japanese islands, according to the Divine Ages narratives in *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*. The leech child greatly disappointed the two gods and was abandoned by being floated away at sea. But establishing the ancestry of Ebisu by connecting him with the creation myth of Japan could be a later attempt at explaining Ebisu's already popular connection with the sea. Why the leech child became Ebisu the god of fishing was not explained. His ambiguous origin notwithstanding, in dominant popular representations of the early modern period Ebisu was a god holding a fishing pole or a sea bream.

Ebisu was also associated from early on with commerce. Shrines to Ebisu as a tutelary god of the marketplace were dedicated (*kanjō*) within the Tōdaiji temple in Nara in 1163 and at Kamakura's Tsurugaoka Hachimangū in 1253, and they gradually attracted the devotion of merchants in conjunction with the expansion of commerce. The main shrine of Ebisu, the Nishinomiya Shrine not far from the commercial center Osaka, was the major promoter of the god as the tutelary of commerce.[91] One strategy of promotion by the Nishinomiya Shrine was to juxtapose Ebisu with Daikokuten (Figure 7),[92] partly because Daikokuten, that is, Ōkuninushi, was also enshrined at



**Figure 8** *Ebisu & Daikoku zu* 恵比須・大黒図, late seventeenth/early eighteenth century. Courtesy Ichigami Shrine

**Figure 9** *Ōkuninushi mikoto kami & Ebisu kami* 大国主命神・恵美須神, late Tokugawa/early Meiji period. Courtesy Ichigami Shrine

the compound since as early as the eighth century, and partly because it had been a customary practice to place the two gods together for worshiping. In so doing, the shrine might have been following earlier examples. The early eighteen-century court artist Kōno Shūshin (1660–1728) left us a painting where Daikoku and Ebisu drank together (Figure 8). The afore-mentioned *kyōgen* play, *Ebisu and Daikoku*, shows that the pairing was already in place by the sixteenth century. The story is simple: a devout follower of the two gods was visited by the two and offered plenty of goods and money as result of his devotion. In the play, the two gods explained their origins. Ebisu god traced his ancestry to the two gods Izanami and Izanagi, whereas Daikoku to the Tendai Temple on Mount Hiei as the protecting god of this sect's numerous believers.[93]

The god Kotoshironushi could also be associated with the sea. In the narratives of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, Kotoshironushi was enjoying fishing when the heavenly gods sent down by Amaterasu to subjugate Ōkuninushi came to him and demanded his submission. After the god agreed to submit to Amaterasu, he retreated into the distant sea. The Izumo priests and preachers magnified this association with the sea and conflated the representations of Kotoshironushi with those of Ebisu (Figure 9). The deliberate conflating and coupling of the father-son gods as fortune gods by the Izumo Shrine generated mutually reinforcing effects with the Nishinomiya Shrine; the promotion of Daikoku and Ebisu was simultaneously that of Ōkuninushi and Kotoshironushi. These proselytizing strategies were deployed by the Izumo Shrine to popularize its gods with the eventual goal of raising more funds. These strategies, however, also functioned as articulations of a form of authority of Ōkuninushi not simply as the lord of the Shinto pantheon but also as the source of human life itself. That is, a vision of Shinto divinity different from the imperial one was articulated: Ōkuninushi as the god of agriculture, symbolized by the bales of rice, and Kotoshironushi as the god of the sea, symbolized by the fish held in his hand, represented provision of the necessary conditions for human life, emphasis on which worked to relativize the rice-centered vision of life transmitted and conditioned by the rule of Amaterasu and her imperial descendants.

## Dragon-Snake, Mouse, and a Thousand People

The complex theological discourse and multiple modes of representation developed by the Izumo Shrine priests and preachers constituted a kind of tool kit with which they expanded into various kinds of communal spaces and organized followers of the Izumo gods into different types of communities. As previously indicated, the primary mode in which Izumo *oshi* preachers conducted their activities was through establishing parishioner communities, or *danjo*. This form of community was effective in rural settings, with the help of local officials and wealthy farmers in organizing and distributing amulets and collecting donations. On the other hand, when the parishioners decided to visit the Izumo Shrine as pilgrims, they were organized into confraternities (*kō*) for the duration of the trip. In time, confraternities became a major communal form and may have been conflated with the institution of *danjo* in urban areas and for followers such as merchants and ship owners, who were on the move.

**Figure 10** *Ryūjajin* 龍蛇神, late Tokugawa/early Meiji period. Courtesy Ichigami Shrine

While *danjo* communities were developed by Izumo preachers from the early seventeenth century, by the first half of the nineteenth century, confraternities had become another major vehicle for the Izumo preachers to reach people that *danjo* organizations could not. While using different themes, these confraternities shared the same theological discourse of Ōkuninushi as the god of creation, fortune, and protection.

One theme used to organize Izumo followers into confraternities was the Dragon-Snake God (*ryūjajin* 龍蛇神). The god made his first notable appearance in the *Izumo mizuharu zuihitsu* by Izumo priest Sakusa Yorikiyo as part of the Izumo Shrine's efforts to resurrect Ōkuninushi in the 1660s together with their emphasis on the tenth month for defining the Izumo Shrine, and then appeared in all the later preaching tracts. As a result, the snake became the trademark of the tenth month as the month of the divine assembly.[94] The *oshi* traveling preacher Kitagawa Sangita on his trip to Ohama in 1743 brought the image of the Dragon-Snake God with him together with that of Ōkuninushi as objects of worship.[95] Over time, the messenger Dragon-Snake God, which played a supporting role in the theme of the Month without the Gods, became part of the Izumo pantheon after being elevated to a god in charge of protecting humans from the dangers of flood, wind, and fire, and thereby becoming an object of worship itself. Nariai Ukyō, the traveling preacher who based his activity in the central commercial area of Osaka, organized Izumo followers into the Dragon-Snake God confraternity. The confraternity's introductory tract opened with a brief account of Ōkuninushi's accomplishments in creating and protecting the land, referring readers to *Nihon shoki* for details. The following explanation of the Month without the Gods led to the exposition of the divine power of the Dragon-Snake God. As a sea god, the Dragon-Snake was able to protect people from sea disasters, and by extension, disasters caused by flood, wind, and fire, in particular to secure the safety of ships at sea.[96] The confraternity had a monthly membership fee of six *monme,* which was collected twice a year. Nariai would display for one day every month a scroll depicting the image of the Dragon-Snake God, such as the one illustrated in Figure 10, and host prayers for health, longevity, safety from fire, flood, and wind, and the safety of every household. In the first month of each year, Nariai would distribute the Dragon-Snake amulet and other Izumo Shrine amulets, similar to the image in Figure 11, and in the fifth and ninth months collect membership fees.[97]

A second kind of confraternity that Nariai organized was the Mouse confraternity (*Kinoene kō* 甲子講). How and when the image of the mouse became connected to Ōkuninushi and the Izumo Shrine is an open historical question. In the entry "Daikokuten shinkō," *The Comprehensive Dictionary of Japanese History* (*Nihonshi daijiten*) posits that the connection originated from the mythological narratives in *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* where a mouse served as the messenger for Ōkuninushi when the latter was forced to undergo a series of life-threatening tests.[98] In the entry "Kōshimachi" or the Kōshi Festival, a festival devoted to Daikokuten, the dictionary holds that Daikokuten is associated, according to Sino-Japanese geomancy, with the northern direction; the north corresponds to the mouse, the first of the twelve zodiac animals.[99] It is interesting to note that Nariai did not trouble himself with finding the origin of the mouse, but simply cited tradition as the reason for calling his organization the Mouse Confraternity. The founding statement gives a standard introduction

**Figure 11** *Gofu Taisha gokitō gyūba anzen* 護符大社御祈祷牛馬安全, late Tokugawa/early Meiji period. Courtesy Izumo Bunka Densho Museum

of the power of Ōkuninushi, first in creating the land then blessing people with good fortune, money, and business prosperity. The building of the Izumo Shrine, the statement continues, and the appointment of the god Amenohohi as its first priest by Amaterasu is based on the fact that Ōkuninushi is the ruler of divine affairs, which are carried out in the Month with the Gods when all humans are blessed and marriage decisions are made:[100]

> It is an age-old custom that praying to images of Ōkuninushi on the days of *kōshi* [the mouse] can lead to avoidance of disasters, good fortune, and the realization of all wishes. The Kitajima *kokusō* in particular hopes that the blessing power of Ōkuninushi reaches Osaka; therefore I am setting up the Mouse Confraternity.[101]

In 1846, the Izumo preacher Hiraigaki Suzuhira established what he called the "Thriving Thousand People Confraternity" (*futebute sennin kō* 太太千人講). The epithet "Thousand People" was common for confraternities at the time, probably indicating the organizer's wish for prosperity, but what makes this Izumo confraternity stand out is that its members were mostly people on the move: port traders, merchants from Osaka and Hakodate in Ezo, and owners of flourishing transport ships that plied along the Sea of Japan coast between Ezo and trade ports in Western Japan.[102] That is, rather than preaching and organizing followers of Ōkuninushi based on geographical units, Hiraigaki succeeded in organizing people constantly traveling at sea into the Izumo confraternity with none other than the Izumo Shrine itself, located in the middle of the Sea of Japan transportation route, as its base. The Thousand People Confraternity thus provided these people with a hub for re-centering their busy, precarious, constantly moving life style. Each member was charged an offering to the shrine at the value equivalent to the amount of rice consumed by an adult in three months. In return, members received amulets and scrolls with images of the god, among other gifts, and enjoyed the prestige of receiving divine wine in the main sanctuary and access to the treasure collection when they visited the Izumo Shrine in the third and seventh months every year.

The theme in the theological discourse used to tie Ōkuninushi to this special group of followers was the father-son team of Ōkuninushi and Kotoshironushi. The confraternity's member list opened with a brief explanation for why and how the association was organized. The short explanation begins with Ōkuninushi's creation of the land but then introduces his son Kotoshironushi who "likes fish, travels at sea, and started fishing and trade among humans. The fortune gods of Daikoku and Ebisu popular among people are precisely these father-son gods." With Kotoshironushi's connection to sea foregrounded, the text goes on to emphasize the protective power of Ōkuninushi as the ruler of the invisible divine affairs:

> To rule the invisible world of the gods means that all the good and bad things in the human world, including marriage, illness, child birth, agriculture, rain and wind, are all determined in the invisible world … The *kokusō* of the Izumo Shrine, tracing their origin to the god Amenohohi, performs more than seventy rituals a year, among them the third month and the tenth month, called the month with the gods, being the most important.[103]

The text then states that making an offering and praying in front of Ōkuninushi at the Izumo Shrine would secure "the long fortune of the warrior houses, prosperity of offspring, success of households, and fulfillment of all wishes."

Through the Izumo priests and preachers' mobilization of the popular idea of the Month without the Gods and a variety of representational strategies, together with the increasing circulation of the classics *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, upon which the discourse of Ōkuninushi as the Shinto god of creation, blessing, and fortune based its textual authority, by the mid-nineteenth century Ōkuninushi had grown into a god of fortune and protection known to people of various walks of life across the Japanese archipelago. Both traveling preaching and the temporary fund-raising activities helped bring in monetary resources from across the country; more significantly, these efforts reaped enormous cultural capital for the shrine, transforming it from essentially a ritual institution that defined itself in relation to the earlier land-based political structure into a nationally renowned and popular Shinto shrine. This transformation was achieved by actively reconfiguring the popular idea of the Month without the Gods into a theological discourse that linked the nation to the creation god Ōkuninushi; based on it, they developed a series of discursive and institutional strategies through which the Izumo Shrine was able to articulate a new form of cultural authority in competition with the imperial court and project that authority throughout the archipelago.

The divine authority of Ōkuninushi, articulated by way of the idea of the Month without the Gods, was evident in many of popular culture depictions, especially *ukiyo-e* woodblock prints. Among many *ukiyo-e* prints portraying stories and tales about the Month without the Gods, we will examine five. The first one (Figure 12) was made by the famous *ukiyo-e* painter Utagawa Kunihisa around the turn of the nineteenth century. It depicts the moment of the divine assembly at the Izumo Shrine when the gods decide on marriages for young people. The Dragon-Snake God is ushering in more gods on the left side of the painting, while Ōkuninushi sits at the



**Figure 12** *Izumo no kuni Taisha no zu* 出雲国大社之図, early nineteeth century. Courtesy Shimane Museum of Ancient Izumo
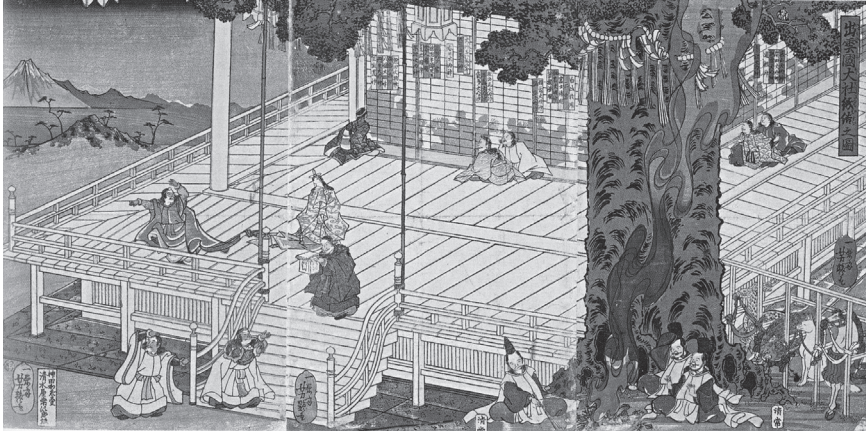
**Figure 13** *Izumo Taisha enmusubi zu* 出雲大社縁結図, first half of the nineteenth
century. Courtesy Shimane Museum of Ancient Izumo
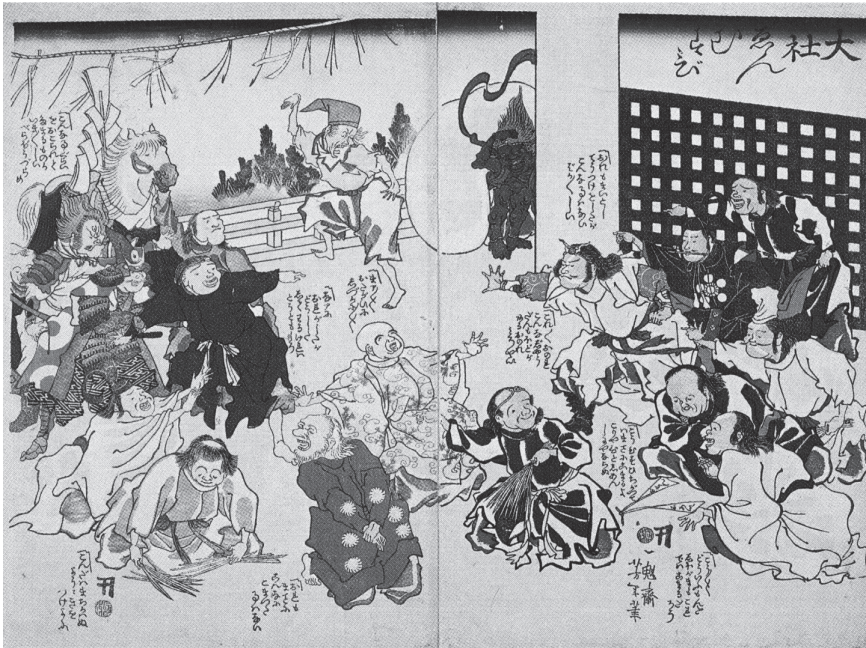


**Figure 14** *Taisha enmusubi zu* 大社ゑんむすび図, late Tokugawa/early Meiji
period. Courtesy Shimane Museum of Ancient Izumo

center on the ground floor of the main sanctuary of Izumo Shrine, with Amaterasu at his side, indicating the secondary status of the imperial ancestor. Other gods were busying themselves with writing down the names of soon-to-be-couples. The second painting (Figure 13), on the same theme, is by another well-known *ukiyo-e* painter, Utagawa Yoshitsuya (1822–66). Here, lesser gods are trying to eavesdrop on the marriage decisions being made by the gods inside the hall. At the far left of the painting is Mount Fuji, which by the end of the Tokugawa period had become a symbol of Japan. This is indeed a depiction of Japan centering on the Izumo Shrine.

Another *ukiyo-e* print (Figure 14), painted by the famous artist Utagawa Yoshitoshi (1839–92) in 1868, depicts gods quarreling. Why did they quarrel? Because there were so many couples to be married that the god serving as scribe mixed up the names! Now the gods on the right side were pointing at the god in the middle for his failure to perform his job. The god being accused was trying to explain, or make up a good excuse.

The fourth and fifth prints belong to the genre of catfish painting (*namazu-e*) with the catfish as main motif. The fourth shows a catfish (*namazu*) being beaten up by people in Edo after the great Ansei earthquake in the tenth month of 1855. Catfish had come to be considered the cause of earthquakes in Japan since the sixteenth century.[104] Normally, the catfish were put under the control of a powerful kami named Kashima and in the tenth month when Kashima goes to the Izumo Shrine for the great assembly Ebisu would be on guard for him. In 1855, however, the catfish were able to break loose from the control of the less powerful Ebisu and caused the earthquake that took thousands of human lives in Edo alone. On the left side of the picture is a board



**Figure 15** *Daijishin yōkai jingū taiji no zu* 大地震妖怪神宮退治之図, c. 1855. Courtesy Shimane Museum of Ancient Izumo

**Figure 16** *Ebisuten mōshiwake no ki* 恵比寿天申訳之記, c. 1855. Courtesy Shimane Museum of Ancient Izumo

showing the name of the shop: "House of the Month without Gods" (*Kannazukiya*) (Figure 15). For the same reason, the catfish were brought in front of Kashima for investigation, as depicted in the fifth print. Ebisu, having failed in watching the catfish during the absence of Kashima, is apologizing to Kashima for letting the catfish cause the earthquake (Figure 16).

## Conclusion

This chapter examined how Ōkuninushi rose to national popularity as the Shinto god of creation, protection, and fortune in the early modern period. It traced the development of a theological discourse and the corresponding strategies of popular preaching that promoted this popularity in the broad, commercializing social space of early modern Japan. These discursive and institutional developments were direct reactions by the Izumo Shrine to its worsened financial situation and dissipation of authority at the turn of the seventeenth century, which resulted from political and social changes, in particular from the conscription of more than half of the Izumo Shrine's landholding to sponsor Toyotomi Hideyoshi's military campaign in the Korean Peninsula. The dramatic reduction in economic and administrative power led to long-term changes in how the Izumo Shrine raised funds, giving rise to a series of preaching strategies and the gradual formation of a new way of articulating its cultural authority.

Characteristic of these preaching strategies was a combination of folk ideas and beliefs with the newly canonized texts of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* in the active construction of a doctrinal discourse that linked the whole nation to Ōkuninushi as the Shinto god of creation and good fortune. At the center of this discourse was the popular idea of *kannazuki* 神無月 or the "Month without the Gods," the time when all gods go to Izumo. Izumo Shrine's preachers transformed the idea of the Month without the Gods into a theological discursive matrix in structuring time and space of the archipelago in which its past, present, and future all hinged upon the divine power of Ōkuninushi, the Great Lord of the Land. This matrix implicitly displaces the discursive and ritual structure in which the authority of Amaterasu was articulated and the imperial court was organized. It does so by presenting an alternative mode to relate the gods to humans, not by justifying a political state but by speaking to early modern people's ordinary yet extremely important concern, the concern with family prosperity and continuation.

The national popularity of Ōkuninushi as the protective god of the nation, constructed through refiguring the idea of the Month without the Gods, was reinforced by Izumo preachers' deliberate conflation of representations of Ōkuninushi with those of the fortune god Daikokuten, thereby gaining Ōkuninushi the double identity of a Shinto god of creation and protection and the popular deity of good fortune. This conflation strategy effectively responded to the need of a commercializing society for protection from precarious and unpredictable business investment and operations. Another strategy was to couple Ōkuninushi with his son Kotoshironushi and to conflate the father-son gods with the images of Daikokuten and Ebisu, the latter being another popular god of fortune, particularly associated with fishing and a bountiful catch for fishermen. By so doing, Izumo preachers borrowed the popularity of Daikokuten and Ebisu, who had become household names by the early modern period.

These multiple modes of representation facilitated by a complex theological discourse centering on Ōkuninushi contributed to the successful expansion of Izumo preachers into a variety of communal spaces and enabled the preachers to organize Izumo followers of different social and economic backgrounds into correspondingly different types of communities. While *danjo* communities were developed by Izumo proselytizers from the early seventeenth century, by the first half of the nineteenth century confraternities called *kō* had become another major institution of Izumo follower communities and continued to develop until 1871 when the Meiji government disbanded all confraternities to construct a nationalized Shinto. While using different themes, these confraternities shared the same theological discourse of Ōkuninushi as the god of creation, fortune, and protection. Thus, through the Izumo priests and preachers' mobilization of the popular idea of the Month without the Gods and a variety of representational strategies, together with the increasing circulation of the classical texts *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, on which the discourse of Ōkuninushi as the Shinto god of creation, blessing, and fortune based its textual authority, Ōkuninushi by the mid-nineteenth century had grown into a god of fortune and protection known to people of various walks of life across the Japanese archipelago, as evidenced in popular cultural depictions, especially *ukiyoe* paintings.

# True Pillar of the Soul, 1792–1846

*That all the gods gathered at Izumo to build the Grand Shrine for Ōkuninushi [after the god renounced the rule of the land to Amaterasu] is because Ōkuninushi is the lord of the invisible world [of the gods] … When one thinks about the popular idea [of the tenth month,] they will see clearly why this is the case. As the popular idea goes, in the tenth month the gods in all provinces go to the assembly at the Great Izumo Shrine … This idea has been transmitted from the ancient past and truth is embedded in its persistent transmission.*

Hirata Atsutane, *True Pillar of the Soul* (1811)

The transformation of Ōkuninushi from a little-known name in the early seventeenth century to a god of nationwide popularity by the second half of the early modern period—a result of Izumo priests and preachers' centuries-long popular preaching—laid down the cultural ground for the god to emerge to be a key figure in the Nativists' Shinto discourse at the turn of the nineteenth century. The above quote from *Tama no mihashira* (*True Pillar of the Soul*), a major work by the Nativist theorist Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), shows how he was building upon the idea of the Month without the Gods to make truth claims about the kami. This chapter then traces the rise of Ōkuninushi to the pinnacle of a new kami order that anchored the Shinto discourse, a discourse constructed by Nativist scholars, in particular Hirata Atsutane, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Rather than motivated by the desire to bring the emperor to the center of Shinto in articulating a proto-nationalism, the Nativists' project of formulating an ostensibly indigenous form of knowledge, identified as *kami no michi* or "the Way of the Gods," which can also be pronounced as *Shinto*, was compelled by the anxiety to overcome a deepening epistemological and social crisis that was evidenced not only by the influx of knowledge of Western astronomical science and Christianity but also by European, and especially by Russian, colonial expansion in the Far East. In other words, the creation of the Nativist Shinto discourse was intrinsically connected to transregional flows of knowledge between Japan, China, and Europe transmitted by Catholic missionaries and Dutch and Chinese traders, as well as to European colonization in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In this sense, the rise of Ōkuninushi to the supreme status in the Shinto discourse marks a critical moment in Japan's integration into world history in the nineteenth

century. As a form of knowledge marked by its claim to indigeneity, Shinto betrays its global character in reflecting, responding to, and in turn constituting the intellectual and political trends of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that flew across regional boundaries. Transregional flows of knowledge between Japan, China, and Europe, as well as European, and especially Russian, colonial expansion in Northeast Asia, provided the contexts and generated the imperatives for Nativists to formulate Shinto as an indigenous knowledge that could supersede alien forms of knowledge. The global character of the Nativist Shinto discourse, however, has not yet received any scholarly attention. This lack of attention might be attributed to the fact that Nativism has been studied as a form of religious nationalism that best explains the assumed rise of the imperial house in the early modern period, which led eventually to its prominence in the modern "emperor system" (*tennōsei*) state.

The formulation of a Shinto discourse in the 1760s–90s by the Nativist author Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) marks a major step in employing the idiom of "Shinto" to organize an alternative form of knowledge to the officially recognized Neo-Confucian theory, the credibility of which in explaining the social and natural world was increasingly compromised by, among other things, the relativizing effect of the argument that its "foreign" origin led necessarily to its incompatibility with Japan, which had been created by the gods. Significantly, Motoori elevated "Shinto" to an unprecedented status of autonomy by transforming for the first time the idea of the kami into an independent and simultaneously transcendental and immanent principle that was then used to structure a reputedly indigenous explanatory scheme in place of both Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism.

Even while Motoori was completing his magnum opus, *Kojiki-den*, however, a sense of social crisis emerged in the 1780s, after the country was struck by successive natural disasters and social unrest, with which the Tokugawa bakufu failed to cope effectively. Intensified by ominous natural and cultural signs, the domestic crisis was coupled with the perceived external threat posed by the Russians advancing from the north and by European and U.S. ships demanding access to trade. Compounding the sense of social and national crisis was the increasing pluralization and destabilization of the terrain of knowledge. By the second half of the eighteenth century, print or hand-copied texts on Western astronomy, medicine, geography, and forbidden Catholic teachings had been brought to Japan, mostly by way of merchant ships from Qing China, and came into wide circulation after the Shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751) moderated the bakufu's ban of texts of European origin in the 1720s. Knowledge from Europe accumulated to such an extent as to give rise to a new type of learning called *rangaku* (literally, Dutch Studies) in the 1770s. As new forms of knowledge competed against Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism for intellectual legitimacy, the problems troubling society came to be seen not just as evidencing a social and political crisis but, more fundamentally, an epistemological crisis, and as such, its eventual overcoming called for a strategy to articulate a new, comprehensive form of knowledge.

Motoori's disciple Hattori Nakatsune was quick in responding to the question of how the teachings of the gods could meet the challenge of Western astronomy, but it was Motoori's self-claimed disciple, Hirata Atsutane, who spearheaded the project of reconstructing Motoori's Shinto discourse into a comprehensive form of knowledge

that could subsume all competing explanatory schemes, thereby providing a new epistemological and ontological ground for the construction of a new human subject position adequate for overcoming the social and epistemological crisis. This was a daunting task and in his mobilization of the agency of the kami as both the epistemological principle and the subject of a new form of paradigmatic knowledge, Hirata was confronted with the fundamental problem of how to engage the questions of death and the afterlife posed by Catholicism while incorporating astronomical knowledge of the earth, sun, and moon as separate yet related physical entities, within the narrative structure of the Divine Ages of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.

Among other radical reformulations, the key step in Hirata's reconstruction of Shinto was to elevate Ōkuninushi, building on the god's wide popularity, which had resulted from centuries-long popular preaching by the Izumo Shrine, to the Shinto god of creation, blessing, and judgment, while Amaterasu, conflated with the sun, was externalized from the earth, the ontological center of the newly sanctified order of things. In Hirata's rearrangement of the Shinto pantheon, the elevation of Ōkuninushi was conditional upon the relativization of Amaterasu. Such a significant, creative reading of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, in responding to problems of the early nineteenth century, reversed the original, political intention behind the production of those two texts in the eighth century, which was to mobilize Amaterasu for legitimating the Yamoto clan as the supreme political ruler of the Japanese archipelago. Now, for Hirata the conviction in the power of Ōkuninushi as the central pillar grounding this new Shinto order constituted the very true pillar that qualified and upheld a soul as a true Japanese (*Yamato-gokoro*), a subject position formed upon the conviction of Shinto as the origin of all knowledge and of the superiority of Japan as the source of this original knowledge. Here, the mutual constitution of indigeneity and global history manifests in sharp relief. Ōkuninushi's centrality in this order was manifested in the god's role both in structuring an explanatory paradigm capable of defining what constituted truth and reality and in articulating a new human subject position capable of knowing what is true and real and, armed with that knowledge, able to energize the spirit of a nation in deep crisis.

When the Izumo Shrine, which had followed closely the Nativists' project from the 1790s just as it previously did the various versions of Shinto put forth by the Yoshida house, Hayashi Razan, and Yamazaki Ansai, actively adopted Hirata's increasingly influential Shinto discourse as its new platform for preaching and for consolidating its theological and cultural authority, the popular fortune god Ōkuninushi came to be elevated to a status that reoriented the entire structure of the Shinto pantheon. During the 1850s and 1860s, the escalating sense of crisis had translated into the expectation that the newly constituted Shinto, with Ōkuninushi at its apex, would be able to prop up a nation in the face of danger of disintegration and colonization.

## The Rise of the Kami

As explained in this book's introduction, an enormous literature has been produced on Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane. In this chapter, I revisit the works of Motoori and Hirata from the new angle of Shinto and highlight the little-studied

idea of the kami as a critical category for the emergence and transformation of a self-consciously articulated Shinto discourse. I interpret this new Shinto discourse as a form of knowledge responding to, and shaped by, early modern global intellectual and political trends. More than a protonationalism indicated by the term *kokugaku* (literally, "the learning of our land"), an epithet rarely used by Motoori and Hirata for self-reference, Nativism was a discourse operating with the kami as the fundamental category. Motoori and Hirata used the term *kami no michi*, or "the Way of the Kami," rather than *kokugaku*, to define their lifelong exegetical projects. More importantly, an examination of Nativism in terms of Shinto reveals a central dynamic of the Nativist discourse ignored by scholars so far: the rise of the category of the kami as an autonomous principle in structuring a new, independent form of knowledge about nature, history, and society. Nativism was more than a protonationalist or religious discourse, that is, it was concerned with more than the imperial institution. For both Motoori and Hirata, the authority of the imperial institution never originated from its own divine nature independent of the category of kami but was instead derivative of that category. Indeed, a Shinto reading of Nativism helps reveal the relativized status of the imperial gods by retrieving the relation between Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu, a dynamic central to the operation of the Shinto knowledge.

To narrate Shinto as knowledge is to eschew the use of nationalism or religion as analytically structuring categories and to relate the production of a Shinto discourse in the early modern period as a connected, layered process that was started by the Yoshida house.[1] Looking at Shinto as knowledge furthermore helps relate Shinto to other forms of knowledge and enhances comparative examinations of Kokugaku in the context of its intersection and connections with competing forms of knowledge. In particular, envisioning Shinto as knowledge enables examinations of how different categories, methods, and logics were deployed to address concerns of the time, concerns that Nativism shared with other forms of knowledge. The basic concern for Shinto of Motoori and Hirata was how to mobilize a divine agency through exegetical projects in order to explain a changing, unstable, and thus menacing world and, based on that explanation, to formulate a new human subject position and a true and correct way of life. To explain the world and make sense of human life in that world were concerns shared by alternative forms of knowledge such as Buddhism, Catholicism, and Neo-Confucianism. The examinations of Shinto as a form of knowledge in symbiotic relationships with other forms of knowledge helps retrieve a drive in the Shinto discourse to encompass alternative forms of knowledge under the principle of the kami; making manifest this drive shows how the creative process of producing Shinto culminated in the elevation of Ōkuninushi to the apex of a reconstituted pantheon.

Our examinations will begin from the method Motoori used for producing Shinto. He followed a centuries-old practice shared by scholars of different intellectual traditions, namely, the exegetical reading of the Divine Ages narratives of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*. Discursive construction in the form of exegesis took on a methodological significance in the fifteenth century when Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511) built up Yoshida Shinto from a commentary on the Divine Ages narratives of *Nihon shoki*.[2] Starting in the mid-seventeenth century, however, scholars began an ambitious

attempt to validate the universalistic claims of Neo-Confucianism through a reading of the same narratives.[3] Known as the founder of Suika Shinto (introduced in Chapter 1), Yamazaki Ansai (1618–82) interpreted the Divine Ages narratives as metaphorical representations of the key concepts of Neo-Confucian metaphysics. With this method, he attempted to synthesize Neo-Confucianism with what he considered to be Shinto as he revered the Divine Ages narratives of *Nihon shoki* as the fundamental Shinto scripture. This universalistic Neo-Confucian assumption, however, came under attack from the late seventeenth century, when the idea emerged that linguistic and discursive changes needed to be the foundation of any exegetical enterprise. Accompanying this historicist awareness was the idea that not only language but also a set of ontological differences distinguished the early Japanese texts from those of China. Within this context, the opposition of "Chinese" and "Japanese" came increasingly to be understood as an important and meaningful distinction.[4]

This distinction structured Motoori's construction of Shinto, first and foremost in his selection of texts for exegesis. He claimed an unsurpassed value of authenticity for *Kojiki* while negating the value of *Nihon shoki*, which had been until then the main source for scholars' exegetical enterprises. In this respect, Motoori differed remarkably from previous authors such as Yoshida Kanetomo, Hayashi Razan, and Yamazaki Ansai. The shift in the text chosen as object of exegesis was thus part of the formation of a new, creative reading method that, despite Motoori's claim of loyalty to the text, enabled him to construct a new discourse about the kami. Motoori's preference for *Kojiki*, which was completed in 712 and used Chinese characters to denote both semantic values and pronunciations, over *Nihon shoki*, completed eight years later and in the style of Chinese historiography, was tied to an epistemological principle that was unique to Motoori and, later, Hirata, that was enormously empowering. He claimed that only *Kojiki* recorded the ancient language and therefore the reality, or what Motoori referred to as "matters" (*koto*), of the ancient age. He wrote:

> Words, ideas, and objects are things that are in accord with one another, so that the ancient period had its words, ideas, and things, and the later periods have their words, ideas, and things, and China had its words, ideas, and things. But the *Nihon shoki* took the words of a later age and wrote of the ancient period, and took the words of China and wrote of the imperial land, and therefore there are many places that are not in accord. However, *Kojiki* added no pretentious elements but just inscribed what was passed down from the ancient age, and so its words, ideas, and things are in accord with one another, and everything reveals the truth of that age.[5]

Motoori called this language, which was retained in *Kojiki* and peculiar to the early age, "Yamato kotoba"; in contrast, *Nihon shoki* for him was not only permeated with Chinese words but was based on an epistemology alien to ancient Japan. Here, we can see for the first time the deployment of an epistemological strategy that objectifies a space-time entity—the lost ancient Japan—by distinguishing it from China, what Motoori called *karakuni*. Indeed, he would soon mobilize the category of the kami as a fundamental principle to foreground this distinction in articulating a type of knowledge in close association with the land of Japan.

In other words, Motoori saw between *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* not simply linguistic differences but two entirely different ways of organizing knowledge and experiences of the world. For him, these two texts are based on two different epistemological principles. Against *Nihon shoki*, which he argued represented the dominant yet mistaken and corrupted "Chinese" or Neo-Confucian way of making sense of and also living in the world, one in which people thought by way of reasoning and judging things in terms of right and wrong, Motoori set out to recover the ancient language of the *Kojiki* without imposing his own interpretation, or so he claimed, and through that language recover the authentic reality of the ancient period, which he named the Way of the Gods (*kami no michi*), or Shinto.[6] Motoori devised an interpretive method for the project of recovery. He inscribed a stream of *kana* phonetics onto the Chinese characters that constituted the original *Kojiki* text. While Motoori claimed that *kana* provided direct access to the sound and meaning of the ancient language, his inscription method proved a powerful meaning-creating strategy because the inscription of *kana* was itself a process of decision-making on Motoori's part that enabled him to imbue those Chinese characters flexibly with both pronunciations and meanings. As such, *kana* inscription eventually helped Motoori bring the disparate *Kojiki* narrative strands into a whole and coherent story. It would take three decades for Motoori to complete his exegetical reading of the *Kojiki*, which culminated in his lifework, *Kojiki-den*, in forty-four volumes, published between 1790 and 1822.

Scholars have emphasized the significance of Motoori's work in articulating a particularistic, protonational form of identity in contrast to the universalistic paradigm of Neo-Confucianism. While this reading of *Kojiki-den* is not incorrect, it limits our possibilities of understanding Motoori. This contrast should not blind us to the structural parallel between the ways in which Motoori organized his Shinto theory in *Kojiki-den* and the ways in which the Neo-Confucian discourse operated. Maruyama Masao, arguably the most prominent intellectual of postwar Japan, argued that Motoori modeled his theory upon that of *kogaku* (Ancient Learning) of the Neo-Confucian Ogyū Sorai, in particular the idea of invention (*sakui*) in opposition to the notion of nature or naturalness (*shizen*).[7] Maruyama was using this binary to identify the emergence in the early modern period of new forms of subjectivity that might have contributed to the development of modern civil society.[8] Rather than interpreting Motoori against our contemporary concerns as Maruyama did, I identify another kind of fundamental similarity in the ways of operation of Neo-Confucianism and Shinto. In his denunciation of one complex explanatory scheme, Motoori was creating a new one of comparable structure and complexity so as to be able to respond to the same set of questions: the origin and functioning of the world and the position of human individuals and societies in it.

Most important of these enabling parallels was Motoori's elevation of the kami to the status of an independent, transcendental-immanent principle, comparable to the Neo-Confucian Principle or *li* 理; both organized knowledge about the world and enabled humans to access it. He does so at the very beginning of *Kojiki-den* when he explains the first sentence of the Divine Ages narratives of *Kojiki*. He then uses this newly created divine agency to structure the whole narrative of the exegesis

project. This elevation has two steps, first defining the kami as a general, self-coherent category, and then centering the general category onto a specific one, the two *musubi* kami (*Takami-musubi* and *Kami-musubi*), by identifying them with an ultimate divine force. In his creation of a divinized Shinto "Principle" Motoori was at his most creative moment in his exegesis, because there was nothing even close to such a transcendence or generative power of the two gods in the Divine Ages narratives of *Kojiki*; nowhere could one find such a fundamental category to serve as the basis for a whole story of cosmogony and of the operation of the natural and social world.[9] In placing the kami on its own ontological ground, Motoori solved the basic problem that troubled Hayashi Razan and Yamazaki Ansai, who had struggled between the concreteness of the kami and the abstractness of the Neo-Confucian Principle.

The first few sentences of *Kojiki* describe the beginning of the world with the appearance of the gods in heaven:

> At the time of the beginning of heaven (*ame*) and earth (*tsuchi*), there came into existence in the heavenly high plain (*takama-ga-hara*) a god named Ame-no-minaka-nushi no kami; next, Takami-musubi no kami; next, Kami-musubi no kami. These three gods all came into existence as single gods, and their forms were not visible. Next, when the land was young, resembling floating oil and drift-like jellyfish, there sprouted forth something like reed-shoots. From these came into existence the god Umashi-ashikabi-hikoji no kami; next, Ame-no-toko-tachi no kami. These two gods also came into existence as single gods, and their forms were not visible. The five gods in the above section are the Separate Heavenly Gods.[10]

Following the appearance of these five heavenly gods, the narrative continues, came seven generations of gods, each consisting of two separate gods. The gods of the seventh generation are Izanagi and Izanami, male and female, who, upon receiving command from the heavenly gods, gave birth through sexual union to the Japanese islands and a host of lesser gods.

This first section of *Kojiki* is brief and descriptive without any emplotment because cosmogony was not a major concern for the compilers of the text. The central goal of the Divine Ages narrative was to legitimate the rule of the emperor by establishing the supreme authority of the imperial clan, which goes back to its divine ancestor Amaterasu, among many competing clans also making claim to divine genealogies. *Kojiki* introduces the key element of cosmology, heaven, as a discursive condition for subsequent narratives about the birth of Japan and its consolidation by Ōkuninushi, whose surrender of it to Amaterasu established the unchallenged right-to-rule of her imperial descendants. For Motoori, however, these first sentences of *Kojiki* were crucial because they contained a supreme divine agency.

He started by defining the kami as an autonomous agency, a definition completely different from the Neo-Confucian ones proposed by Hayashi Razan, Kurosawa Sekisai, and Yamazaki Ansai, who tried to explain the kami in terms of the dynamic of the Principle (*ri*) and the material force (*ki*), and yin-yang interaction, as we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2. After confirming *takama-ga-hara* (Heavenly High Plain) as heaven/sky (*ame*) and "earth" (*tsuchi*) as this world, Motoori went on to define the term "kami" appearing in the first sentence. He wrote:

> From all the gods who appeared in classical texts, to the gods enshrined at shrines, to birds, animals, grass, trees, and needless to say, humans, they are all kami, which refers to beings (*mono*) commanding respectful and extraordinary power.[11]

With this significant definition, Motoori now brought all the heretofore disparate divine and supernatural forces that had been related to human life in different ways under one single, unifying, and homogenizing category. The kami, Motoori further asserted, are not subject to moral evaluation: "There are many kinds of kami: some are noble while some are base; some are strong while some are weak; some are good while some are bad." This is because the nature of the mystical power of the kami is beyond the grasp of the limited human intellect.[12] The kami then referred to no more than a particular form of being or power itself; this differed from the Chinese use of the same term (pronounced *shen* in Chinese), which sought to specify the nature of the action and power of the gods. The Way of the Gods, or *kami no michi*, Motoori continued, simply refers to the Way started and operated by the gods whereas in China the same term, *shen-dao*, refers to a seemingly sophisticated but in actuality shaky Way that was used by pundits to explain the working of the world.[13] While proclaiming that he was not applying his personal opinions in explicating on the kami, it is clear that Motoori from the beginning was creatively constructing a theory of the origin and operation of the Way of the Gods. His creative definition of the kami was significant in that it freed the kami from the previous interpretive paradigm of Neo-Confucianism and made them discursively autonomous. Indeed, Motoori's definition would become the standard one to which all subsequent discussions on Shinto would refer back.

Right after defining the kami, Motoori went on to elevate the category of the kami to a metaphysical and generative principle. He focused on exploring the meaning of the names of the twin gods, 高御産巣日神 and 神産巣日神, which he read, respectively, as *Takami-musubi no kami* and *Kami-musubi no kami*; he did so while mentioning in passing the first god to appear in the *Kojiki*, Ame-no-minaka-nushi no kami, as this kami possessed no particular use for his exegesis.[14] Here, the interpretive method of *kana* inscription proved very empowering. The two characters 産巣, which he read in *kana* as *musu* むす, Motoori asserted, refer to the "becoming and growing of things" (*mono no nariideru wo mōsu* 物の成出るを云う), because the term was the same as the Chinese character 生, "to be born" or "to engender," which he inscribed also as *musu*; Motoori corroborated his reading with the examples of the terms *musuko* 男子 (son) and *musume* 女子 (daughter), that is, humans resulting from birth and growth. Next, Motoori transcribed the Chinese character 日 (*hi*) in the names of the two gods as *bi* び so that the Chinese characters 産巣日 received the pronunciation of *musubi* むすび.

Motoori then went to *Nihon shoki*, which he denounced as a product of the limited human intellect, but nevertheless, used time and again as the indispensable textual source to corroborate his reading of *Kojiki*. Referring to the pair of gods, 高皇産霊尊 and 神皇産霊尊, in the initial passage of *Nihon shoki*, he claims that this pair is none other than the pair Takami-musubi no kami 高御産巣日神 and Kami-musubi no kami 神産巣日神 in *Kojiki*, despite the writing disparity between them which Motoori himself recognized. Nevertheless, with this highly original identification,

Motoori then proceeded to identify 霊 or "spirit" in the two kami's names in *Nihon shoki* with the Chinese character *ri* 日 in the names of the pair of kami of *Kojiki* and concludes that *bi* (霊 and 日) signifies "the mysterious, spiritual nature of things" (*mono no reii naru wo hi to yuu* 物の霊異なるを比と云う).[15] As such, the two terms 産霊 and 産巣日, both read as *musubi* by Motoori, refer to the "mysterious spirit that engenders all things in the world."[16] More specifically, this mysterious spirit is identified with the pair of kami whose names include those terms: "All the things and events of the world starting from the formation of heaven and earth all originated from the mysterious spirit of these two *musubi* gods."[17] With a series of semantic jumps facilitated by the strategy of *kana* inscription, Motoori succeeded in converting that pair of kami, previously insignificant and unknown, into a metaphysical and cosmological generative principle.

After establishing a generative divine force at the beginning of his exegetical project, Motoori proceeded to use it to order the Divine Ages narratives of *Kojiki* into what Susan Burns calls "a regime of causality."[18] He argued that all the major events of the story must be understood as resulting from the intentions of the two musubi gods, Takami-musubi and Kami-musubi. The subsequent series of events—the creation of the Japanese islands through the conjugal union of Izanagi and Izanami; the latter god's death caused by her giving birth to the fire god and her retreat to the subterranean realm of death; Izanagi's visit to the realm of death and his subsequent purification which gave birth to Amaterasu and the god Susanoo; the exile of Susanoo to the earth and its pacification and consolidation by Susanoo's son Ōnamuchi (aka Ōkuninushi); and Ōnamuchi's surrender of the rule of the world to the divine descendant of Amaterasu Ninigi, which is at the beginning of Japan's imperial line—were all caused by these musubi gods.[19] The status of these gods as a supreme, structuring principle and simultaneously a cosmic generative force for Shinto would be upheld by Nativists and Shinto priests until the Meiji period, when this intellectual Shinto discourse was transformed into a political ideology for nation-state building. For Motoori as well as Hirata, Amaterasu was but a component of the divine order organized under the principle of the musubi kami. Only after the Meiji Restoration was Amaterasu made to replace the musubi gods and Ōkuninushi to play a new structuring and ordering role in the Shinto pantheon.

Motoori held that the generative musubi force does not simply give rise to the teleological process of world creation; it is the organizing principle for everything that follows from that process, both in the past and the present. The events of the Divine Ages indicate the formation of an order of things that still functions today, despite the fact that knowledge of this order has been eclipsed and skewed by the infatuation, imported from China, with explaining the world by devising dishonest and forced theories and imposing them on the social and natural worlds. In contrast, what characterized the ancient order were simplicity, peace, and stability, wherein humans, as creations of the gods, naturally abided by the intentions of the kami. In this spontaneous order, the emperor ruled as a conduit for the gods, and his government did not take the form of imperial intention imposed upon the ruled. In turn, humans followed the gods by following the will of the emperor. The total lack of human agency characterizes this early form of human life. This spontaneity, however, was

corrupted by Chinese modes of ordering experience, leading to the emergence of a human consciousness that developed self-confidence in the human power to change things. The exercise of this misguided sense of human agency had resulted in the disintegration of the divinely created social order.[20] In response to this social disintegration, Motoori proposed a solution, not by seeking political or social change, but by retrieving the lost, pure earlier form of consciousness that was totally subjected to the will of the gods, through reading the *Kojiki* and practicing poetry. By resuming the lost consciousness of a subjected subject position, Motoori asserted, the gods would recenter the disintegrating lives of humans; in this way, the lost Way of the Gods could be regained.

## "An Investigation into the Three Large Entities"

In order to discredit Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism, Motoori elevated the kami to an autonomous agent responsible for the origin and operation of the natural and cultural worlds. Like Neo-Confucianism, Motoori's Shinto did not concern itself with defining the nature and actual place of heaven and earth, two spatial categories basic to and taken for granted in the Divine Ages narratives of *Kojiki*. Motoori's production of a Shinto cosmogony, which presupposed a cosmological generative force, however, created the condition of possibility for engagement with the astronomical science of the time. This possibility was brought to the fore when Nativist Shinto came under the stimulation of the increasingly popular Western astronomical knowledge in eighteenth-century Japan. This stimulation came from Western astronomy's ability to explain commonsense experience, which made its assimilation into Shinto teachings necessary if Nativists wanted to claim trustworthiness for their discourse. For example, the idea of a spherical earth had, by the second half of the seventeenth century, been accepted as truth among even Neo-Confucian scholars.[21]

With Motoori's endorsement, his disciple Hattori Nakatsune (1757–1824) took the initiative to upgrade the Shinto knowledge by incorporating astronomy into its cosmogony. This effort resulted in the work *Sandaikō*, or *An Investigation into the Three Large Entities*, with the three entities referring to the sun, earth, and moon. Motoori prefaced this work and appended it to his own *Kojiki-den* in 1792. The strategy used by Hattori to assimilate Western astronomy into Shinto was by giving an account of the origin of the three distinctive astronomical entities that was in line with Motoori's interpretation of *Kojiki*. However, neither *Kojiki* nor Motoori's *Kojiki-den* contained accounts of astronomical formation, and while heaven and earth did appear in *Kojiki*, they were indistinctive and underdefined notions. How did Hattori then succeed in dovetailing the birth of the earth, sun, and moon with the *Kojiki* narrative? Before we investigate Hattori's theory, it is necessary to look at the epistemological and conceptual context of the time, as the production of a Shinto astronomy was intrinsically connected to the ways in which Western astronomical knowledge was disseminated in early modern Japan.

Jesuit missionaries played a major role in introducing astronomical knowledge to Japan. They brought in Western astronomy not for the purpose of spreading science but

to use the capability of their astronomical knowledge in explaining daily experience to increase the persuasiveness of their preaching.[22] They taught the Japanese the material dimension of the universe, the planetary system, the sphericity of astronomical bodies, all in a divinely created geocentric system. But they deliberately hid the heliocentric theory of Nicholas Copernicus from the Japanese because it threatened to invalidate the Catholic doctrine and the Church institutions they depended on and defended. Jesuit missionaries' strategy seemed to work well at first. The first missionary, Francis Xavier (1506–52), who landed in Japan in 1549, noted in 1552 that the Japanese had no knowledge of the creation of the world, the sphericity of the earth, or the orbit of the sun, but were intrigued to know.[23] In the following decades, Jesuits made big strides in their mission and by the 1580s the number of converts had reached 300,000. In 1581, the Jesuits established their missionary training institution, the *Collegio*, in Kyushu and the Spanish lecturer Pedro Gomez (1535–1600), in compiling the textbook *De Sphaera*, aimed to explain "the visible things, i.e., the creation of the world and the eternal order of universe" in order to reveal their "invisible divine nature."[24] The universe introduced in the first of the three chapters that comprised of *De Sphaera* was a concentric planetary system centering on the earth; the revolution of planets was caused by the push of an angel located at the outermost heavenly sphere.[25]

The unification of Japan around the turn of the seventeenth century, however, led to the eventual prohibition of Christianity. Despite the reliance of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu on the Jesuits in facilitating the lucrative trade with the Portuguese, the potential ideological threat posed by the Christian doctrine for a newly unified regime outweighed the Jesuits' economic utility. In 1587, Toyotomi Hideyoshi started to impose restrictions on missionaries' activities, and policies against the Jesuits and Christian converts were implemented to their full extent in 1630, when the Tokugawa bakufu issued a complete ban on Christianity in Japan. Importation, circulation, and discussion of the Christian doctrine were forbidden. Buddhist temples were mobilized as local census offices to ensure that no single Japanese was following the outlawed creed. The ban would last throughout the rule of the Tokugawa regime, despite some loosening up from the 1720s, until 1872 when it was formally withdrawn by the Meiji government. On the other hand, the bakufu saw a value in Western astronomical knowledge because it provided more accurate data for its lunar-solar calendar, so in the 1720s it allowed importation of Western astronomical and calendrical texts.[26]

Under this condition, a distinctive astronomical discourse came to circulate in Japan. Composed in classical Chinese, this discourse traces its origin primarily to the Jesuits' missionary project in China but was erased of any reference to the Catholic God to avoid censorship when entering Japan. Instead, astronomical phenomena were explained through the Neo-Confucian categories of yin and yang, as Neo-Confucian authors tried to domesticate this new form of knowledge. The first example of such Japanese texts was a work based on a translation of the astronomical chapter of *De Sphaera* by Kobayashi Kentei (1601–83), who had studied astronomy at Nagasaki, the port where trade between the Dutch and the Chinese merchants and the Japanese was conducted.[27] Kobayashi's text, entitled *Nigi ryakusetsu* or *An Outline Theory of Terrestrial and Celestial Globes*, introduced the astronomical knowledge of *De Sphaera*,

including its explanation of sun and moon eclipses resulting from the coinciding movement of sun, moon, and earth, but the ultimate purpose of the *De Sphaera* to expound the divine power of the Creator God and the angels was totally absent in Kobayashi's work. When he referred to the causes of the movement of celestial bodies, he borrowed not from Catholic but Neo-Confucian teachings: the movement was due to "the mysterious power of the operation of yin and yang."[28]

The popular work of Nishikawa Joken (1648–1724), a bakufu official at Nagasaki, shows another early case of the attempt to Neo-Confucianize astronomy. In his *Tenbun giron* (*Discussions of the Principles of Astronomy*) (1712), Nishikawa introduced the "geographical theory in Western barbarian countries," which talked about "a round earth hanging in the middle of heaven with all the countries attached to it."[29] He asserted that, "the sages of China have long pointed out these facts. The Western barbarians only recently started to travel across seas and from the experience they realized the sphericity of the earth." Nishikawa was apparently referring to the Chinese *hun-tian* theory, which described the relationship between heaven and earth in terms of an egg and its yolk. The *hun-tian* theory, however, held that the earth was a flat square. Furthermore, the egg-yolk metaphor did not refer to the shape of earth as being round, but to the relation between heaven and earth. At this point, Nishikawa's deployment of the *hun-tian* paradigm to domesticate Western astronomy appeared rather forced, but that most likely did not matter because he already assumed the superiority of Neo-Confucianism over the knowledge of the "Western barbarians."

Besides Nishikawa's text, an astronomical work composed by the Qing Chinese scholar You-Yi in 1675, *Tianjing huowen*, or *Queries on the Classics of Heaven*, became the most influential astronomy text in eighteenth-century Japan. It similarly integrated Jesuit accounts of astronomy into the Neo-Confucian discourse structured by binary themes of Principle (*li*)-material force (*qi*), yin-yang, movement-stillness, and upward-downward.[30] These texts exemplify a representational style of astronomy that continued well into the final decades of the eighteenth century: presentations of astronomy often featured complex introductions to the constitutions, relative positions, and motions of astronomical entities, while making reference to Neo-Confucian categories and logics to provide explanations of these phenomena, but having little concern for precision in measurement of distance and size.

Neo-Confucianists' efforts to domesticate Western astronomy by removing from it Christian metaphysical connotations contributed to the eighteenth-century rise of an organizing logic that helped Hattori assimilate Western astronomy into the Nativist Shinto discourse. He distinguished between speculation and explanation about invisible things, on the one hand, and calculation and observation about visible things, on the other. The historian of Japanese science Nakayama Shigeru (1928–2014) has analyzed the evolution of this distinction in his study of Japanese astronomy. In the early Tokugawa period, Nakayama argues, "contemporary cosmologic schemes and mathematical (i.e., calendrical) astronomy were almost totally unrelated. The bifurcation was traditional: the field of cosmology was simply a playground for intellectual curiosity."[31] Such a bifurcation was arguably less radical than Nakayama presented,[32] but it is certainly true that the concern with precision required for calendar revision was different from the concern of Neo-Confucianism in organizing

an inclusive form of knowledge that did not require seeking the Principle through calculation and equation.

Such a methodological distinction, however, came to be articulated in the late eighteenth century. Nakayama quotes a classification scheme of astronomical subjects developed by Nishimura Tosato, an astronomer at the Kyoto imperial court. The first two of the four subjects listed in Nishimura's 1776 work *Tengaku shiyō* (*Essentials of the Study of the Heavens*) instantiated such an organizing distinction. The first subject, according to Nishimura, was *rigaku* (the study of principles), which concerned the explanation of the cosmos and terrestrial phenomena. Nishimura listed as examples the *hun-tian* cosmology and You Yi's theory in his *Tianjing huowen*. According to Nishimura, these were good at explanation but weak in observation. The second subject was *keiki* 形気 or traditional calendrical science, strong in mathematical treatment but weak in explanation.[33] Notably, accompanying Nishimura's distinction between speculation and observation as two means of accessing or creating knowledge is the differentiation between invisible and visible things as objects of knowledge.

This distinction of two cognitive modes of knowledge, I argue, prepared Hattori, a disciple of Motoori's with a strong interest in Western astronomy, to categorize it as knowledge of what he called "visible things" created through observation and calculation. Hattori recognized the validity of Western knowledge of geography and astronomy, which were based on measurement and calculation, and against which he denied the validity of Neo-Confucianism for its forced attempts to explain the way of visible things through the "concocted reason" of the Principle.[34] According to Hattori, there is a limit to what humans can see, think, and calculate; they cannot go beyond that limit.[35] There is an interior, invisible movement in all things and that movement is knowable only through understanding the narratives of *Kojiki*. So, for Hattori, the skill of observation and calculation was constitutive of but subordinate to a more profound knowledge that operated in ways invisible to human eyes but explained the origin of things. This knowledge could only be partially known, if at all, from observation and calculation, as Westerners practiced.[36] Hattori thus formulated a method to combine the Shinto discourse with Western astronomy utilizing the visible-invisible hierarchical distinction. As can be imagined, the working category for assimilating astronomy to Shinto cosmogony was not the Neo-Confucian Principle (*ri*) but the newly established generative, invisible *musubi* power because Hattori, following his master Motoori, had disqualified a priori the Neo-Confucian Principle as a mere human concoction.

