Università
Ca'Foscari
Venezia

Corso di Laurea Magistrale in
Lingue e Civiltà dell'Asia e dell'Africa Mediterranea

Tesi di Laurea

Defining Shintō in Edo Period Japan

Kokugaku and Kami Worship

Relatore

Prof.ssa Silvia Rivadossi

Correlatore

Prof. Bonaventura Ruperti

Laureando

Patrizio Mugianesi

Matricola 880086

Anno Accademico

2020 / 2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

要旨

江戸時代後半からの国学は、神道に関するディスクールと強い結びつきがある。国学の思想は、神道が独立した実在であるという近代的な理解につながって、明治時代の国家神道の出現のための思想的基盤を築いたのである。これまで、国学とその神道に関する研究は、主に国学の四大人、特に本居宣長と平田篤胤に焦点を当てられてきたのである。二人の国学者についての研究は、その思想が明治維新の大教宣布でどのように生かされ、後に国家神道と定義されるものが民衆に普及し始めたかを示している。

平田篤胤や本居宣長の研究は、近代における神道の定義づけの過程に不可欠であったことは間違いない。しかしながら、Susan L. Burns や Mark McNally などの研究者は、国学を多面的な実体として理解するためには、国学の四大人への共通の焦点を是正する必要があることを、その研究の中で論じている。同様に、私は比較的研究の進んでいない国学者の著書を分析することで、江戸時代で神道のディスクールへの理解を深める予定であると考えている。この論文での目標は、この論文での目標は、羽田野敬雄 、伊勢貞丈 、千家俊信 、鈴木雅之、鈴木重胤といった国学者の制作活動が神道とどのような関係にあるかを明らかにすることである。したがって、本論文の最終目的は、幕末までの国学における神道学に新たな視点を提示することである。そ

うすることで、あまり知られていない国学者の制作やかれらの江戸時代の神道の定義に果たした役割について、今後の研究の基礎となることを目指すのである。

本論文を 3 つの章に分けて行うことにして、第一は、江戸時代の神道の伝統の概要を説明することである。これは後に、国学と江戸時代の神道との関係を理解する上で、不可欠な比較の枠組みとなる。まず、神道とは何かについて、黒田俊雄をはじめとする研究者の豊富な著作を紹介しながら定義する。次に、江戸時代の宗教的背景を説明し、垂加神道、唯一神道、吉田神道などの神道の伝統を分析する。というのは、江戸時代の神道の伝統は、国学における神道のディスクールを形成するのに役立ったからである。例えば、垂加神道のように国学者が終末論を展開する際の神学的根拠となることもあった。

第二章では、第一章と同様に、国学とその江戸時代における進化について、参考となる枠組みを提供することを目的としている。国学の四大人の作品も分析するものの、それは他の国学者の思想や作品を比較・説明するための基礎となるものです。この章では、神道が学問の中心であると見なされるようになった学問の「信仰的変革」について論じる。最後に、全章を通じて、終章で分析する国学者の作品を紹介する。

最終章では、第 1 章、第 2 章で提示した枠組みを活用して、服部中庸、伊勢貞丈、千家俊信、鈴木雅之、鈴木重胤の作品を分析する予定である。本章は二つの部分に分かれている。第一のでは、国学者が当時の神道に対してどのような立場をとっていたかを説明するつもりである。第二のでは、宇宙論や死後といったテーマについて国学者の考え方を紹介する予定である。この章は、前述の国学者の著作を直接的に検討・分析するものであり、私の論文の核心となるものである。第一部は、国学が神道的伝統を批判すると同時に、その伝統が国学者の思想にどのような影響を与えたかを示すことを目的としている。最後に、第二部では、これらの国学者が神道の宇宙論や死後についてどのような認識を持っていたかを説明する。まず、平田篤胤の仕事を紹介し、その影響を受けながらも、鈴木雅之がいかに独自の霊魂・死後観を提示しているかを具体例で分析する。最後に、神葬祭に関する羽田野敬雄 の著作を分析する。

INTRODUCTION

The school of Kokugaku has been strongly connected to the discourse on shintō developed from the second half of the Edo period which subsequently led to the modern understanding of shintō as an independent reality and a national cult. Until now, studies outside of the Japanese academia on the school of Kokugaku and its works on shintō have mainly focused on the figures of those *kokugakusha* known as the Four Great Men of Kokugaku, particularly on Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane. Research on the two scholars, particularly on the latter, have shown how their ideology and understanding of shintō were then expanded on and developed during the Meiji Restoration and the Great Promulgation Campaign, with which the understanding of what would be later defined as *kokka shintō* began to be spread to the populace.

Although the work of Hirata Atsutane and Motoori Norinaga was undoubtably essential for the development and promulgation of the modern (re-)definition of shintō, I hereby argue on the need to move the focus away from those *kokugakusha* towards other relatively less studied scholars who, even if on a smaller scale, played their significant part in the construction of modern shintō. Scholars such as Susan L. Burns and Mark McNally argued in their studies on the need to remedy the common focus on the Four Great Men in order to understand the movement as the multifaceted reality that it was. Therefore, by following in their footsteps, I intend to show the work of *kokugakusha* other than the Four Great Men aiming to enlarge the

understanding of the shintō discourse during the Edo period. What I set to attain with my thesis is to demonstrate the relevance of the production of *kokugakusha* such as Hatano Takao, Ise Sadatake, Senge Toshizane, Suzuki Masayuki, and Suzuki Shigetane on which there is little to no studies. By doing so, I aim to set the groundwork for further research on their production and on the role they played in the (re-)definition of shintō during the Edo period, and on the evolution and development of local shintō traditions. The final aim of my thesis is, therefore, to present a novel perspective of *shintō* studies in the Kokugaku school up until the *bakumatsu* period by moving away from the perspective of Kokugaku as a movement focused only on protracting a proto-nationalistic ideology as was the case for Hirata Atsutane and his followers.

In order to demonstrate how the works of those *kokugakusha* were relevant in the context of the discourses on *shintō* during the Edo period, I decided to articulate my research into three different levels. The first, which I address in the first chapter of my thesis, serves to provide an outline of shintō traditions during the Edo period in order to establish a comparison framework that is essential for the understanding of how the school of Kokugaku critiqued, rejected, or in some cases integrated the understanding of shintō in the Edo period traditions. However, before analyzing what those traditions were and how they related to one another and Kokugaku, I feel it is of paramount importance to try to define what shintō is, and was, by presenting the extensive works of scholars such as Kuroda Toshio. In the following sections of the chapter, I present the religious background of the Edo period and then I analyze shintō traditions and their influence on the school of Kokugaku. Edo period shintō traditions helped shape the shintō discourse in the school, some

of them, as it was the case for Suika shintō, even provided the theological basis on which some *kokugakusha* would later develop their eschatology.

The second chapter serves a similar role to the first one, as it aims to provide a reference framework on the school of Kokugaku and its evolution during the Edo period. What I intend to do is to describe, along an historical, methodological, and ideological line, the evolution of the school during the Edo period. In order to do so I analyze the works of the Four Great Men of Kokugaku as well, only to provide a solid foundation on which I will explain the thoughts and production of other *kokugakusha*. In this chapter I argue on what I define the "spiritual turn" of the school, from which, starting with Norinaga, shintō began to be regarded as the center of attention in the studies of the school. Lastly, all through the chapter, I present the *kokugakusha* whose works I intend to analyze in the last chapter.

In the third and final chapter of my thesis, utilizing the frameworks and information presented in the first two chapters, I intend to analyze the works of Hattori Nakatsune, Ise Sadatake, Senge Toshizane, Suzuki Masayuki, and Suzuki Shigetane. The chapter is divided in two sections, one that aims to explain the position that those *kokugakusha* took regarding shintō traditions of their time, and another that aims to present their vision on themes such as cosmology and the afterlife. This chapter represents the beating hearth of my dissertation as it is here that I directly examine and analyze the works of the aforementioned *kokugakusha*, some of which have hardly ever been researched. The first section serves the purpose of showing how the school critiqued shintō traditions, but at the same time how those traditions influenced or even

overlapped with the ideas proposed by some *kokugakusha*. In that section, I intend to show how the school truly is a multifaceted movement where many *kokugakusha* emerged at the time and proposed innovating ideas but were sadly overshadowed by likes of Hirata Atsutane and Motoori Norinaga. The last section, instead, aims to explain the perceived understanding that those *kokugakusha* had on shintō cosmology and the afterlife. At first, I introduce the work of Hirata Atsutane, only to provide a concrete example to show how *kokugakusha* such as Suzuki Masayuki, although might have been influenced by his work, proposed distinct and unique views regarding the spirit and the afterlife. Lastly, I briefly introduce the works of Hatano Takao regarding shintō funerals.

CHAPTER 1:
SHINTŌ THOUGHTS IN EDO PERIOD JAPAN

1.1 Discourses on Shintō

Defining shintō 神道 and its "identity," as Joseph Kitagawa analyzes it, has posed many questions to *shintō* scholars and historians of religions revealing itself as a far more complex issue than many might think. As the scholar explains in his study, just the simple question "is it a religion or is it something other than a religion?"[1] requires a thorough analysis of its history and evolution starting from the ancient times until the creation of the so-called *Kokka Shintō* 国家神道 (State Shintō) during the early years of Meiji Period Japan and even later. It is hard to define and assign an "identity", an essence, or even a definition to "shintō" and what it represents and has represented through time. First and foremost, as Mark Teeuwen and Bernhard Scheid explain, there is the ambiguity of the term itself and its usage to define "a kami-based indigenous religion with an unbroken history in Japan [which] is neither historically accurate nor historiographically helpful".[2] Moreover, Kitagawa argues the inherent ambiguity of the term "shintō" based on the fact that it covers a wide range of meaning:

---

[1] Joseph M. KITAGAWA, "Some Remarks on Shintō", *History of Religions*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, p. 228

[2] Mark TEEUWEN, and Bernhard SCHEID, "Tracing Shinto in the History of Kami Worship: Editors' Introduction", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, 2002, p. 198

> Shinto scholars claim that not only religious but also all communal and cultural features of early Japan – at least those features apparent before the massive introduction in the fifth and sixth centuries of both Sino-Korean civilization (bringing Confucianism, Taoism, and the Yin-Yang school) and Buddhism – may be considered the domain of Shinto, or the "Way of Kami (the Sacred, or the Sacred Being)."[3]

In addition to the broad range of meaning that the term has acquired over the years, the scholar argues that the term "shintō" was created with the combination of two Chinese characters meaning "*kami*" 神 and "way" 道, which "originated only after the introduction of Buddhism in order to differentiate between the indigenous cults and the beliefs and practices of the newly transplanted religion of the Buddha".[4] Therefore, it is arduous to define and describe shintō as an individual practice separated from everything that is "not Japanese" without having to resort to the analysis by means of contrast with the other practices and cultures that came from different countries, starting with China until the contacts with European countries.

Isomae Jun'ichi, basing his work on the studies made by Kuroda Toshio, Murakami Shigeyoshi, and Takatori Masao, shows how it is difficult to define what "shintō" is because of the many diverse elements that it presents. Moreover, the aim of his paper is to present a new, and in some way more accurate, way to define, and therefore study, "Japanese religions", a field that intersects with different disciplines such as Buddhist Studies, *shintō* Studies, folklore, theology and many more. Regarding shintō, he explains that, although it has been believed to be an indigenous religion of Japan, its native

[3] KITAGAWA, "Some Remarks on Shintō", p. 228
[4] KITAGAWA, "Some Remarks on Shintō", p. 229

tradition only emerged and gained popularity during the Edo period up until the Meiji Restoration when *Kokka Shintō* was created. He argues that shintō was being defined as a way to contrast and try to halt what he calls a movement of "westernization" of religious practices in Japan and became a nativist reaction to the many influences that came from abroad, making it difficult to analyze it individually.[5]

Later in his paper Isomae argues how "Japanese religions" are not to be intended as religions that are "characteristic to Japan", but as religions that "exist in Japan,"[6] concluding that there is not something that is "Japanese" or "Western" but rather, the native and indigenous elements of Japan could only emerge through the contact with what he defines in his research as the "West."[7] It is precisely based on this process of differentiation that shintō was starting to be defined during Edo period Japan as something that was "essentially" Japanese. What I intend to elucidate with this first section of my thesis is that shintō cannot and should not be intended as an independent reality before the pre-modern period. What I want to show is that, although shintō as an independent religious movement did not exist until the creation and promulgation of *Kokka Shintō* during the first years of the Meiji period, there have been shintō, or at least *shintō*-like, beliefs and practices during the history of the Japanese archipelago. What is important to comprehend is that these

[5] ISOMAE Jun'ichi, "'Nihon shūkyōshi' wo dakkyū saseru: kenkyūshi dokkai no ichi shiron", *Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 82, no.2, 2008, pp. 279-280

[6] ISOMAE, "'Nihon shūkyōshi'…" …, p. 286

[7] ISOMAE, "'Nihon shūkyōshi'…" …, pp. 291-292. Through his research paper the author utilizes frequently the terms *seiyō* 西洋 ("Western countries", more generally, "the West" or "the Occident") and *seiyōteki* 西洋的 ("Western" or "Occidental"), therefore, I preferred to maintain a literal translation with "West" and "Western" respectively.

beliefs are not to be understood as "shintō", but they must be contextualized and seen inside the intricate relations that shintō practices and traditions had with other doctrines during the different periods of Japanese history. I believe Kuroda Toshio's extensive research on the matter is paramount to understand and re-conceptualize what shintō means, how its meaning and interpretation changed during the years, and how it evolved and blended with other religious traditions.[8]

Kuroda in his *Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion* attempts to trace shintō and its development through the history of Japan showing that there is continuity of *shintō* beliefs and traditions through it all, but at the same time he argues that:

> Therein lies the problem. Up to now all studies of Shinto history have emphasized this continuity by means of such a sampling process. In doing so they have applied to all periods of history a sort of surgical separation of Shinto from Buddhism and thus from Japanese religion as a whole. By such reasoning, anything other than Shinto becomes simply a superficial overlay, a passing thing.[9]

What is important for Kuroda is, therefore, to understand shintō inside the complex and variegated reality in which it evolved. In addition to this

---

[8] Although it would be certainly interesting to analyze in more details the research made by Kuroda, I decided to limit the material to only what concerned the immediate scope of my thesis. For more information on Kuroda's thought regarding medieval Japan's religions, and in particular his *Kenmitsu Taisei* 顕密体制 theory see: KURODA Toshio, "The Development of the *Kenmitsu* System as Japan's Medieval Orthodoxy", translated by James C. Dobbins, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3/4, 1996, pp. 233-269; KURODA Toshio, "The Discourse on the 'Land of Kami' (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan: National Consciousness and International Awareness", translated by Fabio Rambelli, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3/4, 1996, pp. 353-385; and TAIRA Masayuki, "Kuroda Toshio and the *Kenmitsu Taisei* Theory", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, no. ¾, 1996, pp. 427-448.