Following the exegetical style of Motoori's *Kojiki-den*, Hattori's *Sandaikō* was an annotation of selected passages from *Kojiki*. Although he claims to have followed strictly everything said by his master in *Kojiki-den*, the *Sandaikō* narrative of the formative process of the earth, moon, and sun was not ordered by the quoted *Kojiki* passages themselves but by ten diagrams Hattori drew and inserted into the *Sandaikō* narrative ostensibly for illustration purposes. The diagrams became the tool for emplotment and served as the very means of discursive creation presented as illustrations. The first diagram (Figure 17), which Hattori claimed was "for the purpose of illustration," was an empty circle indicating the vast space or *ōsora* that Hattori claimed to have existed prior to heaven (i.e., the sun) and earth, and was permeated

第一圖

● 高御産巣日神
● 天之御中主神
● 神産巣日神

此輪ノ内ハ大虚空ナリ・輪ハ假ニ圖ルノミゾ・
実ニ此、物アリトニハアラズ次ハナルモ皆然リ・
○三柱神ノ座位ハ記ノ文ノ次第ニ依テ、
假ニ如此書ルノミナリ必ズモ拘ルベカラズ・

記曰・天地初發之時、於高天原成
神名・天之御中主神、次高御産巣
日神次神産巣日神云、

此時いまだ天も地もうごきそめ

てうごく虚空に天と地との初を此次の文ふ見えたり・然る処天地初

發之時と云ふ八後より云ば言かしあへ世や初といふこともなく高天
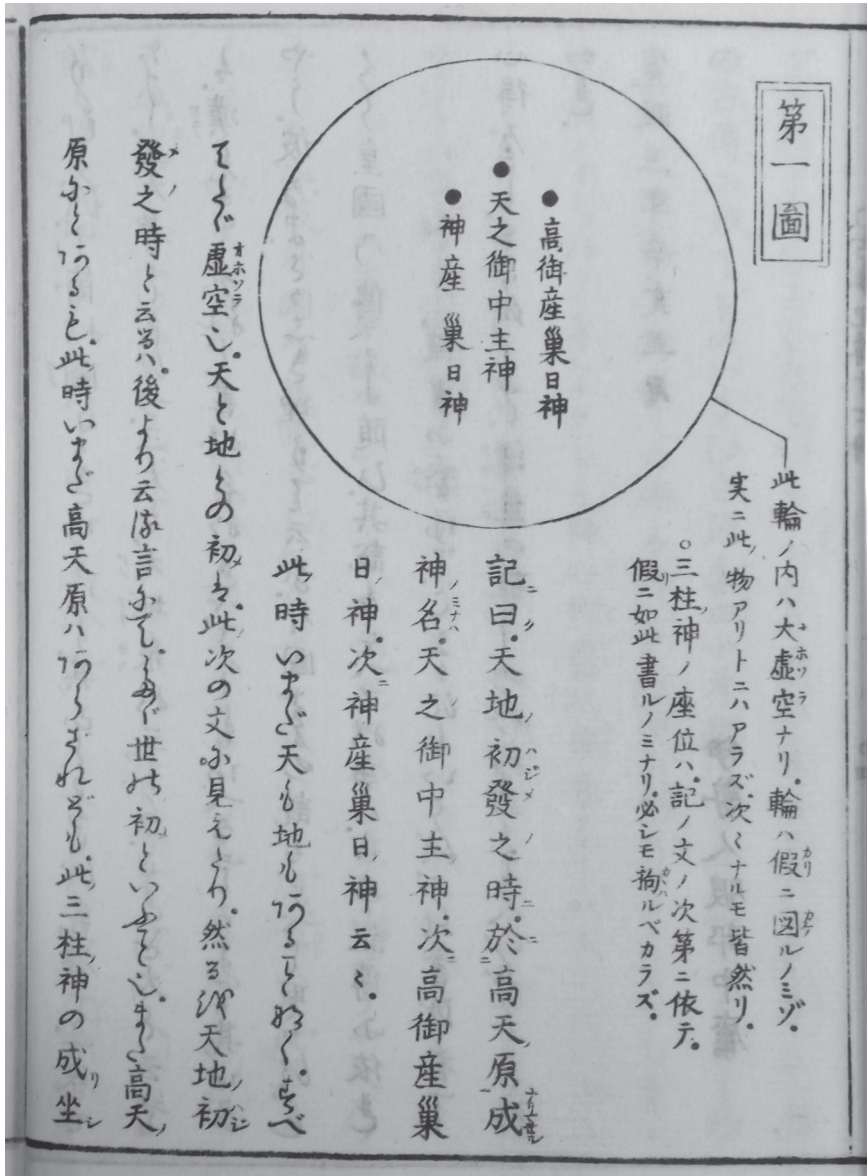
原からにうること此時いまだ高天原ハうごくされぞも此三柱神の成坐

**Figure 17**  The First Diagram of Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*, c. 1790s. Source: Hattori Nakatsune. *Sandaikō*, Nagoya: Katano Toshiro, 1875–6

**Figure 18** The Third Diagram of Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*, c. 1790s. Source: Hattori Nakatsune. *Sandaikō*, Nagoya: Katano Toshiro, 1875–6

with the generative force of the musubi gods.[37] Hottori here was following Motoori, who had radically reinterpreted the first passage of *Kojiki* by arguing for the a priori existence of the musubi gods before heaven and earth, rather than the other way around as told by *Kojiki*.[38] Together with the two musubi gods was Ame-no-minaka-nushi no kami, which Hattori only mentioned in passing, apparently in order to be loyal to the *Kojiki*. He then quoted, not from *Kojiki*, but from *Nihon shoki*, which mentions the appearance of "one thing" (*ichibutsu*) in the void space which subsequently, according to different versions of the narrative, turned into a kami or from which a kami manifested itself. Despite its lacking of a clear definition, the "one thing" in *Nihon shoki* provided a key link connecting the steps in Hattori's cosmogonical process, and he placed the "one thing" at the center of the second diagram. The third diagram (Figure 18) visually represented a passage from *Kojiki* about a certain god manifesting itself like a "reed sprout" rising from the earth and floating on the ocean like jelly. Hattori combined these references from *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* into a new interpretation, according to which a god arose from the jelly-shaped "one thing" like a "reed sprout" and turned eventually into the sun, while the original "one thing" became the earth.[39]

The fourth diagram (Figure 19) explains the formation of *yomi*, the realm of death. Hattori mentions episodes in the cycle of Izanagi and Izanami, where the latter died from giving birth to the fire god and Izanagi followed her to the realm of yomi. Hattori expressed his bewilderment about the lack of explanation of the origin of yomi in *Kojiki* but surmised that the upward movement of the "one thing" should be balanced by another, descending movement, which must have led to the formation of yomi beneath the surface of the earth.[40] For the purpose of consistency with the *Kojiki* narrative, he listed many gods in this diagram. As these gods did not play any role in his cosmogony theory, Hattori was happy to make them disappear in subsequent diagrams. The fifth diagram (Figure 20), painted as three connected circles, was meant to explain that, in the process of the gradual separation of the soon-to-be sun and yomi from the earth, the Japanese islands were created by Izanagi and Izanami and all the other countries on earth were formed through the congealing of sea waves. Hattori held that the difference in origin indicated a status differential between divinely created Japan and the naturally formed rest of the world, a hierarchy intended by the musubi gods.[41]

Diagrams six and seven were critical steps in *Sandaikō* as they were concerned with identifying what *Kojiki* mentioned as heaven and yomi respectively with the physical entities of the sun and the moon. This was achieved by a set of linguistic operations in the *kana* inscription style of Motoori. After briefly mentioning in diagram six the subterranean location of yomi where Izanami resided, in diagram seven (Figure 21) Hattori went back to the *Kojiki* narrative where Izanagi, after giving birth to the three kami Amaterasu, Susanoo, and Tsukiyomi, dispatched them to reign over the "heavenly high plain" (*takama-ga-hara*), the seas (*unabara*), and the "land of darkness" (*yoru-no-osuguni*) respectively. The heavenly high plain, Hattori asserted, referred to heaven (*ten*). However, it would be a grave mistake, he continued, to identify heaven with the space, as the Chinese did, because heaven was that concrete "one thing" that grew like "reed sprout" rather than the so-called heaven (*ten*) that wrapped the earth.
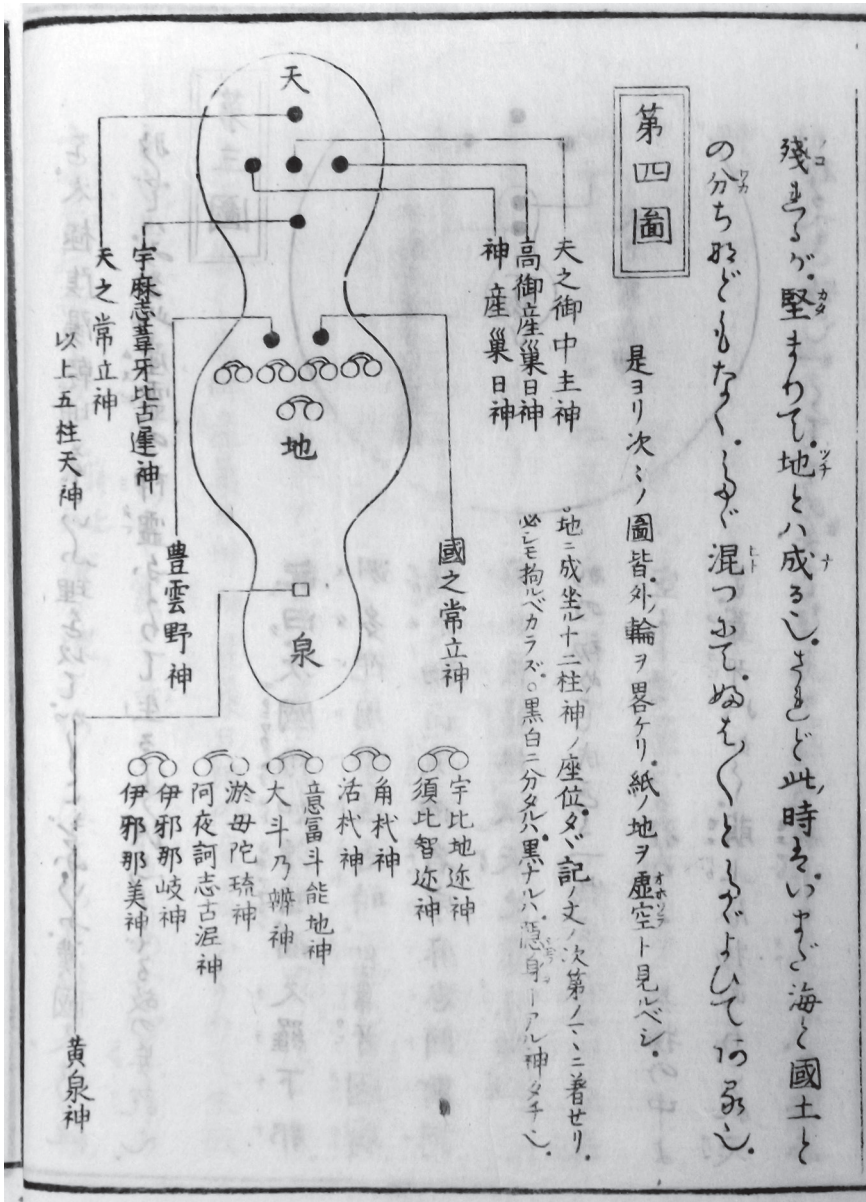
**Figure 19** The Fourth Diagram of Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*, c. 1790s. Source: Hattori Nakatsune. *Sandaikō*, Nagoya: Katano Toshiro, 1875–6

天

皇國

外國　　外國

地

国外

泉

第五圖

天浮橋　天ト地ト往来フ道ナリ

漢丈を假（カ）き候へ…字か拘（カヽ）るべうにて其垂降（タリクダ）りて成（ナ）る
事ハ天乃萠上（キ）て成ると何（イツ）れも先（キ）何（イツ）れも後（アト）りと知べう…
ぞ理を以ていさむ例の漢意（カラゴコロ）さて妄（ミダリ）したる和泉（ヨミ）の事第七圖
の下か委（ツバ）云べし・○此（コ）より次く・天（アメ）と地（ツチ）と泉（ヨミ）と漸（ヤウヤ）か分を漸（ヤウヤ）か相（アヒ）
遠（トホ）ざかりゆきて・遂（ツヒ）か第十圖の如くか成（ナリ）ぬ（ヲ）ハし・

是（コ）より次くノ図ハ天ニ成坐ル神・地ニ成坐ル
神タチ其図ニ用アルヲノミ挙テ・餘ハ畧ケリ・

○外國ドモノ在處又ソ
ノ大小其数ナドハ此図ニ
拘ルベカラズタヾ假ニ大カタ
ノサマ著セルノミ・但シ・皇
國ノ在處ハ此図ノ如シ其ソ
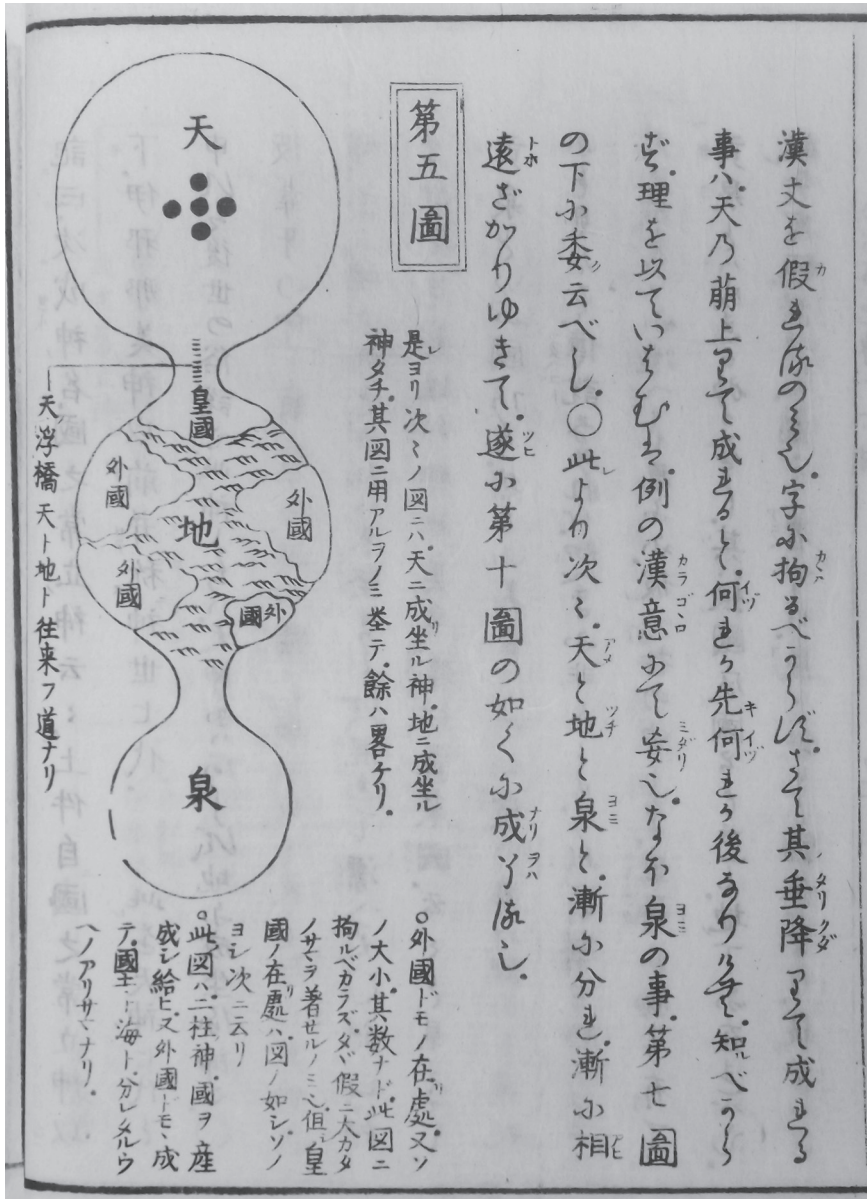ヨシ次ニミリ・
○此図ハ二柱神・國ヲ産
成シ給ヒヌ外國ヲモ、成
テ・國王ニ海ト・分レメルヲ
ヘノアリサマナリ・

**Figure 20**　The Fifth Diagram of Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*, c. 1790s. Source: Hattori Nakatsune. *Sandaikō*, Nagoya: Katano Toshiro, 1875–6

Next, Hattori went on to teleologically establish the identification of heaven with the sun, i.e., establishing a predetermined conclusion with the "evidence" of the diagram itself. He wrote:

> [Looking at the diagram,] we can easily see that the heavenly high plain (*takama-ga-hara*) is located above the earth but now in our actual life we can't really see it although we can see the [shinning Sun Goddess] Amaterasu in the sky … After a lot of careful thought, it becomes apparent to me that the heaven mentioned in our classics is none other than the sun. That is to say, the sun is not Amaterasu but the realm which she rules … The shining light from the sun is in actuality not that of the sun but of Amaterasu.[42]

After conflating heaven (the "heavenly high plain") with the sun and locating Amaterasu in the sun, Hattori moved on to identify yomi and "the land of darkness" (*yoru-no-osuguni*), both mentioned in *Kojiki*, with the moon. Here again the diagram he drew ostensibly for illustration purpose was used as proof for identification. Hattori reasoned that the "land of darkness" is actually yomi the land of death, because yomi is beneath the earth's surface and received no light of Amaterasu. Furthermore, the reason for the god Tsukiyomi to be so named was because the god was ordered to rule yomi, the land of death, and at the same time to rule the moon (*tsuki*). This confirmed for Hattori that the "one thing" that formed beneath the earth was the land of death, yomi, which eventually separated itself from the earth to become the moon, under the rule of the god Tsukiyomi, when heaven severed itself to become the sun, the reign of Amaterasu.[43]

While diagrams six and seven helped Hattori achieve the vital feat of determining the positions of heaven and yomi, the seventh and eighth diagrams (Figures 21 and 22) served the purpose of confirming that both the god Susanoo and his son Ōkuninushi eventually migrated to the moon, hence were removed from the earth which came under the rule of the emperor.[44] Hattori first identified Tsukiyomi with Susanoo. He quoted from *Nihon shoki* where Tsukiyomi was ordered to rule the ao-unabara-shio, a variation of the name of unabara, or the wide seas, which Susanoo was also ordered to rule. This showed for Hattori that Susanoo was simply Tsukiyomi, now residing in the moon. Next, Hattori quoted the passage where Ōkuninushi surrendered the rule of the land to Amaterasu and retreated to the world of mystery and darkness (*yūmei*) which Hattori, following Motoori, identified with yomi, the land of death, i.e., the moon. After Ōkuninushi surrendered and the grandson of Amaterasu began his rule of the earth, Hattori argued in diagram nine (Figure 23), the sun and the moon became completely severed from the earth. As shown by his tenth diagram (Figure 24), the three revolving round bodies we see today eventually came into being.[45] The whole process, Hattori reaffirmed at the end, was enacted by the generative force of the musubi gods.

**Figure 21** The Seventh Diagram of Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*, c. 1790s. Source: Hattori Nakatsune. *Sandaikō*, Nagoya: Katano Toshiro, 1875–6

**Figure 22** The Eighth Diagram of Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*, c. 1790s. Source: Hattori Nakatsune. *Sandaikō*, Nagoya: Katano Toshiro, 1875–6

**Figure 23** The Ninth Diagram of Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*, c. 1790s. Source: Hattori Nakatsune. *Sandaikō*, Nagoya: Katano Toshiro, 1875–6

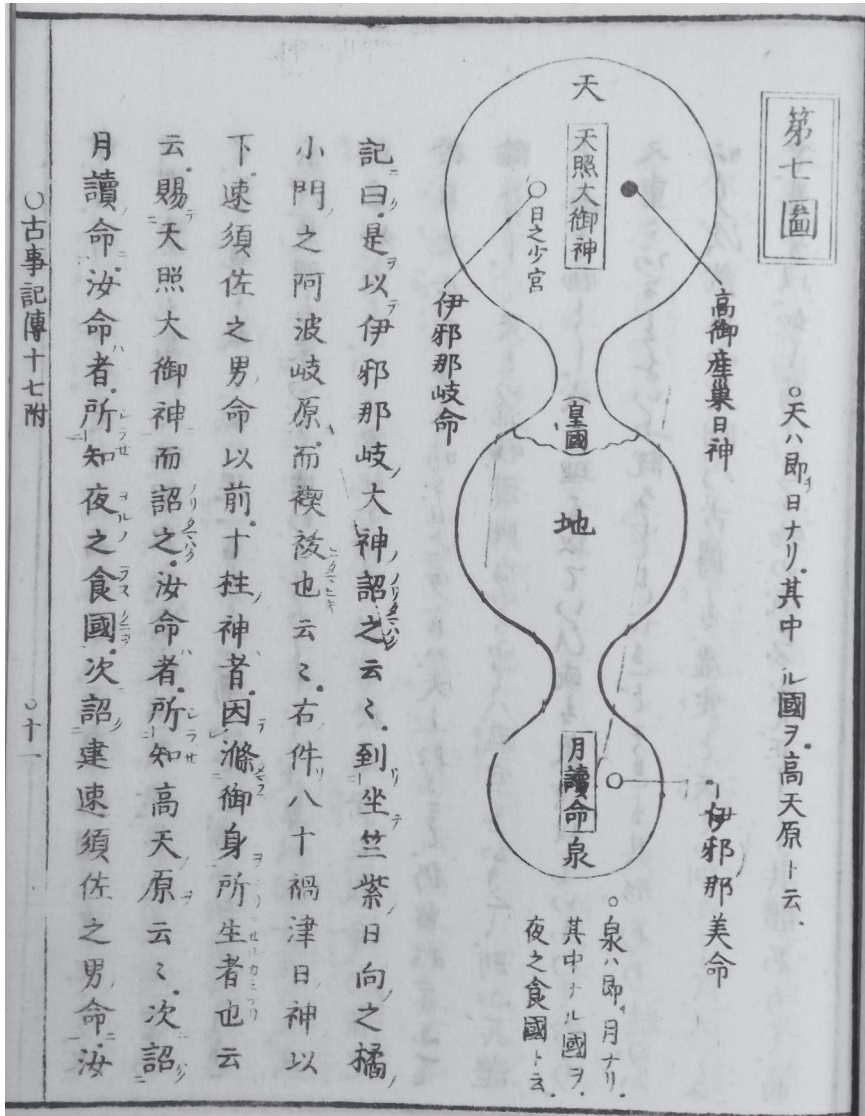**Figure 24** The Tenth Diagram of Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*, c. 1790s. Source: Hattori Nakatsune. *Sandaikō*, Nagoya: Katano Toshiro, 1875–6
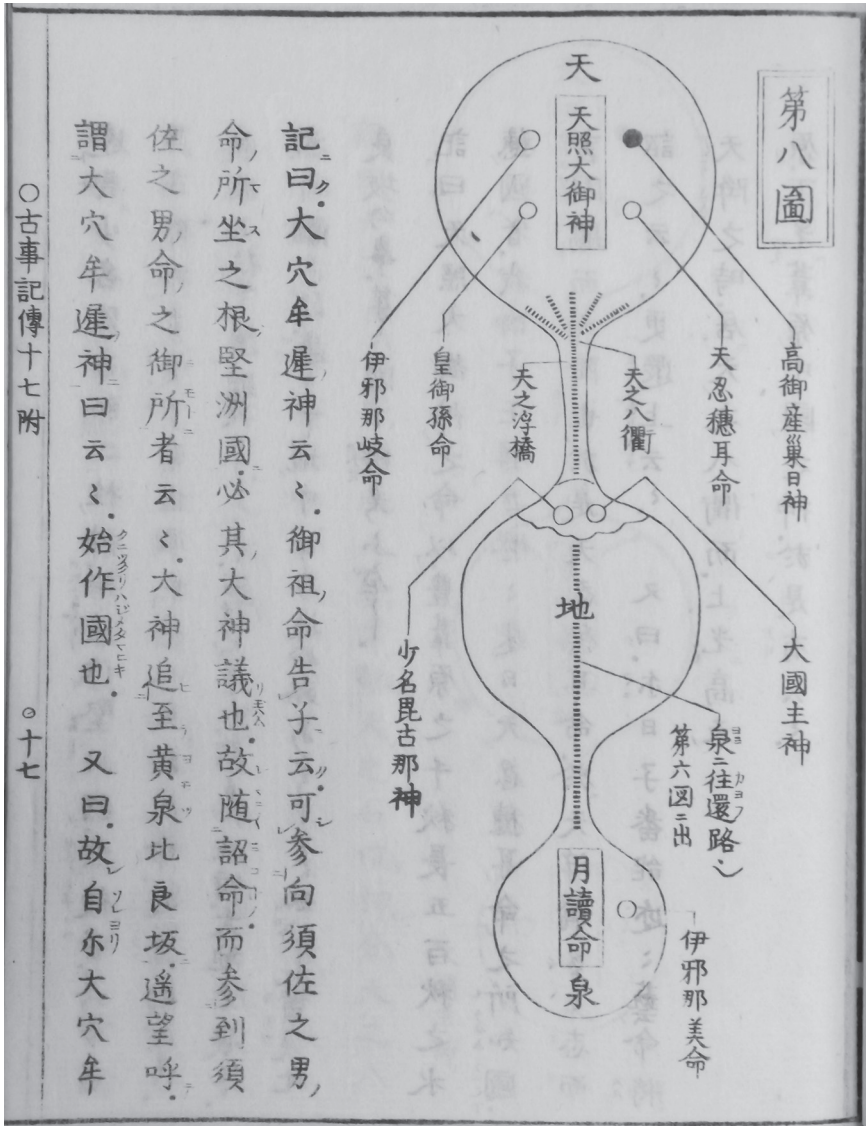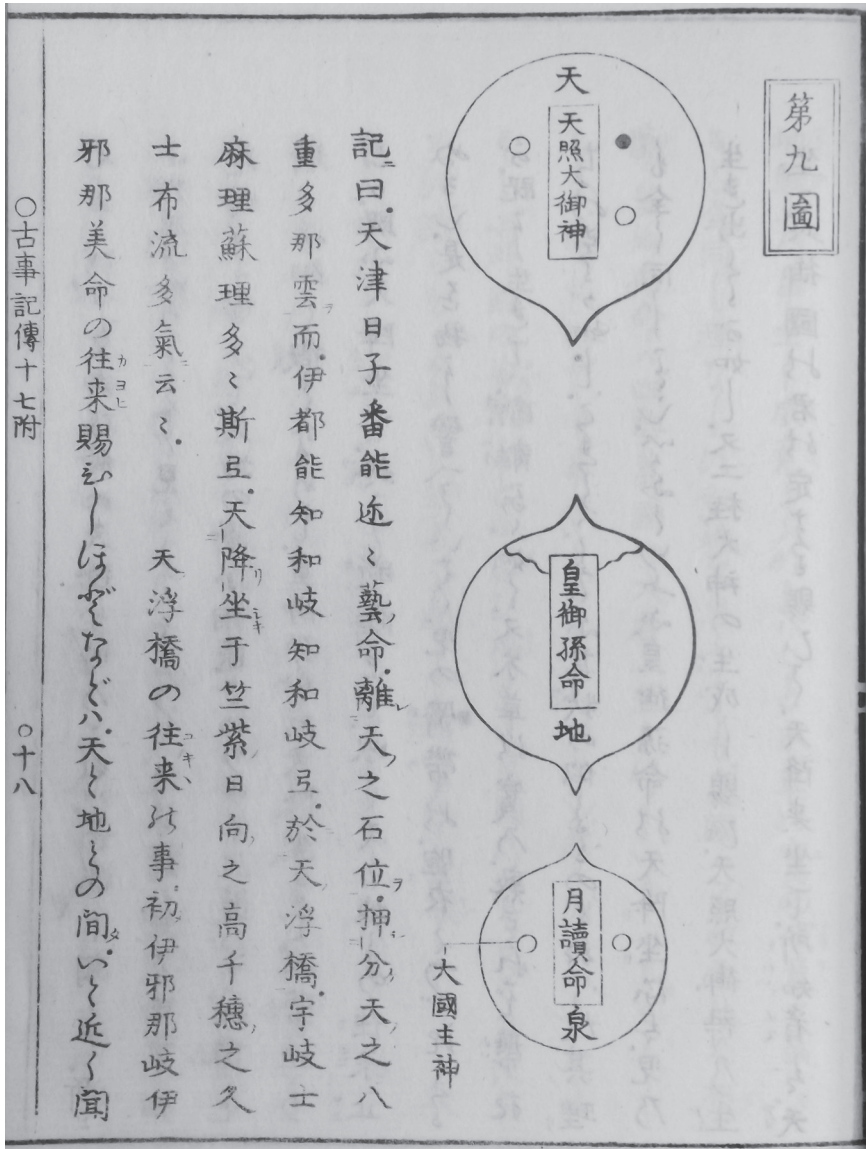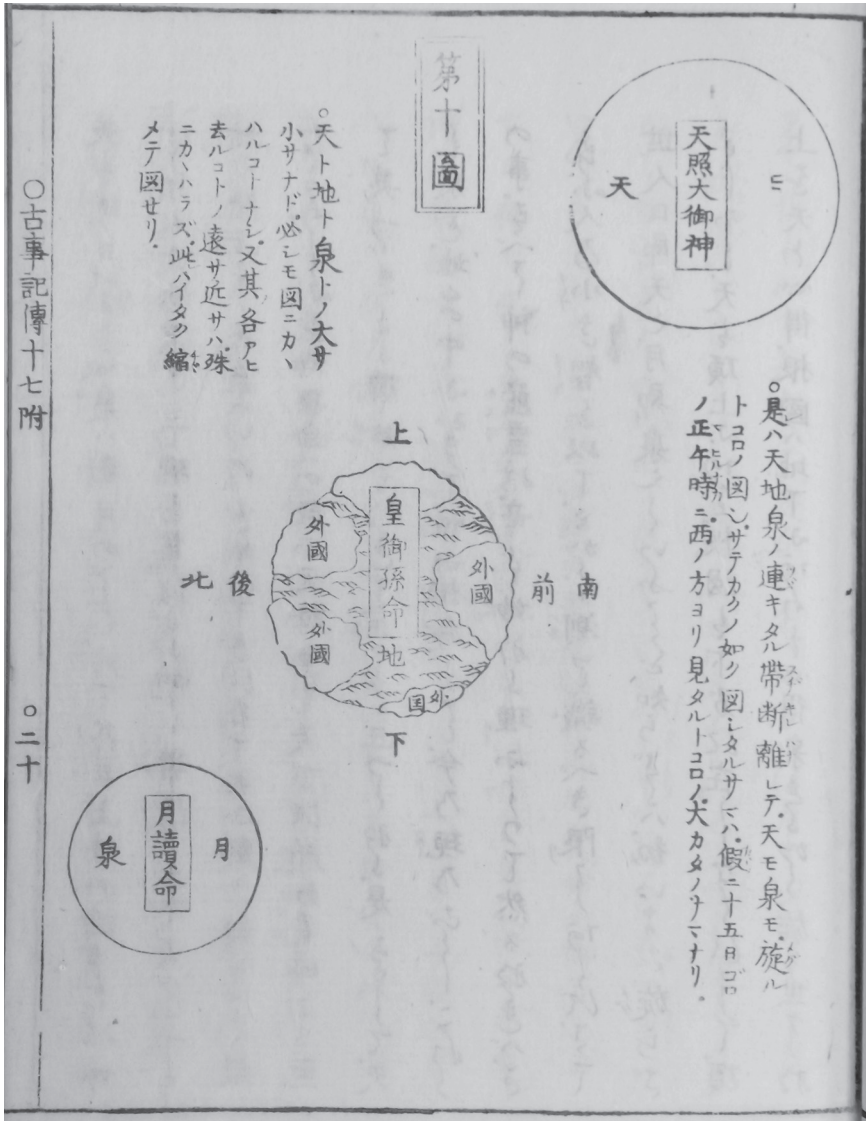
Hattori Nakatsune's Shinto astronomy met with severe criticisms from Motoori's disciples, in particular Motoori Ōhira, the adopted son and successor of Motoori Norinaga.[46] Denouncing *Sandaikō*, Motoori Ōhira charged that Hattori deviated from the true practices of study of ancient writings and of training in poetry appreciation and composition toward retrieving the lost Way of the Gods, practices set by the great master Motoori Norinaga. Around the *Sandaikō* developed a debate that lasted over thirty years from 1802–34 but ended without a win-out. The debate by and large was led by Hirata Atsutane, who defended Hattori against Motoori Ōhira. The controversy over this text points to its significance in redirecting the project of the Nativist Shinto discourse to respond to new intellectual and social imperatives. Hattori's text amounted to an effort in mobilizing both the metaphysical musubi force and Western astronomy to self-consciously create a comprehensive and thereby supreme Shinto form of knowledge. It is worth noting that in this Shinto cosmogony, Amaterasu and the imperial institution do not occupy a central position but remain a component of a cosmological structure integrated by the overarching power of the musubi gods. It is the musubi gods, not the imperial gods, that made "Japan" superior.

This updated Shinto knowledge, however, came to be seen as yet insufficient in coping with new social and intellectual changes. Events around the turn of the century gave rise to an escalating sense of crisis, which traced its sources both within and beyond the spatial limits of the Japanese archipelago. It is in addressing this radicalized sense of crisis that Hirata Atsutane set out to reconstruct the Shinto knowledge by eventually bringing the Izumo god Ōkuninushi back from the moon and elevating him to the apex of the Shinto pantheon.

## A Time of Crisis

The 1780s, when Motoori was writing *Kojiki-den* and Hattori Nakatsune was creating a Shinto cosmogony, was a tumultuous period, marked by natural disasters, famines, social unrest, and weakening of ideological control by the bakufu. A pervasive sense of crisis developed at the onset of these events, the spread of which was facilitated by innovations in communication networks and development of popular media and printing culture.[47] Accompanying this sense of crisis was the emergence of a view of the sociopolitical order as flawed and in need of change. In 1782, persistent rains in the spring led to flooding around the country, and in the summer an earthquake struck in Odawara, with many deaths and much damage to property. In the next year, the Kanto region suffered from heavy rains and it was so cold that people wore their winter clothing well into the spring. The volcano on Mount Asama in central Japan erupted in the seventh month of the same year. More than two thousand people were buried and volcanic ash killed crops throughout the Kanto area. In the rest of the country, the cold weather resulted in poor harvests. Order was restored to some degree in 1785–6, as the agricultural situation improved, but 1786 was another disastrous year marked by strong winds, an earthquake near Hakone, and heavy rains. Again, the country suffered from widespread crop failure, famine, and starvation.

Unprecedented natural disasters led to unrest in both rural and urban areas. In cities, resources were strained by the large number of refugees from the stricken regions, and the price of rice increased dramatically, leading to riots destroying the shops and houses of rich merchants and sake brewers. The increasingly popular term "world renewal" (*yonaoshi*) used in these riots expressed the popular demand for social and political change.[48] The call for "world renewal" gave rise to new forms of popular political commentary and criticism. Attacks on political authorities abound in tabloids, letters, diaries, and other modes of discourse from this period. Satirical verses and jottings were even posted in public spaces.[49] These critical voices questioned the efficacy of bakufu and domainal policies and the virtue and authority of those in power. They questioned the ideological rationale used to legitimate the holding onto power by the samurai, Shushi (Zhu Xi) School of Neo-Confucianism. That is, social and economic tensions of the late eighteenth century transformed into a new, ideological crisis. In this period the bakufu was increasingly concerned with enforcing ideological orthodoxy, a trend that began in 1790 when the chief councilor of the bakufu Matsudaira Sadanobu promulgated the "prohibition of heterodoxy" (*igaku no kin*) and sponsored school building for promoting ideological uniformity based on the Shushi School Neo-Confucian values.[50] This enforcement policy, however, betrayed that not only the failed policies of the bakufu but the very principles upon which the Tokugawa power was founded had come under challenge.

The sense of instability caused by these domestic problems was compounded by an influx of information from outside Japan, which further contributed to the weakening of the Neo-Confucian paradigmatic knowledge. The circulation of astronomy texts, introduced previously, was just one part of the flow of textual materials on a variety of subjects heretofore unfamiliar or unknown. The desire to grasp and make sense of these materials by the Japanese, in particular translators from the Dutch, medical doctors and astronomers, was responsible for the rise in the 1770s of a type of study known as *rangaku* or "Dutch Learning," evocative of the Dutch who were the only Europeans allowed to conduct trade at the designated port of Nagasaki, which became the center of study of imported materials.[51] Starting from the translation and study of astronomy and then of Western medicine, physics, geodesy, chemistry, and Western countries themselves, Dutch Learning grew to encompass a wide spectrum of subjects, bringing about fundamental changes to ways in which the world and society were understood. In 1774, the Dutch Learning scholar Sugita Genpaku obtained official permission to publish his translation of the Dutch anatomy text *Ontleedkundige Tafelen* as *Kaitai shinshō*. While arousing fierce denouncement from practitioners of Chinese medicine, the intellectual impact of *Kaitai shinshō* nevertheless proved profound.

Then, in 1787, *Kōmo zatsuwa,* or *Miscellaneous Talks about the Red-Haired Peoples*, an introduction to European cultures and societies, was published and widely read.[52] In 1792, after a Japanese ship owner returned from a ten-year stay in Russia and recorded his Russian experience in *Hokusa bunryaku*, the text started to circulate in hand-copy form, being read as the most detailed introduction to Russia, a country increasingly entering the consciousness of the Japanese. Expanding in the Far East, by the 1770s the Russians had reached the Kurile Islands and started to seek

and then demand trade with the Japanese living on the island of Ezo (present-day Hokkaido).[53] In the influx of new and unsystematic information, the current paradigmatic knowledge was questioned and relativized. Neo-Confucianism particularly lost its strong hold as the dominant and officially recognized form of knowledge. The bakufu's confirmation in 1790 for the first time of the Shushi School as its official ideology only revealed its relativized status on the pluralized field of knowledge. At the expense of the Neo-Confucian knowledge was the flourishing of multiple forms of knowledge in competition for legitimacy as the most authentic representations of the world. Motoori Norinaga too, while spending most of his life in his small hometown Matsusaka near Ise Shrine, was aware of and made comments on the increasingly competitive and pluralizing field of knowledge in his essay collection *Tamakatsuma*.[54]

It is the information about Russia that generated the greatest destabilizing and disorienting impact, because it was compounded by the actual arrival of the Russians, who were increasingly perceived as a threat to Japan. For the bakufu, how to deal with the issue of the island of Ezo and to curb the Russian expansion in the north constituted a major political problem from the 1780s through 1820, when the tension temporarily subsided.[55] After 1820, the Russians continued to be a political problem for alert figures in and outside the bakufu government. This included the young Confucian-official Aizawa Seishisai of the Mito domain, whom we will discuss in detail in the next chapter. As early as 1783, Kudō Heisuke, the doctor of the Sendai domain in northern Japan, warned the bakufu of the expansion of the Russians in eastern Ezo and proposed opening trade with them.[56] The bakufu placed eastern Ezo under its direct control in 1799, but that control proved fairly weak. This is shown by the dramatic events of the conflicts in 1806 and 1807 when the Russian traders of the Russian-American Company, headed by the diplomat Nikolai Rezanov, attacked the Japanese stationed in eastern Ezo after being refused trade and being maltreated by the Japanese. The Russians with their firearms prevailed in the skirmishes but the conflicts were swift and limited in scale as the Russians had no plan to engage in continued warfare. However it exposed Russian military superiority and Japan's lack of capability to defend itself. Exaggerated reports about the conflicts and the Japanese failure to effectively resist the Russians circulated widely, giving rise to a sense of danger of colonization, as the conflict indeed made it clear that the bakufu lacked defense strategies to protect the country in case of invasion.[57] In 1808, the bakufu sent Mamiya Rinzō (1780–1844), a low-rank officer with mathematical skills and experience of the northern region, to explore Karafuto (Sakhalin Island), the island to the north of Ezo. Prior to that, the bakufu took direct control of western Ezo.

Hirata Atsutane in Edo was one of the many intellectuals following closely the developments in the north, collecting and compiling reports about the conflict into a volume which he published in 1811 under the title *Chishima no Shiranami* (*White Waves of the Kuriles*). In the preface, Hirata expressed his concern about the implications of the events, not in terms of military defense but of an epistemological crisis resulting from prioritizing foreign forms of knowledge at the expense of the indigenous one that had been bequeathed by the kami. He confidently asserted that because the Russians were acting against the way things were supposed to work, if they should come with arms, "they would be defeated immediately or blown to pieces by a

divine wind." Apparently he was referring to the mythified history of the devastation of invading Mongol fleets by sudden sea storms in the thirteenth century.[58] At the same time, Hirata conditioned his prediction of Japanese victory upon the revival and consolidation of what, from 1811, he called the Fearless Great Yamato Soul (*takeki ōyamato-gokoro* 武き大倭心). The pursuit of Chinese, Buddhist, and more recently Dutch Learning caused the eclipse of the ancient, masculine way of life, resulting in the pervasive effeminateness that characterized even the life of the samurai.[59] He noted that there were many books on Western countries and recommended them (which explains why he compiled information on the Russians). But these books should not be read for the purpose of negating the true knowledge of Shinto. Rather, by reading these inferior forms of knowledge, Hirata said, his readers would realize that no country was better than "our imperial land" (*waga mikuni*). Based on this realization, people would be able to determine for themselves how to deal with different and difficult things and situations, leading eventually to the consolidation of the fearless Yamato Soul.[60]

Hirata's prediction of Japan's victory in the event of a Russian invasion has been read as evidence of Hirata's lack of realistic understanding of the crisis.[61] I argue instead that Hirata's "optimistic" assessment of the situation is indicative of a particular epistemological mode in which he evaluated and defined the crisis. He perceived a crisis in terms of lack not of physical power but rather of knowledge essential for the construction of an adequate human subject position, the fearless Yamato soul, which would necessarily lead to physical power and the overcoming of the crisis. In other words, for Hirata, the problems troubling society and the country were not merely a social and political crisis but fundamentally an epistemological one—people did not know what true knowledge was. As such, the solution for the crisis called for the articulation of a true, authentic, comprehensive knowledge, based on which an active human subject could be created. In turn, this human subject would be able to enact that knowledge by converting it to spiritual and physical power. It is precisely an acute sense of crisis that drove Hirata to reformulate Shinto as a true knowledge adequate for establishing a strong agency for humans. The difference between Hirata and Motoori here is apparent. The imperative of articulating human agency did not exist for Motoori, who promoted a "naturally" docile and aesthetically apolitical life for his contemporaries. By contrast, Hirata was pushing for a "socialization" of the kami.

Put differently, the kami were mobilized by Hirata to articulate a realm of human interiority and connect that interiority to the social and political world. For Hirata, knowledge truly was power; that knowledge was his version of Shinto, and he was committed to revealing to his contemporaries what this truly all-encompassing and empowering Shinto knowledge was. Central to this encompassing Shinto was its capability to assimilate the Catholic doctrine because it was in Christianity that Hirata detected the power of a salvation doctrine that could be mobilized to consolidate the Yamato Soul, the fundamental source of the strength, to overcome the deepening crisis. In his effort to domesticate Catholicism into Shinto, the relationship between humans and the gods was fundamentally reconfigured, with the god Ōkuninushi elevated to the apex of the Shinto pantheon to serve as the anchoring pillar for the fearless Yamato Soul.

## "A Foreign Section of the Fundamental Teaching"

Hirata's efforts in mobilizing the Catholic doctrine for consolidating Shinto started early in his career. In 1803, Hirata first came across Motoori's work and following the latter's style wrote his own first work named *Kabōsho* (*Rebuking Absurd Thoughts*). This is a defense of Shinto in response to the attack of the Neo-Confucian scholar Dazai Shundai (1680–1747), marking his entry into the discursive field of the Way of the Kami. Three years later, Hirata composed a text entitled *Honkyō gaihen,* or *A Foreign Section of the Fundamental Teaching* and marked on the front page "viewing other than the author prohibited" (*mikyo taken*). It had to be kept hidden because in it Hirata was conducting a close reading of three expository tracts of the banned Catholic doctrine. These tracts were among those written for educated literati-officials of Ming China by Jesuit missionaries: *Jiren shi pian* (*Ten Chapters from the Extraordinary Man*) by Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), *Sanshan lunxue ji* (*Recorded Scholarly Discussions from Fuzhou*) by Giulio Aleni (1582–1649), and *Qi ke* (*Overcoming the Seven Manifestations of Selfishness*) by Diego de Pantoja (1571–1618). They were smuggled into Japan and secretly circulated despite the bakufu's ban on Christianity as an "evil teaching." Violation of the prohibition law such as Hirata's reading and keeping Catholic books constituted crimes punishable by death.

The central concern that drove Hirata's reading of Catholicism was how to transfer the agency of the kami to humans. In this regard, he was significantly redirecting the focus of Motoori Norinaga's Shinto discourse while sharing many of the latter's concerns (e.g., anti-Buddhist and anti-Confucian stance) and discursive strategies, among which was the notion of the generative cosmic power of the musubi gods. We have seen that Motoori promoted the kami to the status of an autonomous being no longer in need of philosophical support by Buddhism or Neo-Confucianism. His effort to elevate the kami culminated in the establishment of the musubi kami as the principle, simultaneously transcendent and immanent, underlying the origin and operation of the world of nature and humans. This new status of the musubi gods enabled Motoori to claim superiority for Shinto over Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism. On the other hand, Motoori's promotion of the kami came at the expense of the humans, who for him were no more than puppets of the kami, because culture and society were propelled by the invisible hands of the kami and as creations of the kami humans should live their lives based on the recognition of the divine agency that permeates them. Ideally, human beings "naturally" follow the true heart given them by the kami. This means that humans should content themselves with "private" experiences of desire and emotion and their expression through poetry, without any plan for social or political change.[62]

In contrast, Hirata was not satisfied with using the kami simply to structure a new form of knowledge, he wanted to further convert the agency of the kami into an epistemological principle that could energize his fellow countrymen into socially and politically engaged subjects. Hirata wanted to tell his contemporaries that as divine creations humans were inherently capable of knowing what constituted a proper life, a life that is divine, eternal, blissful, and under the control of humans themselves. The conviction in this divinely endowed knowledge for life, reinforced with the confidence

in the "imperial land" as the origin of this original knowledge, Hirata argued, would lead to consolidation of the fearless Yamato Soul (*Yamato-damashii*). Hirata discovered in Catholicism an explanatory scheme capable of reshaping Shinto into such a supreme form of knowledge. *A Foreign Section* amounted to the first step in domesticating the Catholic scheme for Shinto by devising a set of new categories to refigure the kami into both a subject and an epistemological principle structuring the Shinto knowledge.

In his *Foreign Section*, Hirata was reworking Catholic doctrines to reconfigure them into a Shinto form. The text consists almost entirely of passages taken directly from the afore-mentioned doctrinal tracts or slightly changed passages with original ones readily identifiable. The changes made were most explicit in the case of names. He replaced, for example, "the lord of heaven" (*tian zhu*), or God, with a variety of epithets that appeared in Japanese texts, reflective of Hirata's ongoing strenuous struggles in refiguring the Christian divinity: *tenjin* (Heavenly God), *tentei* (Heavenly Lord), *musubi daijin* (the great musubi gods), and *yūmei daijin* (Great God of the Invisible World), the last of which Hirata identified as Ōkuninushi. These changes reveal how, in response to Christianity, he was distilling a set of categories from the Divine Ages narratives of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* that could be used to address key doctrinal concerns of Catholicism. Notably, Amaterasu does not come up even once in Hirata's Catholic reconfiguration of Shinto.

*A Foreign Section* begins with several pages of reflective remarks. It reads like a summary of the categories Hirata formulated while reading the three Christian texts, categories he put to creative use in subsequent pages. There are five categories: 1) Ōkuninushi as the Lord of the Invisible World (*yūmei daijin* 幽冥大神); 2) the musibi kami; 3) the Invisible World (*kamigoto* 幽事); 4) the Visible World (*arawan-igoto* 顕事); and 5) the spirit or soul (*tama* 霊). In his rereading of the Jesuits' texts, Hirata applied a number of terms to refer to the Christian God including the musubi kami and Ōkuninushi, but his differentiation between the uses of the two categories was clear: the musubi gods refer to the Christian God as a creator; Ōkuninushi refers to the Christian God as the judge of departed human souls.[63] That is, Hirata divided the agency of the Christian God between the musubi gods and Ōkuninushi. Furthermore, Ōkuninushi even came to transcend the Christian God. Hirata claimed Ōkuninushi's superiority, asserting that the Christian God, "like the Deva-king Brahma (*bonten*) and king Enma," was no more than a spirit branched off from Ōkuninushi.[64] In maintaining this hierarchy, when he referred to the Christian heaven, he consistently used the term "the Invisible World" (*yūse*), a realm he identified as ruled by Ōkuninushi, in contrast to the Visible World ruled by the Japanese emperor.[65]

Hirata was as much concerned with defining the soul or spirit (*tama*) as with defining the kami. Following Motoori, he held that human spirits were all generated by the musubi gods.[66] However, for Hirata human life did not end at the moment of death, when the soul goes to the realm of death, as Motoori emphasized, but rather continues in the Invisible World.[67] Making the soul eternal served to elevate it to an incorruptible agent capable of action and bearing the implications of these actions by the agent. At the same time, its eternalization worked to expand the explanatory scheme of things and humans beyond the frame of worldly life. Hirata appropriated

the section on soul in *Sanshan lun xueji,* which he copied in the *Foreign Section* word for word but prefacing the citations with the phrase "according to Atsutane" (*Atsutane iwaku*):

> [A soul] has beginning but no end. It lives, with or without body … Its nature does not change even when you don't act good. It is eternal and does not divide … It is the lord of the body … The body acting good is different from it acting bad but virtue or sin, the implications of actions return to the lord [the soul]. Body goes back to the earth but the soul will enter the Invisible World and receive the praise or punishment from the Lord of the Invisible World.[68]

Here, the human soul attained an ontological existence similar to the kami. This is vastly different from what Motoori allowed it to be: a mere temporal existence under the control of the gods.

Although all the five categories employed by Hirata could be traced back to the Divine Ages narrative of *Kojiki* or *Nihon shoki,* none of them had originally any metaphysical or ontological significance. The Invisible World, where Ōkuninushi retreated after surrendering the land to Amaterasu, and the Visible World were mentioned only once in *Nihon shoki* and never in *Kojiki.* The musubi gods appeared several times in both *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* but did not have the status of a transcendent principle accorded them by Motoori and Hirata. Neither did the human soul receive any philosophical or theological treatment in the Divine Ages narratives. Except for the musubi gods, none of the above five categories of Hirata were central to Motoori's Shinto theory. These categories and their inter-relations, however, were essential for Hirata in organizing a knowledge indispensable for elevating what he perceived as effeminate, tepid spirits (of his contemporaries) into the fearless Yamato Soul. In his 1811 work *Tama no mihashira* 霊の真柱 (*True Pillar of the Soul*), Hirata wove those categories into Hattori's Shinto cosmogony discourse to create a new form of Shinto knowledge, which he claimed to be the "Learning of the Ancient Past" (*inishie no manabi* 古学) capable of infusing energy into the human subject and reinvigorating the august imperial nation in crisis.

## "True Pillar of the Soul"

In the very first sentence of *Tama no mihashira*, Hirata announced: "The pillar I am going to erect here is the anchor for the Yamato Soul (*Yamato-gokoro*) of the pupils of the Learning of the Ancient Past."[69] Without the anchoring pillar, he asserted, houses would shake, disturbances arise at night, and all kinds of disasters befall humans. This anchoring pillar is the knowledge about where human souls go after death. Not knowing the destination of the departed soul, Hirata continued, would lead to blind following of theories originated in foreign countries. In other words,

> Pupils of the Ancient Learning must first and foremost consolidate the Yamato Soul … Without consolidating the Soul, there is no way to know the true Way, which is as sturdy as a solid pillar with its root deeply in the ground … To

consolidate the Soul, one must learn above all where human souls settle after death.[70]

From the beginning, Hirata's construction of Shinto proceeds by weaving together the foundational knowledge about the destination of the departed human soul, the articulation of a subject position (the Yamato Soul), and the definition of a distinct, supreme form of knowledge (Ancient Learning, or Shinto). How then is one to learn about the whereabouts of departed souls?

> First, one must attain the deep knowledge of the origin and shape of heaven (*ame*), earth, and yomi, of the divine power that made what they are as heaven, earth and yomi, knowledge of the land of Nihon as the central pillar grounding all other countries, of our emperor as the Great Lord of the world. With this knowledge one will then understand where departed souls go.[71]

Knowledge about death and the afterlife is to be sought in a cosmogonical process. Claiming that Hattori's work only partially described this process, Hirata set out to reveal the entire process in *Tama no mihashira* so as to make manifest the double knowledge of the supremacy of Japan as the pillar of the world and the knowledge about the destination of departed souls, a double knowledge he envisioned as the pillar anchoring the Yamato Soul. As we will see, Hirata's explication of cosmogony consisted in relating to each other the five categories he identified in *A Foreign Section* (Ōkuninushi, the musubi gods, the Invisible World, the Visible World, and the Soul); based on this new structure of meaning, he brought together the triple layered themes of departed human soul's destination, the masculine Yamato Soul, and the supreme knowledge of Shinto.

In the first volume of *Tama no mihashira,* Hirata used Hattori's ten-diagram narrative to structure his exposition but made extensive revisions to it in order to establish his own version of Shinto cosmogony. Unlike Hattori, who annotated passages from *Kojiki*, Hirata took a freer approach, annotating passages, which he himself composed but claimed to truthfully represent the meaning of a set of original texts which included *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, and commentaries to these texts.[72] In the second volume, Hirata developed his arguments based on the ideas raised in the first volume. Following Motoori and Hattori, Hirata held that the transcendent musubi gods, without beginning or end, were the cosmic generative power that caused the entire cosmogony process, including the creation of human beings. Hirata first quoted Hattori literally in explaining the first moments of the process, but moved on to establish his own argument with his own annotations to the narrative about the deeds of the gods Izanagi and Izanami. Here, he explicitly moved away from Motoori's theory about the source of misfortune and disaster (*magakoto*). For Motoori, all the disasters and misfortunes were caused by the single god *magatsuhi*, the god of misfortune or evil (*maga*), whose will and deeds are completely beyond the control of humans. The goal of Hirata's annotation here, however, was to relativize the absolute nature of this source of evil by identifying the fire god as another source of disaster besides the magatsuhi god, one which could however be managed by humans. Hirata's relativization of the source of disaster, in other words, served to elevate the status of

humans and contributed to his major goal of formulating a strong Yamato Soul as an acting agent.

### Creating the Human Agent

After Izanami and Izanagi solidified the earth and created the eight major islands, Hirata tells us, they also engendered many gods. The birth of the fire god, however, burned the female god Izanami to death, which resulted in her going to the land of death, yomi. When Izanagi angrily killed the fire god, fire split into many bits and scattered around; some dropped to the death land and became polluted by the filth here. Izanami severed the passage between the yomi world and the earth in order to prevent the fire god, now in the realm of death, from traveling back to cause disasters to human life.[73] However, the fire god (now in scattered pieces) on earth developed a strong hate for the world of death because the god's mother's journey to the filthy yomi world of death was the direct reason that his father killed him. As a result, any contact or association with yomi and filthy things would cause his rage, which brings about various sorts of disasters.[74] That is to say, the fire god is not evil by nature; he acts evilly after being triggered by filth. Hirata here redefined the source of misfortune and disaster as a situational occurrence rather than natural. Fire was a common disaster in Tokugawa Japan because houses were built with wood. Hirata's choice to use fire in explicating the relativity of the source of disaster very likely was meant to magnify the rhetorical persuasive effect of his discussion by taking advantage of this common association of fire with disaster.

After returning from the world of death, Izanagi took a purification bath, according to *Kojiki*. From the bathing process a series of gods were born. Among them was the magatsuhi god whom Motoori read as the single source of disaster and misfortune. Hirata agreed that magatsuhi, as the congelation of the filth Izanagi brought back from the death realm, was one source of disaster and misfortune. He argued, however, that his destructive force was compromised by the *naobi* god, who was born together with magatsuhi and intended by Izanagi to be a check on the power of magatsuhi. By soothing and softening the angry heart of magatsuhi, who, like the fire god, would go wild upon touching filth, the naobi god could offset the disasters caused by magatsuhi.[75]

The twin gods of magatsuhi and naobi provided Hirata with a new model to define the generic category of the kami and, more importantly, the human being. They constitute the two dimensions of the soul for both types of entity.[76] Every human was born with the spirits of magatsuhi and naobi, possessing the conflicting tendencies to act for good or evil:

> No humans would fail to turn angry at filthy and evil things and when angry humans could act violently. This is because humans possess the spirit of the magatsuhi kami. On the other hand, humans can endure and harmonize the feelings of anger and hatred because every person is endowed with the spirit of the naobi god … Even my teacher [i.e., Motoori] sometimes makes mistakes as he errs in this regard. The spirits of the two gods are like the two wheels on a cart; without them humans can't be humans. The reason for this being so will be discussed in detail in *Koshiden*.[77]

Hirata, in other words, freed the humans from the shadow of being the puppet of the kami, and redefined them in terms of a dynamic relationship between good and evil. This dynamic forms the basis of a new subject position: one can control one's own feelings and actions. Indeed, Hirata's subsequent explications of human afterlife destination, determined by Ōkuninushi, and the Shinto knowledge are conditioned on humans as a divinely created agent.