[9] KURODA, Toshio, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion", translated by James C. Dobbins and Suzanne Gay, *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1981, p. 20

understanding, I believe that for the aim of this study it is necessary to clarify what Kuroda defines as the two viewpoints in analyzing shintō:

> The first includes those who believe that, despite the dissemination of Buddhism and Confucianism, the religion called Shinto has existed without interruption throughout Japanese history. […] The second includes those who think that, aside from whether it existed under the name Shinto, throughout history there have always been Shintō-like beliefs and customs (shinko).[10]

The second point of view can be traced back to the *Kokugaku* 国学 (National Learning) school and is typical of studies of intellectual history, Japanese folklore, and Japanese culture. The main points found in it are that shintō is seen as something everlasting that has always existed and that is able, in any given historical period, to assimilate any given elements of many different cultures; and that shintō is not just a religion, but that "*shintō-ness*" can be viewed as "the cultural will or energy of the Japanese people, embodied in conventions which precede or transcend religion."[11]

Most of the aspects of these different ways of interpreting and understanding *shintō* during the Japanese history show that at the center of their visions lies the fact that, by directly quoting Kuroda, "Shinto has long been regarded as a crucial element in Japanese religion that gives it distinctiveness and individuality."[12] As I have written before, it is with this "uniqueness" as the foundation that shintō started to be defined during the Edo period, aiming to elevate the position that Japan held in opposition to the other countries. The school of Kokugaku played a crucial role in the definition

[10] KURODA, "Shinto in the History…", p. 1
[11] KURODA, "Shinto in the History…", p. 2-3
[12] KURODA, "Shinto in the History…", p. 1

of shintō, let alone the creation of *Kokka Shintō* and the related ideas on religious nationalism. However, in order to understand for what reason and in what way the school, that in that period was rooted in neo-Confucian thoughts, contributed to the creation of a new shintō ideology, it is necessary to analyze what was the religious situation of that time, and, mostly importantly, what "shintō" represented during those years and what relations held with other religious traditions and practices through the Edo period.

1.2 Shintō and other religions in Edo Period Japan

Before it is possible to analyze and study what were the *shintō* thoughts and ideologies that developed or evolved during the Edo period, and in particular inside the school of Kokugaku up until their ideological influence on the creation of *Kokka Shintō*[13], I believe it is necessary to describe the religious background of Japan at the time. I intend to present the reader with a framework of how the religions of the time, with their thoughts and ideologies, influenced *shintō* practices and thoughts, and what kind of relations they shared during the Edo period. Here I will only present the "general" religious situation of Japan and in the following chapters I will closely examine how

[13] The creation of the State Shintō finds its roots in the ideas proposed by the *Fukko Shintō* 復古神道 (Restoration Shintō) movement, composed by Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843) and his followers. Although the movement has been one of the strongest and most evident concretizations of the school thoughts on *shintō*, I have decided to avoid it, as much as possible, in order to focus my attention on *kokugakusha* and other experiences in the school that might have been overlooked or understudied up until recent years.

different religious paradigms have been tied to *shintō* practices during this period. Starting with Buddhism I will then analyze how Confucian and Neo-Confucian thoughts spread in the period and became deeply intertwined with *shintō* beliefs. Lastly, I will try to give a brief outlook on the evolution and definition of independent views on shintō which were starting to develop in this period.

In recent years, studies and research on religions during the Japanese pre-modern period are starting to become more numerous, but their numbers are certainly lacking compared to other periods of Japanese history. As Duncan Williams expresses in *Religion in Early Modern Japan*, in the volume *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions* edited by Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson, and, together with Barbara Ambros, in *Local Religion in Tokugawa History: Editors' Introduction*, the reason for the restricted number of studies is related to the sheer amount of source materials available that makes it difficult for scholars to navigate between what are mostly manuscripts.[14] In relation to that, another obstacle in studying those texts is posed precisely by the fact that they are manuscripts, therefore they require the scholars approaching them to be trained in reading handwritten manuscripts of the pre-modern period, a task of which not many are capable.[15]

In order to study and analyze such a vast collection of materials Ambros and Williams explain in their paper that a number of scholars have "gone local"

---

[14] Duncan Ryūken WILLIAMS, "Religion in Early Modern Japan", in Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson (eds), *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, University of Hawa'I Press, Honolulu, 2005, p. 185

[15] Barbara AMBROS, and Duncan WILLIAMS, "Local Religion in Tokugawa History: Editors' Introduction", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3/4, 2001, p. 217

to study "local and regional culture and history rather than examine religion via the lens of Japan as a unified phenomenon. These scholars argue that what we now call 'Japan' would more accurately be described as a very loosely-aligned collection of strong local cultures."[16] They then continue describing the production of Tamamuro Fumio, one of the first to advocate the "local approach" to the study of Japanese religions. Ambros and Williams define Japanese religions as "lived religion"[17]: religions in which the local settings, secular authorities, and the people itself are "socially significant units to understand religion."[18] Based on this perspective of a fragmented and localized religious experience and based on what I discussed about shintō and its understanding, it is difficult to trace a somewhat general frame of religions during the Edo period. Duncan Williams' chapter *Religion in Early Modern Japan* does a great job in giving a brief frame and references for the religion experiences. Starting from there, I will try to construct a framework based on what is the immediate aim of this thesis by comparing different papers and volumes that in some way show what were the main religious thoughts and ideologies connected to shintō in Japan during the pre-modern period.

With the beginning of the Edo period and the Tokugawa shogunate Japan entered a time of peace and unity after the almost two centuries of the Sengoku period dominated by near-constant civil wars and uprisings. As it is common and understandable, with changes in the political and social

[16] AMBROS, and WILLIAMS, "Local Religion…", p. 212

[17] AMBROS, and WILLIAMS, "Local Religion…", p. 210. Ambros and Williams adopt this term from David Hall, who popularized it in David HALL, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1989

[18] AMBROS, and WILLIAMS, "Local Religion…", p. 210

situations there came changes in the religions and the paradigms used to define them. As Helen Hardacre explains, Ieyasu's government needed a framework of political and legal measures to establish social and economic stability, therefore the shogunate's religions provisions helped in organizing and controlling the general populace under the Buddhist temples and their authorities.[19] What the new *bakufu* aimed for was to establish a stable system to govern and organize the many temples and institutions in order to avoid tumultuous relations with them as it had been during the medieval period.[20]

In addition to that, at the beginning of the Edo period the *danka seido* 檀家制度 (parish system) became mandatory by order of the Tokugawa shogunate as a mean to keep at bay the spread of Christianity which the government saw as a threat. The spread and enforcement of the *danka seido* shows how deeply connected to the politics of the country Buddhism had been over the previous periods. The relevance and role of Buddhism throughout Japanese history as a way to rule and guide the country has been undiscussed since its introduction, but with the change of paradigms during the Edo period Confucianism emerged as a valid "alternative" to Buddhism for the Tokugawa shogunate. As Wai-Ming presents in *The "I Ching" in the Shinto Thought of Tokugawa Japan*: "The two teachings [shintō and Confucianism] formed an anti-Buddhist alliance in the seventeenth century. Some Confucians sought to include Shinto within Confucianism, while Shintoists wanted to use Neo-

[19] Helen HARDACRE, *Shinto: A History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2017, p. 235

[20] WILLIAMS, *Religion in Early…*, p.188

Confucian metaphysics to enrich their own teachings."[21] Although I wrote that Confucianism emerged as a valid "alternative" to Buddhism, it is important to clarify that it was not a real alternative in the sense that it substituted or could have substituted the syncretic role held by Buddhism over the centuries. Confucianism only appealed to the elite and ruling class by stressing the political and moral norms of both doctrines, as Kuroda Toshio explains: "Confucian Shinto amounted to nothing more than theories of the educated class subordinating Shinto's true nature to Confucianism. Actual belief in the kami, however, as found among the common people at that time, remained subsumed under Buddhism."[22]

At least for the first half of the Edo period, shintō and Confucianism became deeply intertwined, because one needed the other and vice versa. As Hardacre writes "Confucians appropriated Shinto in order to introduce a philosophy that was new to shogunal officials, and because Confucian rationalism was useful to Shinto thinkers".[23] This "appropriation" was made possible by the many similarities that could be found in shintō and Confucianism which allowed scholars of the time to compare, explain, or even combine some characteristics of one with the other. Wai-Ming points out in his paper that "Confucianism and Shinto were in agreement with each other in political ideology, ethics, and metaphysics"[24], reasons that made Confucianism appealing to the ruling class and some scholars. In addition to that, shintō

---

[21] Ng WAI-MING, "The 'I Ching' in the Shinto Thought of Tokugawa Japan", *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 48, no. 4, 1998, p. 569

[22] KURODA, "Shinto in the History…", p. 19

[23] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 235

[24] WAI-MING, "The 'I Ching'…", p. 569

traditions at the time did not have specific terminologies and Confucian terminologies could be used to explain and expand on some ideological matters. Moreover, a number of Confucian scholars of the early Edo period saw shintō as a way to "naturalize" their teachings in order to present them in a way that would be understandable and easily accepted. As I will explain in a following section, the relations between shintō and Confucian thoughts and ideals during Edo period became deeply intertwined and influenced a number of schools of thought such as Kokugaku.

Up until this point, I have only shown the common elements and connections between the *shintō* tradition and other cults and religions in the early-modern period. However, it is paramount to explain that during the Edo period a *shintō* tradition existed that already defined itself as shintō: Yoshida Shintō. As Teeuwen and Scheid explain:

> The Yoshida priests were the first lineage that consistently used the word Shinto as a self-designation for their own religious system, and as such the creation of Yoshida Shinto in the late fifteenth century formed a new departure in the history of Shinto. At the same time, however, Yoshida Shinto also served as a channel that streamlined the Shinto paradigm developed by medieval kami theologians, and became *a* starting point for the diffusion of these ideas on a much larger scale in the Edo period.[25]

The Yoshida priests were probably the most influential when it came to *shintō* rituals and practices. They had developed and consolidated their status during medieval Japan and their licensing system[26] remained vital until the

[25] TEEUWEN, SCHEID, "Tracing Shintō…", p. 202 (emphasis added)

[26] For more detailed studies on Yoshida Shintō, their licensing system and ranking, and their relations in the legal and political framework of the Edo period see MAEDA, Hiromi, "Court Rank for Village Shrines: The Yoshida House's Interactions with Local Shrines during

beginning of the eighteenth century, declining shortly after. Many are the contacts and influences throughout the seventeenth century that the Yoshida family had with the Tokugawa shogunate, but just as many were the oppositions and challenges it had to face by other religious traditions of the period. As it is stated in the passage quoted above, Yoshida Shintō can be seen as *a* starting point for the diffusion and evolution of an independent shintō[27] paradigm.

Putting aside institutionalized practices, what is also important to analyze about the Edo period is what I earlier referred to, by quoting Barbara Ambros and Duncan Williams, as the "local approach". As John Breen and Mark Teeuwen write, "an understanding of kami, shrines, and rites in early modern Japan overlooks at its peril popular practice. Popular practice constituted a dynamic realm that owed nothing at all to the influence of the Yoshida, Shirakawa, or Suika schools of Shinto."[28] Moreover, not only did popular practices become more diffused throughout the country and can be regarded as an important step in the definition of shintō during the Edo period, but they also laid the foundation for the development of new practices, traditions and even new religious movements. As Hardacre discusses in her book:

---

the Mid-Tokugawa Period", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, 2002, pp. 325-358

[27] Even though shintō did not achieve the position of an independent tradition until the Meiji period, Yoshida shintō presents for the first time a non-Buddhist shintō tradition perceived as unbroken since the Age of the *kami*.