### Ōkuninushi to the Top of the Shinto Pantheon

Astronomy demanded a fundamental refiguring of the relationship between heaven, earth, and the death realm in order for them to be identified with the spherical entities of the sun, the earth, and the moon. This refiguring resulted in very different treatment of Amaterasu and Ōkuninushi. When the three spheres became completely separate from each other, their cosmological-moral relationships were likewise reduced to a minimum. Like Hattori, Hirata emphasized the physical separateness of the three spheres, with each becoming a complete world in itself.[78] Following Hattori, Hirata argued that Amaterasu went to the sun when it was severed from the earth.[79] That is, the sun was the heaven that Izanagi ordered Amaterasu to rule over. By assigning Amaterasu to the sun, Hirata redefined the nature of the relevance of the goddess to humans who lived on earth. That relevance is reflected in Amaterasu's power of providing light to sustain lives on earth. The physical nature of her relationship with humans on earth is most graphically depicted in Hirata's illustration of the tenth diagram. He specifically marked the size of the three astronomical entities and the distances between them in units of *li*, citing the figures from the astronomical knowledge of "Western barbarians."[80]

Amaterasu's relevance to the earth thus differed qualitatively from the moral, ontological, and cosmological relationship of Ōkuninushi with humans. The earth, for Hirata, became the independent physical-astronomical entity where a Shinto order of things was in operation. Ōkuninushi's relation with humans was established when Hirata explicated the yomi world of death in relation to the destination of departed souls. Again, following Hattori, Hirata held that the world of death became the moon after its separation from the earth, and it is the god Susanoo, identified with the god Tsukiyomi, who ruled over it. Hirata, however, claimed that Ōkuninushi did not remain in the moon with his father Susanoo but returned to earth.[81] Hirata did so by bringing in the category *kamigoto*, or "the Invisible World," which appeared in the Divine Ages narratives and was discussed by Hirata in the *Foreign Section*. Neither Motoori nor Hattori foregrounded kamigoto as much as Hirata did. According to *Nihon shoki*, when Ōkuninushi surrendered the rule of the visible world to Amaterasu, he announced he would retreat to rule the realm kamigoto. In the Divine Ages narratives, the two terms *kamigoto* and *yomi* are not related. They appeared separately and without any explanation as to their meanings. Hirata emphasized that kamigoto was different from yomi: the former was not the land of darkness and death but an altogether different, invisible realm of existence. Before investigating the cosmological position of kamigoto, Hirata first related Ōkuninushi to kamigoto and exposed that kamigoto was a realm under the rule of the god Ōkuninushi.

In reference to the Divine Ages narratives, Hirata stated that after Ōkuninushi surrendered the rule of the land—the Visible World—to the grandson of Amaterasu, he hid himself at the Kitsuki Shrine (i.e., the Izumo Shrine) that was built for him by all the gods.[82] But a different variant of the *Nihon shoki* narrative tells that Ōkuninushi hid at the Many-Twisted-Roads (*yasokumade*) and ruled over kamigoto after renouncing the rule of the Visible World. Hirata confessed his puzzlement over how Ōkuninushi could go to so many different places and started to investigate what these places' names referred to. He first went back to Motoori's exegetic exposition in *Kojiki-den*, which juxtaposed the two words of kamigoto and the visible world as referring to two different worlds:

> In contrast to the rule of the emperor of the affairs visible to human eyes, [kamigoto] is the invisible rule by the kami. All the things in our world are caused by the kami; kamigoto, or the things of the kami, is a term used to differentiate things of the kami from the visible things done by humans. The rule of the Invisible World by Ōkuninushi serves the imperial rule in the Visible World.[83]

Not satisfied with Motoori's explanation, however, Hirata superimposed upon Motoori's distinction another definition, one given by the fifteenth-century court scholar Ichijō Kaneyoshi (1402–81), who, as shown in the introduction of this book, set up in his commentary of *Nihon shoki* the distinction between the world "under the light of the sun" and the dark and invisible kamigoto, which is also a court of judgment for departed human souls.[84] Combining the two definitions of kamigoto as the realm of the gods and as the court of judgment on the afterlife, Hirata concluded that Ōkuninushi presides at the Kitsuki Shrine and rules over the invisible affairs of the kami, with the main part of the affairs being passing judgment on departed human souls.[85] Hirata then went on to perform a series of creative expository moves to consolidate this thesis in the remaining part of the text: first, to determine the location of the Invisible World; second, to show that human souls do not go to the filthy yomi realm but to the Invisible World; and third, to establish that it is human souls that receive Ōkuninushi's judgment.

### Locating the Invisible World

Where is the Invisible World of the kami? It is not a place separate from the Visible World, Hirata told us, but exists within and permeates it. From the Visible World, however, one can't see it; on the other hand, looking from the Invisible World, things in the visible one are nevertheless all apparent.[86] Hirata gave two pieces of evidence to instantiate the location of the Invisible World. First, just like the Kitsuki Shrine where Ōkuninushi resided, the numerous shrines across the country housed gods both new and old, including those originating in the Divine Age. These gods, in spite of their birth in heaven, all remained on the earth and inhabited the shrines when heaven detached from it to become the sun.[87] This collectivity of shrines is the bordering space straddling the Visible and Invisible Worlds. While residing at these shrines visible to human eyes, the gods perform their divine affairs of the Invisible World. The

second evidence was the occasional manifestation of the kami to assist human affairs. He quoted the episode in *Nihon shoki* where Ōkuninushi appeared before Emperor Suinin to demand shrine renovation and offering, and the gods of the Sumiyoshi Shrine in Osaka manifested themselves to lead the military force of Empress Jingū in the legendary invasion of the Korean Peninsula.[88] Thus, for Hirata, shrines evidenced the existence of the Invisible World of the kami on the earth and served to link the world of the kami to the Visible World of humans. Hirata further referred to the popular idea of the tenth month to consolidate his definition of the Invisible World as a Shinto pantheon, echoing the preaching discourse deployed by the Izumo priests and traveling preachers:

> That all the gods gathered at Izumo and built the Grand Shrine for Ōkuninushi [after the god renounced the rule of the land to Amaterasu] is because Ōkuninushi is the lord of the invisible world … When one thinks about the popular idea [of the tenth month,] they will see clearly why this is the case. As the popular idea goes, in the tenth month the gods in all provinces go to the assembly at the Great Izumo Shrine … This idea has been transmitted from the ancient past and truth is embedded in its persistent transmission.[89]

By showing that all the kami, of both heavenly and earthly origins, remained in the Invisible World, which was also a court under the leadership of Ōkuninushi, while also redefining human beings as agents, Hirata laid down the discursive conditions for his redefinition of the Shinto pantheon, particularly the kami's relationship with humans. That is, Hirata next would argue that kamigoto was the destination for departed human souls. Furthermore, their entry into kamigoto marked their transformation into the kami themselves. In so doing, Hirata effaced Motoori's distinction between the kami and humans by enabling sanctification of human souls. The earth was reconfigured to both a physical (astronomical) and an ontological space for accommodating a new order of things, an order structured by the twin categories of the Invisible and the Visible Worlds. Grounding this order was none other than the god Ōkuninushi as he was not only given the duty by Hirata to judge every soul upon their entry into kamigoto but also would lead the kami and the sanctified human souls in protecting those still living in the Visible World while enabling these human souls to enjoy an eternal, blissful life.

### Human Souls Go to the Invisible World to Receive Ōkuninushi's Judgment

The logical condition for redefining the relationship between the kami and humans was that dead humans don't go to the filthy world of yomi for eternal suffering, a prevalent definition confirmed by Motoori and Hattori. Following the construction of the Invisible and Visible Worlds, Hirata then went on to show that human souls go not to the yomi world of death but to the Invisible World of the Shinto pantheon under the rule of Ōkuninushi. Hirata disagreed with both Motoori and Hattori in identifying the moon (the yomi world of death) as the final destination for departed human souls. He asked how this could happen, since no traffic was possible anymore, after Izanami cut yomi completely off from the earth to prevent the defiled fire god from

coming back.[90] Hirata applied two more procedures to overthrow the idea of yomi as the doomed destination of human souls. First, he problematized the practice of transcribing *yomi* with the Chinese characters *huang-quan* 黄泉. Before the Chinese texts (*karabumi*) were introduced to Japan, Hirata asserted, the Japanese correctly understood *yomi*, which he transcribed as 夜見, as the Invisible World. It was only when the Chinese characters 黄泉, meaning the dark and defiled subterranean world of death, were used to transcribe the term *yomi,* that the minds of the Japanese were contaminated and mistook Chinese *yomi* for *kamigoto*.[91] As a result, the Japanese believed that when they died they would go to the filthy world, identified as yomi, to suffer forever. Second, Hirata emphasized the existence of tombs for departed souls. Like the shrines where the kami reside all over the country, the tombs were eternal resting places of departed human souls.[92] Buried in the tomb, the body would dematerialize, but the soul, separable from the decomposition of the body, remained at the tomb. This is evidenced by numerous cases of witnessing of manifested human souls around tombs.[93]

Hirata here drew a significant parallel between shrines and tombs. With this parallel, he reached the conclusion that the kami and departed human souls share the same space in which souls attained the status of the kami, thereby attaining divine power and the ability to live for eternity. That is, "In the Visible World, humans lead a life as the subjects of the emperor; upon death, their souls turn into the kami … and go to the Invisible World. They receive judgment from Okuninsuhi the great lord (*ōkami*) of the Invisible World and stay at the service of the lord, bringing blessing to parents and offspring of the Visible World."[94] Through the mediation of Ōkuninushi, Hirata changed death from the marker of an end to a link between two phases of life in the Visible and the Invisible Worlds. The soul would not depart for the moon to receive lasting suffering but would enter the world of the kami here on the earth. Life became a lot more interesting: not only did human souls possess agency for defining their life but they were also, in essence, eternal beings.

### Human Agency and the True Way of the Gods

It is based on the human soul as an extended form of life that Hirata developed Shinto into a new, superior explanatory scheme capable of and indeed responsible for consolidating the Yamato Soul. Hirata explained the importance of knowing the destination of the departed souls by contrasting it with the development of contagious diseases such as smallpox. People "who are effeminate and hesitate at everything they do" had only an ambiguous sense of where their souls were headed.[95] Lacking a strong pillar to uphold the soul and losing its power of agency, the evil magatsuhi aspect of the soul prevailed over the harmonizing naobi aspect. Because strong souls cluster with other strong ones, whereas evil souls cluster with evil ones, those weak, lost souls were prone to the influence of the evil kami of malaria, smallpox, and the kami of suicide by hanging (*kubikukuri no kami*).[96] While these evil kami originated from the magatsuhi god, people who died from these causes eventually turned evil themselves. Without homes and not knowing where to go, these souls gathered together and became wandering ghosts, spreading diseases.[97] Not knowing the true

origin and operation of the diseases, the so-called Dutch Learning scholars, like the Neo-Confucians, tried to exhaust the reasons behind these things; when they came to a dead end, they contributed all the incomprehensible things to God.[98] How far had they deviated from the kami-revering essence of learning when they tried to explain the kami of disease, spirits, and fox ghosts in terms of four elements or theory of nerves![99]

In contrast, solid conviction in the destination of human souls to the Invisible World and, through Ōkuninushi's judgment, the elevation of souls to the kami secured a determined, straightforward, and directed life that could attain great divine accomplishment. Hirata introduced several episodes to substantiate his point. One was the anti-hemorrhoidal kami. There was once a person in Edo who suffered enormously from hemorrhoids, Hirata told us. Toward the end of his life, he swore that "nothing in the world makes you suffer as much as hemorrhoids. After I die, I will become the kami who helps people fight the disease."[100] Indeed, the intense commitment, at the moment of death, transformed into a divine power of healing, Hirata told his readers. There are many reports of the efficacy of praying to this kami, enshrined in Asakusa of Edo.[101] The vow made by this hemorrhoid sufferer was possible only because he was convinced of the fact that he would go to the Invisible World of the lord Ōkuninushi and would be ushered by the lord to the Shinto pantheon. Later lost due to an influx of alien theories, this knowledge was originally part of being a human being because human souls were received from the musubi gods and were inherently capable of understanding this knowledge. The kami not only set up all the things; they also imbued the human souls with the epistemological insights to know about all the things, including, in the case of the hemorrhoid sufferer, the fact that his life was to continue in the Invisible World and the agency he possessed was to be realized as divine healing feats: "Indeed, as popular saying puts it, the human being is the most valued of creatures. Carrying our hearts forward fiercely and purely with the ambition for accomplishing things even after death. This is the True Way of the Gods (*kami no makoto no michi* 神の真の道)."[102]

Hirata then was ready to conclude his exposition on the layered significance of the knowledge of human souls' destination, an exposition that started from the very title— *Tama no mihashira* or *True pillar of the Soul*, in relation to the consolidation of the Yamato Soul and to Shinto as a supreme form of knowledge superseding Buddhism, Neo-Confucianism, and Western learning. The true pillar that grounds the soul is, in turn, the conviction in the power of Ōkuninushi as the central pillar grounding the Invisible World and the twin-realm Shinto order. That is to say, the promotion of Ōkuninushi to the central position in anchoring this Shinto order and in structuring an explanatory paradigm served to establish the Yamato Soul as a subject position that was convinced of Shinto as the origin of all knowledge and of the superiority of Japan as the origin of this original knowledge. In consolidating the claim for originality and superiority, Hirata further argued that all the gods worshiped by foreign peoples—including Deus, the Heavenly Lord, and the Buddha—were no more than manifestations of Ōkuninushi. By thus constructing a virile human subject position by way of the authority of Ōkuninushi, Hirata expected his new Shinto discourse to energize the nation in social and epistemological crisis.

His efforts did not go wasted. Despite being critiqued or even derided by fellow Nativists and scholars of different orientations such as Neo-Confucians, the Shinto theory promoted by Hirata spread quickly across the country, giving rise to a network of like-minded people who became closely connected to political events that culminated in the Meiji Restoration.[103] The number of people who studied at Hirata's Ibuki-ya academy reached more than three hundred in his lifetime and came from all backgrounds: shrine priests, merchants, wealthy peasants and even samurai. After his death, the number of disciples rose further. His books too were sold in thousands: ten thousand copies of *True Pillar of the Soul* were sold before 1868.[104] In Chapter 4, we will see how Hirata's Shinto theory was carried forward by some of his prominent disciples. Before I conclude this chapter, however, let's take a look at how Hirata's Shinto theory was quickly adopted by the Izumo Shrine. This adoption means that the Shinto theory gained a prominent institutional platform for its nationwide dissemination.

## Ōkuninushi Back Home

The Izumo Shrine was ever sensitive to discursive and institutional developments of Shinto as it was always interested in domesticating useful theories for its own empowerment. Its priests started to appropriate Nativists' Shinto in 1792 when the priest-scholar Senge Toshizane (1764–1831) became a disciple of Motoori Norinaga and not long afterwards opened his Nativist academy in Izumo. In 1800, more than two hundred disciples from Izumo and neighboring provinces were studying at Toshizane's academy.[105] Toshizane was interested in strengthening the authority of the Izumo Shrine through affirming the Izumo head priest as a divine genealogy and the power of Ōkuninushi as a creation god. For this goal, Senge Toshizane was attracted more by Motoori's authoritative status in explicating on two eighth-century texts vital for the Izumo Shrine, the gazetteer *Izumo kuni no fudoki* 出雲国風土記 and the prayer *Izumo kuni no miyatsuko kamuyogoto* 出雲国造神賀詞, than by the latter's lifework *Kojiki-den*.

The first text is a survey of the geography, customs, and administration of the ancient Izumo region. It was compiled by the Izumo head priest *kokusō* and submitted to the Yamato court in 733 after the latter subjugated and incorporated the region into the imperial state. The text portrays an administrative region and its topography that is marked by its relation to a group of gods centering on Ōnamuchi as "the great god who made the world" (*Ame no shita wo tsukurashishi Ōkami*) who subsequently gave up the land to the imperial offspring and took up residence at the Kitsuki Shrine built by all the gods for him. The text was a confirmation of the authority of Ōkuninushi and the head priest of Izumo Shrine as the administrator of the central ritual institution of the Izumo Province, an authority that despite being incorporated into the imperial state remained outstandingly independent in comparison with other erstwhile regional power holders.[106]

The second text is a prayer similarly enunciating the distinctive power of Ōkuninushi in relation to the imperial court. It was used during the inauguration ritual of new Izumo *kokusō* at the imperial court in Kyoto. This ritual was performed fifteen times

between 713 and 833. The inauguration process lasts three years, consisting of the first visit of the *kokusō* to the imperial court to receive official appointment, a one-year fasting period at the Izumo Shrine, and the subsequent second visit to the imperial court for an investiture ritual during which the prayer was chanted.[107] While the investiture ritual is usually interpreted as an expression of submission to central political authority, it is at the same time a testimony to the power of the god Ōkuninushi and of the Izumo head priest that the imperial court had to recognize on a regular basis each time a new *kokusō* was inaugurated. The prayer narrates the creation of the land by Ōkuninushi, his surrendering of the land to Amaterasu, and the appointment of the kami Amenohiho as the head priest of the Izumo Shrine, before ending with the new *kokusō's* good wishes for the emperor and the court.

Motoori elevated these two Izumo texts to orthodox status as textual evidence of the ancient Shinto, when all gods were submitted to the emperor. They were, however, used by Senge Toshizane for a different purpose. Rather than sharing the emphasis of Motoori on the divine imperial genealogy as pivotal to the True Way of the Gods, or Shinto, which Ōkuninushi contributed to building with his actions of creation and surrender, Senge Toshizane announced that the texts revealed an Izumo Shinto centered on the divine work of Ōkuninushi in creating the land. He further made it clear that this Shinto was retained by the divine genealogy of the Izumo *kokusō* head priest. It is this Shinto, Senge Toshizane announced, that constituted the Way of Japan (*Nihon no michi*).[108]

It was Hirata Atsutane's elevation of Ōkuninushi to the zenith of the Shinto pantheon that enabled Izumo priests to re-present Ōkuninushi and Izumo Shrine as the anchor of Japan, a status of such political significance that it not only relativized but in effect displaced the imperial authority. The baldest theory was formulated by the Izumo priest-scholar Nakamura Moriomi (1779–1854) and was published by his son Nakamura Morite in Osaka in 1848. Nakamura combined Hirata's Shinto with the discourse of Izumo preachers (*oshi*) and the theory of Suika Shinto in creating a political Shinto theory that redefined the nature of the imperial court. Based on a rereading of the "land transfer" (*kuni-yuzuri*) episode of the Divine Ages narratives of *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki*, Nakamura developed a ritual theory in his text *Himorogi-den*, which transformed the ritual order of the imperial court. *himorogi* can be literally translated as "gods-encirclement" and refers to a possible early form of worshiping where a natural site was marked off temporarily for praying and offering-making. The term hence refers to ritual in general. For Suika Shinto, the idea of *himorogi* was central. Yamazaki Ansai understood *Himorogi*—court rituals performed by two houses tracing their origin to two gods, Futodama and Amenokoyane, dispatched by the heavenly gods to support and protect the imperial house with rituals—as containing the very essence of reverence and loyalty for the emperor, the central tenet in his Shinto theory.[109] Nakamura's rereading, however, elevated Ōkuninushi and the Izumo Shrine to the center of the imperial political order in which Amaterasu and the imperial genealogy were explicitly subordinated to the authority of Ōkuninushi.

Nakamura argued that when Ōkuninushi surrendered the rule of the land and retreated to the invisible world as the lord of the gods, he received from the god

Takami-musubi the generative power that underlay the operation of the twin worlds of the gods and of the imperial rule. Nakamura then quotes the passage in *Nihon shoki* where two gods, Amenokoyane and Futodama, were appointed by Takami-musubi to perform rituals for Ōkuninushi. He asserted that this was the origin of ritual and with it the imperial state came into being. This is because Futodama was at the same time appointed by Takami-musubi to administer rituals for Ninigi, the imperial grandson, to establish the imperial court. This passage in *Nihon shoki* about Futodama is apparently inconsistent but provided Nakamura a chance for discursive construction. He argued that Amanohohi performed rituals at the Izumo Shrine and Futodama at the imperial court and the rituals performed both at the Izumo Shrine and at the imperial court are first directed to Ōkuninushi as the lord of the invisible Shinto pantheon, and second to Amaterasu, to ensure the rule of her imperial offspring in the Visible World.[110] Nakamura thereby elevated Ōkuninushi to the status previously accorded the musubi god as the fundamental generative cosmic power, which for both Motoori and Hirata grounded the authority and status of Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu. Nakamura's theory essentially redefined the rituals and the architecture of the Izumo Shrine as articulations of a new form of divine agency superseding that of Amaterasu despite remaining within the ritually formed institutional structure of the Yamato state. Nakamura admonishes his readers of *Himorogi-den* that unless the origin and essence of the rituals, including the imperial ones, are properly understood, "the basis of Shinto and the Imperial Way will be lost, distinction between the Invisible and Visible Worlds unclarified, and the hierarchy between our imperial land and foreign countries mixed up."[111]

When Nakamura Moriomi died in 1854, Iwamasa Sanehiko, the disciple of Senge Toshizane, succeeded the scholarship of the Izumo Shrine and served as the instructor of the head priest Senge Takazumi. Like Senge Toshizane, Iwamasa Sanehiko was suspicious of Hirata's Shinto theory and disagreed with Nakamura Moriomi's creative reading of imperial ritual. Although Morite published his father's work in 1848, Moriomi's Shinto theory lost influence at the Izumo Shrine.[112] The situation, however, changed after Iwamasa died in 1858 and Nakamura Morite became the leading scholar of the shrine who taught the next head priest-to-be Senge Takatomi (1845–1918). Senge Takatomi, who would become a national leader of Shinto during the Meiji period, furthered the ambition in building upon Hirata's Shinto and generating an Izumo Shinto focused on Ōkuninushi.

Takatomi started to read Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane's Shinto theories in the 1860s and had discussions with his teacher Nakamura Morite.[113] Senge Takatomi told his teacher that he disagreed with Iwamasa Sanehiko and was not persuaded by Motoori's theory developed in *Kojiki-den*, but he found Hirata's *True Pillar of the Soul* and *Koshiden*, Hirata's unfinished magnum opus, convincing. Morite was very pleased with how Takatomi's scholarship was progressing.[114] He told Takatomi that Hirata was a scholar of ability but also a man of idiosyncrasy, so discretion was needed when reading Hirata. Senge Takatomi's study of Hirata was most likely extensive and thorough. We will see in Chapter 5 the latter's evident influence on the former. As it turned out, by the early Meiji period Senge Takatomi would have incorporated major tenets of Hirata's Shinto (the distinction of Visible and Invisible Worlds; Ōkuninushi

as the judge of departed human souls; Ōkuninushi as the lord of the invisible world) in consolidating a theological discourse that not only constituted the doctrinal basis for the Izumo Shrine's nationwide confraternities but also for the official indoctrination program implemented by the Meiji government. His promotion of Ōkuninushi as the lord of the Invisible World who made claims to original possession of the land, however, would come to direct conflict in early Meiji years with the priests of the Ise Shrine who claimed that it was Amaterasu, enshrined at Ise, who was the supreme deity of the Shinto pantheon.

# Conclusion

This chapter examined how scholars of Nativism (*kokugaku*) promoted Ōkuninushi to the pinnacle of a Shinto pantheon in their reconstruction of Shinto into a supreme form of knowledge for superseding competing knowledge of Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, Catholicism, and astronomy. For the Nativists, this all-encompassing Shinto knowledge would be able to respond to the ongoing social and national crisis intensified in particular by the threat of Russian colonization from the north. Studies of Nativism have so far looked at this remarkable intellectual event in terms of early modern development of an emperor-centered protonationalism. In this chapter, I shifted away from this protonationalist reading and examined Nativism as the production of a Shinto knowledge in the world-historical context of the nineteenth century. The creation of the intellectual Shinto discourse marked by its claim to indigeneity was intrinsically connected to transregional flows of knowledge between Japan, China, and Western missionaries and traders, and European colonization in the early modern period. Thus examined, a very important development in Nativist Shinto discourse—namely, the relativization of the status of Amaterasu in comparison to Ōkuninushi—becomes clear. The rise of Ōkuninushi rather than Amaterasu to the supreme status in the Shinto discourse not only marks a critical moment in Japan's incorporation into world history but exposes a dynamic relationship that is integral to the operation of the Shinto discourse in turbulent transformations of nineteenth-century Japan.

This chapter started by examining how Motoori Norinaga elevated Shinto to an unprecedented status of autonomy by transforming for the first time the idea of the god(s) or *kami* to an independent, transcendental-immanent principle that structured a reputedly indigenous explanatory scheme in place of Neo-Confucianism. Then, it looked into how Motoori's disciple Hattori Nagatsune constructed a Shinto astronomy based on Motoori's life work *Kohiki-den* in his effort to domesticate Western astronomy. It is in this Shinto astronomical framework that Hirata Atsutane set out to reformulate Shinto to construct an active human subject capable of energizing a country sunken in social and national crisis. In mobilizing the agency of the gods for structuring a new, supreme form of knowledge in ultimately establishing a new human subject position, Hirata integrated the creatively Catholic doctrine of salvation and astronomical knowledge with the Divine Ages narratives of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. The result is Hirata's elevation of Ōkuninushi to the Shinto god of creation, blessing, and judgment,

while externalizing Amaterasu to the sun from the earth, the ontological center of the newly sanctified order of things. The conviction in the power of Ōkuninushi as the central pillar grounding this Shinto order constituted for Hirata the very true pillar that qualified and upheld a soul as true and fearless Japanese (*Yamato gokoro*). This is a soul convinced of Shinto as the origin of all knowledge and of the superiority of Japan as the origin of this original knowledge. Here the indigeneity of Shinto, namely, its articulation conditioning upon the identification with the space of "Japan," was explicitly brought to bear upon the claim for the authenticity and power of Shinto as a supreme knowledge, as well as for the epistemological principle effecting the realization of the fearless human subject. When the Izumo Shrine actively adopted Nativists' increasingly influential Shinto discourse as its new preaching platform, the popular fortune god Ōkuninushi gained a powerful institution that would proceed to elevate the "Great Lord of the Land" to the status of the savior of Japan.

# Converting Japan, 1825–1875

In the early modern period, Ōkuninushi rose from a regionally anchored deity to a god of nationwide popularity sitting at the top of the Shinto pantheon. His ascent was articulated in relation to the authority and status of the imperial ancestor Amaterasu, as can be seen in the Izumo Shrine's popular preaching and the formulation of the Nativist Shinto as a supreme form of knowledge. Neither the Izumo preachers nor the Nativist Hirata Atsutane constructed the new authorities of Ōkuninushi in explicit challenge to Amaterasu; their discursive formulations were driven, respectively, by the imperatives to develop popular preaching to raise funds and to domesticate alien forms of knowledge to overcome epistemological and social crisis. Thus, in their theories, that Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu were two kinds of authority was not an explicit conflict. As Shinto continued to be used to deal with the deepening crisis in the final four decades of the Tokugawa period, however, Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu increasingly came to represent two different—indeed, competing—forms of authority.

Hirata Atsutane's reconstruction of Shinto in the 1810s was an early case of mobilizing the discourse of the kami for social reconstruction. Empowering the inner dimension of the people, he believed, could overcome the escalating social and national crisis. Sharing Hirata's diagnosis of the ongoing crisis as inherently connected to the problem of the formation of a proper individual subject, a Confucian scholar of the Mito domain, Aizawa Seishisai, put forward a proposal in 1825 to transform the "hearts of the people" (*minshin*) through ritual and propagation, using what he upheld as the teaching of the kami. Rather than Ōkuninushi, however, the influential proposal of Aizawa extolled Amaterasu as the leading deity of the Shinto pantheon. He advocated that proper worship of her and the imperial ancestors would help consolidate the hearts of the people in overcoming what he warned was the grave threat of Christian conversion and would, indeed, save the nation. Into the 1850s and 1860s, the Shinto theory with two divergent focuses, one on Ōkuninushi and the other on Amaterasu, was adopted in several domains for enacting social reforms. In the process, "Shinto" changed from an intellectual discourse—an ancient, authentic, but eclipsed form of knowledge—into an ideological doctrine that was to be implemented to create a new type of individual in realization of sociopolitical reconstruction even while this creation project was presented as the restoration of an authentic communal life created originally by the kami but later eclipsed by foreign doctrines.

This ideological momentum, later called Restoration Shinto (*fukko shinto*), enabled the early Meiji leadership to announce that the restored imperial polity was based

on the doctrinal teaching given by the kami, which they expressed with the epithet "Unity of Ritual, Rule and Doctrine" (*saiseikyō itchi*). The perceived utility of Shinto in transforming individuals and society underscored the Meiji government's adoption of the Shinto discourse for implementing a propagation program intended to transform the disparate population into a nation unified under the divine authority of the kami and the emperor—as well as to combat Christianity, which the government considered a major ideological threat. The first four years of the Meiji period then saw unprecedented efforts to consolidate Shinto shrines into a nationalized system, which was anticipated to project the imperial authority across the land through ritual performance and propagation. The Meiji government initiated the largest state project ever: converting the entire country of Japan.

The agency of the kami, however, proved difficult to harness for human purposes. Between two ideological factions in the reestablished Department of Divinity a debate emerged: which kami, Ōkuninushi or Amaterasu, should be made to lead the Shinto pantheon? The unending debate exposed the heterogeneous nature of the agency of the kami, which complicated the government's goal of grounding the new polity upon that divine agency. In this volatile, politicized context, Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu represented two conflicting Shinto plans that vied for legitimacy in defining the imperial nation within the newly discovered world order. The factional debate exposed the possibility that, lacking a definition adequate for the new post-Restoration political condition, the kami's status could be relativized. The situation soon prompted the realization on the part of the Meiji leadership that deploying a propagation program in the name of the kami to prevent Christianity relativized the divine authority of the imperial institution. This policy originated from the perception of Christianity as a direct challenge to imperial authority in the first place, and placed the divine imperial authority, essentially as a kami, in conversionary competition with the Christian God. If God was not to be trusted and believed, why should the kami? The relativization of the imperial authority effectively undermined the ideological basis of the Meiji polity. How could the government mobilize the kami, including Amaterasu, to transform the "heart of the people" without that very divinity being compromised by the foreign creed of "heavenly lord"?

In 1872, the Meiji government responded to this question by withdrawing from direct management of the propagation project and placing the project under the administration of Shinto and Buddhist priests guided by the government. In so doing, the government expected that the Shinto doctrine for the project would be separated from and would not impact the status of the imperial institution that served as the ideological basis of the Meiji government. This policy change betrayed the Meiji government's reliance on the institutions of Shinto and Buddhism, neither of which always shared the government's goals, for implementing the official propagation program. Buddhist sects were able to mobilize their temple system and the enormous lay population affiliated with the system as *danka,* something similar to a Christian congregation. In the case of Shinto, this policy meant the revival of Shinto confraternities developed in the early modern period but ordered to disband in 1871, the moment of Shinto's nationalization.

The Meiji government, however, wanted to turn the joint propagation project into a Shinto one by emphasizing the central role of the kami for the project.

Feeling the threat of being assimilated into Shinto, Buddhists strongly opposed this policy. Deploying the discourse of religion-state relation that they learned in Europe, Buddhists called into question the official Shinto propagation by arguing that state sponsorship of a propagation project mixed religion with governance and, as such, amounted to a mistaken attempt to create a Shinto religion. Shinto was, they contended, the state itself because Shinto was essentially a set of liturgical performances directed toward the imperial ancestors, especially Amaterasu. Buddhists' intervention into the propagation project changed the rules of the game. The necessity of separating religion from the state brought to the fore the heterogeneous and undifferentiated valences of the Shinto discourse. In its effort to retain the Buddhists, the Meiji government in 1875 withdrew, for the second time, from the propagation project, now announced as a religious one. This move nevertheless gave rise to a new question without providing an answer: if Shinto divinity (that included Amaterasu and Ōkuninushi) was the necessary constitutive component of the political regime, how could the new nation and the imperial government be articulated in terms of the new classificatory categories of religion and the state?

## Rise of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, 1825–1867

The first half of the nineteenth century saw a series of efforts to mobilize the power of the kami to engage contemporary sociopolitical problems. Resulting from the talks about the kami, Shinto changed from a learning (*gaku*) to a doctrine (*kyō*), a process that one historian of Japan aptly describes as the "socialization" of conceptions of the kami in pre-Restoration Japan.[1] Concomitant to this transformation of Shinto is the rise of Amaterasu, in parallel with Ōkuninushi, to prominence in the Shinto pantheon. Indeed, not until the 1820s was Amaterasu promoted (by the Mito Confucian Aizawa Seishisai in his *New Thesis*) to be standing on its own as an independent source of political authority. Amaterasu had never previously enjoyed this status of self-sufficiency. During the long medieval period, the kami was considered the manifestation of the Mahavirocana Buddha, and subsequently was articulated in the early modern Nativists' Shinto discourse as a constitutive component of the Shinto cosmological system undergirded by the higher cosmic authority of the musubi gods. Even after Aizawa's *New Thesis*, the authority of Amaterasu did not become absolute. Soon the goddess's authority was to be challenged by Ōkuninushi, and that challenge was not domesticated until the 1880s, almost two decades after the Meiji Restoration.

Like the Nativist Hirata, Confucian scholars in Mito, a collateral domain of the Tokugawa bakufu, were equally alerted by the advancement of the Russians from the north and their demands for trade. Among them was the twenty-four-year-old Aizawa Seishisai (1782–1863). During the conflict of 1806 between Russian sailors and the Japanese in the eastern Ezo region, he collected information on the Russians and named his unpublished collection *Chishima ibun*, or *Extraordinary Episodes of Chishima* (i.e., the Kurile Islands). In the work, Aizawa connected the Russians' Far East expansion to the successful state building of Peter the Great, noting especially the Russian emperor's education policies in transforming the population by "inviting renowned

scholars from the West and building schools everywhere."[2] Most importantly, Peter the Great was far sighted and "implemented long-term strategies to make his people feel secure (*tami wo yasunji* 民を安んし) and his country rich. He constructed roads to distribute benefits of his reform, had grapes and other crops planted to provide people with sufficient food, established schools to spread the doctrinal teaching (*hōkyō*) [of Christianity], and built up the military to deter neighboring countries."[3] Here Aizawa attributed the success of Russia not simply to increased material wealth and power but, equally importantly, to the transformation of an interior dimension that was achieved by converting people to Christianity through education so that they were made to "feel secure." Despite their different ideological orientations, in their approaches to societal problems Aizawa and Hirata both foregrounded the interior dimension of humans (Hirata once approached the Mito Confucian scholars to seek their endorsement of his Shinto theory). The two of them then set out to mobilize the agency of the kami for devising reform programs in strengthening this newly discovered interiority.

Into the 1820s, when visits by trade-demanding foreign ships became more frequent along the coast and discussions of social problems came to be more explicitly tied to issues of national security, Aizawa wrote his *Shinron*, or *New Thesis* (1825), putting forward his proposal for strengthening the nation. While he emphasized the need to strengthen national defense, at the heart of the reform plan was his diagnosis of the crisis as intrinsically connected to an interior dimension or what he called "the heart of the people" (*minshin*).[4] Aizawa's proposal foregrounded Christian conversion as a powerful strategy of the "Western barbarians" to transform and conquer the world. He likewise advised preemptively transforming the populace on the archipelago "by devising a doctrine with the teaching of the kami"[5] so that they would not be converted to Christianity but be consolidated into "one heart" identified with the divine imperial institution. For this unified heart to materialize, Aizawa argued, a new program of social engineering needed to be implemented in which ritual, governance, and propagation were unified under the imperial institution (a complex ideological formation contracted into the phrase *saiseikyō itchi* in the Meiji period). In this scheme, ritual meant the emperor's repeated confirmation of reverence and loyalty to his ancestor Amaterasu, which Aizawa termed the Heavenly Ancestor, or *tenso*. Because heart-transforming propagation took place by way of rituals implemented at the court and throughout the land, performance of these rituals constituted governance itself.[6]

Aizawa articulated his program of social engineering with references to the eighth- and ninth-century construction of a nationwide shrine system that integrated previously diverse, localized gods-revering practices into a structure directed toward supporting Amaterasu and her imperial descendants. Although for a time the shrine system served to project imperial authority across the land by way of ritual and propagation, it had long since given way to the "evil doctrine" of Christianity, resulting in the betrayal of the original intention of Amaterasu to sustain the unbroken imperial line.[7] Rituals of reverence for the kami became dilapidated and "heaven became separated from humans," although heaven and humans, as a Confucian ideal, should have been unified. The souls of the people, not illuminated by rituals, could no longer rest in peace after death. Subsequently, the living in turn feared thinking about death and

their will for life weakened.[8] To overcome this crisis and strengthen the heart of the people, Aizawa stated that: "edicts and punishment are to be implemented together with ritual and propagation. Then the populace will be brought under imperial rule. When they ride on upright spirit and tread correct path, the principle of imperial rule is secured and the pillar in people's heart re-erected."[9]

The significance of Aizawa's *New Thesis* is twofold. First, this work elevated Amaterasu to the status of "heavenly ancestor" (*tenso*), a term devised by Aizawa to combine the Confucian notion of the mandate of heaven with the authoritative idea of genealogy, which turned the imperial line into the embodiment of the twin cardinal Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety, thereby turning the genealogy into a value-generating, self-justifying political principle. Second, the *New Thesis* rearranged the kami pantheon to revolve around Amaterasu rather than the musubi gods or Ōkininushi, and this new framework was imposed upon the social-cultural landscape not only of the Mito domain but of the entire archipelago. The force of Aizawa's theory was buttressed by the pro-kami policies that the Mito leadership had pursued since the seventeenth century, as opposed to the prevalent practice of relying on Buddhist institutions for ideological and social control. Shrines were supported or otherwise constructed in Mito as the political-ideological apparatus of the domain in replacement of Buddhist temples, which were restricted or simply destroyed. A network of tutelary shrines across the domain was solidly in place by the eighteenth century to collect tax, register local residents, and perform rituals including funerals, duties performed by Buddhist temples in most domains.[10] Aizawa's thesis did build upon this kami-based apparatus of social engineering, but, significantly, it also placed at the apex of this shrine hierarchy the ancestral god of the imperial institution, Amaterasu, rather than the ancestral deity of the Tokugawa line, Tokugawa Ieyasu. In tandem, he shifted his target of critique from Buddhism to Christianity.

Knowing the bakufu would not tolerate such an explicit extolment of the imperial institution, Aizawa did not publish his thesis. The text was, however, circulated in private and read by many who were intent on addressing the problems troubling the country by promoting a social reconstruction program based on the imperial authority. Among these politically conscious people was a Nativist scholar named Ōkuni Takamasa (1792–1871), from the Tsuwano domain in Western Japan. Ōkuni received early training in Neo-Confucianism and Dutch learning and then shifted to the Nativism of Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane. In response to domestic and international situations of the 1850s and 1860s, Ōkuni merged the Shinto discourse of Hirata Atsutane with that of Aizawa. He formulated what he called "Shinto of Amaterasu" in which the goddess was constructed into a metaphysical and generative principle not only for recreating a human subjectivity but for elevating the imperial land of Japan to the commanding position in a "modern" world structured by international law, Christianity, and trade.

Ōkuni's promotion of Amaterasu was based on his innovative reading of the Divine Ages narratives. According to Ōkuni, "At the beginning of heaven and earth, the god (*shinrei*) not only created heaven and earth but also made the sun the foundation of the heavens; he then made Japan the foundation of the world and made the emperor the foundation of all countries in the world."[11] In their reading of the same

narrative, Motoori and Hirata had made a similar interpretation in establishing that the supremacy of Japan over other countries derived from divine intention. Differing from Motoori and Hirata, however, Ōkuni elevated Amaterasu to the same status as the creative musubi gods by essentially identifying the goddess with the god Ame-no-minaka-nushi, which for Motoori and Hirata was no more than another name for the musubi gods.[12] Ōkuni asserts that "Ame-no-minaka-nushi and Amaterasu are one god two spirits."[13] Furthermore, "Ame-no-minaka-nushi is the root whereas Amaterasu is the branch," that is, "Ame-no-minaka-nushi is light (or heat) not yet emanated and Amaterasu is light emanated."[14]

By establishing Amaterasu as both a divine ancestor and the creator of the world, Ōkuni arrived at his thesis of the role of the emperor as the "Supreme Lord of all Nations" (*sekai bankoku no sōō*).[15] The world designed by Amaterasu operates in such a way that the emperor, the descendant of the goddess, was to be acknowledged by all peoples of the world as their ruler and Japan was to be acknowledged as the founding nation of the world. The cosmological and metaphysical formations in Ōkuni's new Shinto had no difficulty domesticating both the Christian doctrine and the international law that Ōkuni came across in 1867, after Henry Weaton's Chinese translation of *Elements of International Law*, *Wanguo gongfa*, was introduced to Japan. He saw international law of the Western nations as a creation to compensate for the West's lack of a divinely appointed and universally acknowledged ruler of the world.[16] The Westerners did not realize that in actuality the Christian God was none other than Ame-no-minaka-nushi, who had appointed the emperor to rule the world (while for Hirata, it is Ōkuninushi who created the foreign countries and manifested in foreign lands as the Christian God). The true international law for Ōkuni, in other words, comprised the commands of the emperor of Japan. In this context, the demands for trade by foreign countries only confirmed and exemplified the will of Amaterasu and the musubi gods "to bring all nations to Japan and so have them pay homage."[17]

Ōkuni's promotion of Amaterasu meant significant reorganization of the Shinto discourse of Hirata, of whom Ōkuni initially claimed discipleship but denounced vehemently in the 1860s.[18] Ōkuni recognized the primacy of the Invisible World over the Visible World but argued there were multiple Invisible Worlds: in the sun, on the earth, and in the moon. The Invisible World in the sun, under the rule of Amaterasu, was the most important. In comparison, the Invisible World on the earth, ruled by Ōkuninushi, played a supportive role for the imperial rule in the Visible World. Appropriate human life was to be directed toward Amaterasu in the sun: "Every evil deed committed by humans who think nobody knows is observed by Amaterasu from the Invisible World in the sun."[19] But Ōkuni played down the significance of the afterlife, taking a formally agnostic approach characteristic of Motoori Norinaga: "the distinction between the Invisible and Visible Worlds is fundamental and can't be bridged." And, accordingly, "affairs like judgment in the Invisible World can't be known by human intellect."[20] Thus deproblematizing death and the afterlife, Ōkuni refocused the formation of an appropriate subject position solidly in the Visible World, a subject position constituted by the triple values of loyalty, filial piety, and chastity (*chū-kō-tei*), which were exemplified by the emperor in his performance of rituals directed to Amaterasu.

Ōkuni taught at several domain academies before finally finding patronage in his domain lord Kamei Koremi (1825–85), who appointed him in 1851, when he was fifty-nine, to the lectureship of the domain academy of Tsuwano. It is, however, unclear to what extent Ōkuni was able to make his Amaterasu-centered Shinto theory the ideology of the domain. Insofar as Ōkuni represents a case of the rise of Amaterasu to discursive prominence in late Tokugawa years, his theory helped constitute a discursive field in which people of various backgrounds discussed contemporary sociopolitical problems and promoted the necessary centrality of Amaterasu among the many kami for solving these problems. More broadly, the rise of Amaterasu in Aizawa and Ōkuni's reformulation of Shinto was constitutive of the "socialization" of conceptions of the kami that started from Hirata, who rearranged the Shinto pantheon in order to produce a strong human subject adequate for the ultimate goal of reconstructing the social order.

At the same time as Aizawa, Ōkuni, and like-minded people focused on Amaterasu, Hirata's followers made continuous efforts to foreground Ōkuninushi as the necessary key to overcoming the deepening crisis. In Chapter 3, we saw how the Izumo Shrine priest Nakamura Moriomi, based on his argument that Ōkuninushi had received the power of the musubi gods, pushed the god to the center of the divinely created political order, essentially negating the authority of the emperor. Nakamura was but one member of an ever-expanding community of Hirata Atsutane followers, the growth of which can be partially attributed to the networking and recruiting skills of his foster son Hirata Kanetane. From this follower community emerged many that were just as committed to reviving the Ancient Way of the gods as Hirata was himself. The most prominent of these were Mutobe Yoshika, Yano Harumichi, and Senge Toshizane from the Izumo Shrine, whom we saw in Chapter 3.[21] Yano and Mutobe (and his son) were active preachers of Hirata's Shinto theory and both participated briefly in the kami affairs of the early Meiji government. An introduction of Mutobe is in order as it shows how the "socialization" of conceptions of the kami in the last years of the Tokugawa period unfolded as a bifurcation into two communal imaginings, one focusing on Ōkuninushi and the other on Amaterasu.

Mutobe Yoshika (1806–63), a Shinto priest in Kyoto, was well known among his contemporaries as a Kokugaku scholar who succeeded in learning Hirata's Ancient Way better than anyone else. Mutobe advocated the learning through both lecturing disciples in his private academy, *Shinshusha*, and giving private lessons on classic texts at the imperial court, especially to Emperor Komei (r. 1846–66). Mutobe's connection with the court also manifested in his close associations with courtiers who would later play active roles in the Meiji Restoration.[22] What marked Mutobe as the best disciple of Hirata was his consolidation of his teacher's theory, which he accomplished by way of theorizing the notion of the tutelary gods (*ubusuna no kami*) in order to map Hirata's theory onto the social topography of the archipelago, transforming it into a Shinto nation in which the individual was unified with the kami under the command of the Izumo god Ōkuninushi. The "socialization" of the kami and Shinto took on a very specific form in Mutobe's Shinto of tutelary gods. This Shinto contrasted itself with the Amaterasu-focused Shinto of Aizawa and Ōkuni.

Building upon the popular belief in *ujigami* (literally, clan gods), which in the Tokugawa period carried the conflated identities of communal protector and clan

ancestor, Mutobe essentially rearticulated the *ubusuna* gods by prescribing an identification between a local community and a tutelary *ubusuna* god for that community. The *ubusuna* god, Mutobe asserted, shouldered the task of protecting the local community from Buddhist gods that had infiltrated many Shinto shrines and caused misfortune to befall local people.[23] Besides offering protection for their local human lives, the *ubusuna* god held the critical responsibility of bringing departed human souls (*tama*) to the Izumo Shrine, where Ōkuninushi would then mete out their judgments, thereby elevating them to ancestral gods. These souls were then to be escorted by their tutelary gods back to their original locality and settle in tombs from which they would perform the ancestral duty of protecting their offspring and relatives.[24] Such a Shinto nation was sustained by rituals, the most important of which, Mutobe argued, was the Great Purification Ritual (*ōharae*), a major ritual in the liturgical repertoire of the imperial court once performed by the long-defunct Department of Divinity twice a year. For this to happen, Mutobe advocated reviving the Department of Divinity.

Mutobe made it clear that for both the Department of Divinity and the shrines across the land, the defining ritual was precisely the Great Purification Ritual.[25] By assigning the central imperial ritual to the local *ubusuna* shrines, Mutobe in effect established a ritual logic that connected the imperial court with the local communities the tutelary shrines stand for. This logic was, however, fundamentally different from the one articulated by the nationwide shrine system created in the eighth century, which projected the political authority of the imperial state from Kyoto across the archipelago—a system revived and much extolled by Aizawa. Unlike rituals devoted to the imperial ancestors including Amaterasu as prescribed by Aizawa, purification rituals administered by priests across the land linked individual Japanese, and their departed souls in the afterlife, to the imperial court and the world of the kami ruled by Ōkuninushi. Mutobe imagined the archipelago to be a Shinto nation wherein humans and the kami are unified and life and death are transcended, and he believed this purified Shinto nation would be able to overcome the national crisis.[26]

While Shinto changes in the pre-Restoration decades can be characterized as bifurcating the kami of Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu, there were no explicit lines consciously drawn to demarcate these two strands. Talks about the kami were contained under the multivalent, boundary-shifting but charged signifier "Shinto." A term with enormous power to articulate forms of cultural and political authority, it served to formulate and distinguish an indigenous form of knowledge from the "foreign" teachings of Buddhism and Christianity. And it further made possible a new mode of approaching social and national problems, that is, from the interiority of humans, and legitimated new programs of sociopolitical reform despite the multiple and heterogeneous referents and modes of articulation covered under this volatile signifier. In other words, the strength of Shinto lay in its "comprehensive nature, its identification of ontology with praxis" that enabled its transformation into an ideological strategy.[27] The comprehensive nature of Shinto is at the same time marked by its very heterogeneity, which lends itself to being mobilized to serve various ideological purposes as well as to encompass competing ideological stances. The young warriors and courtiers that brought the fifteen-year-old emperor to power in the Meiji Restoration grasped this, but for the early Meiji leadership the utility of Shinto was not just ideological. Shinto

and the kami provided a ready-made institutional channel for the Meiji government to implement the important project of consolidating the disparate populace into an imperial nation through ritual and doctrinal teaching. The plans of Aizawa and Mutobe, in foregrounding the key concept of the kami and its socialization potential, had shown clearly how Shinto could serve ideological and institutional functions for the political state.

Indeed, socialization of the kami did not have to wait until after the Meiji Restoration. Seconding the example of the aforementioned Mito domain, which implemented a Shinto social program from as early as the seventeenth century, the Tsuwano and Satsuma domains in Western Japan in the immediate pre-Restoration years implemented the Shinto doctrine as part of their social reforms.[28] As advocated in both cases, the Shinto doctrine emphasized the divine origin of the imperial institution and of the land of Japan. At the same time, in replacement of the central Buddhist mechanism of social management, the Buddhist funeral ritual, both domains implemented a Shinto funeral. The policy drew ideological force from the discussions of human souls' elevation to the kami in the Invisible World of Ōkuninushi, a discourse that Hirata initiated to contrast with rebirth in the Western paradise—the very idea underscoring the officially recognized Buddhist funeral.

## Ritual, Doctrine, and the Meiji Polity, 1868–1871

The ostensibly restored Meiji polity was given public form in a series of promulgations starting from the "Great Command of Imperial Restoration" (*ōsei fukko no daigōrei*) on the ninth of the twelfth month of 1867, announcing the "renewal of ancient practices established by Emperor Jimmu."[29] Four months later, on the fourteenth of the third month of 1868, the thesis of the Unity of Ritual and Rule (*saisei itchi*) was declared as the basis of the restored polity.[30] The new government-in-formation simultaneously announced the reestablishment of the Department of Divinity (*jingikan*), which materialized a month later, albeit in a form quite different from its counterpart during the Heian period. The nature of the Meiji polity as one grounded upon the agency of the kami was even more explicitly expressed in a carefully orchestrated ritual performed in the imperial palace in Kyoto on the same day. Called the Charter Oath, this rite involved domain lords and courtiers expressing an explicit testimony of loyalty to the restored imperial authority so as to avoid punishment by the Heavenly and Earthly Gods (*tenjin chigi*), whose divine power underpinned the ritual.[31] This was just part of a series of promulgations enacted as ritual performances. The theologically and politically loaded signifier "ritual" (*sai* or *saishi*) functioned as the nexus connecting the kami and its legitimating power to the creation of a new order of things in the human world.

Indeed, as indicated by the slogan of the Unity of Ritual and Rule, ritual was constitutive of imperial authority itself.[32] This slogan originated from earlier Shinto discourses, but its meaning changed over time. Aizawa Seishisai read Confucian values into the imperial polity—divine ancestors and human descendants were united through ritual performance; Hirata and Mutobe saw in the performance of

imperial rituals a kind of purification, a life-generating process of interaction and unity between the kami and humans. Containing these different meanings, the Meiji slogan of the Unity of Ritual and Rule served as an ideological tool designed to "create, articulate, and manifest an 'alliance' extending from the myriad deities (*jingi*) through the figure of the Emperor and the mediation of his ministers 'even unto the least persons under heaven.'"[33] In other words, the Meiji leadership employed the slogan to claim the construction of a unity of the people and the nation based on the formation of what amounted to a "universal ontological totality," that is, an ideological formation encompassing state and society, this life and the one beyond, and the world of humans and that of the kami.[34] The Department of Divinity provided the institutional form wherein the Invisible World of the kami and the Visible World of humans could be joined by way of ritual to constitute an ontological unity: a Shinto nation. The construction of this Shinto nation, then, started from the nationalization of Shinto—shrines, priests, and the kami.

It was Shinto shrines that provided the institutional channel for producing this ontological unity via ritual performance. Enabling the channeling function of Shinto shrines was none other than the kami, which connected human communities and shrines across the country to the imperial kami at the political center of Tokyo. Despite decades-long discursive efforts in fixing the meaning of the kami and Shinto shrines by Nativists and Confucians, however, it should be noted that most Shinto shrines came to be so identified and most divine beings became unambiguously the Shinto kami as a result of the violent and deliberate policies of "separation of Shinto from Buddhism" (*shinbutsu bunri*) during the Restoration.[35] Shinto shrines, while being disassociated from Buddhism, were promulgated by the Council of the State (*Dajōkan*) on the fourteenth of the fifth month of 1871 as a state ritual facility (*kokka no sōshi*). Concomitantly, the Department of Divinity in the same month announced that all Shinto shrines would be put under its control and organized into a nationalized ritual system with the Ise Shrine at the top, followed by state shrines (*kanheisha*, funded by central government) and domain shrines (*kokuheisha*, funded by domain governments), ninety-seven in total, and many more shrines at lower levels.[36] State shrines and domain shrines were then further categorized into large, medium, and small ones. The Izumo Shrine received the rank of large state shrine. The hereditary priest posts that administered all major shrines were abolished; in replacement, priest-officials were appointed, paid by the government, and attached to a newly created ranking system. Priests of shrines below the domain (or prefectural after 1871) levels were, however, unpaid, despite being government employees. In the case of the Izumo Shrine, the hereditary title *kokusō* was replaced by the new official title *gūji*, or "head priest." Accompanying the nationalization of Shinto shrines was the 1870 construction within the Department of Divinity of a Divinity Hall (*shinden*) enshrining a new divine trio: the eight protective kami (*hasshin*) at the center, flanked by the spirits of past emperors on one side and all the myriad gods on the other.[37] A set of rituals were subsequently created by the department in 1872 to be performed nationwide at all shrines, synchronizing life across the archipelago with the imperial palace.

Besides ritual performance, the Department of Divinity shouldered another important nation-building task: popular propagation for realizing the Shinto nation

on earth. These two ideological functions of the Department of Divinity trace their origins to discussions of Hirata, Aizawa, and Ōkuni as well as to reform policies in the Mito, Satsuma, and Tsuwano domains. For these theorists, transforming the interior dimension (*minshin*) of the people through *kyō*, or doctrinal propagation, and ritual performance was directly connected to social and political reform. Indeed, when in 1871 the Council of State announced the state project of propagation, it emphasized that governance (*sei*) and propagation (*kyō*) were united (*seikyō itchi*); that is, propagation was part of the Meiji state.[38] The projected production of the Meiji polity as an ontological totality required the transformation of "human hearts" through ritual performance and directed propagation, two roles defining the Department of Divinity. In conjunction, this process involved the replacement of Buddhist temples with Shinto shrines, which were expected to shoulder the previously Buddhist tasks of household registration and funeral rituals. In mid-1869, the Meiji government required all Shinto priests to undergo Shinto, not the heretofore Buddhist, funerals upon death, which would usher the departed souls to the invisible World of the kami rather than the Buddhist Western Paradise or the Christian Heaven.[39] This ritual requirement was meant to prepare for the whole population's eventual shift to the Shinto funeral. Immediately after the Restoration, a national household registration system—centering on Shinto shrines and intended to register births, moves, and, in correspondence with the above requirement for a Shinto funeral, deaths of local residents—was also planned. Implementation began in mid-1871 but was given up two years later out of impracticality and replaced with the modern household registration system.[40]

In the context of pre-Restoration talk of the transformation of human hearts through doctrinal propagation, the necessity of creating a counter propagation program became clear after the 1867 discovery of more than three thousand Christian converts in the Urakami area of Nagasaki. They had been secretly practicing the banned religion throughout the Tokugawa period and revealed themselves to the French embassy in search of support.[41] Proposals to initiate "missionary" work to counter the ideological threat posed by Christianity were submitted to the government before the reestablishment of the Department of Divinity in the fourth month, a leap month, of 1868. In early 1868, the Nagasaki city court submitted its proposal for establishing a "Great Doctrine" to prevent the spread of Christianity while at the same time constructing and renovating shrines to reconvert Christians to reverence toward Amaterasu and the emperor.[42] Ono Jusshin, a Confucian from the Choshu domain responsible for investigating the "foreign doctrine," submitted in the third month of 1868 a proposal calling for the establishment of a "national doctrine" (*kokkyō*). Ono's proposal coincided with that of Ōkuni Takamasa, who in the same month joined the government in recreating the Department of Divinity and responded to an inquiry from Nagasaki officials by proposing the formulation and implementation of a doctrine based on a "Correct and Illuminating Shinto" (*seidai shōmei shintō*) to "overwhelm that doctrine" of Christianity (*kano kyōhō wo attō itashi*).[43]

The sense of threat from Christianity was not uniformly shared among the Meiji leadership, but there existed a strong perception that loyalty to the imperial house and the Christian belief were in conflict and ultimately incompatible.[44] The government decided to counter Christianity with a propagation program because

policies of prohibition and persecution had been practically ruled out after the new Meiji government received persistent protest from foreign embassies. The strategy was formulated, in the words of the courtier Ōhara Shigetoku, one of the most vocal anti-Christian voices in the government, "to counter [the foreign] teaching with [a local] teaching" (*kyō wo motte kyō wo seisu*).[45] Furthermore, the argument for deploying a doctrine to prevent Christianity gained particular force in the context of a weak government, which had to maintain an anti-Christian stance in order not to give radical xenophobic forces an excuse to rebel against it.[46] In the fifth month of 1869, the new government solicited openly, "from all walks of life," opinions on how to implement policies of "rule through teaching" (*chikyō*) to realize the restored imperial rule based on the unity of ritual and rule.[47] On the ninth of the tenth month, an official order was sent to the Department of Divinity to set up a missionary office (*senkyōshi*).[48]

The proposals for countering Christianity with the Shinto doctrine dovetailed with the utility of propagation for building a modern nation-state, which the "enlightenment intellectuals," including the best-known Fukuzawa Yukichi and those in the Meiji Six Society, recognized. These thinkers understood that the population had to be transformed before Japan could change into a civilized, unified, strong nation, and this transformation could be best achieved by using the symbol of the imperial institution. Their sense of need for popular teaching was expressed with the term *kyō*, "a teaching" or "to teach," which they shared with the above-mentioned propagation proposals.[49] The means for achieving the modern goal of nation-building was expressed with the terms of "transformation through propagation (*kyōka*)" and "hearts of the people (*jinshin*)," which were the very terms used to deal with the social crisis in the late Tokugawa period. This mobilization of older idioms to enunciate a new strategy for a new goal cashed in on the enabling semantic ambiguity of the Chinese character *kyō*, which enabled these intellectuals, who introduced to Japan the progressive knowledge of the West, to share a major concern with those who had different political views, such as an anti-Christianity stance, that these intellectuals usually did not share. Although it was facilitating a discursive field, *kyō* would nevertheless generate persistent tensions between vastly different conceptions of how the divine or the kami could be used to transform individual persons into national citizens and community into a modern society. By transforming the state-led popular propagation (*kyōka*) of the 1870s into public education (*kyōiku*) in the 1880s, the Meiji state was finally able to domesticate the agency of this volatile category "teaching" for modern nation-state building.

After three months' preparation, the Missionary Office was largely in shape by the end of 1869, corresponding well with the completion of the Divinity Hall in the Department of Divinity. This state missionary project was formally kicked off by the promulgation of two imperial rescripts on the third of the first month of 1870, announcing the twin duties of the department: ritual performance and the "promulgation of the Great Teaching."[50] Nativist and Confucian scholars made up the main body of missionaries, while the leadership fell in the hands of Fukuba Bisei, a Nativist disciple of Ōkuni Takamasa, and Ono Jusshin, a Confucian from the Ogi domain of Western Japan.[51] Propagation, however, was not limited to the responsibility of this central governmental organ; governance at various local levels had the duties to

"teach and transform" (*kyōka*) the people to make them feel secure and to keep them away from the "evil teaching" of Christianity.[52] Domains were required to recommend "talented people" to serve as missionary officials at the provincial level. However, only a limited number of provincial missionaries were actually appointed, and the mission never materialized as planned.

Ono Jusshin, backed by the Choshu faction in the government, was tasked with devising the doctrine. Starting in November 1870, "test preaching" lectures were performed, and meetings were convened for discussions of doctrinal issues, supplemented by research studies before every discussion. The state-led propagation program, thus started, was nevertheless troubled from the very beginning by the fundamental question of what constituted the doctrine itself. To trace the troubled trajectory of this hearts-transforming propagation program, which would remain an abiding concern of the Meiji state for nearly two decades, I will look at the various conflicting efforts to determine the doctrine, starting from what Ono formulated. Doctrine became the issue that gave rise to the unexpected realization that mobilizing the agency of the kami for transforming people's hearts may undermine the very ideological consolidation of the imperial polity. The limits of the totalistic ideology that was expected to encompass the kami and humans, this life and the next, and the heart and the corporeal, were soon exposed.

## Competition in the Department of Divinity, 1870–1872

Ono sought to produce a national doctrine that could directly engage the Christian creed from Confucian and Shinto perspectives. Building upon the themes of Amaterasu developed by Ōkuni and the local tutelary gods developed by Mutobe, in early 1870 Ono formulated a doctrine under the title of *Essence of the Divine Doctrine* (*Shinkyō yōshi*).[53] Ono's one-page "divine doctrine" consisted of two themes: "revering the kami (*keishin*)" and "understanding proper human relations (*meirin*)." For Ono, the "heavenly ancestor" Amaterasu is the supreme god of the Shinto pantheon; the virtuous power of the kami as a divine collectivity is condensed in the power of Amaterasu. This is because all things are enabled and sustained by Amaterasu, who, as the sovereign of heaven and earth (*tenchi no shusai*), shines from above without ever failing. Life and death are but in one unity because all souls come from the kami, and after death they receive divine judgment and return to the world of the kami, where they originate. In order to secure one's soul in the world of the kami, therefore, it is necessary to cultivate one's sincerity and revere the kami wholeheartedly. This divine mandate for humans is linked to the episode in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* in which Amaterasu's commandment, embodied in the mirror, was given to her grandson Ninigi. This commandment, for Ono, articulated exactly the Confucian imperatives of the five ethical relationships necessary for the creation of loyal, trustworthy, and diligent subjects and the realization of a stable social and political order. By combining Confucian ethical relations with a Shinto theological formulation of creation and salvation that focused explicitly on Amaterasu, Ono stood with Fukuba Bisei and other followers of Ōkuni in the Department of Divinity: they were all formulating

a Amaterasu-centering national doctrine that would be used to transform the hearts of the people to prevent Christianity and create a unified nation. With his Confucian training, Ono showed little interest in the cosmological dimensions of Shinto expounded by Hattori Nakatsune and Hirata Atsutane.

Ono's "divine doctrine" expectedly met with critiques from within the Missionary Office, particularly from Hirata's followers. They charged Ono with fabricating a doctrine out of Confucianism and advocating worshiping only Amaterasu, ignoring the three generative kami of Ame-no-minaka-nushi, Kami-musubi, and Takami-musubi, and the Invisible World of the kami as the destination of departed human souls.[54] Tokoyo Nagatane, a Shinto priest who recorded his experience in the Missionary Office, blamed Ono for advocating the "private theory" that after death human souls go to either heaven or the filthy realm of death, yomi.[55] When Hirata Nobutane, Hirata Atsutane's son and successor, was appointed to direct doctrinal formulation in the fourth month of 1870, the Hirata faction gained force in competition with Ono. In opposition to Ono's promotion of Amaterasu, on the fifth of the fifth month, they arranged a performance to take place before the start of the daily test lecture: a memorial ritual devoted to the "four great men"—Kada no Azumamaro (1669–1736), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), Motoori Norinaga, Hirata Atsutane—a genealogy of kokugaku, or Nativism, extolled for rediscovering the lost Way of the Gods.[56] This ritual clearly was intended by Nobutane and fellow Nativists to mobilize the authority of genealogy to legitimate their claim of doctrinal correctness.

Coupled with ritual reinforcement of their doctrinal legitimacy, Hirata's followers presented their version of the divine doctrine *Great Tenets of the Kami and the Soul* (*Shinkon daishi*) and issued an eight-clause commentary titled *Expositions on the Kami and the Soul* (*Shinkon engi*). Based on the Shinto discourse of Hirata and Mutobe, the *Great Tenets* and the *Expositions* articulated a theory of creation, salvation, and ritual worship by bringing together the themes of the generative musubi gods as creators of the world and every human life; of the division of the Invisible World of the kami ruled by Ōkuninushi and the Visible World of humans ruled by the emperor; of human souls' return to the Invisible World for Ōkuninushi's judgment and transformation thereafter to divinity and eternal bliss; and of the role of local tutelary gods in mediating the two Worlds.[57] In this theological vision, Amaterasu is rendered invisible, never being mentioned, and her supreme ontological significance as a creator in control of humans afterlife, as accorded by Ono, was displaced by the generative power of the musubi gods and of the lord of the Shinto pantheon, Ōkuninushi. Devotion was directed to the musubi gods, Ōkuninushi, and the tutelary gods. It is this network of divine beings that Hirata followers thought would ensure a proper life, extending without end into the blissful world of the kami, while the temporal life under the imperial rule was just a stage of test and preparation.

The disputes between the Ono and Hirata factions went unabated for almost the whole of 1870, exposing the office's serious difficulty in reaching a consensus as to what constituted the doctrine supposedly bequeathed by the kami. Other missionary officials tried to moderate the two positions in searching for a compromise. Suzuki Masayuki argued that Ame-no-minaka-nushi should be recognized as the kami of utmost power and prestige, in command of both the Invisible and the Visible Worlds.

The kami, however, resides nowhere else but in the heart of every human being. Such a shift from physicality to abstraction would then void the need to specify the cosmological relation between the worlds of humans and of the gods; the conflict between the Ono and Hirata factions could then be neutralized.[58] Hatta Akinori similarly upheld the creator status of Ame-no-minaka-nushi and argued that although Amaterasu was a spirit divided from Ame-no-minaka-nushi, the two kami were, as Ōkuni Takamasa taught, essentially unified as one. Hatta further advised building a national network of shrines devoted to this kami in creating a unified nation.[59]Another reconciling effort tried to foreground the emperor. Some missionary officials suggested replacing Ono's Confucian-style theme of "understanding proper human relations" with the more Shinto-sounding "respecting the emperor" since proper social relations were embodied in the imperial institution and hence subsumed under the reverence toward the emperor. In these mediations, the status of Ōkuninushi was progressively relativized.

The Missionary Office was finally able to formulate a shared doctrinal statement before the end of 1870. Under the twin themes of "Revering the Kami" and "Respecting the Emperor," the new doctrine placed emphasis on both the generic category of the kami and on the emperor as a divinely appointed sovereign.[60] Here Amaterasu remained at the top of the kami pantheon as both "the heavenly ancestor (*tenso*)" and "sovereign of heaven and earth" due to her life-enabling power as the sun. The kami in general required veneration because humans' lives originate from the power of the kami and upon death will return to the world of the kami. Understanding this truth would lead to the realization of the fact that life and death are fundamentally unified. At the same time, Ōkuninushi, as the judge for departed human souls and the tutelary kami, was not mentioned. The second theme, "Respecting the Emperor," was essentially a rephrasing of Ono's "understanding human relationships," but now the emphasis was placed on the imperial institution, with Amaterasu's commandment constituting the origin of the Confucian ethical norms deemed necessary for a stable and harmonious social order.

## From the Department of Divinity to the Ministry of Doctrine

Despite their contrasts, these two theological versions were responding to the same problem of Christianity and represented two approaches in making Shinto resemble the Christian creed in order to fight it. This approach, however, precipitated the Meiji leadership's realization of the difference, and indeed tension, between the goals of fighting Christianity and of popularizing the imperial authority for unifying the population. These are two distinct aims, requiring distinct approaches. As a counter-Christianity strategy, the doctrine needed to foreground the agency of the kami, in particular the divine power to endow human life with meaning and bring human life into completion in both this and the next worlds. On the other hand, too much emphasis on the agency of the kami would relativize the very authority of the imperial institution because, despite of its divine nature, that authority had to be exercised in this world of corporeality in order to build a modern nation. In the debate, the

Christian-resembling themes of creation and judgment in the afterlife were used to define Amaterasu as the "sovereign of heaven and earth." This cosmological definition, however, de-emphasized the status of the goddess as the imperial ancestor, thus detracting her legitimating power for the world of corporeality ruled by the emperor. If the Meiji leadership in 1868 set out to utilize the agency of the kami to justify the new polity by generating a totalistic ideological system encompassing the two worlds of the kami and humans, by 1871 it had come to the realization that the utility of the kami carried its own potential for peril that required curtailment. Around the same time, the newly discovered fact that it was nearly impossible to force the Japanese Christians to renounce their belief through exile, isolation, or propagation further put into question the strategy of fighting Christianity with a doctrine resembling it.[61]

In the sixth month of 1871, State Councilor (*sangi*) Ōkubo Toshimichi met with Fukuba Bisei, Kadowaki Shigeaya, and Ono Jusshin of the Department of Divinity to discuss doctrine issues. In the seventh month, the Department of Divinity submitted a memorial to the Council of State (*Dajōkan*), the central government from 1868 to 1877 consisting of three Houses: the Middle (*Seiin*), the Right (*Uin*), and the Left (*Sain*). The memorial advised banishing "misguided" concerns for "fortunes and misfortunes in afterlife," and asserted that the "Great Doctrine" was the "Great Way of the Imperial Ancestor" that existed nowhere but among "things in everyday life." Although the Great Way was created by the "heavenly gods," its practice does not depart "for a single moment" from the affairs of the corporeal world.[62] The Council of State was in agreement with this revised formulation, and on the fourth of the seventh month of 1871 it issued the *Essence of the Great Teaching* (*Daikyō shiyō*) to domain governments in the hope that this officially approved doctrine would override the controversy in the Department of Divinity and finally jump-start the missionary project. This ideological shift to focus on the corporeal world reduced the importance of the Department of Divinity in the Meiji state political structure. In the eighth month of 1871, the department was downgraded to the Ministry of Divinity (*Jingishō*), just one among many ministries within the Council of State, with which it had previously enjoyed equal status.

With the ontological emphasis decidedly placed on the corporeal affairs of humans, official doctrine's definition of the kami became ambiguous if not empty. "The Great Teaching lies in revering the kami who illuminate human relations so that the whole population will correct hearts and be diligent in their occupations in service of the imperial court."[63] However, the reverence of the kami, promoted by the Council of State, was not simply ritual or ceremonial; the reference to the Shinto divinity remained explicit and the connection was substantive—"the emperor rules with a mandate received from the Heavenly August Imperial Kami" and humans were undoubtedly "the most favored form of life by the kami among all living things."[64] As such, the nature of the Meiji polity remained ambiguous, bordering between divinity and corporeality. This menacing ambiguity was acutely felt by Etō Shinpei.

A samurai from the Saga domain of Kyushu, Etō Shinpei (1834–74), was active during the Meiji Restoration and played a major role in the early phase of legal institutional building of the new state, taking up the post of the first Minister of Justice (*shihōkyō*) from April 1872 to March 1873.[65] Etō was, however, forced to resign in early

1874 and, after leading a failed revolt in March of that year, was sentenced to death and executed by the government he helped build. From the eighth month of 1871 to March 1872,[66] Etō was the Senior Member (*ittō giin*) and then the Deputy President (*fuku gichō*) of the House of the Left, the legislative assembly of the Council of State. Etō was staunchly anti-Christian, but he questioned the wisdom of deploying a Shinto theory that resorted to the agency of the kami to prevent the foreign creed because it risked relativizing the very divine authority of the imperial institution. The Shinto propagation program originated from the perception of Christianity as a direct challenge to the imperial authority. This strategy presented the kami, including Amaterasu, as a countering authority of the Christian God. As a result, the imperial authority was placed in conversionary competition with Christianity. Etō drafted a proposal expressing his concern in this regard. The draft itself was never submitted, but Etō's concern and his proposed solution would appear in a proposal submitted by the Sain to the Council of State on the twelfth of the twelfth month of 1871. The draft proposal is worth quoting because it explicitly called into question the wisdom of mobilizing the agency of the kami to devise a divine doctrine (*shinkyō*). It partially reads:

> The court has created an office of missionary to spread a doctrine throughout the realm in order to turn the hearts of the people into devotion to it. In other words, this Missionary Office preaches the divine doctrine. A preacher of the divine doctrine is therefore the representative of the kami and must take the kami's heart as his own and be one with the kami. If this missionary were to debate with a foreign teacher and is defeated, who will be held responsible? The defeat of the divine doctrine will thus be the defeat of the kami. The Western doctrine will gain greater force and missions will be unable to prevent it. If neither Confucianism nor Buddhism can prevent it, it may ultimately result in the slighting of the imperial family. What then will our national polity stand upon?[67]

Etō was calling into question the strategy of "to counter [the foreign] teaching with [a local] teaching" advocated by such anti-Christianity figures as the aforementioned Ōhara Shigetoku. By posing the possibility of the "failure of the kami," Etō was pointing to the relativization of the status of the kami that resulted from putting them in competition with foreign notions of divinity. The relativization of the kami would lead to compromising the divine authority of the emperor itself, the foundation of the Meiji state. Even though Etō's proposal was not submitted, it is clear that the sense of the relativizing danger was shared within the government. State Councilor Sanjo Sanemi pointed to this danger in January 1872: "Comparing our Heavenly Ancestor to the lord of the foreign doctrine and using this as the means of propagation is absolutely forbidden."[68] Under the strong influence of Etō, the House of the Left devised a strategy to remove the danger of relativization to the imperial authority. It submitted a proposal on the twelfth of the twelfth month of 1871 to the Council of State calling for the establishment of a ministry responsible solely for administering propagation. The ritual responsibility of the Ministry of Divinity was to be moved into the Ritual Bureau (*shikibu ryō*) in the imperial palace. In other words, the House of the Left proposed a new propagation plan for transforming the populace and preventing Christianity that was to be implemented separately from the ritual projection of the

divine imperial authority. The new propagation program would not be completely state run, preached by missionary officials led by the Department of Divinity (whose official mission had not functioned in any case). This program was to be undertaken jointly by people with backgrounds in all major doctrinal teachings of the country.

The first part of the proposal spelled out a ritual model of the imperial polity centering on Amaterasu; the second part advised the establishment of *Kyōbushō*, or the Ministry of Doctrine. A divine hall for Amaterasu, the proposal advised, should be erected at the center of the imperial palace, and all state policies were to be deliberated and decided in front of the hall. Rituals directed to Amaterasu were to be administered by the Ritual Bureau of the imperial palace and would be performed by the emperor himself. All the ministers and officials must swear before Amaterasu their loyalty to the imperial institution.[69] The Ministry of Doctrine, on the other hand, would administer the teachings of Shinto (called Divine Teaching in the proposal), Confucianism, and Buddhism in guiding the people. The proposal recognized that it was unavoidable for people to follow a sectarian teaching (*shūkyō*) to which they could entrust themselves and their families. It was thus vital for the government to select the right teachings for the purpose of propagation and reserve for itself the prerogative to expel those teachings that violate the laws of the land. This thinly veined reference to Christianity was clear, as the proposal then warned that there were "people who advocate adopting a new teaching and stir the hearts of the people" with the potential danger of "making people mistake the divine spirit of imperial ancestress to be the lord of the foreign teaching." It was precisely to prevent this from happening that the Ministry of Doctrine was to be established.[70] For the first time in Meiji policy formulations, Christianity was placed in the same category as Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism even though the juxtaposition was for the purpose of distinguishing, classifying, and thereby negating it as a "foreign teaching" rather than placing it on an equal footing with the "home-made" teachings.

The House of the Left's proposal to establish a ministry responsible for propagation was echoed by Buddhists, who were exploring new ways to relate themselves to the new state after suffering from suppression during the Restoration. Notably, these practitioners advocated for Buddhism's active role in popular propagation, a point they started to make from as early as the 1850s, although it was not directed to the government of the time. In response to the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853 and 1854, Gesshō (1817–58), a Shin Pure Land Buddhist priest of Suo province whose imperial loyalist thought had much influence on fellow priests, proposed that the head priest of the Nishi Honganji Shin Pure Land Buddhist sect deploy the Buddhist doctrine to "transform and guide" (*kyōka kaitō*) the people of the "divine land" (*shinshū*).[71] Such calls, however, were soaked in the anti-Buddhist rhetoric and practices that soon raged throughout Japan. These calls resurfaced after 1871 in the discussions and proposals of Buddhist priests in particular those from the Shin sect. Despite the intense but short-lived anti-Buddhist practices, the connection of Buddhist institutions with the new government was actually never severed. In as early as the ninth month of 1869, the Higashi Honganji Shin Sect responded quickly to the Meiji government's call by sending over a hundred priests and followers to the newly gained Hokkaido to participate in its colonial development. Meantime, the

Nishi Honganji Shin Pure Land Buddhist Sect responded equally quickly to provide financial support to the cash-strapped Meiji government.[72] In the eighth month of 1871, Buddhists also persuaded the government to establish the Bureau of Temples in the Ministry of Civil Affairs (*minbushō*), which set out to bring the anti-Buddhist policies of local governments under control.

Shimaji Mokurai (1838–1911), the leading Shin Pure Land Buddhist reformer of the Meiji period and also from Suo, reshaped the propagation argument to establish the usefulness of Buddhism for the new political state. In the ninth month of 1871, he submitted to the Meiji government a petition to establish an "office of doctrinal supervision" (*kyōgi wo tokusuru no kan*) that would replace the "office of missionaries" (*senkyō no kan*) in leading a joint propagation program in which Buddhist institutions and priesthood would participate.[73] Shimaji established Buddhism's indispensability for the state based on the thesis of "mutual reliance of rule and doctrine" (*seikyō sōfu*), wherein doctrine was explicitly external to the state. This self-positioning dovetailed with the approach articulated by the proposal of the House of the Left, which opted for a propagation program guided—rather than directly undertaken—by the state. Shimaji further reinforced his argument for Buddhism's political utility by appealing to both the past and the present. Despite its origin in the Western Land, he argued, Buddhism had proved itself a time-tested beneficial teaching as people never thought of going to India when following the dharma. In time of renewal, its doctrines would be rectified, and the indispensability of the Buddhist Way in supporting governance would be made manifest. Since the discovery of Christians in Urakami, the three teachings of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism had stopped fighting each other but united in opposing Christianity. The government should use this unified force to prevent the foreign teaching, which, if allowed to catch the hearts of the people, would be extremely difficult to uproot.[74]

The Council of State adopted the proposal put forward by the House of the Left and Shimaji, who had good relationships with political figures such as Kido Takayoshi who were from the same Choshu domain of which the Suo province was a part. On March 14, 1872, the government announced the establishment of the Ministry of Doctrine. At the same time, the Ministry of Divinity was abolished. The kami trio enshrined in the Divine Hall of the latter Ministry was transferred to the Ritual Bureau in the imperial palace. The political enshrinement of Amaterasu proposed by the House of the Left, however, was rejected by the Council of State. With the Iwakura Embassy on a tour overseas until September 1873, the government was under the control of Saigo Takamori, Inoue Kaoru, and Ōkubo Shigenobu. While none of these former samurai had as much interest in Shinto as the courtier-turned politician Iwakura Tomomi did, it is most likely that the government did not adopt this proposal to avoid large-scale changes, a promise made with the leaders touring overseas. Neither did the rituals performed by the emperor partake of a public character. Their performance would be conducted within the palace and would not be accompanied by government officials.

These arrangements, however, did not answer the thorny question of how to express, through rituals or other means, the status of Amaterasu as the foundation of the imperial house's divine authority that would dovetail with the modern legal and institutional structure of the Meiji state. The unresolved and ambiguous status of

Amaterasu had a historical reason as well. While the Ise Shrine nearly 200 kilometers to the southeast of Kyoto had been the major shrine for Amaterasu, within the imperial palace there was a smaller shrine devoted to the goddess as well. The fact that the divine body of the goddess was actually separated became notable when the imperial genealogy was foregrounded as the source of political authority. Consequently, the House of the Left's proposal to enshrine Amaterasu triggered a debate: whether to move the Ise Shrine to the imperial palace in Tokyo so that the main body of the goddess could be united with its sub-body within the imperial palace.[75] This symbolic reinforcement of the divine ancestry of the imperial institution, however, never materialized. While the debate lasted more than three years, as the Ise Shrine became solidly indispensable for the implementation of the new propagation program, the push for "unification" died out in 1873. In any case, the question of how to express the authority of Amaterasu in the institutional structure of the Meiji state remained, even if the propagation program was to be separated from the state.

Establishing the Ministry of Doctrine was the Meiji leadership's strategy for dissolving the relativizing threat that resulted from conflating the imperial authority with the countering strategy against Christianity. Some scholars have called this move the "separation of ritual from doctrine" (*saikyō bunri*) and characterized it as a step toward the fulfillment of a uniquely Japanese style of church-state relationship.[76] I argue, however, that rather than using church-state separation as a criterion to organize a progressive narrative, this "separation" should be understood as the Meiji government's response to the specific question of how to implement a transformative doctrine in the context of the changes unfolding at the time. This policy shift pointed to the Meiji government's new approach: nation-building by way of popular propagation not directly conducted by the state. Successful abolition of domains and the creation of the prefectural administrative system in the seventh month of 1871 meant that the Meiji government achieved a major step in centralizing its authority. Now, it expected the propagation program—implemented by those skillful in doctrinal preaching yet not part of the state (i.e., from among the people)—to be able to convince a restive population that its policies of taxation and military conscription were legitimate. This legitimacy was part of transforming the "hearts of the people" (*minshin*) into a national-citizenry subjectivity appropriate for building a "rich country and powerful military."[77] In this sense, shifting to a mediated mode of propagation was at the same time a change toward a more direct mode of penetrating the "hearts of the people."

## Civilization and Enlightenment: New Standards of the Kami, 1872–1875

The Ministry of Doctrine (*kyōbushō*) was established on two premises. First, it would organize a joint propagation program to be conducted not by government officials but by people with preaching skills: Shinto and Buddhist priests, Confucians, and street performers. Second, the program's doctrine would transcend sectarian differences. These premises originated from the consideration of separating propagation from the

imperial institution and the political state as well as originating from the government's hope of utilizing the enormous financial and institutional resources of Buddhism for propagation, after the initial project of propagation led by the Department (and Ministry) of Divinity failed to bear fruit. Pro-Buddhist forces in the government supported this policy. Among them was State Councilor Kido Takayoshi, who in 1872 proposed to establish Buddhism as a national doctrine.[78] The establishment of the Ministry of Doctrine was a direct response to Shimaji Mokurai's petition in the ninth month of 1871 for a new propagation institution in which Buddhists could play a positive role. Kido Takayoshi supported Shimaji.[79] Before Kido departed with Iwakura Tomomi and Ōkubo Toshimichi on the Iwakura Embassy tour to Western countries in the eleventh month, the confident Kido assured Shimaji that Buddhists would be provided an equal if not leading role to play in the new ministry of propagation.[80] In expectation of substantial participation in the joint propagation program, the Buddhists proposed in 1871 to set up a research institute, the Daikyōin, to conduct research on "various sciences ranging from Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Western knowledge to politics and customs of all countries as well as agriculture and industry,"[81] and to train sufficiently qualified doctrinal instructors. The Daikyōin Institute was established in Tokyo in January 1873 in response to this ambitious call. Buddhists covered 70 percent of the budget for the establishment and operation of the institute, while Shinto priests were able to provide only 30 percent.[82] Together with the creation of the Daikyōin Institute, a national system of Middle and Small Teaching Institutes was established by transforming Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples at prefectural and local levels into lecture halls and study rooms.

The initially inclusive approach of the Ministry of Doctrine was reflected in the "Three Standards of Instruction" (*sanjō no kyōsoku*) announced in April 1872 as the guidelines for the joint preaching program. Formulated by Etō Shinpei, the three standards were meant to be inclusive enough to be acceptable for all instructors, especially the Buddhists, and to serve as the starting point for instruction. The standards were to "first, comply with the commands to revere the kami and love the nation; second, illuminate the principle of heaven and the way of man; third, serve the emperor and faithfully maintain the will of the court."[83] While broad and inclusive, these guidelines were devoid of any identifiable content. Although the kami was obviously called on to set the foundation of the national doctrine, how the agency of the kami could be connected to heaven, nation, man, and the emperor so that these categories could cohere into one sensible doctrinal teaching was, however, left to individual instructors. The inclusive intention of the Ministry of Doctrine was also reflected in instructions on how to preach (*sekkyō*) issued in November 1873, in which the Ministry specifically asked Shinto instructors to be accommodating as they "tend to be hostile to Buddhists."[84] While enabling the Buddhist priests to join the program, the inclusiveness of the guidelines laid the groundwork for diverse interpretations, and thus dissension between Buddhist and Shinto priests. This doctrinal openness contributed to the failure to deliver sensible and comprehensible teaching to the populace.

Under the leadership of the Ministry of Doctrine was a system of doctrinal instructors (*kyōdōshoku* 教導職) that consisted of Shinto and Buddhist priesthoods, Confucians, performers, and actors and were organized into a hierarchy of fourteen

ranks. These officially appointed instructors, however, received no financial support from the government, so they were left on their own to raise propagation funds (they were, however, exempted from military conscription from June 1874).[85] Under the system, seven major Buddhist sects were recognized as propagation institutions, each with its own superintendent (*kanchō*) (every sub-sect was required to affiliate with a major one). The superintendents were granted the power of administering their sects' propagation and internal affairs. Thus, the doctrinal instructor system marked a significant reconfiguration of the relationship between Buddhism and the state, as compared to the situation during the Tokugawa period. Unlike the Tokugawa bakufu, the Meiji government withdrew from direct administration of Buddhist internal affairs, thus granting the sects a certain amount of autonomy while regulating the "public" preaching function of the Buddhist priesthood.

The policy of unpaid doctrinal instructors, however, put Shinto priests in an entirely different and difficult situation. Shinto priests did not have a history of central-izing institutional organization, sectarian or not; nor did they have financial resources anywhere nearly comparable to Buddhist institutions. In the Tokugawa period, follower confraternities were developed around some major shrines such as the Izumo and Ise, and several movements developed around charismatic founding leaders. But Shinto shrines (which saw phenomenal expansion during the Meiji period) and priests had no command of institutional or financial resources able to sustain themselves, in particular after their landholding was expropriated by the government in 1871. Turning Shinto priests into unpaid doctrinal instructors (on the other hand, as state liturgists, Shinto priests did receive a salary) then gave rise to two follow-up policies.

First, in March 1872 the government allowed Shinto confraternities, banned during nationalization in 1871, to be revived as registered propagation bodies. But the government retained for itself the authority to license and administer them for the purpose of propagation.[86] In March 1873, the Ministry of Doctrine issued regulations for establishing teaching institutes nationwide at the same time the Daikyōin Institute announced the *General Guidelines for Establishing Churches* (*kyōkai taii*).[87] The revival of confraternities, in many cases reorganized into churches (*kyōkai*), however, created the backdrop for major shrines and practice groups to compete against each other in reorganizing and expanding their confraternity groups for financial and doctrinal ends. Their competition, contrary to the government's intention, compromised the project of popular propagation. At the same time, Shinto priests also competed with Buddhists for financial resources by advocating the Shinto funeral in replacement of the Buddhist rite.[88]

Second, unlike Buddhist autonomy, the Shinto priest-instructors were directly managed by the government, as had also occurred during the period of the Department of Divinity (1868–72). This continued connection between the state and Shinto betrayed the Meiji government's dilemma in viewing Shinto as part of the state while having to classify it in the same category as Buddhism. It is the Ministry of Doctrine that first created, in the sixth month of 1872, two Shinto superintendents, one for an eastern region and another for a western region, with the head priests of the Ise Shrine and the Izumo Shrine, respectively, appointed as superintendents. This arrangement was terminated in January 1873, when the Ministry created one single Shinto instructor system. The Ministry's efforts to organize Shinto priests and institutions

into a unified entity under the epithet of "Shinto" for propagation only betrayed the lack of unity among them. The condition of disunity gave rise to the competition for leadership between the Izumo Shrine and the Ise Shrine. In Chapter 5 we will see how the competition between these two, the largest shrines, developed and escalated into a fundamental political problem for the Meiji state.

While the policies of the Ministry of Doctrine could be characterized as inclusive at its creation in early 1872, this inclusiveness nevertheless soon gave way to an emphasis on Shinto as the Ministry fell, straight after its creation, under the control of the pro-Shinto Satsuma faction, which set out to transform propagation into a Shinto program at the expense of Buddhism. The departure overseas of major political figures, including the pro-Buddhist Kido Takayoshi at the end of 1871, provided the Saigo-led Satsuma faction with an opportunity to implement reform policies. Reverting to the pro-Shinto approach of the Department/Ministry of Divinity, it, for one thing, reconstituted the Ministry of Doctrine. In as early as April 1872, bureaucrats of the Ministry—such as Fukuba Bisei, who took a more conciliatory stance toward Buddhism—were replaced by Nativist scholars and Shinto priests of Satsuma origin.[89] Step by step, the propagation program was changed into an unambiguously Shinto project. This shift was reflected in the transformations of the Daikyōin Institute, the de facto central propagation institution, sponsored primarily by Buddhists and supposed to be doctrinally inclusive.

By June 1872, when the Daikyōin Institute went into operation, the beginning of the joint preaching program was marked by the Institute's completed construction of a Shinto Divine Hall (*shinden*) enshrining the three creation kami (Ame-no-minaka-nushi and the two musubi gods) and Amaterasu. Buddhist priests, many in Shinto priests' uniform of Eboshi caps and Noshi robes, joined their Shinto counterparts in making offerings to the kami and conducting inaugural lectures in front of them. The Daikyōin Regulations issued in October of 1873 defined the Institute in terms markedly different from the Daikyōin Procedures of March 1873.[90] In contrast to the Procedures, the Regulations stipulated that doctrinal instructors must set the exemplifying standard of "revering the kami" (of the first of the Three Standards of Instruction) by worshiping the four gods. New instructors, furthermore, were required to take a doctrine-protecting oath in the Divine Hall and pass exams that were designed to push Buddhist instructors to make choices between Buddhism and Shinto, often presented as mutually incompatible.[91]

At the same time, the Ministry elevated the kami to the anchoring doctrinal position for the Daikyōin Institute by issuing two sets of Supplementary Themes (*kendai*) in June and October of 1873. Altogether, the twenty-eight themes provided parameters more specific to the ambiguous Three Standards of Instruction and reshaped the almost vacuous Standards into an ambitious vision of a modern Shinto nation wherein the agency of the kami dovetailed with the imperatives of Civilization and Enlightenment (*bunmei kaika*) to create a rearticulated ontological system. While remaining committed to resisting the Christian doctrine (the government had changed its public anti-Christian policy by quietly taking down notice boards of proscription in February 1873), this new system was motivated by the goal of transforming the archipelago into a spiritualized and "civilized" modern nation.

The eleven Supplementary Themes issued in June 1873 were: 1) power of the kami and benevolence of the emperor; 2) the immortality of human souls; 3) accomplishment of creation by the heavenly gods; 4) the differentiation between the Invisible and Visible Worlds; 5) love of nation; 6) rituals for the kami; 7) pacification of departed spirits; 8) [the relation between] lord and minister; 9) [the relation between] father and child; 10) [the relation between] husband and wife; and 11) the Great Purification Ritual. These themes came in the form of two- or four-word compound phrases, and no connections were made between them.

The first seven themes, however, were specifically Shinto rather than Buddhist, and they were the key components of the Shinto discourse that had been formulated by the Nativist Hirata Atsutane and his disciple Mutobe Yosshika since the early nineteenth century. Put together, the first seven themes furnished a Shinto imaginary about the world and human life. It is not difficult to detect an intention here to link this Shinto imaginary, via ritual performance, to a communal order morally informed by that imaginary. The role of ritual in making the link was expressed by the seventh theme, "pacification of departed spirits" (*chinkon*). In articulating the crucial Shinto concern with human death and its relation with the communal order, this theme reflected broader ongoing political formations that mutually informed the goals of the propagation program. State sponsorship for constructing ritual institutions (*shōkonsha*) of pacification and enshrinement of spirits of dead soldiers gave rise to a nationwide shrine system that culminated in the creation of the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo in 1879. On terms similar to the Yasukuni Shrine, the Satsuma-faction-dominated Ministry of Doctrine was trying to recreate a politicized ontological framework that encompassed the Invisible World of the kami and the Visible World of humans, two worlds linked through practice of ritual and the conceptual category of the kami.

The seventeen themes issued in October were: 1) kokutai of the imperial nation (*kōkoku kokutai*); 2) renewal of imperial rule; 3) the unchanging nature of the Way; 4) [as opposed to] institutions' ability to change with times; 5) humans' distinction from beasts; 6) [thus] the necessity of educating humans; 7) [and] the necessity that they learn; 8) international interaction; 9) rights and responsibilities; (10) exertion of mind and of body; 11) diversity in forms of government; 12) civilization and enlightenment; 13) development of laws; 14) national law and civil law; 15) rich country and strong military; 16) taxes and conscription; and 17) production and manufacturing. These themes transmit the Ministry of Doctrine's attempt to integrate a Shinto divine order, compressed into the term "national polity," with requirements of national modernity. A narrative logic, that is, structures the listing of these themes: the Kokutai or the Way of the imperial nation (the unity of the kami and humans) is an immutable truth but specific institutions of the imperial rule—that is, forms of the truth—could change and were indeed being renewed. The renewal of rule necessitates education and learning on the part of the people because such a need is inherent to humans. What do they learn? Themes 8 through 17 can be interpreted as the content of learning fit for the time of renewal: politics, law, tax, production of individual, culture, and material wealth, all for the eventual goal of a "rich country and strong military."

The Standards supplemented with the themes, then, articulated an ambitious plan to unite Shinto with the imperative of Civilization and Enlightenment in creation of

a universalistic, totalistic ontological system that situates the imperial nation in a new world of civilization, progress, and sovereign states. At the center of this totalistic system was the construction of a national subject informed by the divine power of the kami and furnished with a moral awareness and intellectual and physical readiness. Apparently overly ambitious and with little chance of realization, this plan nevertheless reflected a political stance in the House of the Left and the Council of State that the Shinto doctrinal propagation and the goals of Civilization and Enlightenment could be combined to contribute to the consolidation of "people's hearts" for building a modern nation.[92] All this, however, came at the expense of Buddhism. There was no place for the dharma or Buddhist divinity in this new scheme of things, and the Buddhist clergy was on its way to being transformed into a Shinto priesthood. It appeared that Buddhism was to be assimilated into the kami world order. While many Buddhist priests were compliant with the Ministry of Doctrine's pro-Shinto plan, with some of them perceiving participation in the Daikyōin Institute as a chance for revival,[93] Shimaji Mokurai, who came from the most financially secure Shin sect, waged devastating protests against the Ministry's doctrinal hegemony and its plan of assimilation.

## From Doctrine to "Religion," 1872–75

Backed by Kido Takayoshi, Shimaji Mokurai spearheaded ideological attacks on the Ministry of Doctrine. Critique by Shimaji and fellow Buddhist reformers not only contributed to the abolition of the Ministry itself but, more significantly, changed the rules of the game in Meiji nation-state building. The closure of the Ministry of Doctrine in 1877 marked the success of Buddhists in negotiating a new type of relationship with the Meiji state, based on the modern principle of separating religion and government, and, by so doing, they were able to reoccupy a legitimate and prominent social space in the new nation-state. To achieve that, the Buddhists re-problematized the project of popular propagation. In 1872, the Meiji government was confronted with the threat of imperial authority being relativized by the strategy of deploying a local teaching (*kyō*) to fight a foreign one. And Shimaji's critique formulated a new question: how to situate popular propagation in relation to "religion," Shinto, government, and the project of Civilization and Enlightenment? The political question of how to transform the "hearts of the people" with popular propagation—a key question in early Meiji nation-building, when national public education was not yet distinguished from popular propagation[94]—came to be discussed in terms of the distinctions between religion and state, public and private, and knowledge and belief.

The shift in discussions of the propagation project was signified by the change in the term "*kyō* 教" or "a teaching," from a national doctrine to a sectarian or religious one. By purposefully exploiting the potentials of superscribing the multivalent referents of *kyō*, Shimaji's critique generated enormous ideological power, which, coupled with the mobilized institutional force of the Shin sect, led to the termination in 1875 of the government's direct participation in popular propagation. In mobilizing the term *kyō*, Shimaji articulated two discourses together: contemporaneous European conceptions

of religion and his own argument that Buddhism's affirmation and support for popular propagation were integrative and indispensable to Meiji nation-state building. Essentially, the new discourse of religion enabled Shimaji to disqualify Shinto as a teaching fit for propagation and simultaneously to establish Buddhism as the only teaching qualified for that purpose.

When leaving Japan on his overseas trip in late 1871, Shimaji was optimistic that the government would allow Buddhism to play a positive role in popular propagation. But he learned in Europe that, rather than becoming a platform for realizing Buddhists revival, doctrinal instruction was increasingly being changed over to a Shinto system. In late 1872, Shimaji wrote in his Paris hotel room *The Memorial of Critique of the Three Standards of Instruction* (*Sanjō kyōsoku hihan kempaku shō*) and asked Yuri Kimimasa to take it back to the Meiji government. This began his composition and submission of altogether thirteen appeals to the government. Together with over thirty widely circulated essays, Shimaji's appeals triggered a public Buddhist campaign against the pro-Shinto policies of the Ministry of Doctrine. The campaign culminated in 1875, with the Shin sect's withdrawal from the propagation program, which led to its subsequent collapse as a joint program and then the abolishing of the Ministry of Doctrine itself in 1877.

Shimaji starts his *Memorial of Critique of the Three Standards of Instruction* by confirming his agreement with the government on the necessity of popular propagation (*kyōka*) for preventing the "foreign teaching" (*gaikyō*) of Christianity, which was "encroaching day by day."[95] Reinforcing this agreement was his deliberate use of the term *kyōka*, literally "to teach and transform," in evocation of an earlier, Confucian mode of governance for which *kyōka* was a constitutive component. In doing this, Shimaji situated his critique within the Shinto discourse that had developed since the 1820s, advocating popular propagation as part of political rule. But he then went on to use the same *kyō* to problematize the content of propagation, the Three Standards, by introducing a new distinction: that between religion (*kyō*) and government (*sei*). "Government (*sei*) and religion (*kyō*) differ from each other and should never be confused."[96] This is because they differ in goals and in the means for attaining them: "Government as human affairs controls only forms (or bodies) (*kata*) and by so doing defines a nation whereas religion as divine achievements controls [formless] heart (*kokoro*) and is thus applicable in every nation."[97] The body-heart metaphor presented religion and government as a particular-versus-universal relationship that is also mutually indispensable. Neither can be used to control or define the other. Shimaji applies this binary to explain both the state, ruled with rational law, and the modern world, regulated by international law—both, however, are sustained by religion, which is universally sublimating in pursuit of purification of the heart, or the good (*zenryō*).[98] Shimaji's claim for religion's universal social efficacy is based on the defining feature of religion: it necessarily partakes in the divine, a source of authority transcending any particular formalistic constraint, be it nation, culture, state, or law. As such, religion can never be artificially created but can only result from "divine deeds" (*shin'i*) mediated through a founder.[99]

Shimaji went on to use this definition of religion to discredit the Ministry of Doctrine's doctrinal hegemony. It is through a deconstructive analysis of the kami

within an evolutionary scheme of religion that Shimaji developed his argument against what he claimed was the Ministry's misguided attempt to create a religion, thereby discrediting the Three Standards and the propagation program. In contrast to the founded religion, Shimaji argued, belief in gods of water, fire, grass, trees, and so forth was a common feature of early human society: as civilization progressed, these primitive beliefs had disappeared in Europe and could only be found in studies of mythology of different nations. However, Shimaji asserted, creating a religion out of the primitive belief in these miscellaneous gods and mixing it with government was precisely what the Ministry of Doctrine was doing, without knowing that "even a child in Europe would laugh in disdain and would look down upon us as rough and uncivilized."[100] Shimaji continued by asking whether the kami was particular to Japan or universal throughout the world. If particular to Japan, then the sun and the moon would belong only to Japan. That was patently absurd. If universal, the kami would then be isomorphic to God or Deus—but, without a founder, how could belief in the kami be compared with the exquisite Christian doctrine and the amount of benefit accrued from believing in God?[101] Shimaji then went on to construct an evolution history of Buddhism in India that culminated in the Buddha's establishment of the "heart as the principle of the Dharma world." Then, using this history as evidence, he asserted the theological and epistemological superiority of monotheistic concepts of divinity over the "blind foolishness" of worship of myriad gods of the natural world. Such practices could be found only among the "barbarians of Africa, South American, the Pacific Islands, Asia and Siberia." Upon knowing that they still existed in Japan and were being promoted by its government, Shimaji lamented that he felt "ashamed for [my] nation."[102]

After deconstructing the category of the kami, key to the Three Standards, Shimaji proceeded to make a distinction between two types of Shinto. There was a Shinto without the kami, which would thereby be a non-religion, and he argued this Shinto was the imperial rule itself or, more specifically, a set of rituals directed to the imperial ancestors. On the other hand, there were a set of "private" religious Shinto theories about the kami. This was a creative classifying strategy that Shimaji developed in petitions and proposals after he came back to Japan in August 1873 for the purpose of moving beyond questioning the propagation program, and to directly challenge the very legal-theoretical basis of the Ministry itself. He deployed this strategy in the context of the emerging discourse of Civilization and Enlightenment that permeated the whole country. In *The Proposal on Reforming the Ministry of Doctrine* (*Kengi Kyōbushō kaisei ni tsuki*) of May 1874, Shimaji started by foregrounding the goal of the Meiji Restoration as progress to civilization, marking a difference from his use of *kyōka* in *The Critique of the Three Standards* of 1872. To promote civilization, Shimaji continued, government (*kan*) should make politics just and open (*kōmei*) and educate (*kyōiku*) people to be kind (*konsetsu*).[103] This would enable people to grasp Civilization in their hearts before embodying it in practice. The only two means for government to promote Civilization were education (*gaku*) and sectarian doctrinal teaching (*kyō*). While education was gradually under way, sectarian propagation had not been put in proper institutional shape, as manifested in the Ministry of Doctrine's troubled program where the public was mixed with the public (*kōshi konkō*). Shimaji asked,

what brought the Ministry into existence in the first place? Behind its creation, it seemed, were three purposes: (1) to establish a Shinto religion in order; (2) to prevent Christianity for the ultimate goal of (3) protecting the kokutai (national polity). Where the Ministry erred, argued Shimaji, was in confusing these fundamentally different goals. In trying to create a Shinto religion, the Ministry not only mistakenly mixed religion with governance but contravened the basic truth that religious belief could not be forced upon people but rather be entrusted to them.[104]

To discredit the Ministry, Shimaji then deployed his newly devised distinction between Shinto as the imperial rule and Shinto as private sectarian doctrines. The doctrine adopted by the Ministry was precisely the "private theories" (*shisetsu*) concocted by Shinto people (*shintōsha*) in seek of state patronage and personal prestige. These people talked about the coming and going of souls, fortune, and disasters in an invisible world (*yūmei*).[105] Endorsing these theories advocated by the bigoted, civilization-hindering Shinto "sectarian teachers" (*shūmon kyōshi*), the Ministry was furthermore forcing people to follow them as government decrees. Shimaji warned: What happened if people didn't believe in them? They would make light of official decrees and laws, and the urgent goal of spreading Civilization would never be achieved. In the end, adopting and mixing the private Shinto theories with government would lead to destruction of the true Shinto, the imperial rule itself. The goal of the imperial government was in essence expanding the foundational rule established by the Heavenly Ancestor (*tenso*, i.e., Amaterasu);[106] this was why it had been called "the Way of Following the Kami" (*kamunagara no michi*) since ancient times. The Ministry of Doctrine's mistake amounted to the creation of a "religion of the descendant of the heavenly ancestor" (*kōtenshi no shūmon*). This mistake undermined the basis of the imperial government's authority because it tried to transform that authority into a religious belief and, worse, to force it onto the people.

Shimaji then returned to his earlier argument that to correctly promote Civilization, it was necessary to both develop public education and promote sectarian teachings. Education, to be undertaken by the government, involved spreading the knowledge of Civilization: opening up the human intellect to grasp general logics of phenomena of the world, financial management, art, industry, and the moral training of individual and family. Shimaji called this "teaching for governance" (*chikyō*). Religion (*shūkyō*), on the other hand, concerned the human heart and belief, a realm that the force of government could not reach. As such, religion should be given autonomy so that it can operate in its own ways: making people feel secure, and thereby supporting political rule. In order to realize religion's utility for the state, that is, it had to be given autonomy. This applied to the "Shinto people" as well. If Shinto teachers indeed wanted to create a Shinto religion, Shimaji argued, they should be given the chance to do so. They should be released from state regulation and support so that they can preach their faith freely, joining the competition in the conversionary market of belief.[107] A religious Shinto, in other words, should be explicitly separated from the imperial rule, as any civilized government had done.

The categories of religion versus state, religion versus education, religion versus knowledge, and public versus private, which Shimaji deployed to fight for Buddhists' autonomy changed the rules of the game. These distinctions pressed the Meiji

government to deal with old problems in new terms. The political concern about Christianity (toward which the government had been wavering between acquiescence and control), started to be rearticulated in terms of the relation between the political state and religion. In relation to Christianity, Shimaji changed the discussions (and disputes) of popular propagation from a national doctrine to a sectarian or religious one. In order to implement popular propagation, which remained a key project for the Meiji nation-building, the Meiji government had to figure out how to institutionalize appropriate relationships between "religion," "Shinto," and the state in the context of the necessary progress to Civilization and Enlightenment. Now the very category of Shinto became a question rather than a solution—a question about how to sort the relations between the "primitive" kami, the imperial ancestor (a kami as well), religion, and popular propagation. The direct implication of Shimaji's attacks, on the other hand, was the loss of the raison d'être of the ostensibly joint propagation program and of the Ministry of Doctrine.

The power of Shimaji's argument, which derived from "religion" itself being a part of the authoritative knowledge of Civilization and Enlightenment, was, however, one of the many factors contributing to the termination of joint propagation and the closing of the Daikyōin Institute in May 1875 and the abolishment of the Ministry of Doctrine in 1877.[108] The Shin Pure Land Buddhist sect's campaign to withdraw from the joint preaching program gained steam in fall 1873. The fate of the Daikyōin Institute was sealed when an accidental (or purposefully executed) fire burned down the building in January 1874. In May 1875, the Daikyōin was closed. Equally important, in response to Shimaji's argument for religion-state separation and autonomy, there emerged in the government's policy deliberation a new category—the freedom of sectarian groups—with which to discuss the old problems of popular propagation and preventing Christianity. Yoshida Jirō, a bureaucrat of the Ministry of Finance on good terms with Kido Takayoshi and Ito Hirobumi, proposed to the House of the Left in May 1874 that the best way to curtail Christianity was to cut the connections of sectarian groups with the government and give them the freedom to develop. Out of need for competition with each other, these groups could then be expected to strengthen themselves, which would lead to the flourishing of doctrinal teachings (*hōkyō*). Christianity would then be easily curtailed by these domestic sectarian groups.[109] Yoshida reported that he discussed this proposal with Kido Takayoshi and Shishido Tamaki, deputy minister of the Ministry of Doctrine. His proposal was affirmed by the House of the Left.[110] Echoing Yoshida, the pro-Buddhist Kido in letters to Ito Hirobumi showed his agreement to the strategy of granting freedom of belief to sectarian groups.[111]

It is not surprising, then, that in May 1875 the Ministry of Doctrine issued a Notice (*tatsu*) that terminated Shinto-Buddhist joint propagation and requested all the sects of Shinto and Buddhism to preach separately. Six months later, the Ministry announced more detailed policies via another notice, the so-called "Notice of Freedom of Belief" (*shinkyō jiyū no kutatsu*), to Shinto and Buddhist superintendents. This second notice was an attempt to retain the project of popular propagation by reorganizing it in ways proposed by Shimaji. It decreed the superintendents, freed from the Teaching Institute system, were to regulate their respective doctrinal instructors. This notice clarified where the administrative reach of the government ended and the jurisdictions of

religious sects began, giving the Buddhist sects full autonomy in administering their internal affairs. Doctrinal instructors were to teach the people in their respective doctrines and superintendents were held responsible for directing the implementation of propagation. The government, specifically the Ministry of the Interior, promised to offer administrative protection for the doctrinal instructors on condition that they continued to adhere to and propagate the Three Standards of Instruction, which was an administrative (*gyōsei*) requirement. "If people of sectarian teachings (*kyōhōka*) are granted the freedom of belief (*shinkyō no jiyū*) and receive administrative protection, they must recognize the will of the imperial court, be careful not to hinder governance, and work to assist governance by guiding the people toward good."[112] By identifying doctrinal instructors, including Shinto priests, as religionists and then providing them "freedom of belief," or autonomy, and political protection, the Meiji government hoped to institute the separation of religion from governance so as to retain the support of Buddhism in continuing the project of popular propagation.[113]

Defining the Three Standards as an administrative matter that was supposed to be distinguished from the respective doctrines of the Buddhist and Shinto religionists, however, exposed the ambivalence and difficulty in differentiating the definitions of *kyō* as a nation-building political ideology and as a sectarian doctrine. This ambiguity manifested itself institutionally. If the separation of religion and governance and the attendant "freedom of belief" made sense for Buddhists, it nevertheless not only did not provide autonomy but generated new questions for Shinto priest-doctrinal instructors. In 1871, the Meiji government announced that those in the Shinto priesthood were official liturgists and missionaries under the unified leadership of the Department of Divinity. In March 1872, their missionary capacity became redefined as doctrinal instructors that were administered by the Ministry of Doctrine, whereas state ritual administration was moved to the imperial palace. For the Meiji government as well as Shinto priests, these two capacities were unified in the person of the Shinto priest because both were official, even though Shinto priests did not agree among themselves on the doctrine to be preached. After the government distinguished the Three Standards as an administrative requirement to be distinguished from "religious doctrines," however, the unified capacities of Shinto priesthood became differentiated: the priests were official state ritualists but also had the newly gained "private" identity of religious doctrinal instructors. They bore the "administrative" responsibility of teaching the Three Standards, which however included revering the kami. The newly created "freedom of belief" threw Shinto priests into a gray zone of ambiguous and incommensurable identities.

What "freedom" brought to Shinto priests was also financial loss. The Ministry of Doctrine (and the erstwhile Ministry of Rituals) promoted the Shinto funeral ritual, restricting rituals to Buddhist or Shinto in style in June 1872 and later banning cremation (i.e. the Buddhist funeral), both to prevent Christianity and to provide Shinto priests with a source of income. In the same month that the Daikyōin Institute closed, however, the government lifted the ban on cremation, signaling re-legalization of the Buddhist funeral ritual and the shrinking of one of the main sources of income of Shinto priests.[114]

But most troubling of all was the question of what constitutes doctrine (*kyō*) itself. The "separation" of religion and governance in 1875 foregrounded the

ambiguities of Shinto in the conceptual and institutional context of religion, governance, popular propagation, divine imperial authority, and, most basically, the nature of the kami, of which Amaterasu was but one—albeit a central one. As such, the "separation" only turned Shinto into a new space of dissension driven by the key question, one without immediate answer: how could the Shinto pantheon be rearranged and re-categorized so that the imperial authority could be reconstructed and preached in the context of the nationalized shrine ritual-doctrinal system, on the one hand, and of the separation of "religion" and the state, on the other? This question was complicated by the heterogeneous nature of the kami as manifesting in the various competing confraternities which in early modern times were related neither with each other nor to political power but now encompassed under the umbrella unifying term "Shinto." It is the confusion and ambiguity caused by these questions that contributed to the competitions for leadership between the Izumo Shrine and the Ise Shrine, which escalated into a debate that threatened to undermine the very ideological foundation of the Meiji state. How did the state deal with this challenge from the kami?

# Conclusion

Following the Restoration in 1868, the Meiji government embarked on the largest political project ever: of converting Japan by adopting the Shinto discourse. This endeavor grew out of attempts to deal with social and national crisis in the pre-Restoration decades. The conversion project had two goals: first, to turn the disparate population on the archipelago into a national community unified under the divine authority of the kami and the emperor and, second, to combat Christian doctrine, which the government considered an ideological threat.

However, as the state-endorsed ideology, Shinto was troubled by its inherent ambiguity and tension. The previously disparate Shinto shrines, priests, and confraternities were difficult to unify into a single system in service of new political purposes. More problematically, the nature of the kami and its relationship with humans were from the beginning unsettled, giving rise to contention and conflict not only among Shinto priests but also between those priests, Buddhists, and government leaders. In first section of this chapter, we saw how the Shinto discourse bifurcated in the final four decades of the Tokugawa period and the early Meiji years together as a tension emerged between Amaterasu and Ōkuninushi as two competing Ways of the Gods or two types of the socialization of the kami for engaging contemporary sociopolitical conditions. We have also seen how this tension came to surface in the post-Restoration debate between two ideological factions in the government on which kami, Ōkuninushi or Amaterasu, should be made to lead the Shinto pantheon. In the volatile, politicized context of early Meiji Japan, the debate exposed the heterogeneous and undifferentiated nature of the agency of the kami. The Meiji state's goal in grounding the new polity upon that divine agency was not easy to achieve.

The prolonged debate about the kami in the government exposed the danger of deploying a propagation program in the name of the kami to prevent Christianity:

the policy risked relativizing the very divine authority of the imperial institution because it looked at Christianity as a direct challenge to divine imperial authority, which it placed in conversionary competition with the Christian God. In 1872, the Meiji government responded to this question by changing the mode of implementation of the propagation project, from a project it directly undertook to a mediated one that was to be administered by Shinto and Buddhist priests under the guidance of the government. Gaining power in the Meiji government, however, the pro-Shinto Satsuma faction set out to turn the joint propagation project into a Shinto one. Armed with the modern discourse of religion, Buddhists fought back by calling into question the state-supported Shinto propagation project. They argued that state and religion should be separated, but the Meiji government's sponsorship of a propagation project was nothing but a mistaken attempt to create a Shinto religion. Shinto is not a religion but refers essentially to rituals directed to Amaterasu: Shinto is the state itself. The Ministry of Doctrine's attempt to implement a Shinto doctrine within the populace went against the trend and necessity of realizing Civilization and Enlightenment in Japan.

Buddhists' intervention changed the rules of the game. Now the government had to deal with popular propagation in terms of religion versus state, private versus public, and knowledge versus belief. In 1875, when the Meiji government announced that the propagation project was religious and withdrew from it the Buddhists were satisfied, but nevertheless this move created a new question that went unanswered: on what and whose terms were the new nation and the imperial state, apparently in need of support of the Shinto divinity—Amaterasu included—to be defined? This was the question that catalyzed the competition and differences between the Izumo Shrine and the Ise Shrine, which tried to realize their ambitions by promoting the authority of their gods, Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu. This dissension involved the question of which kami had the ultimate authority to define the imperial nation. As such, the contestation between these two shrines posed a threat to the ideological foundation of the Meiji state.