[28] John BREEN, and Mark TEEUWEN, *A New History of Shinto*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, p. 57

> Shinto popularizers spread recitation of the Great Purification Prayer to a popular level and, like shrine pilgrimage, a new awareness of Shinto as something beyond local Kami cults. Several new religious movements emerged outside the priesthoods of Buddhism and Shinto from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Drawing on a host of Buddhist, Shinto, and folk ideas for their doctrines and practices, their egalitarian ethos and faith healing, as well as practical ethics emphasizing personal religious experience, attracted thousands of people.[29]

Even though the new religious movements fall outside the immediate aim of this study, I believe it is important to at least take them into account as they are derived by the new understanding and views on shintō that was being "created" during the pre-modern period. In their study John Breen and Mark Teeuwen briefly present three of the movements which were born during the latter part of the Edo period and affirm that "there is no evidence, however, that they understood their activities as constituting 'Shintō'".[30] As I tried to explain and demonstrate before, it is hard to define what shintō meant outside some institutions and movements during this period, or even through most of Japanese history. What I want to show by briefly mentioning "*shintō*-based" new religious movements and local practices during the Edo period is that, in some way or another, there was a *shintō* paradigm that was neither based on institutionalized organizations nor on the *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 paradigm, but that was somewhat independent and rooted in the popular and local level, even though it was neither perceived, nor defined as "shintō".[31]

---

[29] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 237

[30] BREEN, TEEUWEN, *A New History…* p. 60

[31] For more detailed information on *shintō*-based religious movements during Edo period see HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, pp. 299-322. For more detailed research on shintō at a local or popular level, such as shrines' life and shrine pilgrimage see: HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, pp.

1.3 Buddhist-shintō: Honji Suijaku and Ryōbu Shūgō shintō

Before it is possible to analyze any influences and connections that different religions and ideologies may have had on *shintō,* I believe it is paramount to explain how "shintō" (to be read here as the cult or worship of *kami*) existed up until the late Edo period, or at least for the most part, only as *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (*honji* "the true form of a buddha" and *suijaku* "trace" or "manifested form"). As Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli eloquently present, the notion of "*honji suijaku* ('original forms of deities and their local traces') […] lay at the basis of Buddhist cults of kami, of the incorporation of kami shrines in Buddhist temples, and of the development of Buddhist-inspired kami cults which at a later stage developed into an independent religion, namely Shintō."[32] For the two scholars the topic is of great interest because up until the Meiji period Japanese Buddhism and shintō hardly existed without each manifesting some peculiarities of the other. In saying this I by no mean intend to deny the existence of Buddhist schools and sects that may have been mostly independent from the idea and notion of *kami*, but it is true that during the different periods of Japanese history, as Teeuwen and Rambelli write, "elements from different traditions, some autochthonous and others of

263-298; and Barbara AMBROS, "Localized Religious Specialists in Early Modern Japan: The Development of the Ōyama *Oshi* System", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3/4, 2001, pp. 329-372

[32] Mark TEEUWEN, and Fabio RAMBELLI, "Introduction: Combinatory religion and the honji suijaku paradigm in pre-modern Japan", Fabio Rambelli, Mark Teeuwen (eds.), *Buddhas and kami in Japan: Honji sujaku as a combinatory paradigm*, RoutledgeCurzon, London and New York, 2003, p. 1

continental origin, combined to form a melee of practices, ideas and beliefs that at first sight appears to us as an inextricable tangle."[33]

In their volume Teeuwen and Rambelli gather a number of studies and research by different scholar with the aim of analyzing and deepening the understanding of Japanese religion that has been seen for many years as split in two between *shintō* and Buddhism, even though, as they proceed to explain, shintō hardly existed as an autonomous cult. What is important to notice about their studies and that of other scholars in the volume, such as Allan Grapard, who they quote in their introduction, is how they seem to spread mostly as ramifications of the thoughts and studies of Kuroda Toshio. By directly quoting Teeuwen and Rambelli, "it is no exaggeration to state that Kuroda's writings on religion and the state in late classical and medieval Japan have revolutionised the study of Japanese religion".[34] Kuroda's studies focused on medieval Japanese religion and how it was viewed and understood up until that time, particularly he challenged the commonly spread way of categorizing Japanese religion in the medieval time as different sects, cults, and schools by proposing an approach that considered it as a whole essence, comprised of different elements and "components", as the two authors explain:

> Kuroda points out that a categorisation of religious phenomena in classical and medieval Japan under the twin headings "Buddhism" and "Shinto" obscures more than it reveals. Kuroda argues that Shinto did not exist as an "independent religion" before the modern period, but functioned as a "component" of a complex cultic system, which was Buddhist in nature but also included non-Buddhist elements. Most conspicuous among these were Chinese Yin-Yang practices and

[33] TEEUWEN, and RAMBELLI, "Introduction: Combinatory religion…", pp. 2-3
[34] TEEUWEN, and RAMBELLI, *Combinatory religion…*, p. 5

> Japanese cults of local deities (kami). In Kuroda's view, these cults of local deities should not be seen as an independent religious tradition parallel to, or in competition with, Buddhism, but rather as a fully integrated component of the dominant cultic system of the age, which he termed "*kenmitsu* Buddhism."[35]

The syncretism between Japanese Buddhism and shintō has existed since the introduction of Buddhism to the country and has been perceived as something natural. Therefore, in order to analyze and interpret the changes and the new ideas that emerged during the latter half of the Edo period it is important to understand that the overlaying of *kami* and buddhas was not perceived as taking two different beings, religions, or categories and blending them together to create something new that did not previously exist, but simply as something natural: *kami* were perceived as manifestations of buddhas. The process of *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合 (syncretism of *kami* and buddhas) needs to be understood as a long and slow process that took form and crystalized in the *honji suijaku* paradigm, then challenged during the Edo period. The reasons why these new ideas and ideologies regarding shintō and *kami* worship began to emerge during the early-modern period are many and of different sources.

One of the reasons that this paradigm started to be challenged during the Edo period, at least on a doctrinal level, can be found in the categorization of shintō made during the medieval period by Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼倶 (1435–1511), on which the Edo period understanding and definition of shintō is based. Bernhard Scheid writes about Yoshida Kanetomo's distinction of shintō presenting the three categories that he distinguishes: *honjaku engi shintō*

[35] TEEUWEN, and RAMBELLI, *Combinatory religion…*, p. 5

本迹縁起神道 ("Shinto formulated through 'Co-dependent origination of essence and hypostasis'"), *ryōbu shūgō shintō* 両部習合神道 ("combining two parts" shintō), and *genpon sōgen* 元本宗源 ("Original and Fundamental" shintō) or *yuiitsu* shintō 唯一神道 ("One and Only" shintō; hereafter referred only as *yuiitsu* shintō)[36]. . In this section I will only briefly present the first two as they are related to Buddhism. I will discuss Yoshida shintō 吉田神道, as well as the last of Kanetomo's category of shintō, in more details in the following section. Yoshida Kanetomo identifies *honjaku engi shintō* and *ryōbu shūgō shintō* as the *shintō* categories related to Buddhism. The distinction between the two faded during the years and only the latter category remained during the Edo period. *Ryōbu shūgō* shintō was initially understood in its esoteric meaning, as Scheid explains: "in esoteric Buddhist doctrine, the term *ryōbu* refers to the two realms of Dainichi Nyorai, the *taizōkai* (the Womb Realm) and *kongōkai* (the Diamond Realm). *Ryōbu shūgō* Shinto is explained as a Shinto teaching that associates these two realms with the two shrines of Ise, the Outer and the Inner Shrine."[37] Later on the esoteric connotations were lost, together with the association to the Ise shrine, and the Yoshida started to interpreter the "two parts" (*ryōbu*) as "*kami* and buddhas" therefore becoming a more general term to define every *shintō* tradition that had been influenced by Buddhism to any extent. This led to a more simplified understanding of Buddhist-shintō where *kami* and

[36] YOSHIDA Kanetomo, "Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshū", translated by Allan G. Grapard, *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 47, no. 2, p. 137. Since Bernhard Scheid does not present a translation for the term, I have decided to use the translation by Allan Grapard. If not specified differently all the other translations are taken from Bernhard Scheid's chapter.

[37] Bernhard SCHEID, "'Both Parts' or 'Only One'?: Challenges to the honji suijaku paradigm in the Edo period", in Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (eds), *Buddhas and kami in Japan: Honji sujaku as a combinatory paradigm*, RoutledgeCurzon, London and New York, 2003, p. 206-207

buddhas could be perceived as separated and independent entities, but still deeply entangled to one another.[38]

As Teeuwen and Rambelli write, the core aim of different interpretation and studies on shintō during the Edo period was to "'isolate' the kami, as symbolised by the emergence of a number of new attempts to define 'Shintō' as an autonomous tradition" [39] by finding different ways to oppose the Buddhist-shintō traditions that had always been highly dominated by Buddhism.

1.4 Shintō by itself: Yoshida Shintō and yuiitsu shintō

As I showed before, shintō has hardly existed through the Japanese history in an independent way with the exception of a number of traditions. One tradition, and possibly the most influential in shaping an independent *shintō* thought, is that of Yoshida shintō. As I have written before, Yoshida Shintō is probably the most influential form of *shintō* thought developed during the medieval period until the mid and late Edo period. It was an esoteric tradition which secrets were to be transmitted only to a very few highly selected initiates. As Bernhard Scheid explains, the highest of the initiations, which was to transfer the secrets of the rituals in the Yoshida tradition, was called *yuiju ichinin* 唯授一人 ("only one person at a time") to be held only once

[38] SCHEID, "'Both Parts' or…", p. 207-208
[39] TEEUWEN, and RAMBELLI, "Introduction: Combinatory religion…", p. 40

in every generation, usually from the head to the prospective heir of the Yoshida family. Scheid points out that the origin and basis of the Yoshida system were Buddhist, but "it set itself apart from other medieval traditions by the fact that its iconography and iconology excluded Buddhist entities. […] This conscious attempt to substitute Buddhist sanctities by the native kami was a key innovation of Yoshida Shintō." [40] They perceived their tradition as something pure, unique and original which could be traced back to the Age of the Gods. The understanding of shintō during the mid and late Edo period as an independent tradition, and as a possible alternative to Buddhism, can therefore be linked to the rise of Yoshida shintō.

In order to grasp in what way Yoshida shintō had such an influence and impact on shintō thought during the Edo period it is important to understand what their views and thoughts about shintō were, and, most importantly, about their own tradition. Bernhard Scheid presents the existence during the Edo period of a *shintō* paradigm outside that of the syncretism of Buddhism and shintō represented by the *honji suijaku*. In his study he focuses on the Yoshida and their explanations and views on shintō by analyzing some texts of the Yoshida family with the aim of explaining how the school interpreted the different shintō traditions since the medieval period. Scheid presents how Yoshida Kanetomo in the classic *Yuiitsu shintō myōbō yōshū* 唯一神道名法要集 (1485) attempts to define the term "shintō" more clearly with his threefold categorization of "shintō" that I have briefly introduced in the previous section: *honjaku engi* shintō, *ryōbu shūgō* shintō, and *yuiitsu* shintō. The latter "was

[40] Bernhard SCHEID, "Shinto as a Religion for the Warrior Class: The Case of Yoshikawa Koretaru", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, 2002, p. 304

considered to be the purest form of Shinto that dated back to the Age of the Gods, and was therefore labelled the 'One-and-Only Shinto,'"[41] and it was based on this label that shintō was beginning to be defined as an independent tradition.

As Bernhard Scheid points out in his study, through the categorization of shintō proposed by Yoshida Kanetomo, the Yoshida shintō could be placed inside the *ryōbu shūgō* shintō category, but from their perspective "their tradition was completely different and unique, and worthy of the designation One-and-Only Shinto.'"[42] As I have briefly explained, the division between *honjaku engi* and *ryōbu shūgō* shintō faded, and during the Edo period only the latter survived, losing its esoteric connotations. This situation created a dichotomy in the definition and understanding of shintō that would spread during the Edo period. To quote directly Scheid:

> Yoshida Kanetomo's Shinto typology achieved two things. It established "Shinto" as a category of religious discourse along with Buddhism (*butsudo*) and Confucianism (*judo*). And it split this new form of discourse into two types: one influenced by Buddhism – a syncretistic discourse, so to speak – and one free from Buddhist influence – at least on the level of iconography and religious administration. […] The first consequence of this development was the acceptance of the term "Shinto" as a general designation for everything that has to do with shrines and kami. Second, another term from Kanetomo was adopted to refer to *honji suijaku* practice. Here, the category of *ryōbu shūgō*, rather than Kanetomo's *honjaku engi* Shinto (which would have been more appropriate in cases such as the Hie shrine), became a comprehensive label for "Buddhist Shinto." In this

[41] SCHEID, "'Both Parts' or…", p. 206
[42] SCHEID, "'Both Parts' or…", p. 207

> way, the contradistinction between *ryōbu* and *yuiitsu* structured the world of kami worship in the first half of the Edo period.[43]

It is probably thanks to this simple distinction between two categories of shintō and the acknowledgment of shintō as something independent that during the Edo period a number of scholars, intellectuals, priests, and people in rural settings began to define what shintō meant, leading on one hand to the establishment of new religious movements and beliefs, and on the other hand to the creation of Kokka Shintō based on the ideologies of the Hirata School of Kokugaku.