# Competing Ways of the Gods, 1872–1889

*Ōkuninushi was entrusted to rule the Invisible World [of the gods and departed human souls] when the Visible and the Invisible Worlds were distinguished. … This is the key to our teaching—to tell our people … to follow the emperor in the Visible World and Ōkuninushi in the Invisible World. They will know that this divinely created distinction was meant for life and death to be unified into one.*

Senge Takatomi (1878)

*If Ōkuninushi were recognized as the great sovereign … of the Invisible World who leads the heavenly and earthly gods and passes judgment on departed human souls, … not only the imperial ancestors starting from Amaterasu but also all the gods would be put under the control of Ōkuninushi. How can this be reasonably true?*

The Ise Shrine (1880)

The termination in 1875 of the ostensibly Buddhist-Shinto joint propagation program, that resulted from the sustained attack by Shimaji Mokurai and fellow Buddhists and the subsequent withdrawal of five Shin Pure Land Buddhist sects, was the government's response to Buddhists' demand for the separation of religion from the state. This separation meant that doctrinal instructors, now defined as religious people, were on their own to conduct popular propagation despite the fact that propagation was still defined as an administrative—that is, political—task. Shinto priests responded to this change by organizing their preaching Office of Shinto Affairs (*Shinto jimukyoku*). Yet the relationship between the state and Shinto priest-instructors, unlike the Buddhist priests, remained unclarified and ambiguous. This ambiguity arose from, on the one hand, the necessity after 1875 of classifying Shinto doctrinal instructors in the same category as Buddhist instructors: as religious people, who then had to be separated from the state; and on the other hand, the Meiji government's continued reliance on Shinto for political legitimacy—the necessity for the divine nature of the emperor, and for transforming the populace into a nation unified under that divine authority.

In this ambiguous context, the ambitious Izumo and Ise Shrines competed against each other for the leadership of the Office of Shinto Affairs by continuing to expand their confraternities and consolidating the doctrines of their respective gods, Ōkuninushi, and Amaterasu. Shinto confraternities were banned in 1871 during the nationalization of Shinto but were soon allowed to revive in 1872 and the

expansion and consolidation of the Izumo and Ise confraternities followed immediately afterwards. The doctrinal instructors (*kyōdōshoku* 教導職) created in 1872 were unpaid state officials. Fiscal difficulty jeopardized Shinto priests' propagation so the government revived the disbanded confraternities because confraternities were the major source of income for Shinto instructor-officials. Confraternities, however, followed a logic of growth different from the goal of the government. The goal of popular propagation for disseminating a political ideology was constantly undermined by the daily-life demands of confraternity members—exorcism, faith-healing, fortune-telling, fundraising, mutual help—that Shinto instructors had to satisfy. As a result, starting in 1872 the government had to regulate the activities of Shinto confraternities, including those of the Izumo and Ise Shrines, which expanded utilizing the public channel of the propagation program.

The competition for leadership of Shinto between the Izumo and Ise Shrines led to the consolidation of two contrasting theological visions of the forthcoming Meiji polity, one undergirded by the Izumo god Ōkuninushi and one based on the authority of Amaterasu. Contending since 1875 that Ōkuninushi as the god of creation and master of the Shinto divinity should be enshrined together with the three creation kami and Amaterasu at the apex of the Shinto pantheon, the head priest of Izumo, Senge Takatomi, mobilized the majority of the priesthood in 1880 in direct confrontation with Tanaka Yoritsune, the head priest of the Ise Shrine who foiled every effort of Senge. This doctrinal debate laid bare the difficulty of trimming the multivalent yet undifferentiated Shinto discourse into a univocal political doctrine and exposed the inconsistency inherent in devising ways to distinguish the religious from the political. In late 1880, the dissension escalated into what is known as the enshrinement debate (*Saijin ronsō*), which involved the entire Shinto priesthood and many in the government, who were nevertheless unable to reach an agreement. It became clear that a political solution was required to end the debate so as to neutralize the ideological challenge waged by Ōkuninushi against the authority of Amaterasu, the imperial ancestor. How to define Shinto by regulating its radical heterogeneity called into question the ideological foundation of the Meiji state.

The government expediently silenced the enshrinement debate with an imperial edict in January 1881. This marked not an end but the beginning of a new phase in the Meiji state's search for institutional arrangements for popular propagation, Shinto, the category of religion, and expressions of imperial authority. The 1870s saw a gradual transfiguration of the dominant mode of imagining the new idea of religion. In the early 1870s, as argued by Shimaji Mokurai, religion was presented as a sectarian doctrine (*kyō* 教) that based its raison d'être on its role in providing indoctrinating support for the state. By the early 1880s, religion had come to be perceived in terms of private, individual beliefs in creeds of death and the afterlife (*shūkyō* 宗教) that was increasingly contrasted to social morality, public education, and public liturgical representations of the imperial authority. This shift in conceptions of religion enabled the Meiji government to transform Shinto from an intellectual discourse to a category of political praxis by devising a distinction between Shinto as public rituals and Shinto as religious sects. This distinction functioned to distinguish the imperial institution from "religion" and elevate the imperial authority above the relativizing religious

competition. When the government in 1884 recategorized the claims of Ōkuninushi as Sect Shinto—as private religious belief, which was then distinguished from the nationalized shrine ritual system directed to Amaterasu (Shrine Shinto)—it not only domesticated the heterogeneous claims by Ōkuninushi and the Izumo confraternity that translated these claims into practice. In effect, the reclassification also transformed the divine imperial genealogy into a public, political authority fit for the sovereign position of the "civilized" and secular, modern nation-state.

Becoming categorized as religion symbolized the eventual fall of Ōkuninushi, "the Great Lord of the Land," from the reconstituted imperial pantheon. The domestication of Ōkuninushi pointed to the Meiji state's institutionalization of religion in the form of technical differentiation of "religious" doctrine from "non-religious" ritual. Christianity, which had long been perceived as a serious ideological threat to the imperial authority, was finally neutralized as private religion. Accompanying the fall of Ōkuninushi and the institutionalization of religion was the loss of the raison d'être of popular propagation in the newly constituted political scheme. The 1880s saw the termination of popular propagation undertaken by "religious" people and the simultaneous transformation of the major means of nation-building from doctrinal preaching (*kyōdō* 教導) to public education (*kyōiku* 教育). The new distinctions between private religion, public education, public morality, and the secular state provided the discursive conditions for the making of the Imperial Constitution of 1889, which proclaimed the modern state to be based on the sovereign authority of the divine imperial institution. At the same time, the constitution guaranteed Japanese citizens' private freedom of religious belief as long as they were not resistant to participation in "non-religious" and public Shinto rituals directed to the divine sovereign and his kami ancestors.

## The Izumo Shrine, 1868–75

The representations of the Meiji polity as a restoration created the political backdrop for the Izumo Shrine to imagine an opportunity to regain the power it once possessed. For the Izumo Shrine as well as Hirata Atsutane and his followers, the authority of Ōkuninushi was centrally integral to the long lost Ancient Way of the Gods, now revived in the form of the Meiji body politic. To restore the power of Ōkuninushi and the Izumo Shrine, then, meant to be part of the restored imperial polity. The Izumo Shrine was indeed very quick in marching toward the new political center. In the second month of 1869, Senge Takakiyo, the seventy-ninth generation in the Senge line of the Izumo head priest genealogy, visited Tokyo, the newly designated seat for the restored imperial rule, to seek an audience with the emperor.[1] His son Senge Takatomi (1845–1918) accompanied him. Takakiyo's visit to the imperial palace took place in the third month of 1869. Upon being recognized as the divine descendant of the god Amenohohi (that is, as *kokusō*), Takakiyo was granted the rank of the Junior Fifth from the new imperial court. Perhaps not satisfied with the rank, Takakiyo revisited the palace two days later, this time successfully having his rank upgraded to the Junior Fourth. His son's audience in the same month resulted in the conferment of the rank

of the Junior Fifth. The conferring of court ranks meant incorporation into the rstored imperial polity, but these ranks constituted formal status and were not matched with appointment to administrative posts commensurate to the ranks.

When Senge Takatomi was appointed to an administrative post, however, the appointment took place in a completely new political framework and was accompanied by significant transformations of the Izumo Shrine. The reentry of the Izumo Shrine to the imperial polity took the form of nationalization in which the conferment of a court title meant little in practical terms. The title *kokusō*, symbolizing the distinctive authority of the divine genealogy of the Izumo head priest, was replaced by the new title of *daigūji* when the Ministry of Divinity promulgated a new uniform set of ranks to systematize the Shinto priesthood into a single national hierarchy. Senge's title, *daigūji*, was near the top of the hierarchy, beneath only that of *saishu*, the head priest of the Ise Shrine.[2] The distinctive hereditary title *kokusō* and the authority the title symbolized became submerged under the new identity of Shinto priest as public servant; thereafter, the Izumo Shrine would articulate its authority primarily by way of its god Ōkuninushi. At the popular level, however, the *kokusō* title did not lose its function as a source of divine authority because more than two centuries' preaching had implanted among the populace the knowledge of the Izumo head priest as a descendant of a divine genealogy, a genealogy believed to possess magic power to heal and protect, as we shall soon see.

Along with the change of the head priest title, the Izumo Shrine was incorporated into the nationalized shrine system when the Meiji government announced that all shrines were "rituals facilities of the state" (*kokka no sōshi*) in 1871. Izumo was ranked among the first of the two tiers of "State Shrines" (*kansha*) which, ninety-seven in total, were put under the direct administration of the Department (Ministry) of Divinity. Shrines of lower grades were under the administration of domain-transformed local governments.[3] At the end of 1871, contrary to the Senges' expectations, incorporation into the new state manifested as the disappearance of two major sources of income of the shrine: confiscation of all its landholding except the immediate shrine compound and disbanding of the shrine's confraternities developed by its traveling preachers in the Tokugawa period. As a state ritual facility, the Izumo Shrine from 1872 started to perform a set of newly created rituals, which were directed to the imperial institution rather than to its god Ōkuninushi. The seventy-two rituals that during the pre-modern period structured the Izumo Shrine's year-round liturgical life and expressed the power and authority of the shrine were reduced significantly. At the same time, newly formulated rituals directed to the imperial ancestors brought the Izumo Shrine into sync with the rest of the Shinto shrines across Japan as official ritual institutions to implement the political thesis of the Unity of Ritual and Rule (*saisei itchi*).[4]

The creation of the Ministry of Doctrine in March 1872, which revived the banned confraternities and started subsequently the joint propagation program, however, provided the Izumo Shrine a direct and effective venue to enter national politics of the kami. As the officially recognized propagation channel, the revived confraternities proved institutionally and financially important in that they enabled Shinto doctrinal instructors to fund themselves and to directly engage the populace by preaching their doctrines.[5] During 1873 and 1875, forty-three confraternities or churches were

recognized by the Ministry, including many newly created ones that took advantage of the government's loosening up of the nationalization policy.[6] The revival of the confraternities the Izumo Shrine developed in the early modern period then provided the shrine with an official channel to continue preaching the doctrine of Ōkuninushi to its followers and achieve further expansion. The Izumo Shrine's expansion benefitted further from the favorable condition that the popularization of the Shinto discourse of Hirata Atsutane had promoted the god Ōkuninushi to be central for the restored Shinto. As a major shrine in Western Japan with nationwide confraternities and in command of a doctrinal superiority, the Izumo Shrine was disposed to take a leading role in the propagation program. These were the factors that played into the Ministry of Doctrine's decision, in June 1872, to create a two-region administrative framework of Shinto doctrinal instructors and the revived confraternities, with the west region of Japan supervised by Senge Takatomi and the east region by the head priest of Ise Shrine, in the apparent hope that the two most prominent shrines of the country could work together to lead the national program.[7] The national propagation program thereby became the Izumo Shrine's platform to expand its influence and authority.

The Meiji government hoped that by reviving the Shinto confraternities it would successfully gain a direct channel through which to access the populace for propagation. The confraternities, however, embodied goals at variance with those of the state and were also troubled by competition among themselves. One basic purpose underlying the formation of confraternities during the early modern period was mutual help among its members; the organizing principle of confraternities was therefore fundamentally different from that of the political state. When they were revived in the Meiji period, these voluntary associations were at odds with the Meiji government's intention to use them for the political purpose of propagation. Furthermore, Shinto confraternities, or churches, competed with Buddhism for members, which meant more fiscal income—a competition jeopardizing their cooperation in the joint propagation. They also competed with each other for more followers. Unlike in the early modern period, however, they now shared the singular identity of Shinto, an identity that assumed unity and collaboration. This was at least the expectation of the Meiji state. In 1873, the government organized doctrinal instructors into one single nationwide system that it explicitly called Shinto. This drive for a singular identity was succeeded by the ostensibly non-governmental Office of Shinto Affairs in 1875. But the imperative for unity only betrayed the debilitating heterogeneous nature of the umbrella term of Shinto, a heterogeneity compromising the ideological goal of the Meiji state, and encouraged the competition between the Izumo and Ise Shrines. Confraternities made it even more difficult to achieve this Shinto unity. As such, propagation via confraternities, or churches, provided a state-endorsed institutional setting for Shinto shrines, in particular the two most influential ones, to expand into society and compete against each other.

The Izumo Shrine's expansion through confraternities and the propagation program started in January 1873. Under the leadership of Senge Takatomi, a Middle Teaching Institute (*chūkyōin*) was established in Izumo town. In the same month, Senge systematized the shrine's confraternities that developed under different names, forms, and organizing mechanisms in the Tokugawa period, as we have seen in Chapter 2, into a

unified Izumo Shrine Confraternity (*Izumo Taisha keishin kō*). In August, he created a nineteen-article document of Church Regulations, thereby further consolidating the Confraternity into the Izumo Church (*Izumo kyōkai*).[8] The Regulations delineated a theological doctrine centering on Ōkuninushi as the supreme kami of the Shinto pantheon to whom humans owe their lives in this world and beyond. At the same time, the Regulations specified mutual trust and help, including financial support, as a requirement for membership.[9] No mention was made of the Three Standards of Instruction, pointing to the gap between the purpose of the Izumo Church and the goal of the government. By April 1875, when the Middle Teaching Institute was relocated to Matsue, the capital city of the newly created Shimane prefecture, there were three full-time instructors researching Shinto classics and training fifty-three soon-to-be doctrinal instructors.[10] Senge was quick to adopt new modes of knowledge dissemination for furthering the propagation goal of the Institute. In March 1873, he organized a twenty-day exposition in the Izumo town. With rich collections of previously unexposed treasure items from the Izumo Shrine, local shrines, and prominent households on display, the exposition attracted as many as seven thousand visitors in total.[11] In April 1874, to facilitate research and preaching, Senge opened a library in the Institute after securing provision of reading materials from priest households and local shrines.[12]

At the same time, Senge Takatomi embarked on public preaching in Western Japan in the official capacity of doctrinal instructor (*kyōdōshoku*). While he began lecturing locally in 1872, Senge's preaching expanded from the summer of 1873 when it reached Western Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu. His preaching would continue until 1888, when he took up government positions first as the Minister of Justice and later as the Governor of Saitama Prefecture. In the wake of his lectures at the Izumo Shrine in 1872, requests for preaching arrived from many towns and villages in the province.[13] Senge's lectures were very popular in Western Japan, and were usually attended by hundreds or even thousands of people. When he gave a preaching lecture in Matsue, fifteen thousand people packed the lecture hall, while over a thousand people were turned away, unable to attend his talk.[14] Senge's popularity, however, resulted less from his new official status of a top-level doctrinal instructor and more from the centuries-long efforts of Izumo priests and *oshi* preachers in the early modern period to popularize the beliefs in the divine power of the divine genealogy of the Izumo head priest, who attended to Ōkuninushi. For many people, the Izumo head priest was a living god—one who had the power to heal, protect, and bless, those powers associated with its god Ōkuninushi. Notably, this was the kind of power another living god, the emperor, did not possess. The Tokyo Asahi Shimbun reported in 1877 that after Senge stayed overnight in Hamamura town of Ehime Prefecture in Shikoku on his trip to open a branch of the Izumo Church in the prefectural capital of Matsuyama, hundreds of farmers from neighboring villages, upon hearing the news, rushed to the lodge to tear apart the straw mat Senge used. They divided the pieces among themselves before taking them home and then scooped bath water left by Senge into sake bottles without leaving even one drop. They believed things used or touched by the Izumo head priest had healing power because the priest was a divine being associated with the Izumo god, who was known for his power in nurturing human life by teaching healing methods including hot spring baths.[15]

Senge's efforts to consolidate the local and regional power base of the Izumo Shrine prepared him to rise to national leadership of the propagation program in Tokyo, the political center of the imperial state. His first step was to elevate the status of the Izumo Shrine in the national ranking system. In the eighth month of 1872, Senge Takatomi submitted a petition to the Ministry of Doctrine requesting that the Izumo Shrine be elevated above the rank of National Shrine (*kansha*).[16] Because National Shrine was the highest rank, Senge's petition meant having the shrine raised above the entire ranking system, a status equal to the Ise Shrine. In the petition, Senge justified his request by referring to the "imperial classics," which recorded the accomplishment of Ōkuninushi in creating the land and setting up the occupations and accomplishments that laid down the foundation of the state. Furthermore, the differentiation of the Visible and Invisible Worlds, with Ōkuninushi as the lord of the latter World, Senge argued, marked the formation of the Great Way of the world as intended by the creation gods. As evidenced by the well-known idea that the tenth month was one without the gods, Senge continued, it was a truth known to all that the governance of the Invisible World was carried out at the Izumo Shrine, proving that the shrine was supreme to all other shrines and should be elevated above all of them.[17] The Ministry of Doctrine, however, rejected Senge's petition. In its announcement of its decision (*yukokubun*) the Ministry recognized Ōkuninushi as the kami laying down the basis of the state but mentioned nothing about Ōkuninushi as the lord of the Invisible World. It further commented that it was inappropriate for the Izumo Shrine to claim a status equal to that of Amaterasu. At the same time, the Ministry conceded that Senge's petition was reasonable and suggested that, if not convinced, he should appeal to the Council of State.[18]

In early 1873, when the construction of a Divinity Hall in the Daikyōin Institute was under way and Shinto priests made the decision to enshrine the three creation gods and Amaterasu in the Divinity Hall, Senge proposed to add Ōkuninushi, the lord of the Invisible World and the judge of departed souls, to the divinity of four.[19] His proposal may have been prompted by the Satsuma faction's rise within the government in early 1872, which subsequently issued two sets of supplementary themes clearly Shinto in nature in June and October 1873. Another reason for Senge to aspire to co-enshrine Ōkuninushi may have been the god's connection, as a creation kami, to one essential dimension of Meiji nation-state building: colonization. When Emperor Meiji appointed an imperial prince in September 1869 to lead the colonization of the Ezo Island, renamed Hokkaido, he ordered the prince to construct the Sapporo Shrine to enshrine the "three gods of colonization," i.e., Ōkunitama, Ōnamuchi, and Sukunabikona (Ōkunitama and Ōnamuchi denote different divine feats of Ōkuninushi, first as ruler of the world and second as its creator).[20] This became the first modern Shinto shrine built in Hokkaido, the first colony incorporated into the Japanese empire. Thereafter Ōkuninushi manifested in Taiwan and Korea as a creation and development kami, and most of the shrines built in Manchuria by Japanese settlers enshrined both him and Amaterasu.[21] Ōkuninushi's blessing for imperial colonization and development accompanied the empire building endeavors of Japan till 1945. In response to Senge's proposal, the Division of Textual Studies in the Ministry of Doctrine in February 1873 submitted a proposal "The God of the Invisible

World Should Be Enshrined" to the Council of State. The proposal affirmed the status of Ōkuninushi as the ruling god of the Invisible World and advised that this status should be reflected in Shinto funeral prayers and that the god should be enshrined in the Divine Hall.[22] Senge's proposal was discussed in the government and among Shinto priests; while receiving support, it eventually went unadopted.[23]

The Ministry's decision did not hold back the ambitious Senge, who continued to make efforts to steer the joint propagation program toward Shinto and to have the Ōkuninushi-centered Shinto of the Hirata faction recognized as the default doctrine of the program. The pro-Shinto Satsuma faction in the government, which decisively changed the power balance between Shinto and Buddhist priests in the propagation program, supported Senge, who then led the efforts to reshape the program, in particular the Great Teaching Institute (*Daikyōin*), as Shinto. Notably, Senge worked with the Ise head priest Konoe Tadafusa to compose a doctrinal tract by expounding on *Essence of the Divine Doctrine* (*Shinkyō yōshi*), the propagation text formulated by the Confucian missionary Ono Jusshin back in early 1870. Promoted by priests from the two most prominent shrines, the text, entitled *Shinkyō yōshi ryakuge* or *Brief Exposition on the Shinkyō yōshi*, became the most popular doctrinal text for the propagation program.[24] This document was essentially a new one, although it claimed to be an exegetical work on Ono's *Essence of the Divine Doctrine*. Introducing the Shinto discourse of Hirata and Mutobe, the text articulated a theory of creation, salvation, and ritual worship by bringing together several themes: the generative musubi gods in the creation of the world and human life; the division of the Invisible World of the kami ruled by Ōkuninushi and the Visible World of humans ruled by the emperor; human souls' return to the Invisible World for Ōkuninushi's judgment and elevation to divinity and eternal bliss; and the role of local tutelary gods in mediating the two Worlds. It articulated a logic centering on Ōkuninushi rather than the emperor since it is the former kami's power in passing judgment on departed human souls that necessitated living humans following the emperor. Accompanying Senge's doctrinal effort in increasing Izumo's influence was his promotion of the Shinto funeral that was informed by the doctrine. He had started the Shinto funeral ritual in his home prefecture of Shimane. For the propagation program, he composed the *Abbreviated Funeral Ritual* (*Sōsai ryakushiki*) in March 1873 so as to institutionalize the Ōkuninushi-centered Shinto doctrine as opposed to the Christian and Buddhist funerals.[25]

Senge further tried to incorporate into the doctrinal guidelines of the Daikyōin Institute the content about Ōkuninushi as the lord of the Invisible World of the kami and as the kami judging departed human souls. In March 1873, the Daikyōin Institute submitted to the Ministry of Doctrine a draft guideline for directing Shinto doctrinal instructors on how to develop and operate confraternities. It included an oath specifying in its second clause that, "in the Invisible World there is the Great Sovereign Kami judging departed souls. Retribution will surely take place after death even if it can be avoided in this life," and in the third clause that, "the tutelary ubusuna kami carry out the invisible governance and nurture their human children (*ujiko*); so be grateful for them."[26] On the other hand, when the guideline was announced by the Ministry in August, these two clauses were deleted without comment, perhaps due to the Ministry's concern that explicit reference to the lord of the Invisible World should

be avoided in order not to provoke possible doctrinal disputes between the Izumo and Ise Shrines.[27]

Senge's persistent efforts in attaining national leadership through promoting the authority of Ōkuninushi betrayed doctrinal and institutional ambiguities that troubled the propagation program, and indeed, the Ministry of Doctrine. A year after the Ministry set up a two-region system for the Shinto doctrinal instructors; the arrangement was terminated in January 1873 to give place to a unified national Shinto instructor system. This arrangement, however, was in turn replaced by a four-region system—before the joint program itself was terminated in 1875. The doctrinal and ideological tensions inherent in the program, between the seemingly commensurable divinities of the kami and the Buddha, between the ostensibly homogeneous unity of Shinto and the disparate, mutually competing shrines, and between rationale of confraternities and the political goal of propagation, would soon be brought to the fore by Buddhist protestations over the joint program's transformation into a Shinto system. They mobilized the new categories of religion and government, public and private, heart and body, faith and knowledge to create a new discursive field in which to re-present these problems, effectively bringing about the end of the short life of the joint program and, not long afterward, of the Ministry of Doctrine itself. In its wake, in May 1875, the Shinto priests had to construct their preaching organ, the Office of Shinto Affairs, independent of the government. But as we will see, instituting a formal distinction between religion and governance in the wake of the termination of the joint program only created new problems that contributed to the escalation of the contention between the Izumo and Ise Shrines.

## The Ise Shrine, to 1875

Like the Izumo Shrine (*Izumo Taisha*), the Ise Shrine, or *Ise Jingū*, encompassed a set of institutions and discursive configurations that were often in conflict with one another. In the singular, *Ise Jingū* actually refers to a complex of two major shrines located in the town of Ise in the present-day Mie prefecture: the "Divine Shrine" (*jingū*), also known as the Inner Shrine and enshrining the Sun Goddess Amaterasu; and the Toyouke Shrine, or the Outer Shrine dedicated to the food god Toyouke. For much of their history, these shrines were locked in disputation.[28] The historical origin of the Ise Shrine was part of the process of consolidating the Yamato clan into the imperial court, which culminated in the eighth century. Dating back to the late fifth century, when the Yamato clan was expanding into eastern Honshu, the main island of Japan, a site of worship for the clan deity, Amaterasu, was established at Ise. In a compromise with the local clan, the local deity Toyouke was simultaneously worshiped there.[29]

The origin of the Ise Shrine, however, is more frequently traced back to the Divine Ages narratives of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* than to its historical creation amid the early state building of the eighth century. As "recorded" in *Kojiki*, when Amaterasu sent her grandson Ninigi to rule the land upon surrender by Ōkuninushi, she gave him a mirror along with a curved jewel and a sword (see Chapter 2). She instructed Ninigi that, "This mirror represents my spirit (*mitama*). Enshrine it as you enshrine

me."[30] The mirror was then worshiped by Ninigi and successive emperors as the house for the spirit of the goddess. The emperors, it is said, became increasingly busy with the management of state affairs and were unable to perform appropriate worshiping rituals. Suinin, the tenth emperor in the mythic genealogy, decided to move the residence of the goddess to Yamato and, with her permission, built a shrine on the river of Isuzu in the province of Ise. There she would reside and be worshiped, while in the court a smaller, "private" shrine for the goddess was retained. Such is the mythic origin of the Ise Shrine.[31]

During the reign of the twenty-first emperor, Yūryaku, Amaterasu was said to be complaining that she felt so lonely that she lost her appetite and wanted the deity Toyouke, the god of food, to accompany her. Upon receiving this injunction in his dream, Yūryaku promptly transferred Toyouke from Naniwa (present-day Osaka) and built a shrine for him beside that of the goddess. This is the origin of the Toyuke Shrine.[32] Attributing his victory over his political rival Prince Ōtomo to the protection of Amaterasu, Emperor Tenmu (r. 673–686) refurbished the Ise Shrine and determined that state rituals should be performed at the shrine. In the hands of Tenmu, for the first time the shrine became the space where Amaterasu was worshiped as the imperial ancestor.[33] Emperor Kanmu (r. 781–806) ordered the compiling of detailed directives on rituals and worshiping facilities at the Ise Shrine. These ritual elaborations further strengthened the connection between the imperial house and the shrine.[34]

The not particularly successful transplantation of the legal and administrative institutions of Tang China in the Nara period (710–784) and the subsequent emergence of the warrior class resulted in a decrease in the imperial institution's political power. Its claim to political authority based on a divine origin, as instantiated by its connection to the Ise Shrine, was likewise relativized. As the financial situation of the court worsened, its practice of sending imperial delegates to perform rituals at the Ise Shrine ceased in the mid-fifteenth century. Along with the eclipse of imperial power, in the late thirteenth century there arose an attempt at the Ise Shrine to articulate new forms of authority that relativized the status of Amaterasu. Applying the Chinese cosmological-philosophical and esoteric Buddhist theories, Watarai Yukitada (1236–1305), the priest of the Outer Shrine, relegated Amaterasu to a status under the Toyouke of the Outer Shrine. Watarai held that the Goddess, residing at the Inner Shrine, represented the virtue of fire from the five elements, whereas Toyouke represented the virtue of water. Water being able to overcome fire, Toyouke of the Outer Shrine possesses a superior status over the Goddess of the Inner Shrine. This theory, known as *Ise Shinto* or *Ryōbu Shinto*, was widely accepted and had enormous theoretical influence through the medieval period (1185–1600).[35] Entering the Tokugawa period (1600–1867), Amaterasu was further relativized. The first Shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), was apotheosized by his successors after his death. The emperors, whose finance was completely dependent upon the mercy of the Shogun, were forced to delegate envoys to visit the Illuminating Shrine in the East (*Tōshōgū*) where Ieyasu was buried, at the same time as the Shogun revived the visits to Ise by imperial delegates. By implementing simultaneously the visits by the emperor's envoys to both *Tōshōgū* and Ise, the bakufu attempted to show equivalence of the status of *Tōshōgū* of the East,

and the Ise Shrine of the West—and, by extension, the equality between the imperial house and the Tokugawa house.[36]

During the Tokugawa period, the Ise Shrine became known among the general populace for the first time. Like their Izumo counterparts, Ise preachers (*onshi*) preached the divine power of the Ise gods through networks of confraternities and pilgrimages to the shrine. While it became one of the most popular shrines in early modern Japan, people visited not out of veneration for the imperial ancestor but rather for practical concerns like praying for good harvest and personal well-being. For many people, the Ise Shrine was only one stop on a circular tour of popular tourist sites, including the city of Edo and the *Tōshōgū* at Nikko. The Ise Shrine of the Tokugawa period was sustained by vast networks of confraternities and popular pilgrimages rather than by political patronage from either the bakufu or the imperial court.[37] As introduced in Chapter 1, unlike the Izumo Shrine, which since the early seventeenth century had been constructing a form of authority based on an explicit Shinto identity, at the Ise Shrine the paradigm of Buddha-as-essence versus the kami-as-trace remained the rule structuring both practices and discourses. This did not change even after Amaterasu's emergence to cosmo-political prominence in the discourses of Mito Confucians and Kokugaku scholar Okuni Takamasa in the final decades of the Tokugawa period.[38]

The Ise Shrine came to political prominence as a Shinto shrine only after the Meiji Restoration. This change was part of the post-Restoration nationalization of Shinto shrines and the priesthood, but the initiative for reform came first from the Ise Shrine itself rather than from the government. The head priest of the Outer Shrine, Motoda Naoki, proposed to the government in the third month of 1869 to reform the Ise Shrine. Central to his proposal was elevating Amaterasu above the god Toyouke and the installment of a single priest-official hierarchy to take charge of the administration of the two-shrine complex, which was to be unified by the name *Ise Jingū*, indicating prioritization of Amaterasu over the god Toyouke.[39] Reflecting this elevation, Emperor Meiji, for the first time in history, visited the shrine in the third month of 1869, followed by three more visits through his life, accentuating the emperor's divine origin and the imperial authority derived therein. The hereditary head priest Fujinami lineage was abolished; the government appointed the imperial prince Konoe Tadafusa as the new head priest-official. Landholdings of the shrine were confiscated, and newly appointed priest-officials started to receive salaries; confraternities and the *onshi* preachers were disbanded.[40] The Council of State renamed the Ise Shrine's "talisman of purification" previously distributed by onshi preachers as "talisman of the Ise Shrine" (*jingū taima*) and requested that local officials distribute these now politicized symbolic items.[41]

Nationalization meant emphasizing the shrine's connection to the imperial house and reshaping it to be the focal point of the state-sponsored liturgical and propagation system. Despite some seeming prominence, however, the status of Amaterasu in the restored imperial polity remained unclarified and ambiguous in the early Meiji years. In 1871, a question emerged as to how to arrange Amaterasu in alignment with the thesis of the Unity of Ritual and Rule, thereby giving institutional expression to the imperial authority that grounded the Meiji polity. At one end of the spectrum of arguments was the proposal submitted by the House of the Left at the end of 1871,

as shown in Chapter 4. It argued that the absolute, divine authority of the emperor should be demonstrated by a set of centralized institutions, including a "Divine Hall" (*shinden*) for Amaterasu in the imperial palace, in front of which state affairs would be decided.[42] At the same time, the three regalia (mirror, sword, and curved jewel) that symbolized the emperor's divine right to rule should be unified in the imperial palace with the emperor. This meant moving the Ise Shrine to the new capital, Tokyo, so as to be united with the smaller Ise Shrine in the palace. In a similar vein, Fukuba Bisei of the Ministry of Ritual proposed abolishing the Ministry itself and moving the rituals to the imperial palace to be performed by the emperor so that the Unity of Ritual and Rule could be authentically realized.[43] The notion to move the shrine into the imperial palace was echoed by Urata Chomin, the most active priest of the Ise Shrine.[44]

The resultant arrangement in the imperial palace was a compromise between these proposals. In the third month of 1872, three halls for worshiping the trio of the kami (Amaterasu, the imperial ancestral spirits, and the myriad gods), known in Japanese as *gūchū sanden*, were established within the palace without the construction of a Divine Hall or the transfer of the Goddess from Ise. Local imperial loyalists at the Ise and Atsuta Shrines, the latter of which enshrined the sword, protested the proposed transfer in late 1871, which discouraged the move. A political model resembling theocracy, which would be confirmed by the establishment of a Divine Hall, was also opposed by leaders like Kido Takayoshi, who disliked Shinto priests' enthusiasm in promoting the divine status of the emperor and was more interested in presenting the emperor as a politically engaged, public figure on the model of a modern monarch.[45]

After the Ministry of Doctrine was established and confraternities were allowed to be revived in March 1872, it became clear that retaining the Goddess at the Ise Shrine was a better choice because with a great number of followers the shrine provided an effective institutional channel for implementing the propagation program. The priests of the shrine itself saw that the propagation program provided a public channel for expansion nationwide. In January 1873, Urata, after being appointed junior head priest of the shrine, gave up his pro-transfer proposal and petitioned that the Goddess *not* be transferred to the imperial palace. Instead, he spearheaded the proactive expansion of the shrine's preaching institutes (*Jingū kyōkai* 神宮教会), based on the framework of Ise confraternities revived as *aikoku kōsha* 愛国講社, with the goal of transforming the propagation program into a national network centering on Amaterasu under the dominance of the Ise Shrine. While the government attempted to unify the Shinto priest-instructors by consolidating the west and east divisions into a single Shinto instructor system in January 1873, the formal unity could not conceal the lack of a unified Shinto. The government in early 1876 again divided the priesthood, this time into three branches. Senge was appointed superintendent of the first branch, and the Ise priest-instructors were required to affiliate with any of the three. Predictably, the Ise priests simply ignored the order. In October, the Ministry had to establish the fourth branch and appoint Tanaka Yoritsune, the new Ise head priest, to be its super-intendent. The Shinto priest-instructors thus remained divided.

As was the case for the Izumo Shrine, the propagation program under the Ministry of Doctrine provided the context for the reorganization and expansion of the Ise Shrine. All priests of the shrine were appointed doctrinal instructors in July 1872.

Three months later, the Jingū Teaching Institute (*Jingū kyōin* 神宮教院) was created at Ise to function as the propagation headquarters of the Ise Shrine, although it had a more ambitious goal of serving as the venue for "doctrinal study for people from across the nation."[46] The Institute's major strategy for propagation was reorganizing the confraternities formed in the early modern period and expanding them by bringing in more followers. Confraternity then functioned as the institutional mode, now legalized by the government for preaching the Three Standards of Instruction, by which the shrine could expand. By 1875, confraternities (*kōsha*) organized by the Ise Shrine exceeded a thousand nationwide. They were administered in more than ten regional churches (*bunkyōkai*), each serving also as a worshiping center completed with a Hall of Worshiping [Amaterasu] from Afar (*yōhaiden*).[47]

When the Ministry of Doctrine recognized the disparity between its goal and that of the confraternities, it tried to dovetail the preaching of the Three Standards with the operation of confraternities. On the one hand, it required confraternities to "abide by the Three Standards." On the other, it also confirmed the purposes of confraternities by asking members to "support each other in times of fortune, disaster, disease and difficulty."[48] That these goals did not match was betrayed by the conflicts generated in the expansion of "propagation" of the Ise Shrine. In 1873, the Ministry of Finance requested of the Council of State the authority to license confraternities, an authority otherwise held by the Ministry of Doctrine, because

> Recently the Ise Shrine advocated confraternities, … organized corporations (*kaisha*), which naturally go against the laws of government and interfere with public financial circulation. They are just using the name of corporation to raise funds, repeating the old practices of fattening their own pockets with money taken from others.[49]

The response of the Ise Shrine, on the other hand, emphasized the connectedness of the welfare of confraternity and the implementation of popular propagation:

> Confraternity members come from such occupations as agriculture, industry, and commerce. It is then in the interest of the nation that members support each other and make their undertakings thrive. If businesses and similar organizations are banned, we won't achieve the result of propagating patriotism … We receive no money to fund the propagation. If not by relying on members' contribution to the confraternity, how can we maintain the teaching institutes and teach the populace?[50]

Besides involving in financial transactions, doctrinal instructors of the Ise Shrine came into conflict with locally organized confraternities, betraying the shrine's goal to penetrate new areas, which superseded the goal of indoctrinating the populace with the Three Standards of Instruction. In one case, the confrontation between Ise priest-instructors and the local group of mountain ascetic practices in Mie Prefecture broke into violent fighting, causing one death and dozens of arrests.[51] The Ministry of Doctrine had to rein in the multi-front expansion of the Ise Shrine. In September 1873, the government temporarily confiscated Ise confraternities' talismans, demanding confraternities' disassociation from the Ise churches.[52] In early 1876 the

state rejected Ise Shrine's repeated petitions to change the "Hall of Worshiping from Afar" (*yōhaiden*) built in various prefectures first to "Ise Shrine in the Distance" (*yōgū*) and then to "Branch Shrine [of Ise]" (*bunsha*). The Ise Shrine could not be allowed to transform itself from a propagation organ of the state into a national network of shrines independent of the government and therefore hard to control.

Its expansion brought the Ise Shrine into competition with the Izumo Shrine. The prelude to this emerging competition was the Ise Shrine's development of a doctrine for its confraternities. It consolidated a theological doctrine of Amaterasu that mirrored the doctrine of the Izumo Shrine by reworking the Shinto discourses of Hirata, Mutobe, and Okuni Takamasa. This doctrinal consolidation was a direct response to the need to attract followers into the Ise confraternities (not the Izumo confraternities) rather than to preach the Three Standards of Instruction. The power of Amaterasu was emphasized to respond to everyday requests of Ise followers as well as the questions of death and the afterlife; the status of the Goddess as the divine ancestor of the imperial house was not emphasized. Among the popular preaching tracts issued by the shrine was *True Record of Divine Judgment* (*Shinpan kijitsu*) (1874) in twelve volumes. As indicated by its title, the tract devotes more than half of its pages to expounding the blissful world of the afterlife wherein one unifies with the kami, while at the same time emphasizing the efficacy resulting from worshiping Amaterasu and the local tutelary kami (*ubusuna no kami*): quick treatment of diseases, relief from poverty, longevity, safe birth, and safety from various kinds of disaster.[53]

The doctrinal orientation toward personal concerns of confraternities of the Ise Shrine is best indicated by the preface to its *Internal Regulations of Ise Confraternities* (*Kōsha naiki*).

> Behold! Life and death are beyond humans' control. However you desire a child, it won't come if it is not coming. However eagerly you long for longevity, death can't be delayed or avoided. While you think the body is yours, it does not follow your wishes. If you carefully think about the reasons, it will become clear to you that life and death of humans are controlled by the kami from the invisible world.[54]

That kami, needless to say, is Amaterasu. That's why "anybody entering the Ise confraternity should first of all live a life of repaying the benevolence of the imperial ancestor Amaterasu the Great Kami." Along the same lines, the 1877 Ise tract *Guide to Shinto* explicated, "Human spirits, devoted to repaying the benevolence of Amaterasu, will go to her prestigious palace [in the sun, i.e., heaven] at the end of their life and enjoy endless happiness. Failing to do so will end up with their going to the filthy yomi world to suffer forever."[55]

It is in the production of a salvation theory focusing on Amaterasu rather than Ōkuninushi that we start to see the beginning of competition between the Izumo and Ise Shrines. In 1877, Urata Chomin published his three-volume *The Fundamental Meaning of the Great Way* (*Daidō hongi*). The following year, however, the new Ise head priest Tanaka Yoritsune ordered the print block of the work be destroyed and forced Urata to leave office because in the text Ōkuninushi figured explicitly as the lord of the world of the afterlife. In 1873 Tanaka himself wrote a popular explication text of

the Three Standards of Instruction, *Sanjō engi*, affirming the Izumo god Ōkuninushi as the kami of creation and of blessing and the judge of departed human spirits—that is, a kami at the apex of the Shinto pantheon. But by 1877, after being appointed the head priest of the Ise Shrine in 1875, he had determined to purge Ōkuninushi from the Ise Shrine so as not to preach in Ise confraternities a doctrine in which the power of Amaterasu was compromised by Ōkuninushi.[56]

Then, just like the Izumo Shrine, the expansion of the Ise Shrine exposed a series of tensions and ambiguities that marked the propagation program under the direction of the Ministry of Doctrine. The program depended on the revived confraternities, which competed with each other for expansion even though they were supposed to preach in concert one single Shinto doctrine. The goals of the state and the confraternities were at odds with each other. The government's political goal was also undermined by the daily-life demands of confraternity members such as exorcism, faith-healing, fortune-telling, fundraising, and mutual help. To give another example, Tanaka Yoritsune established a new Ise teaching institute in Yamagata Prefecture in 1877. The thousand yen he spent in doing so came from prayer service provided to local people suffering from an outbreak of cholera.[57] These discrepancies prevented the plan of the state to unify Shinto as its ideological apparatus. The government's repeated unifying efforts failed to change the decentralized state of Shinto. At the center of these ambiguities and tensions was Amaterasu, which remained a floating signifier without semantic or institutional anchoring. As demonstrated by the activities of the Ise Shrine, the ambiguous status of Amaterasu was betrayed by a plurality of competing definitions: the savior of humans, the sun, a protective deity, and the imperial ancestor, all of which remained unlinked to definitions of political principles that legitimize the state and create the nation. Defining Amaterasu remained an issue for the Meiji government, which would become acute when the escalating conflict between the Izumo Shrine and the Ise Shrine foregrounded the need to fix the ideological and institutional position of Amaterasu.

## Competition in the Office of Shinto Affairs

In response to Shimaji Mokurai's charge that the government was mixing religion with governance and to Shin Pure Land Buddhists' withdrawal from the propagation program in 1875, the Meiji government announced doctrinal instructors, including Shinto priests, as religious people who were granted autonomy and political protection for them to preach the Three Standards of Instruction. This announcement was meant to institute a formal separation between religion and governance while at the same time continuing the project of popular propagation centering on the kami. This formal separation, however, brought new ambiguities to the already fuzzy existence of Shinto. As pointed out in Chapter 4, first of all, the identity of Shinto priests became ambiguous. In 1871, the Meiji government proclaimed Shinto priests state liturgists and preachers in accordance with the thesis of Unity of Ritual and Rule (*saisei itchi*) and the Unity of Rule and Propagation (*seikyō itchi*); now the official, paid liturgist capacity was juxtaposed with priests' newly gained "private" identity as unpaid, religious doctrinal instructors.[58]

Another equally troubling ambiguity was the kami itself. The Ministry defined the Three Standards, which included revering the kami as an administrative matter that was distinguished from the respective doctrines of the Buddhist and Shinto religious people. The category of the kami then became both political/administrative and religious, as most Shinto confraternities anchored their doctrines on the kami. The ambivalence in the meaning of the kami raised fundamental questions as to the nature of Amaterasu. In other words, the "separation" of religion and governance in 1875 brought to the fore the ambiguities of Shinto in the conceptual and institutional context of religion, propagation (for nation-building), and the imperial authority. As such, the "separation" only turned Shinto into a new area of dispute sustained by the question of how to re-organize the Shinto pantheon in order to preach the imperial authority in the context of the national shrine ritual-doctrinal system, on the one hand, and Shinto as "religion" separated from the state, on the other. It is within the context of these ambivalences that the rivalry between the Izumo and the Ise Shrines evolved into a debate that required intervention by the Meiji state. The debate endangered the state's ultimate ideological foundation: the authority of the imperial ancestor Amaterasu.

The termination of the joint propagation program in 1875, in tandem with the "separation" of governance from religion, marked the end of an explicitly state-led popular propagation program that started in 1868. Popular propagation, on the other hand, remained a necessary project of the state, albeit one to be enacted by "religious" doctrinal instructors with indirect direction from the government. Treating Buddhist and Shinto priests as one category, the Meiji government nevertheless created a difficult situation for itself in terms of policies toward Shinto shrines and priests because they now assumed mutually exclusive political and religious identities. As a result, the government after 1875 wavered between direct management and nonintervention, which reflected ongoing struggles within the government between pro- and anti-Shinto forces.

Consequently, although the Office of Shinto Affairs (*Shinto jimukyoku* 神道事務局) was established in March 1875 as a "religious" propagation institution, the government continued to regulate Shinto priest-instructors. After its efforts to unify the Shinto instructors under one single organization failed, the Ministry of Doctrine in January 1876 divided Shinto instructors into three divisions. Senge and two others were appointed superintendents, and subsequently a fourth division was added in October to accommodate the Ise instructors; Tanaka Yoritsune was appointed its superintendent. Furthermore, in September 1877, the Ministry of the Imperial House donated 1,000 yen to fund the operation of the Office, further blurring the line between the state and the "religious" Shinto instructors.[59] The status of the Office of Shinto Affairs was never officially clarified. Among the Shinto priesthood, this policy ambivalence contributed to confusion in terms of the Shinto-state relationship and escalated the debate between Izumo and Ise. The rivalry between Izumo and Ise in fighting for control of the Office, along with their competition to convert more people to their confraternities-churches, was waged in the liminal area between the political and the religious.

In response to the impending termination of joint propagation and the closing of the Daikyōin Institute, five top-level Shinto instructors, including Tanaka Yoritsune,

established the Office of Shinto Affairs in March 1875. Without funding from the government, Shinto priest-instructors of national and provincial shrines earmarked money from their shrine budgets and donated it to create the Office. But the money raised was not enough, and the construction was delayed. At prefectural and local levels, teaching institutes were less of a problem: instructors had used shrines or temples for public preaching. The local shrine-based teaching institutes were, after 1875, renamed branches of the Office of Shinto Affairs (*jimu bunkyoku*). The Ise Shrine's branch office in Hibiya district of Tokyo offered a piece of land for building the Office so that the construction of the Divine Hall, the central component of the Office, was able to finally start in 1878.[60]

The delay was further caused by conflicting opinions on the layout and style of the architecture. Tanaka made no attempt to hide his ambition to subject all other shrines to his will and be the unchallenged leader of the Office. Even though they resented his overbearing exercise of power, Shinto priest-instructors were financially weak, in contrast to the well-off Ise Shrine, which reduced their resistance to Tanaka's pursuit for leadership.[61] Financially, the Konpira Shrine in Shikoku was second only to the Ise Shrine, and it donated 20,000 yen for the rebuilding of the burned-down Daikyōin in 1874. (In comparison, the Ise Shrine donated 30,000 yen and the Izumo Shrine donated 1,000 yen.)[62] Yet the Konpira Shrine was not in a position to compete with the Ise Shrine due to its lack of national influence both doctrinally and politically.[63] When announcing the purpose of the Office, Tanaka made it clear that the Ise Shrine would lead the mission of converting the populace with a doctrine centering on Ise:

> The Ise Shrine is the head and origin of all shrines and it is the shrine on which the life of each and every person, high or low, depends. As the foundation of Shinto, Ise Shrine will unify all shrines as one and bring the ten thousand teachings of the gods back to the single source. … We [the Shinto priesthood] will support each other and exert ourselves so that our goals [of propagation and reviving Shinto] can be accomplished.[64]

The ambition of the Ise Shrine actually went beyond controlling the Office itself. In August 1877, in the midst of the slow construction of the Shinto Office, two Ise priest-instructors submitted to the government a proposal advising that all Shinto shrines be placed under the complete control of the Ise Shrine. The proposal first pointed to the inconsistencies in government policy where different parts of Shinto were administered by different government offices: shrine rituals by the Rituals' Bureau (*shikibu ryō*) in the Ministry of Imperial Household; Shinto doctrinal instructors and national and provincial shrines by the Bureau of Temples and Shrines (*shajikyoku*) in the Ministry of the Interior (after the abolishment of the Ministry of Doctrine in January 1877); shrines at sub-provincial levels by local governments; and doctrinal affairs of Shinto instructors by the four regional superintendents.[65] These inconsistencies jeopardized Shinto's ability to perform the tasks of ritual performance and propagation and wasted the government's money. These inconsistencies, the proposal argued, arose from the lack of an overall leadership. It thereby proposed to unify leadership of Shinto by placing all shrines under the single administration of the Ise Shrine, which itself was to be under the direct leadership of the Council of State. The

Ise Shrine's administrative power would include management of rituals of all shrines and management of all shrine affairs, including the appointment and retirement of priests. At the same time, the Jingu Teaching Institute (*Jingū kyōin* 神宮教院) would be charged with the administration of the national propagation program by managing Shinto instructors in all four regions. This arrangement, the proposal further argued, could not only save the government 100,000 yen annually but would realize clear-cut separation of religion (i.e., doctrinal instructors) and the state per European custom. Shinto doctrinal instructors could then unify themselves in guiding the populace to support the imperial rule.[66]

The proposal offered the financial resources of the Ise Shrine to ease the government's chronic fiscal problem, and the government was reliant upon Amaterasu enshrined at the Ise Shrine for political legitimacy. But the government was nevertheless not ready to agree to the Ise Shrine's version of religion-state separation as it resembled what Shimaji had critiqued as mixing religion (the propagation program) with the state. In any case, the government was by no means ready to give up control of Shinto shrines as state ritual institutions. Enshrining the imperial ancestor yet operating on a logic at odds with the imperatives of the state, the Ise Shrine was a complicated kind of social and ideological force that the government wanted to domesticate so as to use it for building an imperial nation as defined by the government. In December 1877, without heeding Ise's proposal, the government renewed its management of Shinto shrines. It announced a newly designed salary scheme for priests of national and provincial shrines who were called "government officials" (*shokuin-kan* 職員官), to replace the previous five-year-old scheme, which was devised before the abolition of domains and was set in silver taels (*ryō*) rather than yen.[68] Shrine priests of sub-provincial levels remained unpaid and financially dependent upon services rendered to local people such as funeral rituals. This new policy, however, did not clear the ambiguity of those administrative inconsistencies to which the Ise Shrine's proposal pointed. As such, this ambiguity sustained the political ambitions of both the Ise Shrine and the Izumo Shrine and pitted them against each other.

As we have seen, the Meiji Restoration inspired political ambition in the Izumo Shrine, the head priest of which visited the new capital of Tokyo as early as 1869 in search of political recognition. This ambition translated into Senge Takatomi's aspiration for leadership in the Shinto propagation program after 1872 and manifested in his strategy of proposing to co-enshrine Ōkuninushi in the Divine Hall of the Daikyōin Institute in 1873. After the Daikyōin was shut down in May 1875, Senge continued demanding co-enshrinement in the Office of Shinto Affairs. Although the actual transfer did not take place until as late as April 1880, Shinto priests started planning the transfer of the four kami (Ame-no-minaka-nushi, the two musubi gods, and Amaterasu) from the Divine Hall of the Daikyōin Institute to that of the Office of Shinto Affairs in 1875. At that time, Senge Takatomi proposed at an Office meeting that Ōkuninushi be co-enshrined with the four kami.[69] This proposal, however, met strong opposition from Tanaka Yoritsune. Senge presented another proposal to the Office in July 1878 and did so again in July 1879, yet both times his proposals were turned down at meetings of the Office, which were dominated by Tanaka. Tanaka's opposition reflects the Ise Shrine's perception that Senge's proposal posed a threat

to its ambitious drive for unrivaled leadership of the national propagation program. This leadership needed to be affirmed not only through controlling the administrative affairs of the Office but by securing a doctrine that guaranteed the unchallenged supreme status of Amaterasu as defined by the Ise Shrine. In 1877, Tanaka had shown his hostility toward the Izumo Shrine by destroying Urata Chomin's explication text, which contained an extensive treatment of Ōkuninushi.

Senge's co-enshrinement proposals of course meant demanding that the Office, and eventually the state, adopt a Shinto discourse that centered on Ōkuninushi. Tracing its origin to Hirata Atsutane, this discourse remained committed to an imagined Shinto communal order wherein gods and humans, life and death are unified in a comprehensive cosmological totality. Under the control of the Satsuma group, in 1873, the Ministry of Doctrine sought to combine this totalistic Shinto ideology with the imperatives of Civilization and Enlightenment: the modern discourse of religion brought about by Shimaji disqualified this attempt in 1875. Senge's proposal represented renewed efforts to realize this cosmological totalistic ideology. His proposal of July 1878 made this clear:

> The primal god Ame-no-minaka-nushi and the two musubi gods are the origin of all lives. … Amaterasu rules the heaven, illuminating the six directions. … Our unbroken imperial line embodies the boundless divine mission and forms the basis of our national body (*kokutai*). For this reason, it is the duty of the nation to revere the four gods and be devoted to public good. However, Ōkuninushi was entrusted to rule the Invisible World when the Visible and the Invisible Worlds were distinguished. It is on this distinction that our people can rely for their lives in this world and after death. This is the key to our teaching—to tell our people what to believe and to trust. They will know to follow the emperor in the Visible World and Ōkuninushi in the Invisible World. They will know that this divinely created distinction was meant for life and death to be unified into one.[70]

Both the Ise Shrine and the Izumo Shrine were indispensable for the Office of Shinto Affairs, yet neither was willing to compromise. The debilitating effect of the internal disunity of the Office started to cause concern not only for the priests in the Office but for priests far from the capital of Tokyo. A priest in Gifu Prefecture, Kagitani Ryūo, wrote to the Office journal *Kaichi shimbun* in March 1879 lamenting this situation:

> There are a lot of knowledgeable and capable people among our 16,000 Shinto doctrinal instructors but we see little flourishing of our national doctrine (*kokkyō*). Why? … I heard that recently Shinto has entered a situation of two competing schools. While I have no idea what these two schools refer to, I think if this leads to a partisan breakup and each school forms a faction, this would be like the crane and the clam.[71]

The author then called for unity of Shinto instructors. When instructors could share good and bad fortunes, Kagitani proposed, Shinto would achieve the mission of propagation and further realize overseas propagation and the resistance of Christianity.[72] It is noticeable that even while Kagitani expressed a strong sense of identification with Shinto and with the propagation program, he admitted his ignorance of the details

of the escalating disagreements in the Office of Shinto Affairs; he even did not refer to the names *Ise* and *Izumo*. In other words, while he self-identified with Shinto and called for its unity, what constituted Shinto was nevertheless unclear for him. Indeed, Kagitani personified a situation where the basic question—what is Shinto?—was at the center of the Izumo-Ise disputation.

## What is Shinto?

In the first three years of the Meiji period, the definition of Shinto seemed self-evident. Buddhism was singled out to be the defiled, corrupt, and foreign Other against which Shinto, or the Way of the Kami, took on an unambiguously pure and indigenous identity, concretized by the architecture of shrines (*vis-à-vis* temples), the Shinto death ritual (*vis-à-vis* Buddhist funeral), and the discourse of the kami (*vis-à-vis* the Buddhist divinity). After the anti-Buddhist tide receded, what was Shinto remained clear enough, as it was explicitly adopted by the Meiji government to justify itself and to counter Christianity. Embodying Shinto as the unity of ritual, governance, and propagation (or doctrine, *kyō*) was the Department (then Ministry) of Divinity. As the pronounced ideological basis of the Meiji state, the Shinto discourse constructed in the second half of the Tokugawa period was politicized to be a doctrinal teaching to be disseminated across the archipelago, despite the fact that what this doctrine specifically consisted of was never clarified. This Shinto discourse appeared in government announcements in various expressions. In the seventh month of 1871, the Council of State announced the implementation of the "Great Teaching" (*daikyō*) through the government mission office, kicking off a state project that would continue in changing forms until 1884. Together with Shinto discourse's change into a doctrine, Shinto shrines and priests were nationalized in 1871, and became constitutive components of the new state. In the twelfth month of 1871, the proposal submitted by the House of the Left for establishing the Ministry of Doctrine, introduced in Chapter 4, referred to this doctrine of the kami as the "Divine Teaching" (*shinkyō*). In these early years, the undistinguished twin goals of legitimating the new polity and countering the ideological threat of Christianity dominated political imagination and policy formation. Shinto was largely conceived in contrast with Christianity, a doctrine predicated on the exclusive belief in a supreme divine being. The Shinto funeral was an attendant strategy aimed to prevent this belief. On the other hand, "religion" was not yet a notion of political significance, and its appearance was restricted in treaties without impact on domestic policies.

Fighting for Buddhism's autonomy, in 1872–3, Shimaji Mokurai mobilized the modern category of religion to critique the ostensibly joint propagation program. In so doing, Shimaji produced a historically unprecedented and politicized definition of Shinto. Here, Shinto was not a religion but a set of rituals directed to the imperial ancestors, or simply the imperial state itself. This definition essentially rearranged the ways in which Shinto was conceived. Previously undifferentiated from either the state or the imperial institution, Shinto became a discrete entity, to be discussed in distinction from and in relation to the imperial institution and the Meiji state.

According to this new definition, Shinto was definitely not a religion, even if some "Shinto teachers" misguidedly tried to create "private" theories to develop Shinto into a religion. Shimaji's Shinto-politicizing definition quickly gained ground among Shinto priests because it suggested their identification with the state. This definition was echoed by priests in the Shinto-promoting magazine *Kyōgi shimbun* 教義新聞, published by the Ministry of Doctrine. In the August 1874 issue, an article entitled "Treating Shinto as a Religion (*shūkyō*) Will Defile the Imperial House" argues that Shinto refers to rituals commemorating imperial ancestors and human souls that made contributions to the state and the people. If these spirits were treated as religion and subjected to choice of belief or disbelief, the imperial house and the state itself would be defiled, and Shinto degraded to a religion of miscellaneous gods (*zasshinkyō*) in no way competitive in power and authority with the monotheistic religions of Christianity and Buddhism.[73] The author was concerned with the absolute authority of the imperial house being relativized by the religious status of Shinto. Here religion was primarily understood as a belief in one single divine being. This belief was relative, and therefore a matter of choice, in contrast to the absolute nature of the imperial authority.