1.5 Confucian-Shintō: Yoshikawa and Suika Shintō

The Edo period brought with it a series of changes in the social, economic, and political life that required the newly established shogunate to employ a different approach to rule the country. Certainly, as shown before, Buddhist still maintained a higher position than other religious traditions due to the usefulness of the temple system, and the many relations established over the previous periods. What the Buddhist tradition lacked, however, was a rational and concrete set of principles, morals and ethics in line with those sought after by the Tokugawa shoguns as a means to rule and control the country during those years. Therefore, as Bernhard Scheid points out, it is no surprise that a number of political and intellectual figures of the time actively

[43] SCHEID, "'Both Parts" or…", p. 221

sought a religious tradition that could be used as an alternative to Buddhism and "often combined an interest in Confucianism with an ardent belief in the kami".[44] What brought up the possibility for Confucianism to emerge and be "combined" with the *shintō* thoughts of that period was, to begin with, a single and simple element that both traditions had in common: a sentiment of dislike towards Buddhism.

As I have stated above, studies on shintō during the Edo period principally focused on isolating the *kami* from foreign traditions with the aim of bringing shintō back to a former splendor and purity that was uniquely Japanese. In order to do that it was paramount to escape the *honji suijaku* paradigm in which Buddhist deities and *kami* were unequivocally linked. Helen Hardacre explains that to help achieve this independency from Buddhism, shintō had to rely on "Confucianism's rationalism to systemize its own teachings. […] [I]n order to assist the political class of the times to understand Shinto, Shinto had to be explained rationally, in terms of universal concepts like the Way".[45] To justify the use of Confucianism as a means to "explain" shintō, a number of Confucian and *shintō* scholars presented their views attempting to demonstrate how Confucianism and shintō were in fact one. With the aim of my thesis in mind, I have decided to focus only on two of the traditions created by the amalgamation of Confucianism and shintō: Yoshikawa Shintō 吉川神道 and Suika Shintō 垂加神道. These two traditions were respectively founded by Yoshikawa Koretaru 吉川惟足 (1616–1694), a

[44] Bernhard SCHEID, "Shinto as a Religion…", p. 301
[45] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 246

disciple of Yoshida Shintō, and Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1618 – 1682) a former Buddhist monk who decided to turn to Confucianism.

Even though he was not part of the Yoshida family, Yoshikawa Koretaru was initiated by Hagiwara Kaneyori 萩原兼従 (1588–166), regarded at the time as the leading figure of Yoshida shintō[46] in Kyoto, in the secret teachings of the Yoshida, therefore, the Yoshikawa shintō is generally presented as a reformation of the former. Helen Hardacre explains that in his teachings Koretaru presents a distinction between two types of shintō: *gyōhō jisō* 行法事相 (shintō of ritual) and *rigaku shintō* 理学神道 (shintō of principles).[47] He believes that the latter had been transmitted since the Age of the Gods and it was in that one that he identified Yoshikawa shintō. Compared to the views of Yoshida Shintō, Koretaru subverted the importance and roles that doctrine and rituals held in Yoshida shintō placing at the center of the tradition his concern for ethical standards. As Bernhard Scheid argues, this reform does not provide major differences to the cosmologies or views of the *kami* between the two form of shintō, but what really differs between the two is the fact that Koretaru established a theory of ethics based on the "five Cardinal Virtues of Confucianism among which he singles out 'reverence' 敬 as the most

[46] Yoshida shintō is an esoteric tradition that, as I will briefly explain in chapter 1.5 *Shintō by itself: Yoshida Shintō and* yuiitsu *shintō*, usually transmitted its secrets only between the head and the heir of the Yoshida family.

[47] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 252-253. Helen Hardacre points out that Yoshikawa Koretaru had "obviously" appropriated the shintō of principle from Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657) a Confucian scholar who extensively researched Yoshida and Watarai texts. In his *shintō denju* 神道伝授 he shows how the medieval heritage was taken as a point of departure for Confucian scholars. While his teachings certainly posed the foundation of later Confucian-*shintō* thoughts I have decided to focus my studies only to those traditions I believe to be more relevant to the final aim of my thesis. For more information on Razan see HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 246-249

important […] Koretaru's ethical reflections center on the relationship between lord and subject".[48] Koretaru's view on loyalty as a fundamental value is probably the reason why Confucian values and thoughts, amalgamated with shintō, were to some extent accepted by the ruling class. Hardacre explains that the shogunate could not easily accept Confucianist teachings since they were "foreign" teachings and, in addition to that, it would have meant that the shogunate might have had to accept the worship of Confucius as a sage. Therefore, Koretaru's version of shintō that upheld loyalty over other virtues could be a possible solution to the issue.[49] In that regard Yoshikawa Shintō presents itself as a form of shintō in line with a Confucian understanding of ethics and society and as a fundamental link between the medieval traditions (Yoshida Shintō) and the intellectual society of Edo period Japan.

Yoshikawa Koretaru was not the only scholar who drew from the Yoshida teachings in their studies aimed to define and establish a *shintō* tradition based on Confucian principles. It was actually because of the connection with Koretaru himself that Yamazaki Ansai, founder of Suika shintō, was initiated in the Yoshida secrets in 1671 when Koretaru bestowed upon him the *reishagō* 霊社号 (living shrine name) *suika reisha* 垂加霊社 based on which Ansai named his *shintō* tradition. In 1669, Ansai had also been initiated in the secrets of Watarai shintō 度会神道[50] placing him in the unique

[48] SCHEID, "Shinto as a Religion…", p. 318

[49] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 254

[50] Watarai shintō generally refers to the Ise shintō tradition originated and developed within the Watarai family. The term is used to identify the tradition of the Outer shrine (*gekū* 外宮) of Ise in opposition to the Ise teachings in general. For this reason sometimes it is referred as *Gekū Shintō* 外宮神道 (Outer Shrine Shintō). The tradition originated in the late thirteenth century with Watarai Yukitada 度会行忠 (1236-1305) who is believed to have compiled the

position of having been initiated in both traditions' secrets.[51] As Scheid points out, he interpreted the Watarai and Yoshida traditions as expressions of "the Way" and, through Confucian teachings, he "hoped to get even closer to the original Way of the kami".[52]

Ansai's school, thanks to the amalgamation and reinterpretation of Confucian, Watarai and Yoshida teachings, was probably one of the most sophisticated Confucian-*shintō* traditions of the period and managed to be highly influential in the intellectual circles. Similar to Yoshikawa shintō, Suika accepted Koretaru's views on principles as a "connection" between *kami* and humanity. As Hardacre writes, Ansai was determined to reveal the presence of Confucian principles in Japanese myths[53] affirming that in order to receive the favor of the *kami* the people should worship reverently and be upright, also, as Koretaru affirmed before him, he "attributed great significance to reverence (*kei, tsutsushimi*) as the proper attitude for worshipping the Kami".[54] What is

textual foundation of the Watarai teachings: *Shintō gobusho* 神道五部書 (Five Books of Shintō). Even though it borrowed from Taoism theories and some Buddhist teachings, this work emphasized an independent nature of shintō. The aim of this tradition was to offer lay people ritual purification and spiritual union with the *kami*. It is only with Edo period scholars Deguchi Nobuyoshi 出口延佳 (1615-1690) and Yamazaki Ansai that the *Shintō gobusho* gained importance and Confucian ideas were attached to them. See William BODIFORD, "Reviewed Work: Watarai Shinto: An Intellectual History of the Outer Shrine in Ise by Mark Teeuwen", *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1998, pp. 361-377. For more information about Watarai shintō see Mark TEEUWEN, *Watarai Shinto: An Intellectual History of the Outer Shrine in Ise*, Research School CNWS, Leiden, 1996.

[51] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 254

[52] SCHEID, "Shinto as a Religion…", p. 307

[53] At the time the *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 (720) was still regarded as the main text about the Japanese creation myth that identified *Kunitokotachi-no-kami* 国之常立神 as the primal deity, idea shared by the Yoshida, Yoshikawa and Suika shintō that also identified the *kami* with *Amenominakanushi-no-kami* 天之御中主神.

[54] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 256

important to emphasize about Suika shintō is how Ansai intended the Confucian ideas of loyalty and reverence. He stressed the concept of *shinjin yuiitsu* 神人唯一 (essential unity of kami and humankind) and, as Hardacre explains, identified *Amaterasu-Ōmikami* 天照大御神 as a Confucian sage, that therefore possessed innate understandings of morality and how to enact it. Hardacre goes on to write that

> Based on this theory, he explained Suika Shinto as the "Way of Amaterasu." Ansai identified the Way of Amaterasu with complete and unswerving loyalty to the emperor. Amaterasu is the ancestor of the imperial house and hence epitomizes the unity of humanity and the Kami. Unlike Confucianism's idea that an unsuitable emperor could legitimately be removed, Ansai stressed the absolute necessity of remaining loyal to such an emperor so as not to disturb the unity of humanity and the divine.[55]

The interpretation of Suika shintō as the "Way of Amaterasu" clearly links the Suika shintō with a deep interest toward the imperial institution, seen as the nucleus around which this shintō tradition should be formed, and it is, in fact, in the court that the Ansai's teachings had the most influence. Even though the school came to an end in the first half of the eighteenth century, the ideas of imperial loyalty and undiscussed reverence to the emperor as a way to be united with the *kami* had a far greater reach, shaping and stimulating many imperial loyalist thoughts, even in the twentieth century, and can be unequivocally perceived as a bridge that connects Suika thoughts to those of a number of scholars during the Edo period, in particular of some *kokugakusha* 国学者.

[55] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 256

CHAPTER 2:
EVOLUTION OF THE KOKUGAKU SCHOLARSHIP IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN

2.1 About Kokugaku and its origins

The school of Kokugaku 国学 ("National Learning") was an academic movement that finds its origins during the late seventeenth century. The term is commonly used to describe a vast number of scholars that influenced the thoughts and ideologies from the Edo period until the Meiji period. Even though their interest varied from school to school the term *kokugakusha* 国学者 is generally used to define those scholars whose interest was towards the study of what was "national" in the sense of being original and indigenous of "Japan,", in other words, the interest of many of those scholars was to find and define a "Japanese-ness.". The main way of discovering and exploring what was considered to be originally "Japanese" was through the study of ancient texts which was, in fact, the central and most important area of study of the Kokugaku school.[56]

What is important to take into consideration when studying the school of Kokugaku is that it was not a homogeneous movement and different

[56]Michael WACHUTKA, *Kokugaku at the Dawn of the Meiji Period*, in *Kokugaku in Meiji-Period Japan: The Modern Transformation of 'national Learning' and the Formation of Scholarly Societies*, BRILL, 2012, p. 2

kokugakusha often had different, or even opposing, interests that could vary from studies on language and poetry to religion. In fact, as John R. Bently observes by analyzing and citing the studies of other scholars such as Yamada Yoshio and Orikuchi Shinobu, the term "Kokugaku" functions as an umbrella term for this "multifaceted movement, which morphed into different iterations with the establishment of each new school founded by Azumamaro, Mabuchi, Norinaga, Atsutane, and others.". [57] In recent years different scholars of different backgrounds such as Peter Nosco, Mark Teeuwen, Harry Harootunian, and Susan Burns tried to define and give their interpretation of the term Kokugaku.[58]

Peter Nosco and Michael Wachutka, as well as other scholars, share a similar view on the meaning and designation of the term Kokugaku that is much like the one suggested by Bently. As Nosco explains, "in its broadest sense National Learning refers to all learning and scholarship which took Japan as its focus instead of China,"[59], therefore, it includes a rather elevated number of *kokugakusha* who emerged during the mid-Edo period and tried to propose a possible alternative to Confucian Studies that, in a way, dominated the ideological landscape of the period. While this definition is accurate and can

---

[57] John R. BENTLEY, *An Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, p. 2

[58] See Susan L. BURNS, *Before the Nation, Kokugaku and the imagining of community in early modern Japan*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2003; Harry HAROOTUNIAN, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*, University of Chicago Press, 1988; Peter NOSCO, *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth Century Japan*, Harvard University Press, 1990; and Mark TEEUWEN, "Kokugaku vs. Nativism", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2006, pp. 227-242.

[59] Peter NOSCO, "Nature, Invention, and National Learning: The Kokka hachiron Controversy, 1742-46", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1981, pp. 75-76

be useful for my study, what I intend to focus on is the narrower application of the term Kokugaku that Wachutka describes as a movement which aimed to elucidate "the ancient original Japanese way through philological methods and trying to enhance it from an ethnocentric and particularistic point of view."[60] It has to be noted, however, that this particular ideology behind the movement developed as a transition from the "broader" Kokugaku school which occurred between the late-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries when it became the core ideology – characterizing the school of Kokugaku from that point onward. For these reasons, I believe it is important to understand the meaning of the term Kokugaku and what ideologies were supported by the *kokugakusha* that I will later analyze. Also, it is necessary to understand what the evolution of the movement, that sometimes brought radical transformations, was during the late part of the Edo period.