On the other hand, this argument did not engage the question of Shinto as a doctrine (*kyō*) that was being preached nationwide through Shinto confraternities, many of which were calling themselves "churches" (*kyōkai*)—a Meiji neologism resembling Christianity. While Shimaji's goal was to disqualify Shinto as a doctrine so as to make room for Buddhism, this goal was not shared by Shinto priests and the pro-Shinto people in the government. Indeed, in the government the sense of need for the Shinto doctrine remained strong. In as late as May 1874, the leading figures of the government—Deputy Grand Minister (*udaijin*) Iwakura Tomomi, State Councilor and Minister of the Interior Ōkubo Toshimichi, State Councilor and Minister of Foreign Affairs Terajima Munenori (1832–93), and State Councilor and Minister of Justice Ōki Takatō (1832–99)—showed their support for establishing Shinto as the doctrine of the state.[74] In Chapter 4, we saw how the bureaucrat of the Ministry of Doctrine, Yoshida Jirō, proposed to cut the government's support for sectarian groups, including Shinto ones, and grant them autonomy. The idea was that, if pressed to work hard for their survival, these organizations could eventually grow strong enough to resist Christianity, which the government could not blatantly ban by force. Yoshida was responding to Shimaji's demand for the freedom of sectarian groups or religions. By categorizing Shinto and Buddhism together, he defined Shinto as a religion. This definition, however, failed to clarify the relationship between the Shinto sectarian groups, doctrine, and shrines and rituals performed there. Indeed, in government announcements and communications, priests, shrines, rituals, and doctrinal instructors were dealt with separately because they were administered by different offices. While we have seen that the Ministry of Doctrine tried hard to unify the Shinto doctrinal instructors, no efforts were yet being made to sort out the relationship between these various components once placed under one single nationwide umbrella framework of "Shinto," the unity of which was embodied by the short-lived Department (Ministry) of Divinity.

In August 1877, Shinto priests tried to answer this question by adopting a new way of defining Shinto relative to the state. To answer the question of how to place

the Shinto doctrine in the new state structure, two priests of the Ise Shrine, Ochiai Naoaki and Yoshimura Masamochi, who also proposed to make the Ise Shrine the leader of Shinto, submitted a proposal to the government that applied the contemporary European policy model of tolerance. Entitled "Proposal in Establishing Shinto as a State Religion," the proposal advised following the contemporary practices of toleration in Europe and defining Shinto as a "respected religion" (尊信教 *sonshinkyō*) in contrast to all other religions, which should be categorized as "licensed religions (*menkyō shūshi* 免許宗旨)." The emperor would announce Shinto as the faith of the state and leave all other religious practices to people's choices. The two priests argued that the distinction of two kinds of religion would clarify the status of Shinto in relation to the imperial state, religion, and Buddhism and in so doing realize religious freedom and separation of the state and religion. As a result, all religions would contribute to political governance through propagation (*kyōka*): consolidating the hearts of the people, which formed the basis of a well-governed nation.[75]

The government, however, was not interested in adopting the model of tolerance. Foreign minister Terajima Munenori submitted a memo to the Council of State in December 1876 arguing that the government should never establish a religion (*shūkyō*) but should provide religious groups as much freedom as possible to maximize their roles in guiding people's moral conduct. Government should interfere only when religions start harming social order and national security.[76] In September 1879, Minister of the Interior Ito Hirobumi, who, in 1885, would become the first prime minister and lead the creation of the imperial constitution of 1889, replied to the Meiji emperor's inquiry with regard to imperial lecturer Motoda Eifu's proposal of establishing a state doctrine. Ito said that it was up to sages to establish a state doctrine (*kokkyō*)—which was not what a modern state should do.[77] Inoue Kowashi, the bureaucrat playing the lead role in drafting the Imperial Constitution, shared Ito's aversion to a state-prescribed doctrine. Instead, he was interested in reviving Confucian ethics, which he argued fit with the new times because Confucianism does not resort to the authority of divinity. It was thus not a religion, whereas religions were doomed to die in modern times. He proposed implementing a combined curriculum of Confucian ethics and study of imperial classics in school education.[78] As two figures playing major roles in designing the modern Japanese state, Ito and Inoue's arguments showed that by the late 1870s the Meiji government was engaging the question of how to relate the Shinto propagation program to political ideology, Shinto rituals and shrines, national education, religion, and the political principle of religion-state separation. As will be shown later, these arguments were precursors to the subsequent larger project of combining a constitutional political structure with the divine authority of the imperial institution.

In the late 1870s, then, what counted as Shinto remained a question for which no answer was found. The doctrine itself became bifurcated as the contention between the Izumo Shrine and the Ise Shrine developed. Institutionally, shrines and confraternities were in competition with each other, jeopardizing the mission of propagation. How Shinto priests could be government officials as liturgist and also serve in the private religious status as doctrinal instructors, many of whom used shrines as sites of state rituals for propagation activities, was a question that was not answered. At the

same time, the idea not just of religion-state separation but also of religious freedom entered discussions about the status of Shinto, contributing to the ambiguous status of the various heterogeneous components encompassed under the term "Shinto."

Needless to say, it was Shinto priest-instructors themselves who were most acutely troubled by this ambiguous status. A priest wrote to the Office's journal *Kaichi shimbun* on July 26, 1878, to express his disenchantment with what he saw as a shattered and disorganized Shinto, a feeling echoed by many similar letters in the journal:

> The imperial court in the seventh month of 1868 appointed missionaries (*senkyōshi*) to illuminate the great Way of humans and to teach the populace to revere the kami and follow the court so that they could be unified for realizing the prosperity of the restored imperial rule. Then the government reorganized propagation and promulgated the Three Standards of Instruction to teach our people so that they understood the principle of the Unity of Ritual and Rule. However, in the eleventh month of 1872, the Ministry of Divinity was abolished and the Ministry of Doctrine was established, under the leadership of which our Way, having never been a religious teaching, was nevertheless grouped under the title 'various Shinto sects' just like a religion. By this day, even the names of Unity of Ritual and Rule and the Unity of Rule and Propagation (*seikyō itchi*) have lapsed into oblivion. Corresponding to changes of time, Shinto differentiated; and the confraternities organized at various shrines started to preach like Buddhists. They arose out of the purpose of resisting the foreign religion [Christianity] but as a result Shinto became shattered and disorganized, in no way capable of providing a determined direction to our people.[79]

## The Enshrinement Debate

As what constituted Shinto remained an unanswered question, disputes between Izumo and Ise in the Office of Shinto Affairs escalated, involving more and more priest-instructors in the Tokyo area. The director of the Tokyo branch of the Office, Motoori Toyokai, was the great grandson of Motoori Norinaga and a leading figure among Shinto priest-instructors. He sided with Senge from the beginning. In face of a stalemate, the indignant Motoori worked with two pro-Senge priests in June 1880 to compose an appeal entitled "Appeal for Defending the Office of Shinto Affairs." They sent it out to all Shinto priests throughout the country, calling for their support of Senge's enshrinement proposal.[80] The Izumo-Ise disagreements within the Office thus escalated into a national debate eventually involving the entire Shinto priesthood. Within days, letters flooded in from all parts of the country. While some tried to mediate between the two stances, the majority supported Senge. Dominated by Tanaka, however, the Office ignored the letters backing Senge. Many letters were also sent to the Bureau of Temples and Shrines of the Ministry of the Interior. With more and more instructors taking sides and waging fierce attacks against each other, two factions took shape, and the Shinto priesthood became vehemently divided.[81]

While Motoori appealed to the public opinion of the priesthood, Senge sought political support. In June, Senge met with Deputy Grand Minister Iwakura Tomomi, who despite being consistently pro-Shinto, decided not to intervene directly in the conflict. Then, in July, Senge called for a Shinto assembly to be convened in mid-August to discuss the doctrinal and administrative issues of the Office.[82] Knowing an assembly would lead to the adoption of Senge's proposal of enshrining Ōkuninushi, the Ise faction resisted his call and further removed Motoori from his post. Seeing no hope of having his proposal adopted, Senge in August expressed his intention to withdraw from the Office and begin independent propagation.[83]

Apparently in hopes of retaining the Shinto propagation, Iwakura Tomomi ordered Sakurai Yoshikata (?–1898), director of the Bureau of Temples and Shrines of the Ministry of the Interior, to mediate the conflict.[84] This gave Sakurai difficulty because he had previously argued that the Bureau had no authority to interfere in the internal business of the independent Office of Shinto Affairs. This was because while the Ministry of Doctrine had explicit authority in judging doctrinal issues, that authority was not included in the charter of its successor, the Bureau of Temples and Shrines in the Ministry of the Interior. Now pressed by Iwakura's order, Sakurai had to make a U-turn, arguing that the Bureau did completely succeed to the authority of the Ministry and so was authorized to intervene in the enshrinement debate.[85] Of course, Sakurai's change did not reveal him to be a bureaucrat of low caliber, as argued by one historian of Shinto, but exposed the ambiguous status of the Office of Shinto Affairs, which straddled the shifting boundary between the political and the religious.[86] By late September, Sakurai had worked out a mediation plan: first, a prince was to be invited to be the director of the Office, with Senge and Tanaka as deputy directors; second, it provided a revised enshrinement scheme, adding Ninigi, Ōkuninushi, Izanami, and Izanagi to the original four kami; third, an assembly was to be convened at which instructors would vote on the proposed enshrinement scheme and decide on administrative issues. By bringing in a member of the imperial house, the plan maintained Shinto's connection with the state. Seeing the name Ōkuninushi included, Senge and the Izumo priests agreed. A letter of invitation was then sent from the Minister of the Interior to the prince.[87]

The Ise faction, however, was not ready to accept this arrangement. On September 21, claiming sickness, Tanaka resigned from the position of deputy director; for some reason, the prince declined the invitation to be the director. Then, a month later, the Ise faction waged a fiercer retaliation. On October 20, Shishino Nakaba, the priest who organized the Mount Fuji confraternities into the Fusō Church (*Fusō kyōkai*) in 1876 and stood in staunch support of Ise, challenged Senge to a public debate on doctrines. The following day, the Ise priest Yoshimura Masamochi issued the same challenge—another Ise priest, Murata Kiyonori, joined in on the 23rd. The Ministry of the Interior made the effort to suppress this radical move so that Senge could go back to Izumo on the 27th to perform the official ritual of offering rice to the imperial ancestors (*niinamesai*).[88]

To prevent further escalation of the conflict, the government decided to step in during late December. Although it justified its intervention by presenting the debate as an administrative rather than ideological or religious issue, the ambiguity in the

decision to intervene was notable. That is, at the same time as it expressed concerns that the enshrinement debate was jeopardizing the propagation project and hindering the operation of national and provincial shrines, it also noted that the issues in the Office of Shinto Affairs should not be solved by government order (*kanmei*).[89] A three-member investigation committee, headed by State Councilor Yamada Akiyoshi (1844–92), was appointed in November or December. The enshrinement debate then became a political event. Key for the investigation committee was of course determining which gods to enshrine. Chief investigator Yamada was well aware that the assembly would not be able to solve this problem. By late December, he had decided not to rule directly on the gods of the Office but to direct the issue beyond the Office to the symbolic center of the Meiji state, the imperial palace. At the same time, Yamada found a good way to let both sides accept his decision: to have the emperor issue an edict.[90] When on December 27 the government ordered the Shinto assembly to be convened to decide on administrative issues, Yamada shared with the Office his decision to settle the enshrinement issue by requesting an imperial edict.[91]

While eager for government support, Senge was opposed to the idea of an imperial edict. Knowing that the majority of priests were on his side, he wanted a decision through voting at the scheduled assembly and an overriding imperial edict would render the voting meaningless. He argued that the debate was among priest-instructors themselves and the government could not intervene in private religious affairs because the Office was defined by the government as such, was not established by the government but by Shinto instructors, and belonged to all Shinto doctrinal instructors.[92] Senge, however, could not deny the public character of the propagation program. Nor could he afford complete severance of connections with the state. Senge's dilemma betrays the ambiguous position of the Izumo Shrine: the authority of Ōkuninushi was articulated within the discursive context of, and in mutually constitutive relation to, the construction of imperial authority in the first place. Total renunciation of its public character entailed placing the Izumo Shrine on the opposite side of imperial authority which would risk externalization from the nation-state. Additionally, Senge could not afford to be held responsible for the failure of the Office. It took only a few days for him to decide to accept the issuance of an imperial edict. After that, the Office of Shinto Affairs arranged a meeting between Senge and Yamada Akiyoshi on January 28, 1881. Yamada wanted to let Senge know what gods the government had decided to let the Office enshrine.

The Yamada–Senge meeting brought to the fore the ambivalence of the Shinto doctrinal instructors both as part of the state and as non-state religionists, an ambivalence the government was starting to deal with. Senge argued that the officially defined religious status of doctrinal instructors precluded the state's interference in the enshrinement debate; Yamada, on the other hand, insisted on the inseparable connection between Shinto propagation, which was based on imperial classics (*kōten*), and the imperial state. Yamada indicated that, as a solution, the Office of Shinto Affairs would be required to worship from afar the trio of gods in the imperial palace; in return, Shinto doctrinal instructors could expect to be protected by the government.[93] Yamada attempted to circumvent the doctrinal conflict in the Office by directing priest-instructors to look beyond the Divine Hall of the Office to the imperial palace,

where Amaterasu, the spirits of past emperors, and the myriad kami were enshrined. Thus, the focus could be centered on the imperial pantheon with Amaterasu at the top: a pantheon that accentuated explicitly the divine and political genealogy of the emperor. Their conversation ended with a question from Senge about the government's stance on the confraternities/churches. Yamada replied that Shinto should worship the gods enshrined in the imperial palace, after which "all Shinto churches could preach the gods of their own shrines."[94]

With the government's decision known and accepted by both factions, the Shinto priest-instructor assembly was scheduled to discuss not doctrines but administrative and logistical issues of the Office. Convened in February 1881, the assembly involved Sakurai, who came to clarify Shinto priest-instructors' institutional relation with the state, as will be discussed below. The imperial decree was issued on February 23, 1881, after the assembly. It prescribes that "[the Office of Shinto Affairs] should worship from afar the gods enshrined at the Worshiping Chamber (*saisaisho*) in the imperial palace." These included Amaterasu, divinized spirits of past emperors, and the heavenly and earthly gods or the Shinto pantheon (*tenjin chigi*).[95] Thus, without announcing the defeat of Izumo, it is nevertheless clear that the government tried to unify Shinto and the various conflicting representations of Amaterasu into one single, politicized meaning: as the imperial ancestor represented in the imperial palace. As symbolized by the enshrinement of the three creation gods in the Office of Shinto Affairs, the cosmologically framed Shinto discourse was indirectly negated. Ōkuninushi was to be included in the divine trio, but as an unnamed member. By way of the imperial edict, the government was trying to transform Shinto from a doctrine, informed by an intellectual discourse, into a category of political praxis.

The imperial edict, however, did not solve but only concealed the problem on the ground. The disagreement and competition within the Office continued. As long as the competition was not regulated, the disintegration of the Office loomed ahead, and the status of Amaterasu was always ambiguous and under challenge. Previously, in December 1880, Senge had announced to the Izumo Church his determination to withdraw the Izumo followers from the Office for independent propagation in the event that the Office did not co-enshrine Ōkuninushi.[96] Izumo's secession would not only jeopardize the Shinto propagation program but would constitute an eminent ideological threat: it would mean that the Izumo Shrine was stepping out of the ideological parameters of the Office of Shinto Affairs in preaching a doctrine of Ōkuninushi that would relativize the status of Amaterasu, the very basis of imperial authority. The Izumo Shrine would move ahead with a Shinto doctrine centering on Ōkuninushi, the Great Lord upholding the divinely created land, as well as each and every Yamato soul. This ideological threat to Amaterasu was apparent to the Ise faction, which expressed that threat in their appeal to the government in October 1880: if Senge's theory of Ōkuninushi as "the great sovereign of the earth and of the Invisible World who leads the heavenly and earthly gods and passes judgment on departed human souls" was recognized, the logical conclusion would then be that "not only the imperial ancestors starting from Amaterasu but also all the gods will be put under the control of Ōkuninushi. How can this be reasonably true?"[97] Yamada promised Senge state protection of Shinto churches on condition that the Izumo

church uphold the imperial authority—but the ad hoc nature of this oral promise did not constitute a sufficient policy. The prospect of the Office of Shinto Affairs and a diverging and competing Izumo Shrine exposed the limitations of the popular propagation program. A legal arrangement had to be instituted to domesticate the potential threat of Ōkuninushi.

## Partitioning Shinto, Constituting the State

Buddhists forced the Meiji government to institute the category of religion by terminating the Buddhist-Shinto joint propagation in 1875. This resulted in the liminal status of Shinto priests as both public officials (liturgists) and private religionists (doctrinal instructors). The Meiji government did not formulate a new definition, let alone an institutional arrangement, of Shinto-state relationship, leaving the ambiguous status of Shinto priests afloat. This ambiguity remained until the time of the enshrinement debate because the government did not feel the need to separate Shinto priests' roles as state liturgists from their position as doctrinal instructors. After all, what was to be preached was a doctrine of an authority based on the agency of the kami that was expressed simultaneously through rituals. When the government decided to intervene in the enshrinement debate in late 1880, it justified its intervention by confirming Shinto instructors' connection with the state, as the argument of the Director of the Bureau of Temples and Shrines Sakurai Yoshikata showed. The chief investigator, Yamada Akiyoshi, confirmed in front of Senge the close connection of Shinto doctrinal instructors with the imperial state. The enshrinement debate, however, pressed the need to reformulate Shinto propagation's relation with the state. It was Buddhists who, intent on dissolving the doctrinal potentiality of Shinto, cashed in on the enshrinement debate to challenge the legitimacy of Shinto doctrinal instructors. Motivating their challenge were the doctrinal and financial threats that Shinto priests, as officially recognized instructors, posed to Buddhism. In consolidating Shinto confraternities, Shinto priest-instructors, particularly of the Izumo and Ise Shrines, preached a doctrine that countered the Buddhist version of salvation. Shinto priests were further granted the prerogative to perform funerals for people making the request, encroaching on the most lucrative source of income of Buddhist priests.

Buddhist scholar Shimada Mitsune (1827–1907) was best known for hosting the publication of the modern Buddhist canon, the Tripitaka, in 1884, but at this time was working as a bureaucrat in the Bureau of Temples and Shrines of the Ministry of the Interior. In January 1881, he submitted a memo to State Councilor Yamada Akiyoshi, advising the abolition of the doctrinal instructor system. The argument for the need for abolishment was based on his definition of Shinto, following that of Shimaji, as a non-religion. As Yamada argued, Shinto priests were government officials who served the state at shrines, performing the twin duties of ritual performance and doctrinal propagation. However, as the never-ceasing debate among Shinto priests showed, they had forgotten the mission of doctrinal instructors in making the populace understand the Three Standards. Furthermore, because of their assigned duty as instructors, they were unable to perform their duties, not even taking care of shrines.[98] As referred to

in the Three Standards, "Revering the Kami" (*keishin*) meant revering the ancestral gods of the imperial house and not the so-called three creation gods. Instructors were supposed to educate people about the love of the imperial gods so that they would be patriotic, but in actuality Shinto instructors were preaching "ghosts and spirits" and "invisible and visible worlds," turning the official duty of propagation into religious practices.[99] Yamada argued that Shinto priests should be released from their role as instructors and returned to their shrines to perform rituals for the state.

Shimada's proposal shows significant transfigurations in the mode in which the new idea of religion was imagined. As typified by Shimaji Mokurai, religion in the early 1870s was imagined as a sectarian doctrine (*kyō* 教), the raison d'être of which was based on its role in providing indoctrinating support for the state. By the early 1880s, it had changed into a doctrine of creeds on death and the afterlife, and about the "invisible and visible worlds." That is, there appeared a shift in emphasis from religion in terms of its public role to religion in terms of ideas or beliefs that were more personal in nature. Ideas of "religion" would continue to evolve along the line of privatization, and by the mid-1880s religion would be conceived of in contrast to social morality but particularly to public, ritual expressions of imperial authority. This transfiguration coincides with the fixing of the expression of the idea of "religion" with the Japanese term *shūkyō* 宗教. At the same time, Buddhists stuck to Shimaji's original argument that Shinto was a set of non-religious rituals of the state, not doctrines of a religious nature, so as to disqualify Shinto from any doctrinal development. A new definition of religion, provided by the Buddhists, then helped to foreground the dichotomy of ritual and doctrine. As it happened, dissecting Shinto along the lines of ritual and doctrine was a strategy of great political utility not only for the Buddhists but for the Meiji state as well.

By the same logic, the Shin Pure Land Buddhist educator Akamatsu Renjō (1841–1919) submitted a proposal to the Minister of the Interior, advising the termination of the propagation program so that Shinto priests and shrines could have an unambiguously official status to serve the state as ritualists without getting involved in doctrines. Two months later, in March, Atsumi Keien and Suzuki Eijun, also from the Shin Pure Land sect, presented a memo to the Ministry of the Interior, arguing for the necessity of abolishing the propagation program. As doctrinal instructors, they argued, Shinto priests had set up churches, organized confraternities, and performed funeral rituals. Furthermore, they devised doctrines meant to control the formless mind and preached about fortune or disaster in the Invisible World, and fate in the afterlife. By so doing, Shinto priests ended up creating a religion; the government, for its part, had to recognize them as such. As religion, Shinto became subject to choices of belief, thereby risking defiling the imperial ancestors, the revering of which should rather be properly performed through state rituals.[100] It is not difficult to see that the Buddhist argument that the Shinto propagation program was a misguided religious initiative served also to disqualify the government-sponsored Shinto funeral ritual, which threatened Buddhists' major financial source.

It is remarkable that both Buddhists and the Ise Shrine pointed to the problematic nature of the propagation program in that it potentially threatened the supreme authority of Amaterasu. For the Buddhists, however, the threat came from the

misguided attempt to preach a Shinto religious doctrine, while for the Ise Shrine the threat came from the god Ōkuninushi. Both Buddhists' and the Ise Shrine's arguments then helped the government realize that the propagation program was a problem that needed political management. In 1875, the government responded to Shimaji's definition of religion because he tied it to his campaign of secession from the joint propagation program by raising the question of the status of Buddhism in the new state. And in 1881, Shin Pure Land Buddhists argument about the potential destabilizing effect generated by the "religious" propagation program was confirmed by the persisting dispute between two factions of Shinto priest-instructors. Their argument brought to sharp focus the institutional inadequacy with regard to Shinto, which contributed to the debates among Shinto instructors. The need for institutional arrangement was further indicated by the scenario of an independent Izumo church preaching a doctrine that did not presuppose the supremacy of Amaterasu; the imperial decree of January 1881 clearly failed to domesticate this threat.

Before submitting Atsumi and Suzuki's proposal to the Minister of the Interior in April, the Director of the Bureau of Temples and Shrines, Sakurai Yoshikata, remarked that, "this is a most appropriate opinion. I think we should conduct discussions along the line as proposed." Convinced by the Shin Pure Land Buddhists' argument, Sakurai changed his opinion on the relation between propagation, Shinto, and the state. His change signified the government's adoption of a definition of religion proposed by Buddhists, and marked the start of a shift in the government's policy toward Shinto— in the direction of formulating the distinction between public ritual and private religion. Following the Buddhist arguments, the government began to differentiate doctrine from ritual in terms of the discrete categories of religion and the state.

In July 1881, Minister of the Interior Matsukata Masayoshi proposed to Grand Minister of State Sanjo Sanemi that although the imperial decree and appointment of an imperial prince as the director of the Office of Shinto Affairs could put the Office in order, in future, management of the Office doctrine (*kyōgi*), research (*gakuji*), and rituals (*saigi*) had to be separated because mixing politics (*sei*) with doctrine (*kyō*) results in administrative problems.[101] Subsequently, under the lead of Sakurai, the Ministry of the Interior started drafting a proposal outlining a reform program of propagation. Its central agenda was explicitly to separate Shinto (as state ritual practice) from propagation (as religious practice). The proposal outlines nineteen articles, followed by extended explanations for ten of them.[102]

The first of the articles declares the distinction between ritual and propagation: "Shinto rituals (*shinsai*) are performed by the state (*hōkoku*), whereas religious doctrines (*kyōho*) are to be followed by individuals and families." The suggestions for its implementation are as follows: "Shinto priests and Shinto doctrinal instructors will be distinguished. A new office will be established to administer rituals performed at the Divine Hall in the imperial palace, the Ise Shrine, and State Shrines. Doctrinal instructors will remain administered by this Ministry [of the Interior]. They can preach doctrines about security of souls in afterlife, set up churches, convert believers and perform funeral rituals. They are simply religionists (*tanjun no shūkyōsha*) [not involved in political governance]." Here we see that "religion" came to be articulated in terms of privateness, conversion, and doctrines of afterlife salvation, whereas

the previously emphasized connection of propagation with the state was gone. The result was the discursive distinction, made for the first time, between Shinto priests as ritualists and Shinto priests as instructors. It is notable that the ritual-propagation distinction was overlaid with the distinction of state and religion, suggesting the differentiation between the public (the state) and the private (individuals and families) and that the categories of ritual and propagation were mutually constitutive.

Indeed, the proposal specifically advises the government to announce the public character of imperial rituals. The fourth article—"The gods (*jingi*) should be revered by the state and should not be the private rituals of the imperial house"—argues that Shinto kami refer to the heavenly ancestors and must be revered by the whole nation. Rituals, therefore, are administrative matters and, as part of the state, should not be limited within the imperial house.[103] The new designation of private Shinto religious belief echoed the public nature of rituals. The second thesis proposes abolishing the ambiguous Office of Shinto Affairs, as its dissolution would serve to make explicit the private nature of "Shinto with religious doctrines (*shūshi shugi no shintō*)." In other words, along with Buddhist sects, Shinto should be categorized as religion and subject to freedom of belief—in contrast to state rituals, in which each and every individual should participate.[104]

In December 1881, State Councilor Yamada Akiyoshi, appointed Minister of Interior in October, devised a draft Shinto priest-instructor separation decree based on Sakurai's proposed outline and submitted it to the Council of State as part of a "statement of opinion" (*ikenshō*) that clarifies imperial authority, ritual, and doctrine. The statement consists of seven articles: first, the power of the state rests with the imperial house, which inherits the divine commandment from Amaterasu through unbroken genealogy; second, imperial ritual performance for the gods is prescribed by Amaterasu; third, imperial rituals are different from religious rituals; fourth, the Unity of Ritual and Rule is different from the Unity of Rule and Doctrine; fifth, the Office of Rituals must be established before the promulgation of the Constitution; sixth, the aforementioned Office should be established as soon as possible; and seventh, Shinto shrines and Shinto churches must be clearly distinguished.[105] Read together, these articles articulate a theory of imperial authority that, despite its divine origin being its very source of authority, was nevertheless presented as non-religious, precisely in contradistinction to "religious ritual" and "Shinto churches." It is by creating and defining the latter two categories that the imperial authority and the political state could be represented as non-religious, public, and thus absolute: that is, beyond the realm of conversionary competition and the free market of religious belief.

On January 24, 1882, the Ministry of the Interior promulgated the decree "Abolishing the Joint Appointment of Shinto Priests as Doctrinal Instructors and Forbidding Priests' Participation in Funeral Rituals."[106] This decree instituted the discursive distinction between Shinto priests' double identities as state liturgists and doctrinal instructors by releasing priests from the post of doctrinal instructor. But the institutionalization of this distinction was not complete. In recognition that the unpaid Shinto priest-liturgists of local shrines relied on performing funeral rituals for their income, the decree stipulates that this new rule of separation only applies to the priests of government-funded national and provincial shrines. As a result, this

separation decree implanted something that had previously been implicit in Shinto: a hierarchy distinguishing government-sponsored shrines and local unfunded shrines. The government's decree that Shinto priests of officially sponsored national shrines were no longer to serve as doctrinal instructors had a twofold aim: to separate the national shrines' priests from religious issues so that they could be defined explicitly as state liturgists, and to eliminate the potential ideological threat to the state resulting from confusion caused by Shinto doctrinal dissonance.[107]

While the decree was meant to clear the identity ambiguity troubling Shinto priests and shrines for years, for those shrines with confraternities and churches, such as the Izumo and Ise Shrines, the decree posed a serious question concerning the separation of shrine priests from doctrinal instructors, and rituals from the churches. That is, the Izumo Shrine (and its priests) was by definition a shrine of the state that performed imperial rituals directed to Amaterasu, as well as rituals for Ōkuninushi. At the same time, the Izumo Church (and its doctrinal instructors) preached both the doctrine of Ōkuninushi, the god enshrined at the Izumo Shrine, and loyalty to the imperial ancestor and the imperial state. The shrine and the church were previously integrated but now they had to be separated. The priests had to choose between being official ritualists or private religious people. This became a choice between public ritual and private religion, and it was a mandatory choice.

In May 1882, Senge applied for permission to establish a sect (*ha*), *Shinto Taisha ha*, in the private, religious capacity of doctrinal instructor. In order to implement the separation of "official" liturgist from "religious" doctrinal instructor, as required by the decree, he had resigned from the public post of head priest of the Izumo Shrine and was succeeded by his son. The formal, forced nature of the separation, and therefore the formal mutual constitution of religion (the Izumo Church) and the state (rituals performed in the Izumo Shrine for the imperial kami), manifested nowhere more sharply than at the Izumo Shrine because here a single shrine served both political and religious goals, even when they were being distinguished. It is the Izumo god Ōkuninushi that was mobilized to realize this private religious vs. public liturgical distinction. In this reconfigured ritual-doctrinal structure, Ōkuninushi remained the "Great Lord of the Land," but the status was transformed to that of private religious belief, against the public and political, i.e., non-religious, status of Amaterasu. The Izumo god remained necessary—not as the Great Lord upholding the fierce Yamato soul and the divine nation but as a god whose relativized status reflects the absolute, public nature of Amaterasu, the mythic foundation of the imperial state. Such a relativized status was manifested in the very term "sect" or *ha*, with its explicit religious signification. In December 1882, the Ministry of the Interior allowed the use of "religion" (*kyō*) to replace "sect" (*ha*) in referring to the sects that developed out of the Office of Shinto Affairs. With the name changed to *Izumo Taisha kyō*, the Izumo Church became even more unambiguously a religion.

A Shinto Ise sect was also established in separation from the Ise Shrine, but Tanaka Yoritsune, the leader of the Ise Church, and his successors soon reshaped the doctrine of the church, deciding that the kami enshrined at the Ise Church was singularly Amaterasu rather than the four kami, thereby proceeding toward doctrinal and ritual unification of the church with the Ise Shrine.[108] The Ise Church was eventually

transformed to a non-religious, popular "association for supporting the imperial house" in 1899 to be in complete identification with Amaterasu as the imperial ancestor and therefore with the imperial state. In 1895, with the Ise Church gone, twelve Shinto religions, including the Izumo Church, got together and established the Association of Shinto Fellowship (*Shinto dōshi kai*), which was in 1934 renamed the Association of Sect Shinto (*Kyōha Shintō rengōkai*). This association did not rest at being simply the ideological backdrop for Shinto shrines that performed rituals directed to the imperial gods but tried to play an active role in pre- and postwar Japan. For example, it was Shibata Reiichi (1840–1920), the leader of one of the twelve sects, the Jikkō Sect, who went to Chicago in 1893 to participate as the representative of the Shinto religion in the World's Congress of Religions at the World's Columbia Exposition.[109] In February 1912, furthermore, the association joined Christians and Buddhists in implementing a major state project—*sankyō gōdō* or "Collaboration of Three Religions," which aimed to strengthen public morality to curb growing social dislocation and unrest in the wake of the exhausting Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5.[110] When the Religious Group Law (宗教団体法) was established in 1939, Sect Shinto registered as a single religious corporation. Today, the association remains an active religious organization in Japan, promoting interfaith dialogue and cooperation, although it is definitely overshadowed by the more vocal and nationalist *Jinja honchō*, or the Association of Shinto Shrines. The profile and activity of the Association of Sect Shinto manifest largely through individual religious groups such as the Izumo Taisha kyō or the Kurozumi kyō, which are far better known than the association itself.

In contrast to Sect Shinto, Shinto shrines were sites of non-religious state ritual performances and came to be called Shrine Shinto (*Jinja Shinto*). One early definition of Shinto shrine rituals as non-religious appeared in fall 1882—that is, right after the announcement of the separation decree in January of that year—in the draft constitution of Nishi Amane (1829–97), a major bureaucrat-scholar who had studied in the Netherlands and was well versed in Western political theories. The sixteenth article of Nishi's draft constitution provides freedom of religious belief to the Japanese (but only belief in existing religions: creation or introduction of new religions was forbidden) and prescribes that the difference in religious faiths shall not affect their private and public rights. On the other hand, rituals at Shinto shrines are performed to "express virtue and repay blessing," and "are not out of belief"—they are not religious. The Japanese can decide whether they want to visit Shinto shrines and participate in the rituals.[111] The significance of Nishi's formulation lies in specifically marking Shinto shrines as non-religious, which allowed for something that may not have been Nishi's intention: the argument for making shrine visits mandatory for the Japanese people. That is, an individual could believe in a religion of their choice while at the same time they could (be required to) participate in state, non-religious rituals at Shinto shrines, which, according to Nishi, were "customary."

Indeed, although Nishi's ritual-as-non-religion article did not make its way into the Imperial Constitution of 1889, the Japanese government would stick to the non-religious definition of Shinto shrines and rituals till 1945,[112] and the aftermath of this definition persisted into the postwar period. Postwar Japanese officials, including the prime minister, frequently visit the Yasukuni Shrine, exemplifying that the view of

Shinto shrines as public ceremonial sites (and of, in case of Yasukuni, commemorating rituals) rather than religious places remains powerful. This is the case even though most shrines, including the Yasukuni Shrine, are categorized as religious corporations (*shūkyō hōjin*) under the Religious Corporation Law promulgated in December 1945. The lasting power of this view in shaping the imaginings of many Japanese can be attributed to the complex Meiji history of distinguishing religion from the state, but also to the inherent ambiguities in the difficult political process of defining and instituting religion itself.[113] In essential ways succeeding the mindset and logic of prewar Shrine Shinto, the Association of Shinto Shrines has been committed to reviving Shinto rituals and restoring what it imagines to be once-prosperous Shinto shrines. These sites, the association argues, are the national tradition and culture of Japan—not its religion.[114] For the association, as can be imagined, this national tradition centers nowhere else but on the imperial institution. Needless to say, not all shrines share the political commitment of the association.[115]

The differentiation between a religious Shinto and a political Shinto in 1882 domesticated the challenge by Ōkuninushi by instituting a definition of religion that belonged to the private sphere of families and individuals. More broadly, instituting private religion functioned to elevate the imperial authority above a spectrum of competing and challenging divine powers: the Shinto god Ōkuninushi, Buddhist divine beings, and the Christian God. Categorized as a religion, Christianity no longer posed a challenge to the imperial authority. The shift in the ways in which the Meiji government engaged with Christianity through the 1870s and early 1880s was truly significant. Compelled by the arguments of Shin Pure Land Buddhists beginning with Shimaji Mokurai, the Meiji government changed from initially viewing Christianity as a competing doctrine, external to and in direct conflict with the state, to subsuming it under the regulative category of religion within the legal structure of the nation-state. As a religion, Christianity came to be dealt with in terms of the private freedom of religious belief, so long as its practices did not endanger public order and state safety, a legal arrangement delineated in the Imperial Constitution promulgated in 1889. In the remaining pages of this chapter we will look at how the Imperial Constitution was produced because it was a process inseparable from the Meiji state's engagement with the central nation-building project of transforming the "hearts of the people (*jinshin*)" into a modern nation of solidarity and loyalty.

The division of Shinto into public ritual and private religion was the major critical step in figuring out how to achieve this transformation of the "hearts of the people." The formulation and implementation of the ritual-religion separation went hand in hand with the political shift in nation-building from popular propagation (*kyōdō* 教導, relying on the Shinto doctrine through the first post-Restoration decade) to public education (*kyōiku* 教育, which was based on a strong moralistic curricula yet was defined as non-religious). The key figure in the drafting of the imperial constitution of 1889 was the legal scholar-bureaucrat Inoue Kowashi (1843–95); he was instrumental in engineering the shift in policy formation from propagation to education, a shift culminating in the complete abolition of the doctrinal instructor system in 1884. In the early 1880s, when Inoue was drafting the constitution, he was concerned with the propagation program and its relation to religion, education, and the government

because these issues all pertained to how a modern state was to be organized. He saw that the program, while being defined as religious, remained ambiguous because it contained the undifferentiated components of morality, education, religion, and imperial authority. One of the best political minds of the time, Inoue, would see to it that these intertwined components were differentiated. Resulting from the process of differentiation was the explicit reduction of religion to an interior form of freedom separated from public education, social morality, and state ritual. What Inoue achieved in policy reorientation generated the ideological effect of reinforcing the public, secular representations of the imperial state even while the mythic origin of the imperial genealogy remained at the basis of the state. The secular representation of the mythic imperial genealogy was made possible only in contradistinction to the religious, private definition of the Izumo god Ōkuninushi, who, according to the Divine Age narratives in the "imperial classics" of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, was none other than the nephew of the (non-religious) Sun Goddess (i.e., the son of Susanoo, who was the brother of Amaterasu).

For Inoue Kowashi, devising effective policies to regulate all doctrines about divinities and gods was closely related to the problem of how to effectively transform or educate the populace to achieve effective governance. In 1879, Inoue wrote "Draft Opinions on Education" (*kyōiku gi sōkō*) in response to a proposal of Motoda Nagazane, the Confucian tutor of Emperor Meiji. Motoda proposed to announce Confucianism as the state doctrine or state religion (*kokkyō*) and institute Confucian moral teachings in the school curriculum in order to check what he charged as the overflow of a materialist trend in education. Inoue opposed the idea of a national doctrine, arguing that the government should not interfere in religious affairs. Furthermore, a state-sponsored religion may in turn control the state, clearly referring to the church-state relation in Western history.[116] While not through religion, education of the people to be good nationals needed to reach people's hearts. In the midst of the People's Rights Movement, Inoue responded to popular calls for parliamentary government in "Opinions on Guiding People's Hearts" (*Jinshin kyōdō iken an*, 1881). In the proposal, he argued that the best policy should be able to direct people's hearts rather than seal their mouths. For that goal, Inoue proposed reviving Chinese Learning and implementing the education of loyalty, love, and obedience.[117] For Inoue, education imparted moral values, but it needed to be distinguished from religion.

In "Retaining Confucianism" (*Jukyō wo sonsu*), composed in 1881 or 1882, Inoue formulated his approach to developing non-religious teachings for national education. Inoue saw two kinds of teaching in world-historical evolution, as exemplified by the experience of Western Europe and Asia. One kind of teaching relied on divine beings; the other did not. In comparing China with the West, Inoue found that China had to learn from the West when it came to the knowledge of government, law, agriculture, industry, and so forth. But China also had the best moral teaching in Confucianism, which excels at its rational, this-worldly approach to morality, which contrasts with religious doctrines more concerned with the afterlife and rebirth. Without relying on the gods for morality, teachings such as Confucianism would eventually replace those dependent upon divine beings as modernity progressed. However, singular reliance on Confucianism for education was not enough, argued Inoue, because it

lacked a certain foundation. Confucian morality, he asserted, should be used together with national classics. This would strengthen the foundation of the nation, which was none other than the endeavor of the Unity of Ritual and Rule (*saisei itchi no jigyō* 祭政一致の事業). The purpose of education was to illuminate this national foundation and source of culture (*fūzoku*) to the people, corroborated by study of Confucian morality.[118] For Inoue, this combined Shinto-Confucian approach to education was formulated *vis-à-vis* the category of religion, which he referred to as *shinkyō* or simply *kyō*: "National classics are for the purpose of governance of the state and national education. They are not for the purpose of establishing religion."[119] The nature of Shinto lay in educating the people about the principle of the Unity of Ritual and Rule. It would be a mistake to make Shinto priests preach, together with Buddhist priests, a Buddhist-resembling Shinto doctrine; it would be a mistake to treat Shinto as a religion (*shūmon*).[120]

Against this non-religious approach to guiding the "hearts of the people," Inoue argued in early 1884 that the national doctrinal instructor program had become entirely redundant. He proposed its complete abolition.[121] In any case, the program had never achieved more than a nominal effect in teaching or educating the people. We have seen that in 1872 education and propagation were not differentiated and the Ministries of Doctrine and of Education were merged for ten months. By 1884, Inoue had completely separated the two institutions. After several revisions in curriculum in the 1870s and early 1880s, public education became more effective. The practical need for "religious" Shinto propagation decreased. In proposing the program's termination, Inoue was joining the arguments waged by Buddhists since the late 1870s. But he was doing so in the capacity of an influential bureaucrat who emerged from the 1881 political crisis—wherein the pro-English-parliament Ōkuma Shigenobu was ousted from the government.[122] Pushed by Inoue, the propagation program that accompanied the emergence of the Meiji state was completely abolished in August 1884.[123] It marked the end of popular propagation by clerics against the background of a developing public school system that included a moral training curriculum and of institutionalization of the definitions of religion and religious freedom in the constitutional structure of the state.

These distinctions between private religion, the public state, public education, and public morality prepared the discursive grounds for the production of the Imperial Constitution in February 1889. That foundational document proclaimed the state to be based on the divine imperial institution. At the same time, it created the individual citizen-subject by guaranteeing a form of freedom that was predicated upon an interior dimension key for the definition of the modern individual: the private freedom of religious belief. It is in contrast to this interiority that the articulations of the public authority of the state, through public education and ritual performances, became possible.[124] In securing the private freedom of religious belief, but only within the limits of not endangering the political state, the Imperial Constitution adopted a formulation anteceded by the partitioning of Shinto into the mutually constituting ritual expressions of the public imperial authority and private religion. The Imperial Constitution was accompanied by the promulgation of the Education Rescript (*kyōiku chokugo*), formulated by none other than Inoue Kowashi. The Rescript confirmed

the divine authority of the imperial house in a language that deliberately avoided sounding religious, thereby reaffirming the public, political authority of the imperial state that remains above "religious beliefs." The Izumo god Ōkuninushi, the "Great Lord of the Land," was now rendered anonymous and silent by the very definition of religion as private, interior belief that was subjected to the public imperial authority of the nation-state.

# Conclusion

This chapter focused on tracing out the rivalry of the Izumo Shrine and the Ise Shrine first in the national propagation program under the leadership of the Ministry of Doctrine from 1872 to 1875 and then in the ostensibly independent (i.e., non-governmental) preaching Office of Shinto Affairs from 1875 to 1881. This rivalry threatened the ideological foundation of the nascent Meiji state as the authority of Amaterasu, the imperial ancestor, was challenged by the Izumo god Ōkuninushi, who, as creator, had a better claim to the archipelago and the nation. That the Meiji state was eventually able to rein in this ideological challenge was a remarkable nation-state building feat. The process leading to this accomplishment was a complex and contingent one that involved figuring out and reconfiguring multiple, intersecting aspects making up the modern nation-state: propagation/education, religion, ritual, and the imperial institution.

The Ministry of Doctrine's 1872 revival of the once-disbanded Shinto confraternities for implementing popular propagation provided the official channel for the two shrines to expand nationwide and to advance to the center of the national politics of the kami. The doctrinal instructor system created by the Ministry was, however, from the beginning undermined by a fundamental contradiction. Confraternities followed a logical development different from the goal of the government, which was using them as a popular channel for disseminating a political ideology. The state's aims were undermined by the daily-life demands of confraternity members, including exorcism, faith-healing, fortune-telling, fundraising, and mutual help. Shinto instructors had to satisfy these requirements, which the government wanted to regulate if not eradicate, so that confraternities could serve the purpose of propagating the officially defined doctrine.

When the government terminated the ostensibly joint propagation program in 1875 in response to Buddhists' demand for separation of religion from the state, doctrinal instructors, now defined as religious people, had to conduct the program, defined by the government as an administrative task, independently—separate from the state. Shinto priests responded to this change by organizing their preaching through the Office of Shinto Affairs, which, however, remained in various ways connected to the state. The ambiguous existence of the Office arose from the conflicting goals pursued by the Meiji state. It had to continue adopting Shinto for political legitimacy and for transforming the populace into a unified nation. At the same time, it had to place Shinto in the same category as Buddhism because these two entities had long been coupled for political control and administration. When in 1875 Buddhist and Shinto

doctrinal instructors were defined as religious and separated from the state, Shinto was made to be both political and religious.

In this ambiguous and unstable situation, the Izumo and Ise Shrines competed with each other for leadership of the Office by expanding their confraternities and consolidating doctrines focusing on their own gods, Ōkuninushi and Amaterasu. This competition soon escalated into a debate that involved the entire priesthood. The head priest of the Izumo Shrine, Senge Takatomi, contended from 1875 that the creation god Ōkuninushi should be enshrined together with Amaterasu at the apex of the Shinto pantheon, but Tanaka Yoritsune, the head priest of Ise Shrine, led the opposition to Senge's proposal. The government realized that a political solution was required to end the debate so as to neutralize the ideological challenge waged by Ōkuninushi against the authority of Amaterasu. It had to figure out how to define Shinto in order to regulate its radical heterogeneity exposed by the Izumo-Ise controversies.

By the early 1880s, the idea of religion had changed from a sectarian doctrine, usually denoted by the single Chinese character *kyō* 教, into private, individual belief in creeds on death and the afterlife that was expressed by the term *shūkyō* 宗教. This change facilitated the Meiji government's domestication of the ideological challenge from the Izumo god Ōkuninushi. The new definition of religion facilitated the crafting of a discursive distinction between public and private that worked to shield the imperial authority from, and raise it above, the vexing "religious" doctrinal competition. When the government recategorized the claims of Ōkuninushi as Sect Shinto—private religious belief, which was then distinguished from the nationalized shrine ritual system directed to Amaterasu in 1884—it in effect transformed the divine imperial genealogy into a public, political authority that it subsequently appropriated for converting itself into a centralized, modern nation-state.

The eventual fall of Ōkuninushi, "the Great Lord of the Land," from the newly constituted imperial pantheon as private religion, signified the transformation of Shinto from an intellectual discourse to a category of political praxis which went hand in hand with the transmogrification of propagation, the central project of Meiji nation-state building, and from doctrinal preaching to public education on the one hand, and technical differentiation of "religious" doctrine from "non-religious" ritual on the other. These newly formulated distinctions between private religion, the public state, public education, and public morality laid the discursive ground for the creation in 1889 of the imperial constitution, the quintessential legal and political symbolic text of a civilized, modern nation-state. Even though the Constitution claimed the unbroken imperial genealogy to be the foundation of the state, this divine authority was presented as a secular, public authority of a modern sovereign. That the emperor as a Shinto kami could be presented as secular and public was precisely because of a Shinto religion created through reclassifying and domesticating the challenging Izumo god Ōkuninushi as private religion.

# Conclusion: The Izumo Gods, Nation, and Empire

In Conclusion, instead of repeating the story of the vanquished god Ōkuninushi in the Tokugawa and Meiji periods, I want to proceed to the twentieth century and trace the post-Meiji history of the Izumo gods by focusing on two discursive events. The Izumo gods, in particular Ōkuninushi in his relation with Amaterasu, continued to be reinterpreted for constituting various historical narratives about the community of Japan. These discursive events were, however, not self-identified as Shinto but as modern academic knowledge about the Japanese nation. In the first case, academic historians at the Tokyo Imperial University in the 1880s mobilized the Izumo gods to constitute a national history that ended up justifying the multi-ethnic, multi-racial Japanese empire in the early twentieth century. Then, in the postwar years, this same group of gods was remobilized by historians to construct the history of a mono-ethnic island nation for the exact purpose of transcending the prewar history of empire. These two events which gave rise to contrasting Izumo histories then point to two contrasting yet connected moments in modern Japanese history. As such, recovering these events enables an exploration of complex postwar struggles to transcend the legacy of pre-1945 imperialism and helps us understand the forces that shaped and limited political imaginings in postwar Japan.[1] In the end, even though the imperial institution as the subject of the nation was relativized by the Izumo gods in postwar versions of national history, the nation itself, as the hypostatized subject of a linear, teleological narrative scheme, remained intact to delimit competing political imaginings. For historical studies of ancient Japan, which gave rise to the contrasting Izumo histories, as well as the Marxist, liberal, or People's (*minshu*) histories, all critical of the emperor-centered national history, the nation remained the immanent totality within which political struggles were to be waged.

## The Izumo Gods and the Korean Peninsula

The first case concerns the production of a discourse about the Izumo gods in association with the establishment of history as a modern academic discipline in the 1880s at the Tokyo Imperial University, the first of a dozen imperial universities created in prewar Japan. Accompanying the institutionalization of the history discipline was the professionalization of historians as academic researchers and professors. First-generation academic historians at the Tokyo Imperial University mobilized the Izumo

gods in producing a transregional version of the ancient history of Japan in which the disputes between Ōkuninushi, whose origin was traced to the Korean Peninsula, and Amaterasu were reinterpreted as a rivalry between siblings within a single family. These modern historians constructed their expansive, transregional history of the Japanese nation in their struggle against the Meiji Nativists, who held on to the vision of Japan as a divinely created nation identified spatially with the archipelago and could not accept the idea that some members of the kami originated outside Japan. If these historians' ancient Japan resembles a commendable transnational history, it nevertheless played a role in justifying Japan's annexation of the Korean Peninsula in 1910 by presenting this political act as a desirable family reunion.

Although trained in Confucian classics, the newly professionalized historian-professors distinguished their subject from the earlier, Confucian form of history as well as from the Meiji Nativist's concept of the past marked by a reverent attitude toward the old texts *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki.* They did so by extolling the newly discovered professional ethos of objectivity and scientific research. Pursuit of objectivity has been the hallmark of modern historical studies. As scholars have recently shown, however, the ideal of objectivity was inherently political as modern history emerged in close connection with the rise of nationalism in Europe. This is clear from the definition of historical research by Leopold Ranke (1795–1886), reputed to be the founder of modern historical study. According to Ranke, who was writing during the period of German nation-building, the goal of history was to let documents speak for themselves—to be objective—so that the spirit of the nation, or nationalism, would manifest itself.[2] Much in tune with Ranke's definition, two historians at the Tokyo Imperial University, Hoshino Hisashi (1839–1917) and Kume Kunitake (1839–1931), the latter of whom had overseas experience accompanying the Iwakura Embassy to the West in 1872–74, developed a model of objectivist history, which turned out to be convergent with the political interests of the state.

In professional journals, lectures, and books, the two historians applied their objective historical method to construct a transregional history of ancient Japan. They did so by conducting a metaphorical reading of the Divine Ages narratives in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, where the Izumo gods featured prominently. Unlike Meiji Nativist scholars, who approached the same narratives with a deep reverence, or the Civilization historians (*bunmeishika*), who dismissed them as primitive concoctions,[3] Kume and Hoshino argued for an objective historicist approach to these stories. They saw the narratives of the gods as records of history in primitive, mythological form. This meant putting these narratives into their own times, reading them as revealing the speech (*gen* 言), action (*kō* 行), and intention (*i* 意) of the time.[4] Thus historians should and could interpret them "as the texts are" (*honbun no gotokuni* 本文の如くに), and retrieve the original intentions of human agents out of these narratives. Indeed, as Kume argued, the ideal of objectivity demanded interpretation of ancient Japan to render it into scientific history, "as the civilization of the world progresses, [and]… as history has become a discipline, it is inexcusable to leave the ancient past of our country in unstudied darkness. I will start the study and give a historical explanation to the so-called obscure ancient legends (*kodensetsu*)."[5] History was going to unveil the obscured texts, the records of the past, which metaphorically

constituted nothing other than "the ancestors of our nation (*kuni no sosen*)."[6] In their emphasis on retrieving the intentions of old times rather than reading into the Divine Ages narratives the intention of modern times, they were distinguishing themselves from the Meiji Nativists who upheld a literal reading of the Divine Ages narratives and imagined Japan as a political entity limited to the archipelago.[7] In contrast to the Nativists' island vision of the Japanese nation which the these historians perceived as resulting from the Nativists' literal reading of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives, these modern historians reconstructed an expansive ancient Japan.

Hoshino presented his transregional history in a polemic article on October 15, 1890, in the *Shigakkai zasshi* (*Journal of Historical Society*), the first professional journal of history established by these historians, in direct challenge to the Nativists who upheld the Japanese archipelago as a national community marked by the unbroken divine imperial genealogy.[8] Hoshino argued that objective and scientific study of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* would yield a correct history of ancient Japan wherein Korea and Japan were one single country inhabited by a single race sharing a single language until Korea and Japan broke up during the reign of Emperor Tenchi. He asserted that revealing this history would by no means defile the national polity, the Kokutai, but rather prove the brilliance of the imperial rule in ancient times.

His narrative goes as follows: The imperial ancestor kami were at first the lords of Korea. Later, upon discovering the Japanese islands, two of them, Izanagi and Izanami, moved in to cultivate and develop the archipelago. Their offspring Susanoo and Ōkuninushi continued the consolidation and pacification of Japan, and upon completion of the work Susanoo returned to Korea. Before long, the Sun Goddess Amaterasu asked Ōkuninushi to surrender the land, and thereafter the imperial grandson Ninigi succeeded the rule of the archipelago.[9] These ancestors nevertheless remained a large family, and they moved back and forth between the peninsula and the archipelago. Peace did not last long, however, according to Hoshino, who provided no sources to substantiate the claim. For some reason, there developed a hostility between the ancestors on the peninsula led by Susanoo and those on the archipelago. Eventually wars broke out between them. Hoshino then moved away from the narratives of the Divine Ages to Chapter Five of *Nihon shoki*, where he found the record of Korea to continue his narrative. Despite the fact that the "record" was simply a mention of a tributary mission from Mimana, an area in the south of the Korean Peninsula, Hoshino developed an entire episode out of it. According to him, Empress Sūjin, to whom Chapter Five of *Nihon shoki* was devoted, dispatched an army from the archipelago to subdue the competing ancestors on the peninsula and established a stronghold (Mimana) in the southern part of the peninsula to maintain imperial control. Generations later, there was a rebellion on the peninsula. Empress Jingū took up leadership herself and brought the rebellious peninsula to subjugation. As the population in the peninsula gradually grew, the polity branched into several kingdoms, one of which, Shiragi, supported by Tang China, destroyed Japan's colonial stronghold of Mimana. Furthermore, the defeat in the showdown battle with Tang China in the sixth century resulted in Japan's complete withdrawal from the peninsula. Hence, the regrettable separation of Japan and Korea ever since.[10]

Hoshino's reassembling of history was based on his methodological insight that mythical narratives hide retrievable historical truth; this insight provided the rationale for his use of a highly flexible discursive strategy. This was the same strategy that made possible Motoori Norinaga's production of *Kojiki-den* a century earlier: inscribing kana pronunciation onto Chinese characters, thereby establishing relations or identifications, in the case of Hoshino, between names of places that appeared in source materials. With this strategy, Hoshino established two "facts" key to his history. First, the fact that Susanoo remained the ruler of Korea after Amaterasu moved to Japan. He quoted the two variant versions of narratives of *Nihon shoki*, which tell about 1) Susano's visit to Shiragi and making a temporary stay at a place named *Shisomori,* and 2) the kami's retirement into *ne no kuni* (the death realm) in a place called Mount Kumanari 熊成. He then sought evidence in *Engishiki*, or *Regulations and Laws of the Engi Era*, compiled by the imperial court in 927, and *Tōkoku tsūgan*, a history compiled by the fourteenth-century Yi court of Korea, to demonstrate that the term *soshimori* actually referred to the Mountain of Ox's Head 牛頭山 in Korea because the ideograph 牛頭 was pronounced *soshimari* in Korean—almost the same as *soshimori*, proving their identity. And Mount *Kumanari* 熊成 was, after all, *kumanari* 久麻那利, a name referring to the central region of the Korean Peninsula. This shows, Hoshino argues, that Susanoo remained in Korea as its ruler.[11]

The second "fact" Hoshino set out to establish was that the son of Amaterasu, i.e., father of Ninigi, came from Korea. Based on an entry in one of the court histories, *Shoku Nihongi* (791) which records the origin of three shrines in Kyushu as being devoted to three kami of Karakuni-okinaga-ōhime-ōme-no-mikoto 辛国息長大姫大目命, Oshihoko-no-mikoto 忍骨命, and Toyohime-no-mikoto 豊比羊命, Hoshino asserted that Oshihoko-no-mikoto was none other than Amaterasu's son Oshihomi-no-mikoto 忍穂耳命, whereas "Karakuni 辛国" in the name of the first kami referred to "加羅国," which he argued also pronounced karakuni and identified with Shiragi in the Korean Peninsula. These phonetic similarities and identities, Hoshino claimed, showed clearly that Amaterasu's son came from Korea and bequeathed the archipelago to his son Ninigi.[12]

Notably, Hoshino transposed the confrontational relationship between the Izumo gods, represented by Susanoo and Ōkuninushi, and the heavenly gods in the narratives of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* to a history of quarrels between ancestors in Korea and those in Japan. The appearance in sources including *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* of numerous family and place names related to Korea served as the basis for Hoshino's discursive construction. Furthermore, Hoshino claimed authority for his history from the objective and scientific methods of the newly established historical studies. Postwar historians interpret the Korean-related references in historical sources as traces of groups from the peninsula who brought more developed culture and techniques to the archipelago.[13] It is because of their excellence in technology and culture that they had a visible existence in society, which was then reflected in the distinct records they left in historical sources. Hoshino, however, read these records and traces the other way around, and established a primacy for the archipelago over the peninsula.

Hoshino's colleague, Kume Kunitake, produced his version of the transregional ancient history by first delineating the changes in the geographical size of Japan. In

a December 1889 article in the *Shigakkai zasshi*, he argued that in ancient times the political entity of Japan encompassed the archipelago, Korean Peninsula, and southern part of China. (China, however, soon dropped off from his history narrative.) He substantiated this claim by conflating the two cosmological terms *tokoyo* 常世 and *unabara* 海原 in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, respectively, with south China and Korea. Without going into detail, Kume established this identification through kana-inscription for the names of deities and places, similar to Hoshino.[14] In another work, he also pointed to the variant versions in *Nihon shoki* about Susanoo's stay in Shiragi and maintained that this proved Susanoo's lordship of Korea.[15]

Kume interpreted the three prime deities at the beginning of heaven and earth in *Kojiki* narratives to be human ancestors of the imperial and two other clans. They were three aristocratic clans which, through marital relationships with each other, gave rise to the original Japanese state. "These three kami embody the history of early moment of our nation and the ancient form of the kokutai."[16] Kume did not define the geographical location and size of this original state, which he called the Heavenly High Plains, originally the abode of the heavenly gods in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, but he later showed it referred to the archipelago. The imperial clan thereafter delegated two lords, Izanagi and Izanami, to subjugate and pacify the Central Land or the earth, which Kume defined as the Izumo region of the archipelago and the Korean Peninsula, a definition Kume likely developed from the theory of the Tokugawa Confucian Tō Tekkan that the Izumo god Susanoo came originally from Korea. The *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narrative about the birth of the Japanese islands through the sexual union of the two kami, according to Kume, should be read metaphorically as the pacification of the land or the earth by the two lords.

Kume went on to argue that the sexual union of the two kami also referred metaphorically to an agreement between two states—the Heavenly High Plains, on the one hand, and the Central Land (Izumo plus Shiragi), on the other—to form a unified polity.[17] This was an agreement based on the marriage relation between a king, Izanagi, and a queen of Izumo, Izanami. This ruling couple traveled in warships among the islands, bringing barbarous and fierce tribes under submission and leading them to civilization. One of the tribes, the fire tribe, however, fought and killed Izanami (Kume's reading of the fire god episode in *Kojiki*). This caused the breakup of the two unified states. Izanagi went to the capital of Izumo trying to reach a new agreement with the Izumo people but was chased back by the Izumo army (Kume's reading of the yomi gods in *Kojiki*). Referring to the *Kojiki* narrative about Izanagi giving birth to Susanoo, Kume continued that although Izanagi wanted to strike a deal with Izumo by letting Susanoo rule the land in support of Amaterasu who ruled the heaven, Susanoo nevertheless simply wanted to return to stay with his mother in Izumo. Eventually, Izanagi gave up and Susanoo returned to Izumo and later went to rule Shiragi, part of the Izumo state. Soon the imperial ancestor Amaterasu proceeded to demand the surrender of the Izumo state from Susanoo's son Ōkuninushi, who did surrender the part of the Izumo state on the archipelago. Now the archipelago became one unified polity, separate from the peninsula: the remaining Izumo state. This separation resulted in the prolonged division of Japan between the archipelago and the peninsula.[18]

While it is highly likely that these historians succeeded the metaphorical reading method of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* by the early modern Confucians Arai Hakuseki

(1657–1725) and Tō Teikan (1732–97),[19] who respectively suggested the Korean origin of the imperial house and Izumo's connection with the Korean Peninsula, their claim to objectivity and the scientific principle of modern history distinguished them from the Tokugawa scholars. Further setting the Meiji historians apart was their argument for historicity, which justified their gods-as-human interpretation of the mythic narratives in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* for recovering the words, actions, and intentions of the ancients. The objectivist retrieval of ancient ancestors' intention, as it turned out, functioned as an admonishing message for their Meiji contemporaries. Ancestors traveled from island to island and between the Korean Peninsula and the archipelago. Engaged in trade and seafaring, the ancient people were active and had cosmopolitan views about the world.[20] They were also physically and mentally strong, constantly involved in fighting primitive tribes and untamed nature. Kume particularly contrasted this early strong and cosmopolitan moment with the seclusion of the Tokugawa society. He argued the inward and torpid social life of the Tokugawa period had led to a weak mindset and the parochial worldviews of the people in Meiji Japan.[21] He was implying that it was a necessity for the Japanese to repossess the outward-looking and proactive mind and life of ancient times.

The history of Hoshino and Kume did not go unchallenged. Kume came under critique from such prominent figures as the historians Tsuda Sokichi and Shiratori Kurakichi and the ethnologist Yanagita Kunio.[22] Their objectivist method of reconstructing history through uncovering the words, events, and intentions of the past would soon be discredited.[23] However, discrediting the method does not amount to discrediting the content. The transregional history, dissociated with the discredited method, joined the public discourse on Japan that continued to circulate in society.[24] The key idea of Japan and Korea as one family was to be reinforced by contemporary archeological, anthropological, and linguistic theories.[25] While the specific origin of the imperial house was usually left unclarified in popular discourse (unlike Hoshino who argued explicitly for the continental origin of the emperor), their transregional history merged into the widely popular Japan-Korea-Same-Root theory (*nissen dōsoron*), directly bolstering and justifying the colonial expansion of Japan into the peninsula. The very notion of Japan as an island nation gave way to the vision of an ambitious empire that had emerged on the world stage in contention with the Western powers.[26]

## The Izumo Gods and Minzoku

In the second case, I examine how historians and scholars of mythology (*shinwa*) in the postwar period remobilized the Izumo gods for to construct an alternative history of the Japanese nation (*minzoku*) that decentered the imperial institution. This reformulation was part of postwar political struggles to prevent the return of the imperial institution as the subject of the imperial history of Japan. In redefining the history, mythology, and culture of the nation, postwar scholars were committed to the construction of a new, peaceful, truly democratic Japan liberated from the militaristic and oppressive prewar "emperor system state" (*tennōsei kokka*). If the first-generation modern historians were intent on mobilizing the Izumo gods to formulate

a transregional history of Japan that ended up justifying the imperialist project of colonization of Korea, in postwar years there was a similar interest in the Izumo gods but for the purpose of overcoming the imperialist history advocated by these prewar historians. The Izumo gods became the hot subject in the postwar period featuring prominently in studies of ancient history, mythology, literature, and archeology, as scholars shared the goal of relativizing the imperial house with the Izumo gods. This postwar Izumo discourse was notable for two changes from its prewar counterpart: a shift in narrative style from expansive and ambitious to self-limiting and reflective, and significant shrinking of the narrative framework.

Two historians' work will be taken up to explore this postwar Izumo discourse. Mizuno Yū (1919–2000) and Ueda Masaaki (1927–) were both historians of ancient Japan, and were major figures in their field. Mizuno Yū graduated from the prestigious private Waseda University in 1941 majoring in Japanese history and taught there until his retirement. According to Mizuno, he came under the influence of the Waseda professor Tsuda Sōkichi, who denied the historical veracity of the mythic narratives in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and was consequently put in jail for this historical view. Mizuno subsequently wrote his thesis on the eighth-century gazetteer of the Izumo province *Izumo no kuni fudoki*, mentioned in Chapter 3, in an attempt to move away from the imperial-centric narrative of history. Mizuno thereafter became a major historian on ancient Japan who advocated Izumo as a necessary perspective for studying the history of the Japanese nation or *minzoku*.

Mizuno's promotion of Izumo started from his argument against the interpretation, influential in prewar Japan, of the co-existence of two races in Japanese history: a race called Tenson Minzoku or Heavenly Grandson Minzoku, associated with the Heavenly Gods (*amatsu-kami*) in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* (*tenson* refers to Amaterasu's grandson who descended onto the earth to start the imperial rule), and a race called Izumo Minzoku, associated with the Earthly Gods (*kunitsu-kami*). He was debunking two key categories that constituted prewar ideologies of Japan as a multi-ethnic empire. To discredit the racial reading of the Divine Ages narratives, Mizuno researched physical compositions of the people in the Izumo area. Finding no difference in physical features, blood type, or racial structure (*jinshū kōzō*), he argued that the Izumo people had never been a race or nation (*minzoku*) different from other Japanese.[27]

Next, Mizuno developed his own understanding of the two groups of gods:

> The confrontational relation between the so-called Tenson Minzoku and Izumo Minzoku that has been read out of the classic texts is meaningless on racial and ethnological grounds. … They don't denote differences between races or ethnic groups (*minzoku-teki*) but refer to later conceptualizations of differences in genealogical status between the dominant and the dominated. What are called the Tenson Minzoku were the ancestral gods of the dominant emperor-centered Yamato clan within the Japanese Minzoku. In contrast, those non-Yamato gods, and by extension the local clans organized under the worshiping of these gods, were called earthly gods. The highest god was Ōkuninushi, and the Izumo Shrine enshrining this highest god became the base of the earthly gods. Accordingly, the gods of non-Yamato territories and the local clans worshipping these gods came to

> be organized as the Earthly Gods group and called the Izumo Minzoku. Therefore, the issue of Tenson Minzoku and Izumo Minzoku should be understood as that of clan genealogies rather than as of race or minzoku.[28]

In other words, Mizuno placed the two clan lineages under the overarching category of the Japanese minzoku, which he defined as a "cultural concept" containing "racial elements." It refers to the people who "lived on the Japanese islands, became accustomed to the climate (*fūdo*), developed over long period of time, and came to possess a common lifestyle."[29] He argued that the Japanese minzoku could be traced back to the Neolithic era when there existed "the foundational and original race of the Japanese minzoku" on the archipelago.[30] These early Japanese intermingled with each other and formed by the time of the Jōmon period a hybrid minzoku, what Mizuno called Proto-Japanese (*gen Nihonjin*). Mizuno held that it was during the Tumulus period (fourth to seventh centuries CE) that the hybrid (*konketsu*) Japanese minzoku came into being, after different races and minzoku joined the proto-Japanese from the North (proto-Ainu), West (Southern Tungusic people, Indochina people, Korean minzoku), and South (Indonesian).[31] Accordingly, the Japanese minzoku was born on the Japanese islands. "The homeland of the Japanese is not the Asian continent, not the South Asian islands, but this Japanese archipelago." However, "the birth of Japanese minzoku means the formation of a single minzoku called Japanese based on several formative racial elements (*jinshuteki sho yōso*). It does not mean that Japanese minzoku is a homogeneous (*tan'itsu*) race that originated and evolved in becoming modern Japanese on this archipelago. In other words, the Japanese minzoku is a hybrid (*konketsu*) one achieving its evolution through accepting and assimilating various minzoku."[32]

Mizuno intended to write a history of ancient Izumo from the perspective of Izumo independent of the imperial center. He argued that the myths and legends in the *Izumo no kuni fudoki*, unrelated to the stories about Izumo in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and standing out by itself as a complete mythological system, pointed to a rich regional tradition that centered on the worship of the god Ōkuninushi. Then, instead of the Izumo Minzoku, Mizuno used the term "Izumo Culture," by which he meant "the culture shared by the people of the Izumo area."[33] This traditional culture is still maintained in the daily life of the Izumo people and manifested by the Izumo Shrine and the head priest *kokusō* lineage.[34] However, Mizuno had to deal with another Izumo mythology, the mythology recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. This is a story of the Izumo pantheon led by Ōkuninushi, who solidified the land and nurtured all kinds of lives but eventually was forced to surrender the rule of the land to Amaterasu. So Mizuno made a combined reading of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and *Izumo no kuni fudoki* in reconstructing a history of the Izumo Culture in relation to the Yamato Culture within the framework of the origin of the Japanese Minzoku. Such an Izumo Culture, according to Mizuno, dates back to the later Jōmon period (fourth century BCE), and reached maturity by early Yayoi period (third century BCE to third century CE).[35] It was initially a seafaring culture. Due to the introduction of rice, the Izumo people also started agriculture, but the majority of the community remained coastal fishermen. Based on the Izumo gods' connection with the sea and the archeological discovery of boat remains, Mizuno inferred that there existed

a small primitive state (*kokka*) of ancient seafarers. The sea-oriented Izumo Culture maintained active exchanges with Sea of Japan coastal areas, and through Chikushi in present-day Northern Kyushu exchanged with the Korean Peninsula and the continent. The Izumo Culture was thus joined by cultural elements from South China, the Asian continent, and southern Korea.[36]

Mizuno read the Izumo Culture as a culture comparable and coexisting with the Yamato Culture. He argued that around the fifth century Izumo developed a tumulus culture (*kofun bunka*) distinct from the contemporary Yamato Culture.[37] Reaching a high level of political centralization in the hands of the Izumo Shrine's head priest *kokusō*, this tumulus culture was able to expand to the northern coastal areas, leading to the formation of what he calls the Sea of Japan Coastal Culture Realm (*Nihonkai engan bunka ken*).[38] This cultural realm coexisted with the Yamato Cultural Realm, with the latter utilizing the Seto Inland Sea as the major exchange route. These two cultures had little communication and were different in nature because the Izumo Culture had more exchanges with, and thus was more greatly influenced by, the cultures on the Korean Peninsula than with the Yamato Culture. In his effort to relativize the Yamato clan and subsequently the formation of the early state, Mizuno emphasized Izumo's connection with the Korean Peninsula. This emphasis on Korean influence dovetails well with his hybrid Japanese Minzoku theory.

Mizuno was not interested in the creation of a mythic homogeneous minzoku. However, his overarching framework is the delimited space of the Japanese archipelago in which the Japanese Minzoku originated and grew. Although he emphasized Korean and continental exchanges and influence on Izumo Culture, Korea and the continent only served to help the Japanese Minzoku to realize itself in the national history within the national space of the archipelago. Put otherwise, connections with Korea and the mainland are used to formulate a cultural reading of political history alternative to the prewar conceptualization based on the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives. Neither the peninsula nor the exchanges became the subject of narrative and analysis. In the end, despite the utility of Izumo in articulating a hybrid version of the Japanese Minzoku that relativized the imperial house, that hybridity was set within the category of the spatially delimited Japanese Minzoku or nation.

The second historian of ancient Japan, Ueda Masaaki, graduated from Kyoto University with a major in history in 1950 and taught at Kyoto University and Ritsumeikan University of Kyoto. Ueda was influenced by both the folklorist Origuchi Shinobu and Tsuda Sōkichi. The most distinctive and consistent strain of Ueda's scholarship is his search for the Japanese lifestyle prior to state formation in the eighth century. That search was conducted with a set of contrasting categories: the political and the cultural, the dominant (the imperial court, both ancient and modern, the center) and the dominated (the masses, the local, the simple). It is the latter that for Ueda represents the "original image" (*genzō*) of a true Japan, reflected in Japanese mythology that embodies human creativity: "To recover humanity (*ningensei*) and the ample creative power of humans, Europeans created paintings, sculptures, literature, and religion to revive the mythologies that narrate (*monogataru*) the events of distant past. However, in Japan there were rare attempts to revive the mythologies in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* through literature and arts. The uniqueness (*dokujisei*) of mythologies

of our ancient times faded away. Adhering to politics, they became simply ideology bolstering the imperial authority. … The freshness and youthfulness contained in the mythologies gradually dried up."[39]

Accordingly, he claimed for his book *Nihon shinwa* (*Japanese Mythology*) (1970a) the main purpose of "looking for clues that can help rediscover the popular (*minshuteki*) myths through examining the difference between *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* mythologies and local gazetteers of *fudoki* on the one hand, and the internal inconsistencies between the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives on the other."[40] Ueda particularly addressed inconsistencies in discursive forms, which he argued could help reveal the hidden side (*ura*) of the narratives where the true image of Japanese mythology remained hidden. Recognizing the limits of the written form, Ueda problematizes the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives in search of the original, pre-narrativized, pre-politicized state of Japanese myths and culture. Ueda saw there were breaks in the mythological narratives (*shinwa no dansō*) and argued that the problems of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were not only their newness, completed in the eighth century, but also their way of becoming—that is, as a political process.[41]

In *Nihon shinwa*, Ueda read *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* against other source materials to reconstruct the production of the two texts as a process of change of discursive forms from oral recitation to written textuality. Among other things, he shows the changes that happened to *kamibito*, who were an early type of shaman and diviner. Local *kamibito* traveled around as part of peripatetic reciting groups while also participating in agricultural works. Their recitation activities fostered the development of village kami-worshipping festivals (*matsuri*). However, when local clan chiefs organized them into recitation groups (*katari-be*), the liveliness of the agricultural myths and legends was lost and oral songs were transformed into odes to the chieftain's ancestral deities. Recitation groups at the Yamato court were further mobilized for political purposes. Matsuri at the court were directly incorporated into political governance (*matsurigoto*) with the role of recitations in sustaining and transmitting local social and spiritual life replaced by their political significance as state ritual performances.

Problematizing the form led to a bottom-up reading of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives. In subsequent parts of the book, Ueda (like Mizuno) historicized the binary category basic to the mythologies, the distinction between the Heavenly Gods (*amatsu-kami*) and the Earthly Gods (*kunitsu-kami*), and shows that the distinction itself was created by court compilers of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* to formulate a political discourse that fulfilled an ideological purpose. He conducted his reading against *Izumo kuni fudoki*, which for him was a valuable repository of native mythic spirit which had been erased by the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives, despite the fact that the very production of *fudoki* was no less a political process.[42] How does Ueda reveal the production of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives as a politicization process? Let's take a look at his discussion of the Izumo god Susanoo in relation to the cosmological category of the realm of the dead or *ne no kuni*.

Susanoo is the brother of Amaterasu and the father of Ōkuninushi in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*.[43] Susanoo, however, made no appearance in *Izumo no kunin fudoki*, where Ōkuninushi was the prominent creation god. Scholars have long been fascinated by the colorful and conflicting features of Susanoo portrayed in *Kojiki* and

*Nihon shoki*. When he was in the Heavenly High Plains, he had the image of a mischievous and violent brother, but when he descended to the earthly Central Land, he became a heroic figure, slaying a fierce snake to save the life of a goddess and nurturing human lives. For Ueda, however, these conflicting features in personality and deeds of Susanoo actually reflected a political process where this prime god in the Izumo mythology and in the pantheon of the Earthly Gods was incorporated into the political mythology of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. The benevolent and brave Susanoo was changed to a violent and aggressive god when the Izumo mythology was incorporated into the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narrative. By characterizing Susanoo as a god with features contrasting with those of the heavenly gods', court compilers of the two texts created a negative foil in order to present the heavenly gods as bright, innocent, and benevolent. The Izumo gods, in turn, were presented as impure, violent, and evil.[44]

The contrast between the Heavenly and Earthly Gods, Ueda argued, was further reinforced by the change in the meaning of the term *ne no kuni*. When Susanoo was commanded by his father Izanagi to reign over the seas, he told him he wanted to visit the *ne no kuni* where Izanami was. Ueda held that *ne no kuni* was initially a generic, indistinct name referring to the other side of the seas as home of the gods and was constitutive of a horizontal cosmological structure characteristic of the ancient worldview, as seen in *Izumo no kuni fudoki*.[45] In *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, however, *ne no kuni* became a subterranean realm and was no longer the land of the gods but the land of the dead and of defilement. The horizontal cosmological structure was replaced with a vertical one representative of the hierarchical political worldview of the early state. This vertical structure was then overlapped with the distinction of Heavenly Gods and Earthly Gods. Susanoo and the Izumo pantheon, the collective of the Earthly Gods, together with the land of Izumo, were identified with the realm of the dead in contradistinction with the Central Land that was reigned over by the emperor upon the forced surrender of Ōkuninushi.[46]

Ueda Masaaki is not only a prolific scholar but also a public intellectual. He has played a significant role in sustaining the postwar critique of the prewar emperor-system state in Japan. It is nevertheless important to point out that despite his success in relativizing the imperial institution as the subject of the nation through deciphering a process of political co-option of the Izumo gods, the nation itself as the hyposta-tized subject and the narrative structure of national history were not transcended but remained to frame both discursive production and political imaginings centered on Izumo. In posing a uniqueness (*dokujisei*) of mythologies of ancient times, a uniqueness that represented the fresh and youthful "original image" of Japan but faded away as a result of political co-option, Ueda retained the linear narrative line with the subject of a hypostatized nation. Like Mizuno and many other postwar scholars, they succeeded in deconstructing the state but did not deconstruct the nation. As a result, the nation-state of Japan, which derives ultimate legitimacy from the nation, remained intact.

A more recent event at the Izumo Shrine helps us bring this post-Meiji history of the Izumo gods, as well as the entire book, to a conclusion. On April 5, 2000, news broke out from the Izumo Shrine that the remains of a gigantic wood pillar had been discovered three meters beneath the shrine compound ground where workers

were constructing an underground chamber for priests to prepare for services at the Praying Hall. The chamber project was duly called to a halt. The found pillar, with its extraordinary size and distinctive design (of three logs, each one meter in diameter, bound together to form a pillar three meters in diameter), immediately made its way into the headlines of local and national newspapers and prompted lectures, symposia, and excited speculations about the history of the pillar and the shrine. With further discovery of the remains of two more pillars in September of that year, the excitement caused by a serendipitous archeological find soon transformed into the confirmed knowledge that the mythological accounts of Izumo in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* were referring to the actual, historical existence of a huge shrine (*kyodai shinden*) that anchored a powerful ancient kingdom of Izumo (*kyodaina Izumo ōkoku*). It was vanquished by the ascending Yamato clan, which was subsequently able to transform itself into the Japanese imperial sovereign, or *tennō*.[47] In the words of the excited archeologist Tsuboi Kiyotari (1921–):

> Legends turn out to be reality. This is the revelation from the architectural remains of the Grand Izumo Shrine. Aren't myths actually telling the drama of political subjugation of the 'Izumo kingdom' by the Yamato force? Further excavations may help excavate the truth of the multifaceted process of the 'birth of the Japanese state.'[48]

Subsequent lab examinations and appraisal, however, determined the pillars were from the twelfth century rather than from a more distant past when the heroic Izumo kingdom was imagined to have existed. As the excitement subsided, the motivated discussions of the existence of a powerful political entity capable of relativizing the emperor-centered historical narrative gave way to popular imaginings of Izumo as the hometown of the gods and Japanese mythology.[49] In this regard, the gap between the excitement of scholars and the dispassionateness of the Izumo Shrine priests is revealing. The priests had remained far less interested in converting the entire archeological event into a political or even cultural claim for its erstwhile grandeur and power that competed with the imperial institution. The Izumo god Ōkuninushi may have remained the same divine figure for them through the centuries, but I think they understand well that the social and political conditions at the turn of the twenty-first century was very different from those of Tokugawa and Meiji Japan. During a conversation with a priest at the Izumo Shrine in 2004, I asked whether Amaterasu also comes to Izumo during the divine assembly in the tenth month. The priest answered with a smile, "Does Amaterasu also come to Izumo in the tenth month? I am not sure. We humans don't have the ability to know about the affairs of the gods." His answer is very telling when we recall the ukiyo-e prints in the late Tokugawa period, introduced in Chapter 2, which portrayed Amaterasu not only as a participant in the great assembly of the tenth month but also her supportive posture, sitting at the side of Ōkuninushi, the Great Lord of the Land.

In my view, the priest's answer shows the shrine has no interest in politicizing itself by defining the relationship between Amaterasu and Ōkuninushi in debating terms. Postwar scholars may have separated the Japanese nation from the imperial institution in their political struggle to prevent the return of the prewar militarist state, which

was based on the identification of the two, in order to realize true democracy. But for the Izumo Shrine, that distinction is not that easily made because the identity of its god, Ōkuninushi, is articulated in such a close relationship with the imperial gods. Nor does it make much sense. During the recent renovation of the main sanctuary, the Izumo Shrine sponsored two exhibitions, in Kyoto and Tokyo in 2012, the year of the 1,300th anniversary of the compilation of *Kojiki*. While the origin of the Izumo Shrine needs to be traced to *Kojiki*, commemorating the shrine renovation by way of the exhibition together with the celebration of a text that establishes the supremacy of the imperial institution at the expense of the Izumo god indicates that the Izumo Shrine situates itself unambiguously within the boundaries of the nation framed by the mythic imperial narratives.[50] Indeed, in the social milieu of economic depression and restructuring of the twenty-first century, the Izumo gods became rearticulated as part of the Shinto tradition that helps reaffirm the ethnic identity of a nation that sees itself in decline. The textual and historical links between the Izumo gods and the continent and the world are usually de-emphasized.

The escalating pace of globalization, however, increasingly calls into question the assumed coherence of the nation and minzoku by showing that coherence to be no more than a changing set of relationships. So might it be that instead of reaffirming the exclusive ethnic identity of the Japanese, the Izumo gods will facilitate, as they have done repeatedly in previous times, a new mode of imagining the archipelago not as a self-coherent entity but as an interconnected part of Asia and the world?

# Notes

## Introduction

1   The complete name of the goddess is Amaterasu Omikami where Omikami is
    a honorific roughly meaning "the Great Kami." Usually kami names include
    honorifics but using the complete names for all the kami would be quite ponderous.
    Without dismissing the importance of honorifics in defining kami, I have
    nevertheless omitted most honorifics in the book.

2   Inoue Nobutaka, ed. *Shinto: Nihon umare no shūkyō shisutemu* ("Shinto: the
    Religious System Born in Japan") (Tokyo: Shinyō sha, 1998) (English translation:
    *Shinto: A Short History*, trans. Mark Teeuwen and John Breen. London:
    RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). The book narrates a history of Shinto, as the national/
    ethnic religion of Japan, in terms of a trajectory from its early glory to medieval
    eclipse then to its modern revival. The subject of Shinto here is Amaterasu. This
    history starts from the two imperial histories of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the central
    role of which is establishing the supreme status of Amaterasu (31). The discursively
    established supremacy of Amaterasu by *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* was confirmed
    by a nationwide Shinto ritual and shrine system operated by the state (168). It
    is interesting to see how feminist histories could lead to re-affirmations of the
    assumed supremacy of Amaterasu. See Delmer M Brown, "Sovereignty and the
    Great Goddess of Japan," in *Goddesses Who Rule*, eds. Elisabeth Benard and Beverly
    Moon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Narratives of Shinto as the
    religious tradition of the Japanese nation include Katō Genchi, *A Historical Study of
    the Religious Development of Shinto*, trans. Shōyū Hanayama; compiled by Japanese
    National Commission for UNESCO (Tokyo: Japan Society for the Promotion
    of Science, 1973); Hori Ichirō, *Hijiri to zoku no kattō* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975);
    Stuart Picken, *Shinto, Japan's Spiritual Roots* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1980);
    Sonoda Minoru, ed. *Shintō, Nihon no minzoku shūkyō* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1988).

3   Herman Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan: The Tenmu
    Dynasty, 650–800* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 28–40. Ooms's
    discussion on *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* is extensive and makes the important point
    that these two texts do not cohere into one single theme, plot, meaning-making
    structure, or one single Japanese mytheme as he calls it. This is certainly true.
    For our purpose here, however, suffice it to say that the texts served the purpose
    of sacralizing political authority and establishing the supremacy of that sacred
    authority. See Joan Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship* (Stanford, CA:
    Stanford University Press, 1997).

4   Some scholars argued that Ōkuninushi and the gods associated with him have
    their historical counterpart in an earlier period of Japanese history. That is, there
    was a clan in the Izumo region which had Ōkuninushi as the clan god and fought
    against the invasion of the allied forces of the Yamato clan and its ally Ou of the
    eastern part of the Izumo region, until it was forced to surrender in the seventh or

eighth century. So far, however, there is no archaeological or textual evidence to corroborate directly this theory. See Introduction in *Izumo fudoki,* translated with an introduction by Michiko Yamaguchi Aoki (Tokyo: Sophia University 1971). Others have suggested that the story of Ōkuninushi was originally the mythological tales of the people of the Izumo region independent of the mythology of the Yamato clan but was assimilated into the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* narratives as the Terrestrial Gods for a discursive construction of a unified central authority of the imperial court. Ueda Masaaki, *Nihon no genzō: Kunitsu kami no inochi* (Tokyo: Bungei shuju, 1970b); Mizuno Yū, *Kodai no Izumo to Yamato* (Tokyo: Yamato shobo, 1994).

5    Okuninushi and the Izumo gods did not disappear after surrendering the land. They continued to cause serious trouble for the imperial court, once during the reign of the Sujin emperor and once under the Suinin emperor: and both events were recorded in the two texts.

6    Hara Katsuaki, *Chūsei Nihonki ronkō, chūshaku no shisōshi* (Kyoto: Hōzō kan, 2011), 3.

7    Hara Katsuaki's work is the latest study on this fascinating body of literature. Hara Katsuaki, *Chūsei Nihonki ronkō, chūshaku no shisōshi* (Kyoto: Hōzō kan, 2011).

8    "Ichijo Kaneyoshi," *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/ entry.php?entryID=446 (last accessed February 9, 2015).

9    Ichijō Kaneyoshi, "Nihon shoki sanso," in *Shinto shisō meichō shūsei*, Vol. 3, ed. Ono Motonori (Tokyo: Kokugakuin daigaku Nihon bunka kenkyujō, 1972), 482. Bernhard Scheid examines the changes in the forms in which the episode of Ōkuninushi's surrender was interpreted during the late medieval period. He argues that Ichijo's interpretation of two realms of rule was a reactive response to the imperial court's loss of power to warriors by retrospectively evoking a utopia where only two sources of authority (i.e., imperial and of the kami, not Buddhist) existed. Bernhard Scheid, "Two Modes of Secrecy in the *Nihon shoki* Transmission," in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*, eds. Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 296.

10   The Chinese vernacular version of the Buddhist conception of the invisible court includes ten chambers, each administered by a king passing judgment on departed human souls before subjecting them to gross punishment in their chamber prisons. The ten kings are known usually by the name of one of the kings *yan-wang-ye* in Chinese or *enma* in Japanese. See Sawada Mizuho, *Jikokuhen: Chūgoku no meikai setsu* (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppan sha, 1991).

11   Susan Burns, *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2003).

12   See, for example, Fujita Tokutarō (1901–45), *Motoori Norinaga to Hirata Atsutane* (Tokyo: Maruoka shuppansha, 1943).

13   See, for example, Maruyama Masao, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan,* trans. Mikiso Hane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974); and Matsumoto Sannosuke, "Bakumatsu Kokugaku no shisōshi teki igi," in *Kinsei Nihon no shisōzō* (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1984); Matsumoto Sannosuke, *Kokugaku seiji shisō no kenkyū: Kindai Nihon seiji shisō shi josetsu* (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1957).

14   Harry Harootunian, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). Koyasu Nobukuni, *Hirata Atsutane no sekai* (Kyoto: Perikansha, 2001). Burns. *Before the Nation*. In English, two recent studies focus on Hirata Atsutane which similarly ignore

the imperial institution. Mark McNally, *Proving the Way: Conflict and Practice in Japanese Nativism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005); Wilburn Hansen, *When Tengu Talk: Hirata Atsutane's Ethnography of the Other World* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008). In Japanese, Endo Jun, *Hirata Kokugaku to kinsei shakai* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2008), shares this non-interest.

15  Evelyn S. Rawski, "The Qing Formation and the Early Modern Period," in *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, ed. Lynn A. Struve (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 209–13.

16  John J. Stephan, *The Kuril Islands: Russo-Japanese Frontier in the Pacific* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). Fujita Satoru, *Kinsei kōki seijishi to taigai kankei* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai), 2005.

17  Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2006), 85–110. Anderson discusses three cases of official nationalism: Russia, Britain, and Japan.

18  Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State, 1868–1988* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989) remains the definitive work in English on the relationship of Shinto with the modern Japanese state.

19  The creation of an academic discipline called Shinto studies in the 1910s at the Tokyo Imperial University at least partially attests to this potency.

20  Postwar studies of Shinto, represented by the paradigm of State Shinto, have ignored the kami and rather focused on the imperial institution. Assumed here is a priori primacy of the imperial gods in the Shinto pantheon without asking how that primacy was made possible in the collectivity of the kami. The absence of the kami, I argue, resulted from postwar studies of Shinto that sought first of all to explain the prewar emperor system state. As such, the origin of the imperial institution as a de facto political authority was regularly traced back to the Nativist nationalism. Here no need was felt to problematize the relationship between the kami and the emperor. Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Kokka Shinto* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006).

21  Hara Takeshi's *Izumo to iu shisō: kindai Nihon no massatsu sareta kamigami* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1995) is the only work that takes up Ōkuninushi and the Izumo gods as the subject of a major study. It however is a critique of the pre-1945 authoritarian emperor system state (*tennōsei kokka*), which "obliterated" (*massatsu*) the Izumo kami, and did not ask if there was a more complicated relationship between the two in history.

22  Isomae Jun'ichi's *Kindai Nihon no shūkyō gensetsu to sono keifu* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2003) is a pioneering work on the discourse of religion in the Meiji period. Trent Maxey's *The Greatest Problem: Religion and State Formation in Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014) is an excellent study in English of how the concept of religion figured in Meiji state building. Jason Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012) is another major work taking on the subject of religion in Japanese history.

# Chapter 1: Resurrecting the Great Lord of the Land, 1653–1667

1  Kurosawa Sekisai, "Kaikitsudan," in *Zokuzoku gunsho ruijū*, Vol. 9 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankō kai, 1906), 433.

2  Kurosawa, "Kaikitsudan," 433.

3  While scholars have identified the emergence of a discourse of the kami or Shinto at the beginning of the seventeenth century, investigations into this Shinto discourse have often been framed by the questions of why and how the imperial institution arose to prominence. Two major studies, Maeda Tsutomu's *Kinsei Shinto to Kokugaku* and Herman Ooms's *Tokugawa Ideology*, had this question in the background. Rather than being explained in terms of the rise of the imperial institution, the rise of the Shinto discourse needs be more effectively explored in terms of the construction and transformation of an authoritative form of knowledge.

4  Ōkuninushi was enshrined at the Izumo Shrine until the tenth century. In the process of consolidating the political authority of the Yamato clan in the eighth and ninth centuries, however, Ōkuninushi was classified by the Yamato court as an earthly god who fought against the heavenly gods, whereas his father Susanoo, being the brother of Amaterasu, was classified as a heavenly one. In order to identify itself with the imperial court, the head priest of the Izumo Shrine changed the god from Ōkuninushi to Susanoo sometime in the tenth century. Taisha chōshi henshū iinkai, *Taisha chōshi,* Vol. 1 (Izumo City, Shimane Pref.: Izumo City, 1991), 431.

5  "Kokusō Izumo Noritoki kaijō dodai utsushi," quoted in *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 432–3.

6  "Gakuen jiso nanigashi shojo dankan," quoted in *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 432.

7  "Honji suijaku," *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=1356 (last accessed January 2015). Honji suijaku was not the only relation between Buddhist divinity and the kami. Prior to it the kami was perceived in a variety of capacities in relation to the Buddhist divinity. The complex Buddha-kami relationship in medieval Japan is discussed in detail in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London and New York: Routledge, 2003). See also Kuroda Toshio, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion," trans. James C. Dubbins and Susanne Gay, *Journal of Japanese Studies* 7 (1) (Winter 1981): 14–16.

8  "Honji suijaku," *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=1356 (last accessed January 2014).

9  *Encyclopedia of Shinto* states that the Izumo god was identified as the manifestation of *Seishi bosatsu*, or the Bodhisattva of Strength, although it is not clear when this identification was made. It did not appear in the sources I consulted. See *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/images/uploads/EOS070712Qb.pdf (last accessed January 2014).

10  Juxtaposing two texts separated by more than two centuries raises the question as to whether this essence-trace ideology ever changed in medieval Japan. It indeed changed and, as will be explained in a later section of the chapter, by the sixteenth century the Izumo Shrine was formulating different ways to articulate its interests and goals. In this context, the Gakuenji Temple text may be interpreted as an attempt to reiterate the ideology to maintain its higher status over the Izumo Shrine.

11    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 463–5.

12    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 461.

13    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 521.

14    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 519.

15    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 522–4.

16    Kuroda Toshio, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 462–7; Mikael Adolphson, *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2000), 344–5.

17    Quoted in Kuroda Toshio, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to shūkyō,* 464.

18    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 475–8.

19    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 712–13.

20    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 678.

21    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 681–2.

22    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 701.

23    Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai, ed., *Kokushi daijiten,* Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1979–7), 645–6.

24    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 701.

25    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 698.

26    "Izumo Taisha hongan shidai," quoted in *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 701.

27    Ono Yasuhiro et al., eds., *Nihon shūkyō jiten* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1985), 402.

28    *Nihon shūkyō jiten*, 1985, 402.

29    *Taisha choshi,* Vol. 1, 759. Nishioka, Kazuhiko, *Kinsei Izumo Taisha no kisoteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daimeido, 2002), 17. See also Taisha chōshi henshū iinkai, *Taisha chōshi,* Vol. 2, Izumo City, Shimane Pref.: Izumo City, 2008), 78.

30    Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth Century Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 254–5.

31    McMullin, *Buddhism and the State*, 259.

32    Takano Toshihiko, *Kinsei Nihon no kokka kenryoku to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai, 1989), 85.

33    Arakawa Hiroshi, *Nihonjin no uchū kan: Asuka kara gendai made* (Tokyo: Kinokuniya shoten, 2002), 151–2. Arakawa argues that the arrival of Christian missionaries marked the "second movement of civilization and enlightenment" following the first one in the sixth and seventh centuries when Asian continental culture was introduced to Japan. First and foremost, Arakawa claims, thanks to the Jesuits, "the Japanese learned that the land they lived on was a sphere that floats in the air!" Needless to say, the "Japanese" here refers to a very small group of people with various levels of understanding of Western astronomy introduced to Japan.

34    George Elison, *Deus Destroyed, the Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1991), 26.

35    Iwasaki Chikatsugu, *Nihon kinsei shisōshi josetsu*. Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shin Nihon shuppan sha, 1997), 58–65.

36    Iwasaki, *Nihon kinsei shisōshi josetsu*, 65–9.

37    Iwasaki, *Nihon kinsei shisōshi josetsu,* 61.

38    "Yoshida Shinto," *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=372 (last accessed January 2013). Sakade Yoshinobu shows that the Shinto ritual of earth purification, performed at all construction sites in Japan, had its origin in the Daoist ritual of pacifying earth gods in five directions. It is in Yoshida Shinto that the Onmyōdō (The Yin-yang School) ritual which derived from the earlier Daoist ritual was reconfigured to be a specifically Shinto

ritual. Sakade Yoshinobu. "Waga kuni ni okeru chichin girei to hando no kan'nen–sono dōkyō teki kigen wo saguru." *In'yō gogyō no saiensu.* ed. Takeda Toshimasa (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 2011), 219–27.

39   Allan Grapard, "The Shinto of Yoshida Kanetomo," *Monumenta Nipponica* 47 (1) (Spring 1992), 45.

40   Yoshida Kanetomo, "Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshu," translated by Allan Grapard. *Monumenta Nipponica* 47 (1) (Summer 1992), 144.

41   Yoshida Kanetomo, "Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshu," in *Shinto taikei, ronsetsu hen*, Vol. 8 (Tokyo: Shinto taikei hensan kai, 1985), 240.

42   Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen, eds., *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion* (London: Routledge, 2006).

43   The third, *Sendai kuji hongi*, was discredited in the early Tokugawa period as fabrications in a much later time than it claimed to be, and thereafter fell into disrepute and disuse. See John Bentley. *The Authenticity of* Sendai kuji hongi: *A New Examination of Texts with a Translation and Commentary* (Leiden and Boston: Brill 2006). Yoshida Kanetomo wrote a commentary on the Divine Ages part of *Nihon shoki* entitled "Nihon shoki jindai no maki sho," collected in *Zoku Shōmono shiryō shūsei*, Vol. 9 (Osaka, Japan: Seibundō, 1981).

44   "Yoshida Shinto," *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=372 (last accessed January 2013). See also Maeda Hiromi, "Imperial Authority and Local Shrines: The Yoshida house and the Creation of a Countrywide Shinto Institution in Early Modern Japan," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University. 2003.

45   Ōkuwa Hitoshi, *Nihon kinsei no shisō to Bukkyō* (Kyoto, Japan: Hōzōkan, 1989).

46   "Hai yaso," in *Nihon shisō taikei*, Vol. 25: *Kirishitan shō, haiya shō*, eds. Ebisawa Arimichi et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1980), 414–17. Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan*, 175–7.

47   Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570–1680* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 72–8.

48   Hayashi Razan, "Shinto denju," in *Nihon shiso taikei*, Vol. 39: *Kinsei Shinto ron, zenki kokugaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1974), 44. Hayashi arguably was the first person to attempt to unify the various valences in the term *shin*. Subsequently *shin* as a term vital to both the Neo-Confucian and the kami discourses developed to be a critical issue that contributed to the eventual break-up of the followers of Yamazaki Ansai, the main synthesizer of Neo-Confucianism and Shinto in the early modern period, who himself did not seem to have felt the tension as strongly.

49   Hayashi, "Shinto denju," 44.

50   Hayashi, "Shinto denju," 13.

51   Hayashi, "Shinto denju," 12.

52   Hayashi, Razan. "Honchō jinja kō" in *Shintō taikei, Ronsetsu hen*, Vol. 20 (Tokyo: Shinto taikei hensan kai, 1988), 32.

53   *Shinshoshō* is briefly referred to by Oka Tomohiko in his recent study of the courtier Kuga house in the medieval period. Oka Tomohiko, *Chūsei Kugake to Kuga ryō shōen* (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruiju kansei kai, 2002).

54   *Jingiryō*, or Codes of Divine Affairs, no longer exists but can be partially retrieved from the *ritsuryō* legal code annotation text *ryō no gige* (834), which Hayashi referred to.

55   Hayashi, "Honchō jinja kō," 133.

56   *Taisha chōshi,* Vol. 1, 502–606.

57    *Taisha chōshi,* Vol. 1, 599–603.
58    I summarized the fire-drill ritual based on the documents that are concerned
       with debates between the two houses. There are no verifiable, earlier sources on
       the ritual itself. See Hirai Naofusa, *Izumo kokusō hitsugi shinji no kenkyū* (Kyoto:
       Taimeidō, 1989). Also see Walter Hough, "Japanese Sacred Fire Drill," *American
       Anthropologist* 2 (October 1889): 355–6.
59    Murata Masashi, ed., *Izumo kokusō ke monjo* (Osaka: Seibundō shuppan, 1968),
       109.
60    *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 108–10.
61    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 601–6.
62    *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 167–8.
63    *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 169–70.
64    Both the Senge and the Kitajima regularly visited Kyoto and they met often with
       the Yoshida house. Senge mentioned that he reported Kitajima's succession to the
       Yoshida; *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 170.
65    *Izumo kokusō ke monjo,* 321.
66    *Izumo kokusō ke monjo,* 329–30.
67    Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 429–30.
68    Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 391–2.
69    Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 406.
70    Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 406–7.
71    Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 407.
72    Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan,* 407.
73    Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 437. The names of the gods are always followed in Japanese
       by honorific suffixes *-no mikoto* or *-no kami*. While I included the honorifics here
       to show the significance Kurosawa attached to the names, honorific suffixes are in
       general omitted in this book.
74    Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 430.
75    Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 434.
76    *Tokugawa shokei keifu,* quoted in Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo*, 22.
77    Quoted in Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 69.
78    "Matsudaira Naomasa," *Kokushi daijiten*, Vol. 13, 136–7.
79    Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo*, 68.
80    Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 70.
81    Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 69–70.
82    The divinization of Tokugawa Ieyasu coupled with the formation of a complex
       ideology was achieved by a Tendai monk named Tenkai. See Ooms, *Tokugawa
       Ideology*, 181–6.
83    Takano, *Kinsei Nihon no kokka kenryoku to shūkyō*, 91.
84    Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Kokka Shinto* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006), 59.
85    Takano, *Kinsei Nihon no kokka kenryoku to shūkyō*, 89.
86    Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 21.
87    Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 21.
88    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 2, 96.
89    Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 74.
90    Sakusa Norikiyo, *Taisha ozōei nikki* (1662/4/5 entry), 92.
91    Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 81–3.
92    Sakusa, *Taisha ozōei nikki*, 91.
93    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 2, 98; Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo*, 98–9. According to Yamazaki

Ansai's family genealogy record (*kafu*), Yamazaki left his home in Kyoto on 3/21 and returned on 5/27. It is highly likely then that during 3/29 to 4/5, Yamazaki stayed at Inoue's residence: *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 2, 45.

94   Sakusa, *Taisha ozōei nikki*, 92.
95   Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 221.
96   Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 227.
97   Yamazaki Ansai, "Jindaikan kōgi," in *Nihon shisō taikei*, Vol. 39; *Kinsei Shintō ron, Zenki Kokugaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1972), 175–6.
98   Sakusa, *Taisha ozōei nikki*, 95.
99   Deguchi Nobuyoshi (1615–90), the priest of Ise's Outer Shrine (the Ise Shrine consists of two major shrines, the Outer Shrine enshrining the Toyouke kami and the Inner Shrine enshrining Amaterasu) and the successor of the Watarai Shinto intellectual tradition in the early Tokugawa period, advocated an inclusive approach to Buddhism and Confucianism. He claimed that, "neither kami nor Buddha, Confucius nor Lao Zi should be discarded, nor should they be commingled." Nakanishi Masayoshi, "Ise Shinto," *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, http://eos.kokugakuin. ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=594 (last accessed December 19, 2015).
100  Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 86.
101  Sakusa, *Taisha ozōei nikki*, 111.
102  Senge Takamune, *Izumo Taisha* (Tokyo: Gakusei sha, 1968), 177. Taisha chōshi henshū iinkai, *Taisha chōshi nenpyō* (Izumo City, Shimane Pref.: Izumo City, 2008), 37.
103  Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 90–1.
104  *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 774.
105  Herman Ooms emphasizes that the bakufu did not actively use Neo-Confucianism promoted by Hayashi Razan and his sons as its political ideology. It is equally important to note that production of ideological effect was not predicated totally on official endorsement. That is to say, the Tokugawa bakufu's sponsoring of Hayashi's Confucian theory, including his Confucian-style historical project *Honchō tsūgan* had generated the effect that the Hayashi family became a channel to obtain legitimacy, as the Izumo Shrine was doing by asking for an official entry about its rebuilding in official history. This act of seeking legitimacy itself constitutes a moment in the production and dissemination of ideologies, which were not always dependent on explicit official endorsement by the bakufu. Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 72–80.
106  Hayashi Gaho, "Izumo kuni Kitsuki Taisha saiko ki," in Senge Takatomi, *Izumo daishin* (Kitsuki Town, Shimane Pref.: Taishakyo hon'in, 1921), 140.
107  Hayashi, "Izumo kuni Kitsuki Taisha saiko ki," 138–40.

## Chapter 2: The Month without the Gods, 1600–1871

1   1 *koku* equals roughly 180 liters or the amount of rice consumed by one adult in one year.
2   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 759.
3   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 750. Also, see John Whitney Hall, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 4: *Early Modern Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 40–95.

4    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 749–50. Also see "Mōri ke geji jō," *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 193.

5    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 756–7.

6    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 758.

7    *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 757.

8    Hur Nam-lin, "The International Context of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea in 1592: A Clash between Chinese Culturalism and Japanese Militarism," *Korea Observer* 28 (1997): 687–707.

9    Nakano Hitoshi, *Bunroku Keichō no eki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 2008), 35.

10   Nishioka Takeshi, "Izumo Taisha no oshi," in *Izumo Shinko*, ed. Ishizuka Takatoshi (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1986): 106.

11   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 2, 24–5.

12   During the rule of Matsudaira Naomasa, the Izumo Shrine also received donations and its landholding increased to 2,730 koku, among which 336 koku was designated specifically for performing rituals. "Matsudaira Naomasa kishinjo utsushi," *Izumo kokusō ke monjo,* 367. *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 2, 77. The shrine received donations twice from the Matsue domain lord, in 1857 and 1863, at the compound value of approximately 440 koku of rice, making its overall landholding to exceed 3,500 koku by the end of the Tokugawa period. *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 2. 58.

13   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 764.

14   "Mōri ke bugyō renshō ateokonai jō," *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 197–9.

15   *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 200.

16   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 763.

17   "Suetsugu Motoyasu shojō," *Izumo kokusō ke monjo,* 189. Demands for ritual praying for the benefit of the Mori house, rather than of an agriculturally oriented local society, are a constant theme running through the records in the source materials. The terms *kinen* and *inori* (praying) appear in many documents issued by the Mori to the shrine. See *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 165, 175, 176, 177, 187, 189, 198, 223, 230, 252, and *passim*.

18   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 764.

19   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 2, 54–5.

20   "Kitsuki Taisha shinryō Kitajima bun chūmon," *Izumo kokusō ke monjō*, 269–70.

21   "Kokusō Kitajima Hirotaka oboegaki an," in *Izumo kokusō ke monjo,* 278–9. The crest with the Chinese character *u*有 which Hirotaka referred to is not used today, as I was unable to find any at the Izumo Shrine. The shrine uses another crest, which has a flower rather than the Chinese character *u* inside the hexagon or, in Kitajima's words, "the tortoise-shell [shaped outer border]." But the shrine used both crests in the seventeenth century. The Grand Izumo Exhibition, held in Kyoto in 2013, displayed both writing table and ink-stone cases inscribed with the Chinese character *u* crest and toiletry cases decorated with the flower crest, all of which dated from the seventeenth century. Kyoto National Museum, *The Grand Izumo Exhibition* catalogue, exhibition organized by Kyoto National Museum, Shimane Prefecture, Shimane Museum of Ancient Izumo, NHK Kyoto Station, NHK PlanNet, Inc. Kinki Branch Office, and The Yomiuri Shimbun. July 28– September 9, 2012, 179, 182.

22   The basic spatial-temporal correspondence between the twelve zodiac signs (*jūni shi*), months, and spatial directions goes as follows: *shi* (子)—11th month-north, *chū* (丑)—12th month-northeast by north, *in* (寅)—1st month-northeast by south, *bō* (卯)—2nd month-east, *shin* (辰)—3rd month-southeast

by north, *shi* (巳)—4th month-southeast by south, *go* (午)—5th month-south, *bi* (未)—6th month-southwest by south, *shin* (申)—7th month-southwest by north, *yū* (酉)—8th month-west, *jutsu* (戌)—9th month-northwest by south, and *gai* (亥)—10th month-northwest by north.

23   "Kokusō Kitajima Hirotaka oboegaki an," in *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 278.
24   "Kokusō Kitajima Hirotaka sojō an," in *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 369–71.
25   "Kokusō Kitajima Hirotaka oboegaki an narabi sojō an," *Izumo kokusō ke monjo*, 328.
26   Ishizuka Takatoshi, "Izumo shinkō no enkaku," in *Izumo shinkō,* ed. Ishizaka Takatoshi (Tokyo: Yuzankaku shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1986a), 72.
27   Ishizuka, "Izumo shinkō no enkaku," 75–8.
28   "Taisha," in *Hangyo bunko*, an online database of Tokugawa-period literary texts created by Takahashi Akihiko, a professor at Kanazawa College of Art, Japan, http://www.kanazawa-bidai.ac.jp/~hangyo/utahi/text/yo018.txt (last accessed May 7, 2013).
29   Ishizuka, "Izumo shinkō no enkaku," 85.
30   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 467–71.
31   Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 391–2.
32   Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 388–9.
33   Hayashi, "Shinto denju," 23.
34   Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 389.
35   Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 389.
36   Kurosawa, *Kaikitsudan*, 434.
37   Sakusa Yorikiyo, "Izumo mitsuharu zuihitsu," in *Shinto taikei, Jinja hen*, Vol. 37: *Izumo Taisha*, ed. Shinto taikei hensankai (Tokyo: Shinto taikei hensankai, 1978–91), 224.
38   Sakusa, "Izumo mitsuharu zuihitsu," 226–47.
39   Another fund-raising effort of the Izumo Shrine in the early modern period was issuing lotteries. Shimane ken kodai bunka sentaa. *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu* (Matsue, Shimane Pref., Japan: Shimane ken kodai bunka sentaa, 2005), 193–4.
40   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 787.
41   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 788–9.
42   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 786.
43   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 794.
44   Senge Katsuhiko, "Izumo shinko to oshi no kaikoku," in *Izumo shinkō*, ed. Ishizuka Takatoshi (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1986a), 97.
45   No records show that the Tokugawa bakufu or the domain government participated in authorizing the oshi. It seems the Tokugawa polity pursued a relatively hands-off policy with regard to the fiscal operation of religious institutions in comparison with its predecessors such as the Mori or the Amago. Giving the oshi-authorizing power to the Izumo Shrine can be understood as part of this loosening up. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the bakufu sponsored many of the rebuilding projects of temples and shrines. When its own financial situation declined, it allowed a large amount of freedom to temples and shrines to develop fund-raising mechanisms, including popular preaching and lottery. See Nishioka Kazuhiko. *Kinsei Izumo Taisha no kisoteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daimeidō, 2002), 129, 145–7.
46   It is to be noted that although I choose to use the English term "preach" for lack of a better term, propagating a doctrine related to divine being or the afterlife, as preaching is usually understood, did not comprise a major part of the oshi's activities.

47   "Eidai uriwatashi moshi danjo no koto," in *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 1–2.

48   Shimane ken kodai bunka sentaa, *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu* (Matsue, Shimane Pref., Japan: Shimane ken kodai bunka sentaa, 2005), 197.

49   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 790.

50   Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 187 n.18.

51   *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 193.

52   *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 195.

53   *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 197.

54   *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 198.

55   Nagoya University Library. *Ise geku onshi Kita Shinsaemon ke ni tsuite*, http://info.nul.nagoya-u.ac.jp/wakan/kita.html (last accessed May 8, 2013).

56   *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 196.

57   *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 197.

58   Tanaka's diary does not tell us whether and how he ushered his confraternity members to the Izumo Shrine and how much he earned by providing accommodation to these pilgrims. But an oshi named Akayama Noboru in his memoir *Kitsuki kyūkai dan* (1921) confirms that some oshi were able to make a fortune out of providing accommodation. They arranged with the Izumo Shrine to give pilgrims the chance to pray inside the main sanctuary, to view the valuable items of the shrine, and to enjoy dances performed by priests. These arrangements, while costing some money for the oshi, enticed large numbers of Izumo followers. Cf. *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 197.

59   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 678.

60   Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 154.

61   As part of the consolidation of its political rule, in the early seventeenth century the Tokugawa bakufu sponsored the rebuilding of many temples and shrines, including the Izumo Shrine. Into the second half of the century, however, the bakufu's policy shifted from direct financial sponsorship to authorization of preaching by temples and shrines to raise funds. This policy change led to a transformation in the economic and social life of temples and shrines, a transformation also described by Barbara Ambros in her book on the Ōyama pilgrimage. See Barbara Ambros, *Emplacing a Pilgrimage: The Oyama Cult and Regional Religion in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 34–53.

62   Conrad Totman, *Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 33.

63   Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 145.

64   Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 145–50.

65   "Izumo Taisha kange chō goenki," quoted in full in *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 2, 341–2.

66   "Izumo Taisha kange chō goenki," 341.

67   "Izumo Taisha kange chō goenki," 342.

68   Sasa Seishō, "Taisha yūmei shi," in *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 170.

69   Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 138–70.

70   Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 138.

71   *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, trans. W. G. Aston (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972).

72   Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 144–5.

73   Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 145.

74   Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 167.

75    Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 145.

76    Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 158.

77    Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 159.

78    Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 158. A multi-domain survey conducted and collected in *Shōkoku fūzoku mondo jō* or "Questionnaire on customs of the provinces" in the 1810s confirms Sasa's statement of the wide practice of *Kamiokuri* and *kamimukai* in early modern period. Ishizuka Takatoshi's recent research shows that the two rituals were performed widely across Japan in the 1960s. It is likely that these rituals were continuously performed into the modern period. Ishizuka Takatoshi, "Kami okuri Kami mukae no mondai" in *Izumo Shinkō*, ed. Ishizuka Takatoshi (Tokyo: Yuzan kaku, 1986b).

79    Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 141.

80    Watanabe Hiroshi, *Nihon Seiji Shisō shi* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2010), 70–5. According to Watanabe (71–2), for people of Tokugawa Japan, "*ie* [the household or the family genealogy] is something received from ancestors and should be handed down to offspring. It is something extending beyond generations and to be continued eternally."

81    This brief introduction to Mahākāla is based on "Daikoku," in *Nihon no shinbutsu no jiten*, ed. Ōshima Tatehiko (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 2001) and "Daikokuten," in *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=203 (last accessed February 18, 2013).

82    The Kyogen plays were assembled in four collections during the mid-Tokugawa period. See *Daijirin*, ed. Matsumura Akira (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1988).

83    "Fuku no kami" ["The God of Happiness"], *The Book of Kyōgen in English*, trans. and ed. Don Kenny (Tokyo: Dramabooks Gekishobo, 1986), 58.

84    By the end of the seventeenth century, the popularity of the Seven Fortune Gods had triggered competing efforts to define these gods as Shinto kami or Buddhist deities. In 1698, the priest Makaaraya's *Nihon shichi fukujin den* which provided a Buddhist explanation to the gods was challenged by the Shinto popularizer Masuho Zanko whose *Shichi fukujin godenki* (1737) argued instead that all the gods originated in the Divine Ages of Japan. In turn, these competing efforts to determine the origin of the gods contributed to the plurality of their origin and to the multiple ways in which their power could be appealed to.