Since the early Edo period, the term Kokugaku has been used to designate the literary studies of those scholars whose works were considered to be "Japan-centered" and mainly dealing with ancient Japanese texts. As the school of Kokugaku was by no means homogeneous, different *kokugakusha* of the Edo period referred to their studies and their approach in different ways such as *wagaku* 和学 ("Japanese studies"), *kogaku/inishie manabi* 古学 ("Ancient studies" or "Classical studies"), *kōgaku* 皇学 ("Imperial studies"), *kodōgaku* 古道学 ("Ancient Way studies"), and *hongaku/mototsu manabi* 本学 ("Original studies" or "True learning") or *honkyou/mototsu oshie* 本教 ("Original teachings"). Depending on the different approaches and interests of the single

[60] WACHUTKA, *Kokugaku at the…*, p. 2

kokugakusha, they described their studies adopting one term instead of another. Only in the late Edo and Meiji periods did the term Kokugaku begin to be used actively to describe the studies of the school.[61]

The first two prominent scholars who focused their studies on ancient texts were Keichū 契沖 (1640-1701) and Kada No Azumamaro 荷田春満 (1669-1736) in which the origin of the Kokugaku school can be found. Keichū was a Shingon Buddhist priest who can be identified as the forerunner of the school. As Nosco explains, at that time Chinese studies *kangaku* 漢学 and Japanese studies *wagaku* seemed to go hand in hand with no relevant distinction, but the initial fissure between the two became apparent in Keichū's writings.[62] In his *Man'yōdaishōki* 万葉代匠記[63] (1687-1690), a commentary to the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, c. 759), Keichū "wrote about the ancient past in terms that described the native tradition as sufficient, without Buddhism or Confucianism, for the task of ordering society and affairs of state.".[64] As Bentley points out, Keichū felt that only through the study of *waka* 和歌, and not of the Chinese-based histories, one could grasp and understand the true Japanese mind, however:

> In spite of this indigenous-looking resolve, Keichū's own methodology borrowed much from Chinese traditions, and he was not prepared to declare that Chinese influence should be avoided outright. While

[61] For more information see WACHUTKA, *Kokugaku at the…*, p. 1-4

[62] Peter NOSCO, *The National Learning Schools*, in Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann (eds), *Sources of Japanese Tradition Volume two: 1600 to 2000*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2005, p. 482

[63] *Daishō* 代匠 in the title means that the work was "produced on behalf" of someone else. In fact, Keichū concluded the project started by Shimokōbe Chōryū 下河辺長流 (1626-1686). See BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 8

[64] NOSCO, *The National Learning…*, p. 482

> Keichū did not feel that Chinese learning was problematic, or that a person should emulate *Man'yōshū* poetry, or even that Japan should return to its former divine glory, his greatest contribution was the fundamental philological methodology that later gave birth to such outstanding works as Kamo no Mabuchi's *Man'yōshū-kō* and Motoori Norinaga's *Kojiki-den*.[65]

Even though Keichū did not challenge the predominance of Chinese and Confucian studies in his time, he made it possible to see the beginning of the separation of Chinese and Japanese studies, a growing interest of many scholars of that time, therefore, leading to the need to create a school of "national learning". The quest to elevate the academic field of Japanese studies to the same level as its Chinese counterpart was taken up by Kada No Azumamaro.

Kada no Azumamaro came from a family of shintō priests at the Inari Shrine (*inarisha* 稲荷社) of Fushimi (present-day *Fushimi Inari Taisha* 伏見稲荷大社) and from a young age he was interested in poetry and literature. As Bently points out, since his family held hereditary positions at the Inari shrine, his interests gradually moved away from just poetry and literary studies and he began to focus on trying to restore his idea of pure shintō through the application of the methodology of philological analysis of ancient texts.[66] Azumamaro's main textual focus was the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (Chronicles of Japan, 720) which he used as the foundation for his studies on the *Kamiyo* 神代 (Age of the *kami*) and on the pure and original shintō that he was trying to recover. He is the first scholar to openly defy the superiority of China and

[65] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 8
[66] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, pp. 9-10

Chinese texts, declaring in his *Nihon shoki montōshō* 日本書紀問答抄 (Annotated dialogue on the *Nihon shoki*, 1691) that "the teachings of our country are the ancient teachings from the divine age, existing in one path, including things not seen in Confucianism and unknown to Buddhism. Our land is called the divine land and the Way—the Way of the *kami* and the teachings—the teachings of the *kami*."[67]

With a petition that he supposedly sent in 1728 to the shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684-1751), Kada No Azumamaro appealed for the creation of a school of "national learning" in which students could study the ancient traditional Japanese literature with the aim of rescuing it from the oblivion in which it fell due to the diffusion and role of Chinese studies. As both Bently and Nosco point out in their works, although Azumamaro advocated a refusal of Chinese and Confucian teachings, the influence of Confucianism in his studies is apparent. Regarding the petition itself Nosco writes that:

> The unquestioned heritage of Chinese learning at this time is apparent in the very form of the memorial itself: it is in an extremely ornate style of classical Chinese, full of obscure allusions to the Chinese classics, the furthest thing from the native language and literature that Azumamaro wished to revive. Even more significant is his adaptation of Neo-Confucian principles to his own purpose. Thus he uses the slogan of the Confucian revival in the Song dynasty, "Restore the Ancient Order (or Way)" (J. *fukko*, Ch. *fugu*), to justify a kind of Japanese neoclassicism. In Azumamaro's mind, however, it is clear that these classical studies

[67] SAIGUSA Yasutaka, *Kokugaku no undō*, Kazama Shobō, 1966, p. 102, quoted in BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 11

> must be literary and philological in nature, for the Ancient Way can be rediscovered only through textual research.[68]

The importance of this document lies in the way Azumamaro articulates his definition of national learning and his academic views. As Nosco wrote in the passage that I quoted above, his quest to rediscover the Ancient Way (*kodō* 古道) was rooted in the study of ancient texts and, therefore, of the "old Japanese words", as Azumamaro defines it.[69] In the petition, Kada No Azumamaro criticizes the spread and diffusion of foreign teachings as the reason why the Japanese "teachings have so deteriorated. False doctrines are rampant, taking advantage of our weakness".[70] He also affirms how the gradual loss and abandonment of the old language and teachings is due to the inability to understand the old Japanese words, writing that:

> There are few explanations for the old Japanese words. The fact that one does not hear of anyone who is thoroughly conversant in them must be because the documents and men are insufficient. It has indeed been several hundred years since the old learning was taught. […] If the old words are not understood, the old meanings will not be clear. If the old meanings are not clear, the old learning will not be revived. The way of the former kings is disappearing; the ideas of the wise men of antiquity have almost been abandoned. The loss will not be small if we fail now to teach philology.[71]

It is clear from the quoted passage that Azumamaro's interest and studies were rooted in a philological methodology which highly valued the recovery of the old Japanese language before it was influenced by the Chinese

---

[68] NOSCO, *The National Learning…*, p. 486

[69] KADA no Azumamaro, *Kada zenshū*, translated by Ryusaku Tsunoda, in Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann (eds), *Sources of Japanese Tradition Volume two: 1600 to 2000*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2005, p. 489

[70] KADA no Azumamaro, *Kada zenshū,* p. 488

[71] KADA no Azumamaro, *Kada zenshū,* p. 489

language and traditions. The quest for the original language of Japan, which is itself linked with the ideal of restoring a pure shintō tradition, is a topic that is widely spread among many *kokugakusha*. As I have written at the beginning of this section, the initial interest of many *kokugakusha* was of literary and poetic nature, but it was always connected to an ideal of recovery of ancient traditions that was frequently rooted in the belief of Japanese superiority. As Bently points out, Kada No Azumamaro "is one of the first to have openly declared that he believed Japan was superior to China, opening the door to the xenophobia for which later Kokugaku would become well known".[72]

2.2 Early Kokugaku thought: ancient poetry and the heart of Japanese people

The scholarship of what was starting to become what we now know as Kokugaku can initially be identified as a literary movement which was interested in ancient Japanese literature and poetry. As I have stated before, the school's subjects of study changed and evolved over the years with a shift from a philological and linguistic concern to a more ideological and sometimes spiritual one. At least during its early period, as Mark Teeuwen affirms, "Kokugaku was in the first place a literary movement, not an ideological or intellectual one."[73] In his article, Teeuwen studies the case of Arakida Hisaoyu

[72] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 11

[73] Mark TEEUWEN, "Poetry, Sake, and Acrimony. Arakida Hisaoyu and the Kokugaku Movement", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 52, no. 3, 1997, p. 325

荒木田久老 (1746-1804), one of the first followers in Ise 伊勢 of Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769), providing examples on how the literary interest of many *kokugakusha* remained alive and prospered in later years, opposing to the wide spread scholarships that "almost exclusively treated this movement as a school of intellectual thought and approached it from the viewpoint of intellectual history (shisōshi 思想史)."[74] While it is not the aim of my thesis to study and analyze in detail the scholarship of Kokugaku outside its views and influences on shintō thought during the Edo period, I believe it is important to grasp in what way literature and poetry played a major role in the creation and then establishment of the school's later ideology.

Beginning with Kada no Azumamaro, many *kokugakusha* took up the quest of recovering the old language in ancient texts and poetry. Interest in poetry and its role was earlier shown by Keichū who wrote the *Man'yōdaishōki* in order to understand the Japanese mind of that time. Looking at the origin of the movement, it is clear that Kokugaku came into being as a school of literary studies. However, it is undeniable how the sheer amount of works on ideological matters by later *kokugakusha*, ranging from studies on cosmology and the Ancient Way to political studies, shows that, especially towards the end of the Edo and the beginning of the Meiji periods, Kokugaku studies shifted and evolved. Therefore, what started as a philological quest which was interested in poetry and recovering the lexicon of the ancient Japanese language, evolved over the years into a movement that focused on spiritual

[74] TEEUWEN, "Poetry, Sake…", p. 295

matters and national ideologies, while it maintained a philological methodology and approach.

As I have stated at the beginning of this chapter, the transition from a broader Kokugaku scholarship to a more particular one that emphasized the superiority of Japan and the recovery of the Ancient Way, is a slow process that occurred over many years. Peter Nosco indicates three watersheds that characterized the transition:

> The first was the completion of a full commentary on the *Man'yōshū*, Japan's most ancient anthology of verse, in 1690 by the Shingon priest, Keichiu 契沖 (1640-1701). His commentary, the *Man'yōdaishōki* 萬葉代匠記, was the first work of nativist philology a par with similar work in the Ancient Learning (*Kogaku*) school of Confucianism. The second occurred in 1728 when the ailing Kada Azumamaro (1669-1736) sent Shogun Yoshimune "A Petition to Found a School of National Learning." This document contained the first articulate discussion of National Learning as a concept. The third was the *Kokka hachiron* 國歌八論 controversy of the 1740s.[75]

I have already analyzed the first two instances in the previous section, therefore, I will only focus on the third one. As Nosco defines it, the *kokka hachiron* controversy "had a determinant influence on the emergence and future development of National Learning."[76] The controversy was a debate between Kada no Arimaro 荷田在満 (1706-1751), Tayasu Munetake 田安宗武 (1715-1771), and Kamo no Mabuchi about the relationship between poetry, the state, and the people. The *kokka hachiron* controversy might be seen as a literary confrontation, but it had just as much ideological implications.

[75] NOSCO, "Nature, Invention, and…", pp. 76-77
[76] NOSCO, "Nature, Invention, and…", p. 77

The debate lasted for four years beginning in 1742 when Tayasu Munetake requested that Kada no Arimaro compose a work in which he expressed what his views on the Way of Poetry were. Munetake was the second son of Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684-1751) and a traditional scholar himself; Arimaro was the nephew of Kada no Azumamaro, who adopted him, and, after the death of Azumamaro, he became the head of the school and the *wagaku goyō* 和学御用, the authority on Japanese studies employed by the *bakufu* 幕府. In response to Munetake's request, Arimaro wrote *Kokka hachiron* 國歌八論 (Eight Theories on Japanese Poetry, 1742) in which he expressed his own poetic theory that

> hinged on this one assumption that poetry was devoid of didactic or normative value. Once the normative value of verse was rejected, poetry could only be valued for the degree of artistry that it demonstrated […]. Furthermore, Arimaro rejected the concept of poetry as a Way.[77]

These inflammatory assertions are what caused the debate between the three. Munetake, unhappy with Arimaro's work, quickly composed a refutation titled *Kokka hachiron yogon* 國歌八論余言 (My views on the Eight Theories on Japanese Poetry) in which he expressed how poetry was deeply linked with the welfare of the state, and that the *Man'yōshū*, as the first collection of Japanese poetry, was to be highly esteemed as it held didactic purposes providing moral edification and rectification.[78] In addition to his rebuttal, Munetake asked Kamo no Mabuchi to express his views on the matter, which were, in a way, similar to his own.

---

[77] NOSCO, "Nature, Invention, and…", p. 85
[78] NOSCO, "Nature, Invention, and…", p. 86

Kamo no Mabuchi was born in 1697 in Iba 伊庭 a village in the Tōtōmi province (currently part of the city of Hamamatsu 浜松) as the third son of Okabe Masanobu 岡部政信 a *kannushi* 神主 (shintō priest) of a subordinate shrine of the *Kamo jinja* 賀茂神社. In 1707, he began studying under the *kokugakusha* Sugiura Kuniakira 杉浦国頭 (1678-1740), then in 1728, he went to Kyōto to join Kada no Azumamaro's school. In 1737, the year after Azumamaro's death, he joined Kada no Arimaro and Kada Nobuna 荷田信名 (1685-1751), the younger brother of Azumamaro, in Edo. Mabuchi started with Nobuna a series of lectures on the *Man'yōshū* and by 1742 he could enjoy a great reputation as an authority on classics and ancient verse.

Three months after the publication of the *Kokka hachiron,* Mabuchi presented Munetake with his own essay titled *Kokka hachiron yogon shūi* 國歌八論余言拾遺 (Gleanings on My views on the Eight Theories of Japanese Poetry)[79] in which he expressed how he believed poetry to be useful to the government of the country since it expressed the "truth of emotions" (*nasake no makoto* 情の真) and therefore poetry was the "natural" (*onozukara* おのずから) expression of that sensitivity.[80] In Mabuchi, we find the first discussion on the concept of "natural" inside the school of Kokugaku. His rebuttal was close in position to that of Munetake, acknowledging poetry's usefulness in aiding the government, "but this 'aid' was not due to poetry's didactic value, or to poetry's metaphysical linkage with the element of Principle, but rather to its

[79] The following year, Kamo no Mabuchi revised his essay adding his recollection of the events publishing his *Kokkaron okusetsu* 國歌論臆説 (Hypothesis on the theories on Japanese poetry).

[80] NOSCO, "Nature, Invention, and…", p. 86-87

ability to vent powerful emotions which might otherwise impair the harmonious functioning of the state."[81]

Kamo no Mabuchi emerged as the prominent figure from the debate, and with the death of Kada no Arimaro in 1751, he became the sole heir to Kado no Azumamaro's teaching and, therefore, the head of the Kokugaku school – moving it from a broader stance to a more ideological school with the quest of recovering the Ancient Way. By analyzing his views, it is possible to understand the effect they had on the development and production of later *kokugakusha*. His scholarship contained an idealization of Japan's Ancient Way in which the people of ancient times did not need moral instructions. It alluded to an Ancient Japan before it was won over by Chinese writings and teachings, therefore, the verses contained in the *Man'yōshū* were to be valued for "having been composed before the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism, which rendered them useful for gleaning the virtues and sentiments of the 'true heart' (*magokoro*) of the Japanese, a heart unsullied by exposure to Chinese morality and rationalism".[82] As Bentley states, "Mabuchi saw in the poetry of *Man'yōshū* the original essence of the Japanese, the so-called naive and sincere nature that the Japanese had inherited from the *kami*".[83] Although his main interest was poetical and literary, there are of course some connections with ideas on spirituality and shintō that would be further investigated by later *kokugakusha*.

What I believe is important to grasp through the analysis of the *kokka hachiron* debate is the interests of the school and some of its scholars at that time.

---

[81] NOSCO, "Nature, Invention, and…", p. 89
[82] NOSCO, *The National Learning…*, p. 484
[83] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 13

I decided to focus only on this debate to describe the early Kokugaku movement for various reasons. The first was to show with a tangible example what I explained in the previous section, referring to Kokugaku as a heterogenous movement. Ideas, views, and interests changed and differed from *kokugakusha* to *kokugakusha*, or even in the production of the same scholar over the years. Secondly, as it is in general the final aim of my thesis, I wanted to analyze the school outside the fixed and widely spread interest of the academic community on the primary production of the *shitaijin* 四大人(Great Men of Kokugaku): Kada no Azumamaro, Kamo no Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), and Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776-1843). Even though Kamo no Mabuchi is indeed one of them, I wanted to describe the evolution of the school from a different perspective, therefore, based on the study of Peter Nosco, I chose to focus on this debate as way to present the school evolution in its early period. Lastly, I wanted to emphasize what I think is the most relevant factor for my study: the views of Mabuchi on the "mind/heart of Japanese people" that I believe can be identified as the prelude to what I like to define as the spiritual turn of the Kokugaku movement. For Kamo no Mabuchi, *waka* were to be considered as a window to understand the mind of the past. As I stated before, while for many other *kokugakusha* the ancient poetry was merely a literary interest, Kamo no Mabuchi had a slightly different opinion, as it clearly appears from what he wrote in 1765 in his work *Kokuikō* 国意考 (Reflections on the meaning of our country):

> Now, as I have been arguing about the meaning and the words of ancient poetry, people think this only concerns the words in poetry; however, as I have stated before, the heart of the ancients is in their feelings [the meaning behind the words]. One can know the hearts of

> the ancients through ancient poetry, and through the method of deduction of this knowledge, one can know the ancient state of society. After one has knowledge of the ancient state of society, then he can reach back into time and ponder the divine age.[84]

Kamo no Mabuchi understood ancient poetry as a bridge that could connect the scholars studying those texts to the mind and life of the people during the Age of the *kami*, an age that would become the main focus of many *kokugakusha* after him.

2.3 The spiritual turn of Kokugaku

Thanks to the studies of Kamo no Mabuchi, it is possible to see the first changes in interests of some *kokugakusha*. As I have already written, those shifts in studies and concerns did not influence the production of the school as a whole, in reality it was quite the contrary. The school remained as heterogeneous as it was before, and the interests in poetry, literature, and philology remained at the heart of the production of many *kokugakusha*. What I mean by the term spiritual turn is that there is clearly a growing number of scholars whose interest was tilted to spiritual matters, specifically towards *shintō* traditions and ideologies. Mark Teeuwen explains in his review of Susan L. Burns' *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan* that only a minority of Kokugakusha were in fact interested in

[84] KAMO no Mabuchi, *Kokuikō*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, in John R. Bentley (eds), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, p. 345

studying and writing about shintō or the Japanese Way,[85] but still, it is a fact that in this period of time a number of scholars in the school began to work on those matters.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Kokugaku school was mainly characterized and divided into three major schools: *Edoha* 江戸派 (Edo school); *Norinagaha* 宣長派 (Norinaga school); and *Hirataha* 平田派 (Hirata school). Regarding the first two schools, Teeuwen, in his review of Mark McNally's *Proving the Way: Conflict and Practice in the History of Japanese Nativism*, states as follows:

> The Edo-ha was a loose network of students of Kamo no Mabuchi, mostly based in Edo. Their brand of nativism focused heavily on poetry and was 'aestheticized' through close contacts with literary circles in Edo. Edo-ha nativists did not necessarily regard Japanese studies as incongruous with Chinese studies; some of the Edo-ha's central figures, such as Murata Harumi 村田春海 (1746-1811) and Oyamada Tomokiyo 小山田与清 (1783-1847), held the study of Japanese poetry and prose to be simply 'a part of Confucianism' (p. 23). The Norinaga school took a different position on this issue. Both in Japan's ancient literature and in the Kojiki, Norinaga discovered an 'ancient Way' that was Japan's alone. McNally underlines the contrast between Mabuchi's view of Shinto as Japan's equivalent to China's Daoism and Norinaga's concept of the ancient Way as a gift from the Japanese gods, embodied both in the imperial institution and in the hearts of all Japanese (yamato-damashii 倭魂). In Norinaga's work, poetry soon became a secondary concern, overshadowed by the ancient Way.[86]

It is undeniable how Motoori Norinaga paved the way for what I defined as the "spiritual turn" of the school. Many scholars who decided to follow him turned their gaze towards more spiritual matters, therefore, I

[85] TEEUWEN, "Kokugaku vs…", p. 231
[86] TEEUWEN, "Kokugaku vs…", p. 233

believe him to be the initiator of this turn. Of course, as I wrote earlier, there were others before him whose studies focused on shintō and spirituality, but with him it is possible to witness a shift inside the Norinaga school of Kokugaku, not only in single studies of some individuals, but in the Kokugaku movement as a whole, involving a growing number of scholars who debated and commented each other's works on shintō or the ancient Way.

Motoori Norinaga was born in Matsusaka in 1730 and, it is said, that since an early age he had a great interest in poetry and literature. He went to Kyōto in order to study medicine, and while he was there, he began to grow interested in the ideas of one of the most emergent *kokugakusha* of the time: Kamo no Mabuchi. He read his work repeatedly until he felt that he completely understood and agreed with Mabuchi's thought.[87] After five years in Kyōto, Norinaga returned to Matsusaka where he started giving lectures on poetry and literature. At that time, those meetings were nothing more than informal gatherings where he shared his knowledge; however, after a short period of time, they became more regular leading to the establishment of his school, the Suzunoya 鈴屋 (hall of the bells).[88]

[87] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 15

[88] The lectures always took place in a room on the second floor of Norinaga's home, therefore "he called his school the Suzunoya, or 'hall of bells,' after the numerous hanging bells with which Norinaga had decorated the room out of a fondness for bells. Thereafter, the school was known as the Suzunoya and Norinaga was frequently referred to as Suzunoyasensei or Suzunoya no okina ('old man of the Suzunoya')." See Mark T. MCNALLY, *Phantom History: Hirata Atsutane and Tokugawa Nativism*, PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998, p. 149

In 1763, Motoori Norinaga had his first and only personal meeting with Kamo no Mabuchi[89] when, according to Norinaga, Mabuchi instructed him to work on the *Kojiki* 古事記 (Records of Ancient Matters, ca. 712), but only after he mastered the language and contents of the *Man'yōshū*.[90] Thanks to Norinaga the school reached a pinnacle of poetic and textual analysis – a process started with the works of the forerunner of the school Keichū, and then refined by Kamo no Mabuchi. Norinaga's magnum opus, the *Kojiki-den* 古事記伝 (Commentary on the *Kojiki*, completed in 1798), can be considered as the epitome of the pinnacle of textual analysis reached by the school. He worked on this forty four volume commentary on the Kojiki for around 35 years. In it "Norinaga reconstructed the entire *Kojiki* on the assumption that Japanese *national or ethnic* language existed when it was originally written",[91] and he uses it as a way to connect with the ancient time and understand the ancient Japanese civilization and its people before "their minds were stained with the theories found in Chinese writings."[92]

Norinaga's views were strongly connected to those of his master, from whom he adopted the idea that the "mind/heart" of Japanese people was corrupted by all foreign ideas. Norinaga, as his master before him, thought that

---

[89] The meeting took place in an inn where Kamo no Mabuchi was spending the night after a visit at the Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮. The meeting is recorded my Motoori Norinaga as *Matsusaka no ichiya* 松坂の一夜 (a night in Matsusaka) in his work titled *Tamakatsuma* 玉勝間 (1794), a collection of essays that the author collected in a bamboo basket (*katsuma*). For more information see MATSUMOTO Shigeru, *Motoori Norinaga, 1730-1801*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970, p. 39.

[90] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 16

[91] NAOKI Sakai, Preface to *Kojiki-den: Book 1*, by Motoori Norinaga, introduced, translated, and annotated by Ann Wehmeyer, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1997, p. viii

[92] MOTOORI Norinaga, "Naobi no Mitama", translated by Sey Nishimura, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1991, p. 36

only by rediscovering and examining the ancient texts could one get rid of this pollution and bring back to light the true heart of Japanese people, a concept that in Norinaga's views is deeply connected to the ancient Way. Bently states:

> In much the same way that Mabuchi had advocated, Norinaga stressed the importance of gaining a knowledge of the past. […] By following carefully articulated hints from ancient texts, the student could be guided to recapture the ancient spirit. […] Norinaga placed the indigenous religion out in the open, and though his theology was greatly lacking in areas, he advocated the return of Shintō as the inherent belief of the Japanese.[93]

Norinaga's view on the ancient Way is predominant in his works, especially in *Naobi no mitama* 直毘霊 (Rectifying Spirit)[94] which Sey Nishimura defines as "Norinaga's formal pronouncement on the Way of the Gods. It is the culmination of his study of and reflection on the structure and mechanics of this world and of human existence".[95] In his work, Norinaga challenges and criticizes the Chinese views on the "Way" by trying to extract from the *Kojiki* a set of principles that governed Ancient Japan in order to provide a method for understanding the Way of the Gods. Motoori Norinaga was certainly not the first to discuss the need to cleanse the Japanese mind from Chinese and Confucian influences, in fact he drew copiously from Kamo no Mabuchi's *Kokuikō* both in format and in views, and also from Keichū's scholarship:

---

[93] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 16-17

[94] The full title *Naobi no Mitama Michi Chō Koto no Ron* 直毘霊道云事之論 is translated by Sey Nishimura as "A Treatise on the Way of the Gods brought forth by the spirit of the Gods of Naobi". The fourth and final draft of the treaties was published in 1790 in the introduction of Norinaga's *Kojikiden* 古事記伝. See NISHIMURA Sey, "The Way of the Gods. Motoori Noriaga's *Naobi no Mitama*", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1991, pp. 22-24