85    Nishioka Kazuhiko, "Daikoku shinzō kō—Izumo Taisha to Suika Shinto to no kankei kara" *Shinto bunka* 17 (November 2005): 24 n.27.

86    Nishioka, "Daikoku shinzō kō," 16. Institutional links between the Izumo Shrine and Suika Shinto scholars started in the 1700s when the Izumo Shrine, in order to strengthen its doctrinal basis, adopted Yamazaki Ansai's Suika Shinto by sending its priest Matsui Jinsai to study under one of Yamazaki's best-known successors Wakabayashi Kyōsai (1679–1732). Matsui returned to Izumo to open his Suika Shinto academy, which received high appraisal from the Matsue domain lord. See Nishioka, "Izumo Taisha ni okeru Suika Shinto to Kokugaku no kyosei," *Nihon shisōshigaku* 32 (September 2009), 68.

87    Kisaki Tekisō, "Shui zatsuwa," quoted in *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu*, 193.

88    Since it is known that his son, Senge Toshizane, was born in 1793, we can safely deduce that Senge Toshikatsu was active around the turn of the nineteenth century.

89    Sasa, "Taisha yūmei shi," 146.

90    "Ebisu Daikoku" ("Two Happy Gods"), in *The Kyogen Book, an Anthology of Japanese Classical Comedies*, ed. Don Kenny (Tokyo: Japan Times, 1989), 162–6.

91    Yoshii Yoshitake, ed., *Ebisu shinko jiten* (Tokyo: Ebisu kosho shuppan, 1999). See also "Ebisu," in *Encyclopedia of Shinto* http://eos.kokugakuin.ac.jp/modules/xwords/entry.php?entryID=206 (last accessed February 2012).

92    Interestingly, present-day Nishinomiya Shrine focuses on the Ebisu god without any reference to Daikoku. I can only find a few images of the two gods together portrayed on old paintings at the shrine's website (http://nishinomiya-ebisu.com/ebisudb/index.html) (accessed May 2014). During my visit to the Nishinomiya Shrine in January 2012, I did not find any visual or textual reference to Daikoku, nor did the priest there give me any information. Hence, these paintings can be inferred to be from earlier periods, in particular the early modern period. One can also imagine that one reason contributing to the current focus on Ebisu without Daikoku is probably the need to separate Shinto from Buddhism in the early Meiji period. Daikoku may have been identified as Mahākāla, a Buddhist deity, and was separated from Ebisu, who was easily presented as an indigenous deity. The image in Figure 7 is from a collection at the Hakushika Seke Museum which is within walking distance of the Nishinomiya Shrine.

93    "Ebisu Daikoku" ("Two Happy Gods"), in *The Kyogen Book, an Anthology of Japanese Classical Comedies*, ed. Don Kenny (Tokyo: Japan Times, 1989), 162–6.

94    Sakusa, "Izumo Mizuharu zuihitsu."

95    Ishizuka, "Izumo shinko no enkaku," 82.

96    "Taisha Ryūjajin benryaku." *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu,* 132–3.

97    The period of Nariai's life and the association tract is unknown. I used Dragon-Snake God scroll images, which are a common item in Izumo preaching material collections, from the late Tokugawa and early Meiji period to explain Nariai's preaching strategies based on the assumption that similar or identical amulets and scrolls were used before the Meiji period and by Nariai.

98    "Daikokuten shinkō," *Nihonshi daijiten*, 736.

99    "Koshimachi," *Nihonshi daijiten*, 375.

100   "Izumo Taisha kinoene ko karichō," *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu,* 132.

101   "Izumo Taisha kinoene ko karichō," *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu,* 132.

102   "Futofuto sennin kō Izumo Taisha hōhei kifu seimei roku," *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku kōfu,* 133–7.

103   "Futofuto sennin kō Izumo Taisha hōhei kifu seimei roku," *Izumo Taisha no oshi to shintoku hōfu,* 133–4.

104   Gregory Smits, "Warding off Calamities in Japan, a Comparison of the 1855 Catfish Prints and the 1862 Measles Prints," *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 30 (2009): 11.

# Chapter 3: True Pillar of the Soul, 1792–1846

1     The distinction between political ideology and essentialized religiosity has framed a great deal of postwar scholarship on Kokugaku. One common reading is that the political dimensions of Kokugaku, i.e., as an emperor-revering political theory, hijacked its potential of development into a religious, esp. salvationist theory. Nakajima Michio, "Taikyō senpu undō to saijin ronsō," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 126 (1972): 53. Also see Matsumoto Sannosuke, "Bakumatsu Kokugaku no shisōshi teki igi," *Kinsei Nihon no shisōzō* (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1984), 74–108.

2    The commentary is "Nihon shoki jindai no maki sho," discussed in Chapter 1.

3    Susan Burns, *Before the Nation: Nativism and Imagining the Community in Early Modern Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 43.

4    Burns, *Before the Nation*, 50–2.

5    Translation by Susan Burns, *Before the Nation*, 71.

6    For example, in *Naobi no mitama*, which prefaces the *Kojiki-den*, Motoori repeats himself time after time in pointing out that the Way of the Gods (*kami no michi*) was the term he uses to refer to the actual life of ancient Japan that should be distinguished from the Ways of foreign countries. Motoori, "Naobi no mitama," *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, Vol. 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968–93), 50, 53, 57, 62, and *passim*.

7    Maruyama Masao, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1974).

8    See Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan,* esp. 159, 272–4.

9    Koyasu Nobukuni, *Norinaga to Atsutane no sekai* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron sha, 1977).

10   *Kojiki,* translated with an Introduction and Notes by Donald L. Philippi (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968), 47. This is an adaptation from Philippi's translation. I changed his transliterations of gods' names in accordance with the now widely used Hepburn notation system.

11   Motoori, *Kojiki-den*, Vol. 9, 125.

12   Motoori, *Kojiki-den*, Vol. 9, 125.

13   Motoori, *Kojiki-den*, Vol. 9, 126.

14   I am using the pronunciations of the names of the kami, such as Takami-musubi no kami, that were determined by Motoori and have since become the standard pronunciations. That is, while I am aware that it is Motoori who for the first time provided these pronunciations, thereby settling the meanings of these kami, I have to develop my critique from within the text space first created by Motoori and apply these pronunciations and meanings before I can denaturalize them.

15   Motoori, *Kojiki-den*, Vol. 9, 129.

16   Motoori, *Kojiki-den*, Vol. 9, 129.

17   Motoori, *Kojiki-den*, Vol. 9, 129.

18   Burns, *Before the Nation*, 70.

19   Motoori, *Kojiki-den*, Vol. 9, 130.

20   Burns, *Before the Nation*, 91.

21   Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan,* 192.

22   Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan*, 157.

23   Francis Xavier, *Sei furanshisuko zabieru zenshokan*, Vol. 3, trans. Kōno Yoshinori (Tokyo: Heibon sha, 1994), 186.

24   Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan,* 153, 156–7. The *Collegio* and the *novitiate* opened by the Jesuits survived until 1614 when Tokugawa Ieyasu issued the expulsion order. George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed, the Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1991), 71.

25   Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan,* 158.

26   Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan.* Wada Mitsutoshi, "Kyōhō ki ni okeru kaireki no kokoromi to seiyō tenbungaku no tō'nyū," *Jūhachi seiki Nihon no bunka jōkyō to kokusai kankyō*, ed. Kasaya Kazuhiko (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2011), 159–60.

27   Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan,* 190.

28    Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan,* 190–1.

29    Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan,* 192–3.

30    You Yi, *Tian-jing-huo-wen* (Tokyo: Nishikawa Tadaaki, 1900); Arakawa, *Nihonjin no uchūkan,* 195.

31    Nakayama Shigeru, *A History of Japanese Astronomy, Chinese Background and Western Impact* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 114.

32    In as late as 1684, calendar making, astrology, and yin-yang divination were all put under the administration of the single household of the Tsuchimikado, which traced its genealogy to Abe no Seimei, the legendary yin-yang master at the Onmyō Divination Office of the Heian court. Calendrical observation and calculation were connected to the knowledge of divination that had a cosmological dimension in the Tsuchimikado house-office. While in the same year the bakufu's Astronomy Office (*tenmongata*) completed a new calendar *Jōkyōreki*, it reported the calendar to the Tsuchimikado house for inspection and permission for implementation, acknowledging at least the formal authority of the Tsuchimikado household in calendar making. Masayoshi Sugimoto and David L. Swain. *Science & Culture in Traditional Japan* (Rutland, VT and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1989), 124–5, 256.

33    Nakayama, *History of Japanese astronomy,* 113–14.

34    Hattori Nakatsune, "Sandaikō," in *Nihon shiso taikei*, Vol. 50: *Hirata Atsutane, Ban Nobutomo, Okuni Takamasa* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1973), 255–6.

35    Hattori, "Sandaikō," 255.

36    Hattori, "Sandaikō," 255.

37    Hattori, "Sandaikō," 257–8.

38    Burns, *Before the Nation*, 84–6.

39    Hattori, "Sandaikō," 258.

40    Hattori, "Sandaikō," 259.

41    Hattori, "Sandaikō," 259–60.

42    Hattori, "Sandaikō," 262–3.

43    Hattori, "Sandaikō," 263.

44    The historian Kanazawa Hideyuki shows that the initial draft of Hattori's *Sandaikō* did not specify the whereabouts of Susanoo and Ōkuninushi. It is Motoori who indicated the necessity of consigning them to the moon, a move adopted in Hattori's published version. Kanazawa interprets that this distancing Ōkuninushi and Susanoo from the realm of the emperor, i.e., the earth, was Motoori's strategy to free the emperor from possible challenge from the erstwhile rivalry god Ōkuninushi who was forced to surrender the land. Kanazawa further suggests that it is out of this concern that Motoori endorsed Hattori's astronomy theory. The final version of *Sandaikō* as published in *Kojiki-den* reflects this ideological concern. Kanazawa's argument shows that conceptions of the physicality of the astronomical entities of the earth and the moon played into Motoori and Hattori's cosmological and ideological arrangements. Kanazawa Hideyuki, *Norinaga to "sandaikō:" Kinsei Nihon no shinwateki sekaizō* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2005).

45    Hattori, "Sandaikō," 265–7.

46    Kanazawa, *Norinaga to "sandaikō,"* 127–54.

47    Burns, *Before the Nation*, 24–30.

48    Burns*, Before the Nation*, 25.

49    Burns, *Before the Nation*, 29.

50    Herman Ooms, *Charismatic Bureaucrat: a Political Biography of Matsudaira*

*Sadanobu, 1758–1829* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 137–9.

51  Nakayama Shigeru, *The Orientation of Science and Technology: A Japanese View* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009), 338.

52  Kagawa Takayuki, *Kuzureyuku sakoku* (Vol. 14 of *Nihon no rekishi*) (Tokyo: Shūei sha, 1992), 102.

53  Kagawa, *Kuzureyuku sakoku*, 96–105.

54  Motoori, *Motoori Norinaga zenshu*, Vol. 1, 54–5.

55  Fujita Satoru, *Kinsei koki seijishi to taigai kankei* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai 2005), 185.

56  Kagawa, *Kuzureyuku sakoku*, 112–13.

57  Kagawa, *Kuzureyuku sakoku*, 170.

58  Hirata Atsutane, "Chishima no shiranami," in *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū, fui 5* (Tokyo: Meichō shuppan, 1980), 1–2.

59  Hirata, *Chishima no shiranami*, 2.

60  Hirata, *Chishima no shiranami*, 2–3.

61  Katsurajima Nobuhiro, "Kai shiso no kaitai to jita ninshiko no henyō," in *Kindai Nihon no bunka shi*, Vol. 2, ed. Shimazono Susumu (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2001), 9.

62  Burns, *Before the Nation*, 95–6.

63  Hirata Atsutane, *Honkyō gaihen*, in Sakamoto Harukichi, *Hirata Atsutane no fukko Shintō to Kirisuto kyō* (Osaka: Sakamoto ina, 1986), 52–4, 61, 79–80. Sakamoto juxtaposes the passages from the three Catholic texts side by side with Hirata's version of them, facilitating clear and exact comparison.

64  Hirata, *Honkyō gaihen*, 33.

65  Hirata, *Honkyō gaihen*, 35.

66  Hirata, *Honkyō gaihen*, 35.

67  Hirata, *Honkyō gaihen*, 61.

68  Hirata, *Honkyō gaihen*, 65.

69  Hirata Atsutane, *Tama no mihashira*, annotated by Koyasu Nobukuhi (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2006), 11.

70  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 12.

71  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 12.

72  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 20.

73  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 69.

74  Hiraat, *Tama no mihashira*, 70.

75  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 77.

76  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 77.

77  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 78. Indeed, Hirata extensively discusses the *magatsuki* and *naobi* dimensions of the spirit in his magnum opus *Koshiden,* which he did not finish and was unpublished at the time of his death in 1843. As a result, *True Pillar of the Soul* was much more widely read than the *Koshiden*.

78  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 134–46.

79  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 78–9, 135–6.

80  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 106.

81  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 111–12.

82  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 111, 118.

83  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 114.

84  Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 114.

85    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 114–15.
86    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 166.
87    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira*, 144.
88    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 169.
89    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 118.
90    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 153.
91    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 146–9.
92    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 172.
93    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 173.
94    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 115.
95    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 191.
96    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 191.
97    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 191–2.
98    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 192.
99    Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 193.
100   Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 196.
101   Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 196.
102   Hirata, *Tama no mihashira,* 197.
103   The dissemination and influence of Hirata's kokugaku, alternatively known as
       Restoration Shinto, has been well documented by postwar scholars. Two recent
       publications on this subject are Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan
       (National Museum of Japanese History), *Meiji ishin to Hirata Kokugaku* (exhibition
       pamphlet), October 13–December 5, 2004, and Endo Jun, *Hirata kokugaku to kinsei
       shakai* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 2008). Earlier, Ito Tasaburo and Haga Noboru are two
       major scholars on Hirata kokugaku in the late Tokugawa period. The *minshushi*
       (people's history) historian Haga is especially prolific, see e.g., Haga Noboru,
       *Bakumatsu kokugaku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Hanawa sensho, 1963). In English, a major
       work is Anne Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the
       Meiji Restoration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
104   John Breen and Mark Teeuwen, *A New History of Shinto* (Malden, MA: Wiley-
       Blackwell, 2010), 64.
105   Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 210.
106   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 308.
107   *Taisha chōshi*, Vol. 1, 314.
108   Senge Toshizane, "Izumo fūdoki," *Shintōgaku* 117 (1983): 58–9.
109   Yamazaki Ansai, "jijushō," in *Nihon shisō taikei*, Vol. 39: *Kinsei Shinto ron, zenki
       Kokugaku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1980), 129–40.
110   Nakamura Moriomi, *Himorogiden,* appended to Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 245–6.
111   Nakamura, *Himorogiden*, 250–6.
112   Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 227.
113   Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 230.
114   Nishioka, *Kinsei Izumo,* 230.

# Chapter 4: Converting Japan, 1825–1875

1     James Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan, Buddhism and its
       Persecution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 34.

2      Aizawa Seishisai, "Chishima ibun," reprinted by Kurihara Shigeyuki, *Bulletin of
       Atomi University* 26 (March 1993): 111.
3      Aizawa, "Chishima ibun," 120–1.
4      Aizawa Seishisai, "Shinron," in *Nihon shiso taikei,* Vol. 53: *Mitogaku* (Tokyo:
       Iwanami shoten, 1970). "The heart of the people" appeared repeatedly, see 52, 56,
       143–5, 155, and *passim*.
5      Aizawa, "Shinron," 64, 140. "Devising a doctrine with shen-dao (Shinto)," is a
       phrase first appearing in the *Book of Change*: "*guan tian zhi shen dao, er sis hi bu
       tei. Sheng ren yi shen dao she jiao er tian xia fu yi.*" In this case, *shen-dao* referred to
       the mysterious movement of heaven or the Dao rather than to a teaching given by
       the gods. Aizawa used it here in the second sense to instantiate his argument for the
       necessity of ritual performance and popular indoctrination.
6      Aizawa, "Shinron," 56. "*Kyōkun seizoku, iwazu shite kasu. Sai ha motte sei to nari,
       sei ha motte kyō to nari. Kyō to sei to ha mada katsute wakachite futatsu to nasazu.*"
7      Aizawa, "Shinron," 143.
8      Aizawa, "Shinron," 144.
9      Aizawa, "Shinron," 155.
10     Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 53.
11     Ōkuni Takamasa, "Hongaku Kyoyō," *Ōkuni Takamasa zenshū*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yūkō
       sha, 1937), 3.
12     Ōkuni Takamasa, "Gyojū mondō," *Ōkuni Takamasa zenshū*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yūkō
       sha, 1937), 87.
13     Ōkuni Takamasa, "Naobi no Tama Hochū," in *Ōkuni Takamasa zenshū*, Vol. 2
       (Tokyo: Yūkō sha, 1937), 100–1.
14     Ōkuni, "Naobi no Tama Hochū," 101, 127.
15     Ōkuni Takamasa, "Renhakusha," *Ōkuni Takamasa zenshū*, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yūkō sha,
       1937), 197.
16     John Breen, "Shintoists in Restoration Japan, Toward a Reassessment," *Modern
       Asian Studies* 24 (3) (July 1990): 586.
17     Ōkuni Takamasa, "Naobitama hochu, ge," *Ōkuni Takamasa zenshū,* Vol. 2 (Tokyo:
       Yūkō sha, 1937), 193.
18     Fujii Sadafumi, "Senkyoshi ni okeru kyogi kakuritsu no mondai," *Shintōgaku* 48
       (February 1966): 4.
19     Ōkuni Takamasa, "Shigo anjin roku," *Ōkuni Takamasa zenshū*, Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Yūkō
       sha, 1937), 343.
20     Ōkuni, "Hongaku Kyoyō," 65.
21     For the network of Hirata's disciples organized by Hirata Kanetane in the 1850s and
       1860s, see Miyachi Masato, *Bakumatsu ishin ki no shakaiteki seijishi kenkyū* (Tokyo:
       Iwanami shoten, 1999), and Haga Noboru, *Bakumatsu kokugaku no tenkai* (Tokyo:
       Hanawa sensho, 1963). Haga's empirically exhaustive study of kokugaku during the
       late Tokugawa period remains the necessary reference on the subject.
22     Miwa, *Mutobe Yoshika no shōgai to gakumon* (Lecture at Muko City Archives),
       2007; Mukō City, *Mukō shi shi*, Vol. 2 (Mukō, Kyoto: Mukō shi, 1983–8), 258.
23     Hoshino Mitsuki, "Mutobe Yoshika to shinji ni tsuite," *Shinto shūkyō* 194 (Spring
       2004a): 70.
24     Mutobe Yoshika, "Ubusuna kodensho," in *Nihon shisō taikei*, Vol. 51 (Tokyo:
       Iwanami shoten, 1971), 224, 226–7.
25     Hoshino, Mitsuki, 2004b, "Bakumatsuki ni okeru ōharae to kokugakusha – Mutobe
       Yoshika o chūshin ni," 63.

26    Yijiang Zhong, "Ritual, Purity and Power: Rethinking Shinto in Restoration Japan," in *Religion and Politics in Modern Japan: Red Sun, White Lotus*, ed. Roy Starrs (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 44–5.

27    Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 64.

28    On the implementation of Kami-based social programs accompanied by severe persecution of Buddhism in Satsuma, see Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 54–65. For Kamei's social reform in Tsuwano and its connection with early Meiji state's Shinto policy, see Kabe Iwao, ed., *Odoroganaka: Kamei koremi den* (Tokuyama, Yamaguchi: Matsuno shoten, 1982), 462–76.

29    "Ōsei fukko no daigōrei," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō,* ed. Sakamoto Ken'ichi (Tokyo: Jinja honchō Meiji ishin hyakunen kinen jigyō iinkai, 1968), 1. This Great Command simultaneously announces the newly created offices of Chief Executive (*sōsai*) and Senior Councilor (*gijō*), reputedly in support of the emperor, to replace the centuries-old Regent post (*sekkan*) of the imperial court and the bakufu, both of which were presented as having taken away the power of the emperor.

30    "Saisei itchi no sei ni fusshi, tenka no sho jinja wo jingikan ni shozokuseshimubeki ken," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 4.

31    For a detailed account and analysis of the Oath ritual as a political strategy for neutralizing the oppositional forces of domain lords and courtiers, see John Breen, "The Imperial Oath of April 1868: Ritual, Politics and Power in the Restoration," in *Monumenta Nipponica* 51 (4) (Winter 1996): 407–29.

32    I use ritual to mean orchestrated public performances meant to shape various kinds of power relationships. This is of course differentiated from what people in the Meiji period meant by the same term. As such, I want to use ritual in this book to generate a historical narrative of symbolic constructions of modern forms of political power. In this sense, this book complements Takashi Fujitani's *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), in which the author focuses on public ceremonials in the construction of ritual spaces in the Meiji period by tracing the image of the emperor from a mysterious figure secluded from public view to a grand public personage. The creation of a modern monarch, in Europe as well as in Japan, was precisely through appeal to a sense of newness, as a monarch, as well as old tradition, which in the case of Japanese imperial institutions was represented first and foremost by the seemingly archaic claim to divine origin. For a fascinating examination of the imperial accession ritual *Daijōsai*, see John Breen and Mark Teeuwen, *A New History of Shinto* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell 2010), 168–98.

33    Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 89.

34    The phrase is borrowed from Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 93.

35    For studies on the forced separation of Shinto from Buddhism in the first four post-Restoration years, see Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs*; Sarah Thal, "Redefining the Gods: Politics and Survival in the Creation of Modern Kami," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29 (3–4) (2002): 379–404; Klaus Antoni, "The 'Separation of Gods and Buddhas' at Omiwa Jinja in Meiji Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 22 (1–2) (1995): 139–59; Allan G. Grapard, "Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution: The Separation of Shinto and Buddhist Divinities in Meiji ('Shimbutsu Bunri') and a Case Study: Tonomine," *History of Religions* 23 (3) (February 1984): 240–65.

36    "Kansha ika teigaku, shinkan shokusei to ni kansuru ken," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 30–2.

37   Fujii Sadafumi, "Meiji seifu no kyōka undō to sono shusaijin," *Kokugakuin zasshi*
     60 (8) (August 1959): 79–87. The hall enshrining the eight gods protecting the
     imperial court was the quintessential mark of the Department of Divinity of the
     classical period; its revival in the Meiji Office expresses the call for restoration
     whereas the inclusion of the imperial spirits and the myriad kami was a Meiji
     creation. This (re)combination of the old and the new is characteristic of the
     process of the Meiji nation-state building and reflects the intersecting ideological
     vectors of reestablishing and creating anew.

38   "Senkyōshi, taikyō wo senpu no ken," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō,* 37.

39   See Zhong, "Ritual, Purity and Power," 38–43 for how Meiji policy of the Shinto
     funeral was informed by the pre-Restoration Shinto funeral movement that
     distinguished a purified soul, through a "Shinto" death ritual, from the "foreign"
     and "defiled" Buddhist theory of rebirth in the Western Paradise.

40   The policies of Shinto funeral and shrine registration are covered in Sakamoto
     Koremaru, *Kokka Shintō keisei katei no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1994). For
     a more critical discussion on shrine registration, see Morioka Kiyomi, *Kindai no
     shūraku jinja to kokka tōsei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1987).

41   Trent Maxey, "The Crisis of 'Conversion' and Search for National Doctrine in
     Early Meiji Japan," in *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology and Transformations
     of Modernity*, eds. Dennis Washburn and A. Kevin Reinhart (Boston, MA: Brill,
     2007).

42   Haga Shōji, "Shinto kokkyosei no keisei" *Nihonshi kenkyū* 264 (1984): 3.

43   Okuni Takamasa, "Zonnen sho," in *Shūkyō to kokka*, eds. Yasumaru Yoshio and
     Miyachi Masato (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1988), 5–6.

44   Iwakura Tomomi, the Supervisory Councilor (*hoshō*), in 1870 told foreign
     embassies who protested the Meiji government's persecutory policy toward
     Japanese Christians that "Our government is based on the worship of the emperor
     (*mikado*)" and again in 1871 that "it is absolutely necessary to make the Japanese
     people believe in the emperor as the divine descendant of Amaterasu. Christianity
     however prescribes belief in God to the exclusion of all other divine beings. This
     directly contradicts with our principle." In Yasumaru Yoshio and Miyachi Masato,
     eds., *Shūkyō to kokka*, 310, 314.

45   Ōhara wrote repeatedly to the Senior Councilor Iwakura Tomomi proposing to
     implement a propagation program to counter the foreign "evil doctrine." Nihon
     shiseki kyōkai, *Iwakura Tomomi kankei monjo*, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo
     Press, 1968–9), 435–46.

46   Revolts by peasant followers of the Shin Buddhism in the early Meiji years justified
     their action by charging the government as pro-Christian and anti-Buddhist. The
     new, fragile Meiji government had to resort to the assistance of Shin Buddhist head
     temples to bring these revolts under control. Yamaguchi Teruomi, *Shimaji Mokurai:
     'seikyō bunri' wo motarashita sōryō* (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2013), 56.

47   "Saisei itchi, kōdō fukko, kokumin wo shite hōhon hanshi no gi wo junnzeshime,
     chikyō wo amanekarashimuru ken," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 18.

48   Tokoyo Nagatane, "Shinkyō soshiki monogatari," in *Shūkyō to kokka,* 363.

49   Katsurajima Nobuhiro, "Kindai tennōsei ideorogii no shisō katei," in *Tennō to ōken
     wo kangaeru*, Vol. 4: *Shūkyō to ken'i*, ed. Amino Yoshihiko (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten,
     2004), 221.

50   "Jinjikan nite saiten, chinsai no mikotonori narabini senpu taikyō no mikotonori,"
     *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō,* 25.

51  Tokoyo, "Shinkyō soshiki monogatari," 363.
52  "Fuken hōshoku kisoku (shō)," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 24.
53  *Shinto shisō meicho shūsei* (*chūkan*), ed. Ono Sokyō (Tokyo: Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon bunka kenkyu sho, 1972), 469–70. Haga Shōji, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1994), 167–8.
54  Haga, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, 169.
55  Tokoyo, "Shinkyō soshiki monogatari," 364.
56  Tokoyo, "Shinkyō soshiki monogatari," 370.
57  Quoted in full in Fujii Sadafumi, "Senkyōshi ni okeru kyōgi kakuritsu no mondai," *Shintōgaku* 51 (November 1966): 14–16.
58  Haga Shoji, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, 169.
59  Haga, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, 169.
60  "Daikyō yōshi," in *Hirosawa Saneomi nikki*, ed. Otsuka Takematsu (Tokyo: Nihon shiseki kyōkai, 1931), 492–493. National Diet Library Digital Library, http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1077648 (last accessed August 2013).
61  Haga, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, 176.
62  "Jō Daikyō yōshi so," quoted in Haga Shoji, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, 177.
63  "Daikyō shiyō," in *Shinto shisō meicho shūsei* (*chūkan*) (Tokyo: Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon bunka kenkyū sho, 1972), 474–5.
64  "Daikyō shiyō," 475.
65  Hoshibara Taisuke, "Etō Shinpei no Meiji ishin," *Soshiosaiensu* 12 (March 2006): 202–17.
66  The Japanese government shifted from the lunisolar calendar to the Gregorian solar calendar on the third of the twelfth month of 1871, which became January 1 of 1872. Dates prior to the adoption of the solar calendar are noted in ordinal numbers in this book.
67  "Kyōbu unrun no gi," quoted in Haga, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, 179.
68  "Ise Jingū hosen ni tsuki iken an," quoted in Haga, *Meiji ishin to shūkyō*, 180.
69  "Shinkyō hōsen, kyōbushō secchi ni tsuki Sain kengi," *Shūkyō to kokka*, 23–6.
70  "Shinkyō hōsen, kyōbushō secchi ni tsuki Sain kengi," 27.
71  Gesshō, "Buppō gokoku ron," *Shūkyō to kokka,* 215–22.
72  Ketelaar, "Hokkaido Buddhism and the Early Meiji State," in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, eds. Helen Hardacre and Adam Kern (Leiden and New York: Brill Academic, 1997).
73  Shimaji Mokurai, "Kyōbushō kaisetsu seigansho," *Shūkyō to kokka*, 231.
74  Shimaji, "Kyōbushō kaisetsu seigansho," *Shūkyō to kokka*, 231–4.
75  For the debate on moving Ise Shrine to the imperial palace, see Nishikawa Jundo, "Jingū godōza mondai," in *Jingū Meiji hyakunen shi*, Vol. 4 (Ise, Japan: Jingū bunko, 1987), 81–101.
76  See Inoue Nobutaka and Sakamoto Koremaru, eds., *Nihongata seikyō kankei no tanjō* (Tokyo: Daiichi shobo, 1987). The argument for a Japanese style of church-state relationship, developed by the authors in the edited volume, suggests an agenda to isolate the imperial institution from the critique of State Shinto which argued that the Meiji state used the religious authority of the imperial institution to build up an authoritarian emperor-system state, which, in other words, deliberately mixed religion with politics.
77  Miyachi Masato, *Tennōsei no seijishiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Azekura shobo, 1981), 115.
78  Nakajima Michio, "Dainihon teikoku kenpō dainijūhachijō 'shinkō jiyū' kitei seiritsu no zenshi," *Nihonshi kenkyūkai* 108 (August 1976): 1–31.

79   Ogawara Masamichi, *Daikyōin no kenkyū: Meiji shoki shūkyō gyōsei no tenkai to zasetsu* (Tokyo: Keio Gijuku Daigaku shuppankai, 2004), 212–18.

80   Sakamoto Koremaru, "Nihongata seikyō kankei no keisei katei," in *Nihon-gata seikyō kankei no tanjō*, eds. Sakamoto Koremaru and Inoue Nobutaka (Tokyo: Daiichi shobō, 1987), 36.

81   Ogawara, *Daikyōin no kenkyū*, 6.

82   Ogawara, *Daikyōin no kenkyū*, 80. See also Fujii Sadafumi, "Meiji shoki no shūkyō ishiki," *Kokugakuin Daigaku Nihon bunka kenkyujo kiyō* 49 (March 1982): 26.

83   "Kyōdōshoku he kyōsoku sanjō kōfu," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 50. The translation is James Ketelaar's in *Of Heretics and Martyrs*, 106.

84   "Kyōdōshoku he, sekkyō kata ni tsuki kunyu," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 58.

85   Sakamoto Koremaru, *Kokka Shinto keisei katei no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1994), 264.

86   Nakajima Michio, "Taikyō senpu undō to saijin ronsō," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 126 (January 1972): 34.

87   "Taikyōin jimu shōtei, Kyōdōshoku shokusei," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 63–4; "Daikyōin no 'kyōkai taii' ninka no ken," 73–4.

88   See Andrew Bernstein, *Modern Passings: Death Rites, Politics, and Social Change in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 41–66.

89   Sakamoto, "Nihongata seikyō kankei no keisei katei," 39–43. See also Ogawara Masamichi, "Daikyōin no seido to shoki no katsudō," *Musashino Tanki Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 6 (2002): 135.

90   "Daikyōin jimu shōtei, kyōdōshoku shokusei," and "Daikyōin sono kisoku chūkyōin kisoku wo sadame todokede," *Jinja kankei horei shiryo*, 63–4, 74–7.

91   Ketelaar, *of Heretics and Martyrs,* 123. The questions asked in the exam include, "What value does Buddhism have for the nation?" "Is there or is there not a Mt. Sumeru?" and "Which is primary, the kami or the Buddha?" If answers were judged unsatisfactory, in extreme cases, the priest would be defrocked and his temple closed.

92   Ōkubo Toshiaki, *Bunmei kaika* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1962), 279.

93   Sakamoto Ken'ichi, *Meiji Shinto shi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1983). See also Sakamoto, *Kokka Shinto keisei katei no kenkyū*.

94   Councilor of State Sanjō Sanemi argued for the merging of the Ministry of Education (*monbushō*) and the Ministry of Doctrine (*kyōbushō*) on the ground that they both handled matters of "teaching" (*kyō*) and a merger could save money. The merger did happen in October 1872 but within a year they were separated again, indicating the not yet formulated distinction between popular indoctrination and public education. Tanigawa Yutaka, *Meiji zenki no kyōiku kyōka shūkyō* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2008), 38–55. Yamaguchi, *Shimaji Mokurai*, 51.

95   Shimaji Mokurai, "Sanjō kyōsoku hihan kenhakushō" *Shūkyō to kokka*, 235.

96   Shimaji, "Sanjō kyōsoku hihan kenhakushō," 235.

97   Shimaji, "Sanjō kyōsoku hihan kenhakushō," 235.

98   Shiamji, "Sanjō kyōsoku hihan kenhakushō," 236.

99   Shimaji, "Sanjō kyōsoku hihan kenhakushō," 239.

100  Shimaji, "Sanjō kyōsoku hihan kenhakushō," 237.

101  Shimaji, "Sanjō kyōsoku hihan kenhakushō," 237.

102  Shimaji, "Sanjō kyōsoku hihan kenhakushō," 237.

103  Shimaji Mokurai, "Kengi Kyōbu kaisei ni tsuki," *Shimaji Mokurai zenshū*, Vol. 1, eds. Futaba Kenkō and Fukushima Kanryū (Kyoto: Honganji shuppan kyōkai, 1973), 51.

104  Shimaji, "Kengi Kyōbu kaisei ni tsuki," 51.

105  Shimaji, "Kengi Kyōbu kaisei ni tsuki," 53.

106  Shimaji, "Kengi Kyōbu kaisei ni tsuki," 65.

107  Shimaji, "Kengi Kyōbu kaisei ni tsuki," 54.

108  The well-known Meiji Six Society (*Meirokusha*) members discussed extensively religion and its relation with society and political authority. Yamazaki Minako, *Iwakura shisetsudan ni okeru shūkyō mondai* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2006). Trent Maxey, *The Greatest Problem: Religion and State Formation in Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asian Center, 2014), 175–200.

109  Yoshida Jirō, "Shūkyō no jiyū ni tsuki kengen," *Shūkyō to kokka,* 249–50.

110  Yoshida, "Shūkyō no jiyū ni tsuki kengen," 251.

111  Maxey, "The Greatest Problem," 242–3.

112  "Shinkyō no jiyū hoshō no kutatsu," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 102–3.

113  Needless to say, the "freedom of belief" mentioned in this notice refers to the newly formulated institutional autonomy of Buddhist sects (and implicitly also Shinto confraternities and shrines) rather than the individual-based freedom of religious belief. This latter type of freedom would not come into being until the Meiji Constitution in 1889.

114  Sakamoto, *Kokka Shinto keisei katei no kenkyū*, 390–410.

# Chapter 5: Competing Ways of the Gods, 1872–1889

1  Fujii Sadafumi, "Senge Takatomi kō no jiseki," *Senge Takatomi kō,* ed. Izumo Taisha kyō kyōgaku bunka kenkyūshitsu (Taisha cho, Shimane: Izumo Taisha kyō tokuritsu hyakunen mikaeshi iinkai, 1968), 2.

2  "Shinkan kantō kaitei," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 45.

3  "Kansha ika teigaku, shinkan shokusei ni kansuru ken," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 30–2.

4  Senge Takatomi, *Izumo Daishin* (Kitsuki Town, Shimane, Japan: Taishakyō honin, 1912), 222–34.

5  Nakajima Michio, "Daikyō senpu undo to saijin ronsō," *Nihonshi kenkyū* 126 (1972): 34.

6  Nakajima, "Daikyō senpu undo to saijin ronsō," 35.

7  Fujii, "Senge Takatomi kō no jiseki," 6.

8  Fujii, "Senge Takatomi kō no jiseki," 7.

9  Fujii Sadafumi, "Shimane ken ka ni okeru kyōdōshoku no katsudō," *Shintōgaku* 111 (November 1981): 12–13.

10  Izumo Taisha kyō kyōgaku bunka kenkyūshitsu, ed., *Senge Takatomi kō goseitan hyaku gojū nen kinen,* 35.

11  Fujii, "Senge Takatomi kō no jiseki," 4.

12  Izumo Taisha kyō kyōgaku bunka kenkyūshitsu, ed., *Senge Takatomi kō goseitan hyaku gojū nen kinen,* 32. Fujii, "Senge Takatomi kō no jiseki," 3.

13  Izumo Taisha kyō kyōgaku bunka kenkyūshitsu, ed., *Senge Takatomi kō goseitan hyaku gojū nen kinen*, 31.

14  Izumo Taisha kyō kyōgaku bunka kenkyūshitsu, ed., *Senge Takatomi kō goseitan hyaku gojū nen kinen*, 33.

15  Izumo Taisha kyō kyōgaku bunka kenkyūshitsu, ed., *Senge Takatomi kō goseitan hyaku gojū nen kinen*, 37.

16   Fujii Sadafumi, *Meiji Kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1977), 7–10.

17   Fujii, *Meiji Kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 9.

18   Fujii, *Meiji Kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 10.

19   Fujii, *Meiji Kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 15.

20   Fujii Sadafumi, "Meiji seifu no kyōka undō to Ōkuninushi no kami," *Shintōgaku* 26 (August 1960): 12.

21   Sagai Ken, *Manshū no jinja kōbō shi – Nihonjin no iku tokoro jinja ari* (Tokyo: Fuyō shobō shuppan, 1998).

22   Fujii, "Meiji seifu no kyōka undō to Ōkuninushi," 12–13.

23   Fujii, *Meiji Kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 15.

24   Senge Takatomi and Konoe Tadafusa, "Shinkyō yōshi ryakuge," in *Meiji bunka zenshū*, Vol. 6 (Tokyo: Nihon hyōron sha, 1967–74), 3–6. Also see Ogawara, *Daikyōin no kenkyū*, 45–69.

25   Senge Takatomi and Konoe Tadafusa, *Sōsai ryakushiki* Sahara, Chiba, Japan: Choya gonbe, 1873. Fujii, "Meiji seifu no kyōka undō to Ōkuninushi," 1–21.

26   Ogawara, *Daikyōin no kenkyū*, 76.

27   Ogawara, *Daikyōin no kenkyū*, 77.

28   Mark Teeuwen, *Watarai Shinto: An Intellectual History of the Outer Shrine in Ise* (Leiden: Research School CNWS, Leiden University, 1996).

29   Inoue Nobutaka, ed., *Shinto – Nihon umare no shūkyō shisutemu* (Tokyo: Shinyō sha, 1999), 39.

30   *Kojiki*, in *Nihon shisō taikei*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1982), 96.

31   Umeda Yoshihiko, *Ise jingū no shiteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1973), 15. See also *Nihongi*, trans. Aston, 176.

32   Umeda, *Ise jingū no shi teki kenkyū,* 15.

33   Umeda, *Ise jingū no shi teki kenkyū,* 56–7.

34   Umeda, *Ise jingū no shi teki kenkyū,* 81.

35   Umeda, *Ise jingū no shi teki kenkyū,* 118–21; Teeuwen, *Watarai Shinto*.

36   Umeda, *Ise jingū no shi teki kenkyū*, 151.

37   Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State, 1868–1988* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 16.

38   Teeuwen, *Watarai Shinto.*

39   Motoda Naoki, "Ise Jingu kaikaku ikensho," *Shūkyō to Kokka*, 11–13.

40   Uni Kazuhiko, "Jingū seido no hatten," in *Meiji ishin Shinto hyakunen shi*, ed. Matsuyama Yoshio, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shinto bunkakai, 1966–7), 429–30.

41   Uni, "Jingū seido no hatten," 432–3.

42   "Shinkyō hōsen kyōbushō secchi ni tsuki Sain kengi," Yasumaru and Miyachi, *Shūkyō to kokka*, 23–6.

43   Miki Shōtarō, "Jingū shikan no katsudō: Urata Chōmin wo chūshin to suru," *Meiji ishin Shintō hyakunen shi*, Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Shintō bunka kai, 1966–7), 223; Sakamoto Ken'ichi. *Meiji Shintōshi no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1983.

44   Miki, "Jingū shikan no katsudō," 220–5.

45   Kido's anathema toward Shinto translated to a pro-Buddhist stance. In the constitution he drafted in 1872 he proposed to establish Buddhism as the state religion, a proposal disassociating the emperor from the problem of propagation. Nakajima Michio, "Dainihon teikoku kenpō dainijūhachijō 'shinkō jiyū' kitei seiritsu no zenshi." *Nihonshi kenkyūkai* 108 (August 1976): 11. See Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University

of California Press, 1996) for the process in which the hitherto secluded emperor was transformed into the public figure of a modern monarchy by way of ritual and pageantry.

46  Fujii, *Meiji Kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 24–30.

47  Kubota Osamu, "Jingū kyōin to Jingū hōsaikai," *Meiji ishin Shinto hyakunen shi*, Vol. 4 (Tokyo: Shintō bunka kai, 1966–7), 9.

48  Kubota, "Jingū kyōin to Jingū hōsaikai," 12.

49  "Daikyōin no kyōkai taii ninka no ken," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 74.

50  Nakajima, "Taikyō senpu undō to saijin ronsō," 48.

51  Nakajima, "Taikyō senpu undō to saijin ronsō," 48.

52  Nakajima, "Taikyō senpu undō to saijin ronsō," 55–6.

53  "Aikoku kousha no shokai ruiji koi (kaidai)," Yasumaru and Miyachi, eds., *Shūkyō to kokka*, 177.

54  Nakajima, "Taikyō senpu undō to saijin ronsō," 49–51, 55.

55  Nakajima, "Taikyō senpu undō to saijin ronsō," 51.

56  Kubota, "Jingū kyōin to Jingū hōsaikai," 35.

57  Tanaka Yoritsune, "Sanjō engi," in *Meiji bunka zenshū*, Vol. 6, 9–14; Miki, "Jingū shikan no katsudō," 306–7; Kubota, "Jingū kyōin to Jingū hōsaikai," 35.

58  Tokoyo, "Shinkyō soshiki monogatari," 396.

59  In 1877, the Meiji government set the monthly salary of head priests of national and provincial shrines as follows: 25 yen for head priests of large shrines, 15 yen for median-sized shrines, and 10 yen for small and specially designated shrines. "Jingu kankokuheisha shinkan wo haishi, saishu ika shokuinkan to geppō seitei," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 111–12.

60  Fujii, *Meiji Kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*.

61  Tokoyo, "Shinkyō soshiki monogatari," 392–3.

62  Tokoyo, "Shinkyō soshiki monogatari," 394.

63  Nakajima, "Taikyō senpu undō to saijin ronsō," 41.

64  See Sarah Thal, *Rearranging the Landscape of the Gods: The Politics of a Pilgrimage Site in Japan, 1573–1912* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 147–76.

65  Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 20.

66  "Kankoku heisha soshiki kyodoshoku tokatsu kaikaku ni tsuki kenngi," *Shūkyō to kokka,* 51.

67  "Kankoku heisha soshiki kyodoshoku tokatsu kaikaku ni tsuki kenngi," *Shūkyō to kokka*. 52.

68  "Jingū kankokuheisha shinkan wo haishi, saishu ika shokuinkan to gebbō seitei," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 111–12.

69  Tokoyo, "Shinkyō soshiki monogatari," 394–7.

70  Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 31.

71  Kagitani Ryūo, "Kokkyōo kachō no ron dai san," *Kaichi shinbun* 286 (March 19, 1879): 91–3. The crane and the clam refers to a fable tracing back to the warring states period (fifth to third centuries BCE) in China, portraying a situation of a rivalry that benefitted a third party. With the clam pinching the crane's mouth, neither could defeat the other and both ended up being caught by the fisherman.

72  Kagitani, "Kokkyōo kachō no ron dai san," 92.

73  "Shinto wo motte shūkyō to nasu ha kōshitsu no kakin taru koto," in *Shūkyō to Kokka*, 49–50.

74  Yasumaru Yoshio, "Kindai tankan ki ni okeru shūkyō to kokka," in *Shūkyō to kokka*. 547.

75 "Shinto wo sonshinkyo to subeki mune kengen," *Shūkyō to kokka*, 53–4.

76 Terajima Munenori, "Ikyō shinzen yobō no gi ni tsuki iken," quoted in Yamazaki Minako, *Iwakura Shisetsudan ni okeru shūkyō mondai* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 2006), 240–2.

77 Dai Nihon teikoku kenpō seiteishi chōsakai, ed. *Dai Nihon teikoku kenpō seiteishi* (Tokyo: Sankei shinbunsha, 1980), 399–400.

78 Sasaki Seishi, "Yamada Akiyoshi to saijin ronsō," *Nihon Daigaku seishin bunka kenkyūjo, kyōiku seido kenkyūjo kiyō* 15 (March 1984): 87.

79 Author unknown, *Kaichi Shimbun*, 279 (July 26, 1878).

80 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 134–5.

81 Kanzaki Issaku, *Shinto* (Tokyo: Tōhō shoin, 1934), 51.

82 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 259.

83 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 290.

84 Sasaki, "Yamada Akiyoshi to saijin ronsō," 90.

85 Sasaki, "Yamada Akiyoshi to saijin ronsō," 90–1.

86 Sasaki Seishi dismissed Sakurai as a bureaucrat of weak "political insight." "Yamada Akiyoshi to saijin ronso," 91.

87 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 298–319.

88 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 325–55.

89 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 518.

90 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 621.

91 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyu*, 598–604.

92 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 605.

93 Sasaki, "Yamada Akiyoshi to saijin ronsō," 106–9.

94 Sasaki, "Yamada Akiyoshi to saijin ronsō," 108–9.

95 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 710.

96 Senge Takatomi, "Kyōshinto he no shiyusho," in *Shūkyō to kokka*, 57–63.

97 Fujii, *Meiji kokugaku hasseishi no kenkyū*, 349–50.

98 Shimada Mitsune, "Kyōdōshoku wo haishi suru gi," in *Yamada hakushoku ke monjo*, ed. Nihon Daigaku daigakushi hensanshitsu, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Nihon Daigaku, 1991), 262.

99 Shimada, "Kyōdōshoku wo haishi suru gi," 262.

100 Sasaki Seishi, "Shinto hishūkyō yori jinja hishūkyō he," *Nihon daigaku seishin bunka kenkyūjo, kyōiku seido kenkyūjo kiyō* 16 (March 1985): 100–1.

101 Sasaki, "Shinto hishūkyō yori jinja hishūkyō he," 107.

102 Sakurai Yoshikata, "Shinto narabini shokyō kaisei yoshi gaimoku," in *Yamada hakushoku ke monjo*, Vol. 3, 220–35.

103 Sakurai, "Shinto narabini shokyō kaisei yoshi gaimoku," 225–6.

104 Sakurai, "Shinto narabini shokyō kaisei yoshi gaimoku," 222.

105 Yamada Akiyoshi, "Ikensho," in *Yamada hakushoku ke monjo*, Vol. 3, 237–46.

106 "Shinkan no kyodoshoku kefu ow haishi sogi ni kayo sezaru no ken," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 119.

107 The confraternities that developed around a founder, including the so-called Shinto-derived new religions like the Kurozumi and Shūsei churches, also developed doctrines that did not always focus on the imperial institution but they did not pose a direct challenge to the state as the Izumo Shrine did because none of them could claim an authority as old as the imperial institution, as the Izumo Shrine did.

108 Kubota Osamu, "Jingū kyōin to Jingū hōsaikai," in *Meiji Ishin Shintō hyakunen shi*, Vol. 4 (Tokyo: Shintō bunka kai, 1966–7), 48–51.

109   Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs,* 154.

110   Timothy S. McKenzie, "Spiritual Restoration and Religious Reinvention in Late Meiji Japan: The Three Religions Conference and Religious Nationalism." Ph.D. Dissertation, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 2003.

111   Nakajima Michio, "Dainihon teikoku kenpō dainijūhachijō 'shinkō jiyū' kitei seiritsu no zenshi," *Nihonshi kenkyūkai* 108 (August 1976): 7.

112   Miyachi Masato, *Bakumatsu Ishin ki no shakaiteki seijishi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1999), 17.

113   In another study I examined the legal suits against the Japanese Prime Minister's visits to the Yasukuni Shrine in 2001 and 2002 to explore how the ritual-religion distinction continues to sustain the ambiguities in definitions of religion and religious freedom in the postwar period. Yijiang Zhong. "Shūkyō, jiyū, kōkyōsei: Yasukuni soshō wo kangaeru (Religion, Freedom and Publicness: An Examination of the Yasukuni Lawsuits)," in *Tasharon no tenkai: shūkyō to kōkyō kūkan* (Kyoto: Nakanishiya, 2016) (in Japanese).

114   Association of Shinto Shrines (*Jinja honchō*) homepage, http://www.jinjahoncho.or.jp/ (last accessed December 24, 2013).

115   John Breen, "Resurrecting the Sacred Land of Japan: The State of Shinto in Twentieth First Century," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 37 (2) (2010): 295–315.

116   Nakajima Michio, "Meiji kokka to shūkyō," *Rekishi kenkyū* 413 (1974): 34.

117   Inoue Kowashi, "Jinshin kyōdō iken an," *Inoue Kowashi den*, Vol. 1, ed. Inoue Kowashi denki hensan iinkai (Tokyo: Kokugakuin Daigaku toshokan, 1969–2008), 248–51.

118   Inoue Kowashi, "Jukyō wo sonsu," *Inoue Kowashi den*, Vol. 3, 497–500.

119   Inoue, "Jukyō wo sonsu," 497–500.

120   Inoue Kowashi, "kyōdōshoku haishi iken an," *Inoue Kowashi den*, Vol. 1, 386.

121   Inoue, "kyōdōshoku haishi iken an," 386–9.

122   Sakamoto Kazuto, ed., *Itō Hirobumi to Meiji kokka keisei* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2012), 75–8.

123   "Shinbutsu kyōdōshoku wo haishi, jūshoku ninmen, kyōshi no tōkyū shintai no koto wo kaku kanchō ni inin suru ken," *Jinja kankei hōrei shiryō*, 123.

124   See Yijiang Zhong, "Freedom, Religion, and the Making of the Modern State in Meiji Japan, 1868–1889," *Asian Studies Review* 38 (1) (March 2014), on how the categories of religion and religious freedom were incorporated into the Imperial Constitution that functioned to produce the public political authority of the divine emperor while at the same time creating the modern individual as possessor of the freedom of religious belief.

## Conclusion The Izumo Gods, Nation, and Empire

1   I am echoing Isomae Jun'ichi's identification of a lack of mode or method with which to formulate a self-critical, nation-transcending subjectivity in postwar Japan. Isomae Jun'ichi, *Shūkyō gainen aruiha shūkyōgaku no shi* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2012), 231. Sociologist Oguma Eiji examines the relationship between empire and nation as one major theme that marked postwar imaginings and discourse of Japan and the Japanese in *Tan'itsu Minzoku shinwa no kigen*

(Tokyo: Shinyosha 1995), published in English as *A Genealogy of "Japanese" Self-image* (Melbourne, Australia: Trans Pacific Press, 2002).

2   Georg G. Iggers, "The Professionalization of Historical Studies and the Guiding Assumptions of Modern Historical Thought," in *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, eds. Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza (Maldon, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 226.

3   Civilization historians refer to a group of early Meiji intellectuals who adopted the Western notion of evolution of civilizations based on an individual's development and historical progress. Represented by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), Taguchi Ukichi (1855–1905), and Naka Michiyo (1851–1908), they regarded the narratives of the Divine Ages in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as simply myths. Nagahara Keiji, *20-seiki Nihon no rekishigaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2003), 19–28.

4   Kume Kunitake, "Shigaku no dokuritsu," in *Shigaku zasshi* 4 (45) (August 1893): 4–15.

5   Kume, "Nihon kodai rekishi no kenkyū," *Shūkyō* 13 (75–6) (January, February, and March 1898), collected in *Kume kunitake rekishi chōsakushū*, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1990), 3.

6   Kume, "Nihon kodai rekishi no kenkyū," 3.

7   Kume, "Nihon kodai rekishi no kenkyū," 10–11.

8   Hoshino Hisashi, "Honpō no jinshū gengo ni tsuki bikō wo nobete yo no shinshin aikokusha ni tadasu" (Presenting my humble research concerning race and language of this country and questioning the truly patriotic people [i.e. the Nativists]), *Shigakkai zasshi* 1 (11) (October 15, 1890).

9   Hoshino, "Presenting my humble research," 36–7.

10  In what forms early people from the Japanese archipelago exercised control of the Korean Peninsula up to the seventh century remain a subject of disagreement and debates in studies of early relations between Japan and Korea. See Mōri Kimiyuki and Hamada Kōsaku, "Kodai ōken no seichō to Nikkan kankei, 46 seiki," *Nikkan rekishi kyōdō kenkyū hōkokusho*, ed. Nikkan rekishi kyōdō kenkyū iinkai, 89–187. Available online: Japan-Korea Cultural Exchange Fund, http://www.jkcf.or.jp/projects/kaigi/history/second/2-1/ (last accessed February 19, 2014).

11  Hoshino, "Presenting my humble research," 22.

12  Hoshino, "Presenting my humble research," 24.

13  Ueda Masaaki, *Kodai no Nihon to Chosen* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986).

14  Kume, "Nihon fukuin no enkaku," in *Shigakkai zasshi* 1 (December 1889).

15  Kume, "Nihon kodai rekishi no kenkyū," 37.

16  Kume, "Nihon kodai rekishi no kenkyū," 7.

17  Kume, "Nihon kodai rekishi no kenkyū," 17.

18  Kume, "Nihon kodai rekishi no kenkyū," 17–19.

19  Arai Hakuseki, "Koshitsū," *Arai Hakuseki zenshū*, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kokusho kanko kai, 1906). To Keikan, "Shōkōhatsu," Waseda University Japanese & Chinese Classics database, www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ri05/ri05_05003/index.html (last accessed February 21, 2014).

20  Kume, "Nihon kodai rekishi no kenkyū," 120.

21  Kume, "Nihon kodai rekishi no kenkyū," 120–4.

22  Saeki Arikiyo, "Kume Kunitake to Nihon kodaishi," in *Kume Kunitake no kenkyū*, ed. Ōkubo Toshiaki (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1991), 15–18.

23  In 1912, Takagi Toshio (1876–1922), credited with founding the discipline of the study of Japanese mythology, severely criticized Kume's metaphorical interpretation

as "extremely arbitrary dogma ignoring actual [historical] development of language and thought." Saeki, "Kume Kunitake to Nihon kodaishi," 10.

24    The journalist Yoshida Tōgo (1864–1918) published an article in the *Shigakkai zasshi* in August 1891, ten months after Hoshino's, repeating Hoshino's assertion of the identity of the place names. Yoshida subsequently emerged to be a well-known and prolific historian. Yoshida was influenced by Kume and Hoshino and his journalist writings helped publicize the theory of the connection of Japan and Korea initiated by the professional historians as academic knowledge. Yoshida Tōgo, "Kodai hantō shokoku kōhai gaikō," *Shigakkai zasshi* 3 (21) (August 1891): 21–2. Oguma, *Tan'itsu minzoku*, 91–2.

25    Oguma, *Tan'itsu minzoku,* 73–8, 152–60.

26    Oguma, *Tan'itsu minzoku,* 115–16. Oguma shows how linguistic, archeological, and anthropological scholarships all concerned with clarifying connections and similarities between Japan and Korea, and how these scholarly discourse conjoined with popular discussions of the origin of the Japanese in forming a public discourse that celebrated and justified the annexation of Korea in 1910. Oguma, *Tan'itsu minzoku,* 87–116.

27    Mizuno Yū, *Kodai no Izumo* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1970), 103–42.

28    Mizuno, *Kodai no Izumo.*

29    Mizuno Yū, *Nihon kodai no minzoku to kokka* (Tokyo: Daiwa shobo, 1975b), 6.

30    Mizuno, *Nihon kodai no minzoku to kokka*, 15.

31    Mizuno, *Nihon kodai no minzoku to kokka*, 17–18.

32    Mizuno, *Nihon kodai no minzoku to kokka*, 20.

33    Mizuno, *Kodai no Izumo*, 143.

34    Mizuno, *Kodai no Izumo*, 5–6.

35    Mizuno, *Kodai no Izumo*, 200.

36    Mizuno, *Kodai no Izumo*, 222–3.

37    Mizuno Yū, *Kodai no Izumo to Yamato* (Tokyo: Daiwa shobo, 1975a), 279.

38    Mizuno, *Kodai no Izumo to Yamato*, 280.

39    Ueda Masaaki, *Nihon shinwa* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970a), 5.

40    Ueda, *Nihon shinwa*, 38–9.

41    Ueda, *Nihon shinwa*, 18.

42    Ueda, *Nihon shinwa*, 83.

43    According to another variant narrative in *Nihon shoki*, Susanoo is six generations before Ōkuninushi.

44    Ueda, *Nihon shinwa*, 141–6.

45    Ueda, *Nihon shinwa*, 106.

46    Ueda, *Nihon shinwa*, 107.

47    See, for example, *Asahi shimbun, Chōkan* on July 9, August 11, September 3, 2000, and September 16, 2001.

48    *Asahi shimbun, Chōkan,* November 19, 2001.

49    See, for example, the Izumo Tour Guide, http://www.izumo-kankou.gr.jp/681 (last accessed June 14, 2016).

50    For example, "Nihonjin no kokoro no genten Izumo wo meguru tabi" (*An Exploration Tour of Izumo the Origin of the Heart of the Japanese*), the title of a tour plan on the website of Jagzy, a travel agency co-sponsored by several large corporations: All Nippon Airways, Nihon Keizai Shinbun, Nikon, and Daiwa House, http://business.nikkeibp.co.jp/article/jagzy/20131205/256745/?ST=smart (last accessed February 21, 2014).

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