[95] NISHIMURA, "The Way of…", p. 26

> Norinaga despised the Shinto of his day, seeing both Ryōbu and Yuiitsu Shinto as being contaminated by centuries of Confucian and Buddhist logic, he believed that Keichū's 'return to the origins' scholarship shed light on truth. For Keichū's belief in a Buddhist cosmos notwithstanding, he also held that Shintō predated the historical religion of Buddhism in Japan. For example, Keichū claimed that, in antiquity, heaven and earth were governed by means of Shinto alone.[96]

The reason why I presented Norinaga as the exponent that set into motion the spiritual turn is because he was one of the first to openly discuss in his work what the Way was, and who the *kami* were. What he did in his work was to interpret what he defined as the "pure Japanese spirit",[97] or the "essence of the true Way"[98] directly from the authentic scriptures of the Age of the *kami*. Even though his interest mostly shifted towards *shintō* cosmology and the ancient Way, his scholarships remained closely linked with the literary interest peculiar of the school of Kokugaku. The research Norinaga and the Norinaga school made derived from a close analysis and interpretation of the ancient texts keeping it rooted in the philological field, something that will later change with the advent of Hirata Atsutane and his school. During the years Motoori Norinaga attracted many followers and at the time of his death in 1801, his school counted about four hundred disciples who "branched out to form different 'schools' that concentrated on different disciplines, such as poetry or evidential historical research (*kōshōgaku* 考證学) on ancient literature".[99] The

---

[96] Emi Joanne FOULK, *The Jeweled Broom and the Dust of the World: Keichū, Motoori Norinaga, and Kokugaku in Early Modern Japan*, PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2016, p. 95

[97] MOTOORI, "Naobi…", p. 40

[98] MOTOORI, "Naobi…", p. 36

[99] WACHUTKA, *Kokugaku at the…*, p. 3

interest inside his school was still multifaceted even after his own interest had long shifted towards shintō and the Way. The majority of his disciples did not share his profound fascination for shintō, some even detested his "obsession", such was the case of the aforementioned Arakida Hisaoyu "who disliked Norinaga for being *Shintō-kusashi* 神道クサシ ('smelling of Shinto')".[100] What I find interesting about Arakida Hisaoyu is that from an academic perspective he despised Norinaga's fascination with shintō, believing that the Kokugaku scholarship should have been all about writing poems in *Man'yō-chō* 万葉調 (*Man'yō* style)[101], but, at the same time, Hisaoyu was a shintō priest at the Ise shrine, and he also produced few works on shintō himself.

Arakida Hisaoyu[102] was born as Hashimura Masatada 橋村正恭 in 1746 in Yamada 山田, a town in Ise near the Outer Shrine. He was the second son of Hashimura Masanobu 橋村正身 (1714-1771), a g*ekū gonnegi* 外宮権禰宜 (*gonnegi* of the outer shrine), a priest without regular duties. According to the *Gonnegi chōonroku* 権禰宜朝恩録 (Records of *gonnegi's* Imperial blessings) Hisaoyu was appointed as a *gonnegi* of the outer shrine in 1753 at age 8 and was granted the *jugoige* 従五位下 ("Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade" of Japanese court ranks *ikai* 位階). In 1773, he was adopted by Uji Hisayo 宇治久世 (1720-1788), a *naikū gonnegi* 内宮権禰宜 (*gonnegi* of the inner shrine) of the

[100] TEEUWEN, "Kokugaku vs…", p. 237

[101] *Man'yō-chō* refers to a genre of poetry founded by Kamo no Mabuchi "characterized first of all by the use of archaic words and grammatical forms and by an abundance of pillow-words (*makurakotoba*) drawn directly from the *Man'yoshu*.". See TEEUWEN, "Poetry, Sake…", p. 299

[102] Details related to Hisaoyu's life are taken from SANO Masato, "*Kōtai jingū gishikichō" kōtei shian*, Bulletin of the Research and Development Center of Kogakkan University, no. 2, 2016, pp. 118-119

Arakida clan, and changed his name to Arakida Hisaoyu. Based on what is stated in the *Naikū shokushōkahu* 内宮職掌家譜 (Genealogy of the Inner shrine official duties), a document of the Edo period, that same year Hisaoyu was also appointed as *gonnegi* of the inner shrine. In this position, while still exchanging poetry with other kokugakusha such as Katori Nahiko 楫取魚彦 (1732-1782) and Motoori Norinaga, Hisaoyu started working on a revision of the *Kōtai jingū gishikichō* 皇太神宮儀式帳 (Register of the ceremonies of the Kotai-jingu of Ise, 804) and finished compiling the *Naikū gishikichō* 内宮儀式帳 (Register of the ceremony of the Inner Shrine) during the *An'ei* era 安永 (1772–1781).

There were also some scholars who joined Norinaga's Suzonomiya precisely for the same fascination in shintō that the master shared. It is thanks to them, and also to other kokugakusha not affiliated with the school, that the discourses and debates on spirituality and shintō flourished in the later years of Kokugaku. Here I intend to present three *kokugakusha* that helped shape the discourse on shintō during the time of Motoori Norinaga: Ise Sadatake 伊勢貞丈 (1713-1784), Senge Toshizane 千家俊信 (1764-1831), and Hattori Nakatsune 服部中庸 (1757-1824), who was particularly influencing and played a major role in the evolution of the Norinaga school.

Ise Sadatake[103] was a *hatamoto* 旗本 (a samurai in the direct service of the Tokugawa shogunate) and heir to the Ise family, a house famous for passing the knowledge of etiquette and decorum to the warrior class. During his adult

[103] Details related to Ise Sadatake's life and work are taken from BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, pp. 14-15, and MORI Mizue, "Sanshatakusenkō (Ise Sadatake)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto*, https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/id=8527, accessed December 23, 2021, unless specified otherwise.

life, Sadatake focused on his studies and became a self-made scholar of ancient etiquette. His scholarly career started by writing treaties regarding the customs of both the court and samurai life, but, during later years of his life, Sadatake began to write scholarship based on his own ideas and studies, and produced some works on shintō. One of his most influential works is *Sanshatakusenkō* 三社託宣考 (Thoughts on The Oracles of the Three Shrines, 1784) in which Sadatake criticized Yoshida shintō and argued that Yoshida Kanetomo fabricated the Oracles of the Three Shrines *Sanshatakusen* 三社託宣[104] "pointing out that the oracles were permeated with Buddhist influence".[105] On a similar note, he completed *Shintō dokugo* 神道独語 (Monologue on shintō) in 1782, a work in which "using textual tools much like Norinaga, Sadatake takes a scalpel to what his generation called 'Shintō' and determines that it is not a pure, ancient religion as some Shintō priests pretended".[106]

The second *kokugakusha* I introduce is Senge Toshizane.[107] He was born in Kitsuki 杵築 in 1764 as the son of Senge Toshikatsu 千家俊勝, the seventy-fifth generation *Izumonokuni no miyatsuko* 出雲国造 (chief governor of Izumo province) and priest of the Izumo no Ōyashiro 出雲大社 (Izumo Taisha). During his youth, he studied the Chinese classics and then went to Kyōto to

[104] As Hardacre explains "the Oracle of the Three Shrines (*sansha* [or the variant, *sanja*] *takusen*) was a powerful device for popularizing Shinto. The term *sansha takusen* refers to a hanging scroll on which images of, or the names of, Amaterasu, Hachiman, and Kasuga are inscribed vertically in calligraphy (or printing, in later examples), so that Amaterasu is in the center, Hachiman on the right, and Kasuga on the left." HARDACRE, *Shintō…*, p. 301

[105] HARDACRE, *Shintō…*, p. 620n6

[106] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 358

[107] Details related to Senge Toshizane's life are taken from "Senge Toshizane 千家俊信", in https://www.norinagakinenkan.com/norinaga/kaisetsu/senke.html, accessed December 23, 2021; and MATSUNAGA Naomichi, "Senge Toshizane (1764-1831)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/id=9469, accessed December 23, 2021

study Suika shintō. In 1792, he joined Norinaga's Suzunoya, and in 1795, he went to Matsusaka to directly attend some of his lectures. After returning to his hometown, he opened his own school called the Umenoya 梅廼舎 where he promoted Kokugaku studies. In his research, he was mostly interested in strengthening the authority of the Izumo shrine by working to transmit the *Izumo fudoki* 出雲風土記 (Gazetteer of the Province of Izumo, 733), and in 1806 he published his *Teisei Izumo fudoki* 訂正出雲風土記 (Revised *Izumo fudoki*).

The last *kokugakusha* I introduce is Hattori Nakatsune, an Ise student of Motoori Norinaga, and a figure of crucial importance for the development of the school of Kokugaku during the last part of the Edo period. Nakatsune was born in Matsusaka in 1757, and in 1785 he enrolled in Norinaga's Suzunoya. As McNelly states:

> He was particularly interested in the use of classical texts as sources of native cosmological knowledge. He viewed the Confucian and Buddhist cosmologies that circulated in Japan in his time as overly complex and fatally flawed. Thus, Nakatsune insisted that the close analysis of the Kojiki represented an opportunity to forge a new cosmological scheme based on Japanese antiquity.[108]

Nakatsune was moved and stimulated by Norinaga's work and borrowed a copy of his master's *Tenchizu* 天地図 (Map of heaven and earth, ca. 1787), a diagram that represented the lineage of the *kami* in the Kojiki, together with the movements of celestial bodies. Nakatsune studied Norinaga's work and in 1789 he authored *Tenchi shohatsukō* 天地初発考 (A Treatise on the beginning of heaven and earth) and *Tenchi shohatsukōzu* 天地初発考図 (Map of

[108] Mark T. MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate: The Issue of Orthodoxy in Late Tokugawa Nativism", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, 2002, p. 362

the beginning of heaven and earth), in which he expressed his own interpretations of this realm and of otherworldly realms. He later revised the two and produced *Tenchikō* 天地考 (Thoughts on heaven and earth). In 1791, after some discussion with Norinaga, Nakatsune further revised his work to finally publish *Sandaikō* 三大考 (Thoughts on the three great concepts) in which he analyzed "the 'three great concepts' in Shintō cosmology, those being the concept of heaven, earth, and Yomi, which Norinaga believed was a representation of the afterlife".[109] Nakatsune's work had a long-lasting effect on the school of Kokugaku and resulted in the so-called Sandaikō debate. The debate acted as a turning point for the school in which the figure of Hirata Atsutane emerged, opening the way for a radical change in the school's ideology and playing a prominent role in the future shintō developments of the country.

2.4 Late Kokugaku thought: towards the construction of a new shintō ideology

During the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century the most prominent academies in the Kokugaku school were those lead by Motoori Norinaga and his disciples. At the death of Norinaga, his successors were his sons Motoori Ōhira 本居大平 (1756-1833)

[109] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, pp. 18-19

and Motoori Haruniwa 本居春庭 (1763–1828), but another member who must be recognized for his leading role is Kido Chidate 城戸千楯 (1778–1845).[110] Although they had major roles in leading the Suzunoya and other schools affiliated with it, one name is most commonly associated with the leadership of Kokugaku after Norinaga: Hirata Atsutane. The reason why Hirata Atsutane was able to overshadow the other leaders of the Norinaga school[111] has its roots in the *Sandaikō* debate.

Motoori Haruniwa was the son of Norinaga, and, as his father before him, he dreamed of becoming a scholar and a teacher. Norinaga assumed that Haruniwa would lead the Suzunoya after his death, but due to a problem with Haruniwa's eyesight, which would eventually lead to his blindness, Norinaga decided to adopt Inagake Shigeo 稲懸重穂 as his future successor. Shigeo took the name Ōhira, and, when he was adopted by Norinaga in 1798, he became known as Motoori Ōhira. After the death of Norinaga in 1801, Ōhira lead the Suzunoya until 1808 when he was invited to take the role as personal tutor of Tokugawa Harutomi 徳川治寶 (1771–1852). He accepted and relocated in Wakayama 和歌山 where he founded his own academy which he called Fuji-no-kakitsu 藤垣内 after his pen-name. Following Ōhira's departure, Haruniwa assumed the leadership of the Suzunoya renaming it as Nochi-Suzunoya 後鈴屋 (Later Suzunoya), and he began accepting students on his father's behalf,

[110] Details related to the three scholars' lives are taken from Mark T. MCNALLY, "Who Speaks for Norinaga? Kokugaku Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Japan", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2011, pp. 129-159, unless specified otherwise

[111] When using the term "Norinaga school" I borrow its usage from McNally who uses it to refer to whole of Norinaga's disciples after his death and to the confederation of academies affiliated with the *Suzunoya*. See MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 360n1, and MCNALLY, "Who Speaks for…", p. 133

granting them the title of *botsugo no monjin* 没後の門人 (posthumous student). Other academies began to emerge alongside these two. The most important was the Nudenoya 鐸屋, founded in 1816 by Kido Chidate in Kyōto.

Studies in the Norinaga school focused on Japanese antiquity and philology, and the methodology used by the kokugakusha was that of *kōshōgaku* 考証学 (evidential scholarship). McNally explains that "by using textual evidence to support their conclusions, rather than abstract theories or secret teachings, practitioners of evidential learning believed that their interpretations were closer to the truth of antiquity than those of their more traditional-minded rivals." [112] The use of *kōshōgaku* was a way for the *kokugakusha* of the time to recognize who was a fellow disciple of Norinaga, and it was at the foundation of many attacks to Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*. As I previously stated, the *Sandaikō* debate shook the school to its core and prompted many changes. The debate lasted many years until it slowly subsides over the course of the 1830s and 1840s. It involved a great number of *kokugakusha*, but the most important participants were Hattori Nakatsune, Motoori Ōhira, Suzuki Akira 鈴木朗 (1764-1837), and Hirata Atsutane. The first two to criticize Nakatsune, and therefore set in motion the debate, were Suzuki Akira and Motoori Ōhira, two of the most prominent students of Norinaga. Hirata Atsutane joined the debate only later as during the first decade of the debate he was studying in the Norinaga school as a student of Motoori Haruniwa. At the time, lacking the methodological prowess of the others, he

[112] MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 360n2

was still trying to affirm his position in the field as he prepared to "forcefully assert its centrality by joining the debate over Hattori Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*" [113].

The assault on Nakatsune was spearheaded by Ōhira with the support of Akira who was the first to write, between 1801 and 1811, a refutation to the *Sandaikō* titled *Sandaikō Suzuki Akira setsu* 三大考鈴木朗説 (Suzuki Akira's Interpretation of the *Sandaikō*), but he never published it. Instead, he approached Ōhira offering to help him write a critique of Nakstsune's work, and in 1811 Ōhira published the *Sandaikō-ben* 三大考弁 (Discourse on the *Sandaikō*) which sparked the debate.[114] Their critique was mostly concentrated on two points: the use of Rangaku 蘭学 (Dutch studies) to study Japanese antiquity; and Nakatsune's "absurd" interpretation of Yomi. Their first critique derived from Norinaga's earlier attacks on the use of Buddhism and Confucianism as a way to study Japanese texts. In Norinaga's views their usage was inadequate because they were not Japanese, but foreign, therefore "replacing Buddhism and Confucianism with Rangaku contradicted this axiom of Norinaga's scholarship."[115] The reason for their second critique was mostly philological, as McNally states, "the most crucial aspect of their criticisms […] was their insistence that Nakatsune's work was based on flawed philology."[116] The two scholars argued that Nakatsune reached a conclusion on Yomi without sustaining it with enough textual proof, therefore, without properly using the *kōshōgaku* methodology, he ended up speculating and

[113] MCNALLY, "Who Speaks for…", p. 155
[114] MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 365
[115] MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 366
[116] MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 365

falling in evidential uncertainty. The year following Ōhira's publication of the *Sandaikō-ben*, Hirata Atsutane joined the debate.

Hirata Atsutane[117] was born in 1776 as Ōwada Taneyuki 大和田胤行 the fourth son of Ōwada Toshitane 大和田祚胤, a retainer of the *damimyō* of the Kubota domain, in what is nowadays Akita 秋田. When he was around twenty years old he moved to Edo where, in 1800, he was adopted by Hirata Atsuyasu 平田篤穏, a retainer of the Bitchū-Matsuyama domain 備中松山藩, and took the name Hirata Atsutane. In the following years, he grew fascinated with the Kokugaku school and the work of Motoori Norinaga, completing, in 1803, his first treatise *Kamōsho* 呵妄書, a rebuttal of Dazai Sundai's 太宰春台 (1680–1747) *Bendōsho* 弁道書 (1735). He later began to work on the *Kishinshinron* 鬼神新論 (New debate on the fierce deities) in which he argued the real existence of spirits. In 1804, he founded his own school named Masuganoya 真菅乃屋 (House of sedge), which he later renamed Ibukinoya 気吹舎 (House of breath), and in 1805, Atsutane and his academy joined Haruniwa's Nochi-Suzunoya.

During his studies, Atsutane became fascinated with Nakatsune's cosmology and his interpretations of the stories on the *Kamiyo*. Based on the reinterpretation of Yomi in the *Sandaikō*, Hirata Atsutane published, in 1812, *Tama no Mihashira* 霊能真柱 (The true pillar of the spirit) in which, defending Nakatsune's position, he expressed his views on the nature of the soul, Yomi, and the afterlife. As McNally states, "this work was an extension of the

[117] Details related to Hirata Atsutane's work and life are taken from MCNALLY, "Who Speaks for…", pp. 139-140 and MATSUURA Mitsunobu, "Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=9555, accessed December 23, 2021, unless specified otherwise.

Kishinshinron, only this time Atsutane attempted to ground his theory of spirits in the native classics."[118] The *Sandaikō* debate served as the perfect stage for Atsutane to make an intellectual impact in the Norinaga school by showcasing his interest and knowledge of cosmology and eschatology. Although Atsutane defended Nakatsune's claims, he primarily used the debate as a way to redirect the interest of the school from philology towards eschatology. As a result of the debate, the Kokugaku school found itself ideologically and methodologically divided between the Norinaga school and the Hirata school. Although Atsutane lost the debate, his popularity and the interest in his school grew exponentially in the following years. The reason for the success of the Hirata Kokugaku 平田国学 can be identified in some aspects of his scholarship, the same that would later take the school from a literary field of studies to a more ideological one. As McNally states:

> His interests in spirits and the afterlife maintained the ties between Kokugaku and Shinto that were established by his seventeenth- and eighteenth- century forebears. The debate surrounding the orthodox interpretation of *kamiyo* initiated a struggle within the Norinaga school over the essence of its scholarship […] Over the course of the 1830s and 1840s, the dynamism of the *Sandaikō* debate gradually subsided. At the same time, the popularity of Atsutane's teachings grew, as did the number of his disciples. His notion of a world of spirits was fundamentally more optimistic than the orthodox Kokugaku view of Yomi.[119]

Atsutane's scholarship had a great impact on the masses as he "did with Shintō in the Edo era what Buddhism had done in the seventh century—he

[118] MCNALLY, "Who Speaks for…", p. 140
[119] MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 375

gave native theology to the masses."[120] Atsutane worked on shintō in many ways in his scholarships, specifically he worked on a "positivization" (*sekkyokuka* 積極化) of shintō, on its "religionization" (*shūkyōka* 宗教化) and he emphasized "practice" (*jissensei* 実践性) in faith and daily life instead of "passivity" (*judōtai* 受動態).[121] During the *bakumatsu* period and the Meiji Restoration, Atsutane and the Hirata school were of paramount importance in the redefinition of shintō and its establishment as the national cult that would be later defined as *kokka shintō* 国家神道 (state shintō).

The *bakumatsu* period was a time of great changes for the school of Kokugaku. It was during those years that the school, spearheaded by Hirata Atsutane and his followers, started to move away from the text-based movement that it had been until that time, and began to resemble more and more a movement of activist ideology. During the last decades of Atsutane's life, many scholars became interested in his works and joined his academy. Most of them will play a major role during the Meiji Restoration and the first years of the new era. As it is not the aim of my thesis to analyze the effects and the role of the school during the Meiji Restoration, or its evolution and development during the Meiji period, here I only intend to introduce two *kokugakusha* whom I believe have been overshadowed by other members of the Hirata school: Hatano Takao 羽田野敬雄 (1798-1882), and Suzuki Shigetane 鈴

[120] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 21

[121] For more information see Gideon FUJIWARA, *Spirits and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Northeastern Japan: Hirata Kokugaku and the Tsugaru Disciples*, PhD Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2013, p. 41 and MATSUMOTO Sannosuke, *Kokugaku seiji shisō no kenkyū*, Miraisha, 1972, pp. 93-107

木重胤 (1812-63). Takao[122] was born in 1798 as Yamamoto Hyōsaku Shigeo 山本兵作茂雄 in the village of Nishigata 西方 in the Hoi District of the Mikawa province(now part of the Aichi Prefecture). He was the fourth son of Yamamoto Heisaburō Shigeyoshi 山本兵三郎茂義 who highly valued intellectual pursuit. In 1818, he was adopted by Hatano Takamichi 羽田野敬道, a *shinkan* 神官 (shintō priest)[123] in the Hata 羽田 village in the neighboring district of Atsumi 渥美郡, and he later received a license to perform Yoshida shintō rituals and became a *shinkan* at the Hadahachimangu 羽田八幡宮. In 1825, Takao became a disciple of Motoori Ōhira, but then in 1827, he went to study under Hirata Atsutane. Following Atsutane's scholarship, Takao collected and studied many works. He also produced some historical researches on shintō funeral practices and shintō shrines such as *Mikawa no kuni kansha shikō* 参河国官社私考 (A Personal Account of Imperial Shrines of Mikawa Province, 1842). He was particularly active alongside the movement for rejection of Buddhist parishes by shintō priests started during the latter years of the Edo period.

Another follower of Hirata Atsutane, even if only for a while, was Suzuki Shigetane,[124] born in 1812 in the village of Nii 仁井, in the Tsuna 津名

[122] Details related to Hatano Takao's life are taken from MORI Mizue, "Hatano Takao (1798-1882)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/id=9551, accessed December 23, 2021

[123] Nowadays the term is used synonymously with *shinshoku*, however, until the Edo period, *shinkan* was used to refer to only those who had received qualifications from the Yoshida house. See NISHIMUTA Takao, "Shinkan", in *Encyclopedia of Shintō*, https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=8698, accessed December 23, 2021

[124] Details related to Suzuki Shigetane's life are taken from YAZAKI Hiroyuki, "Suzuki Shigetane (1812-63)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=9464, accessed December 23, 2021

district of Awaji 淡道 Province (present day Hyōgo 兵庫 prefecture), as the the son of the village head Hozumi Shigetake 穂積重威 who introduced him to the school of Kokugaku. In 1834, following the instructions of Hirata Atsutane, Shigetane began to study under Ōkuni Takamasa 大国隆正 (1792-1871), one of the most prominent disciples of Atsutane. Even though for many years Shigetane traveled Japan to propagate the teachings of the Hirata school, he became quite critical of its scholarship during the last years of his life. He publicly opposed Atsutane's son and successor Hirata Kanetane 平田銕胤 (1799-1880) in 1857 and was expelled from the school the following year. During the time he studied in the school of Kokugaku, Shigetane developed a particular interest in the *Nihon shoki* and the *Engishiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi Era, completed in 927), more specifically he was interested in the *norito* 祝詞 (ritual prayers) contained in the eighth chapter of the text. His scholarship seems to be, in a way, more connected to the text-based Norinaga school than to the more ideological Hirata school, as can be seen from his *Engishiki norito kōgi* 延喜式祝詞講義 (Lectures on the *Engishiki norito*, 1853), and his *Nihon shoki-den* 日本書紀伝 (Commentary on the *Nihon shoki*). The latter, even though it remained uncompleted due to Shigetane's death in 1863, closely resembles the work Motoori Norinaga did on the *Kojiki* in his *Kojiki-den*.

As Suzuki Shigetane did during the last years of his life, other *kokugakusha* tried to remain linked to the views and teaching of the Norinaga school, resisting or opposing the predominant ideology of the Hirata school.

Such was the case of Suzuki Masayuki 鈴木雅之 (1837-1871)[125]. He was born in Shimōsa 下総 province (present-day Chiba 千葉 Prefecture) in 1837, and in 1865 he joined the school of Kamiyama Natsura 神山魚貫 (1788-1882) to study poetry. Later, he left his home village and moved to Furushiro 古城, where he met Hirayama Shōsai 平山省斎 (1815–90) who introduced him to the studies of the school of Kokugaku. Katsurajima Nobuhiro argues that, although he was not able to completely break free from the ideology of the Hirata school, Masayuki's studies were able to open a path for Motoori Norinaga's influence to survive the smothering attempt by the disciples of Hirata Atsutane.[126] In his works, Masayuki returned to the use of actual texts and arguments based on evidence, as it was with the *kōshōgaku* methodology in the Norinaga school. He analyzed and studied ancient texts such as the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* producing his *Kojiki yakkai* 古事記訳解 (Translation and explanation of the Kojiki) and *Nihonshoki meibutsu seikun* 日本書紀名物正訓 (Exact reading of names and things of the *Nihon shoki*), both probably written between 1865 and 1867. Later in his life, he started working on *Tsuki no sakaki* 撞賢木 (Sasaki for purification and worship, ca. 1867)[127] in which, studying Nakatsune's *Sandaikō*,

[125] Details related to Suzuki Masayuki's life are taken from BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 22-23, and YAZAKI Hiroyuki, "Tsukisakaki (Suzuki Masayuki)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/id=8795, accessed December 23, 2021

[126] KATSURAJIMA Nobuhiro, *Bakumatsu minshū shisō no kenkyū: Bakumatsu kokugaku to minshū shukyō*, Bunrikaku, Kyoto, 1992, p. 109, in BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 22

[127] The title refers to the name Amaterasu-Ōmikami 天照大神 used when she revealed herself to Jingū 神功: "My name is the lone-standing *sakaki* tree (**tuki sakaki**) with the solemn spirit who left heaven, Mukatsuhime". See KOJIMA Noriyuki, and ARAI Eizō, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei: Kokin wakashū*, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1989, p. 418, in BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 545

Masayuki expresses his views on life and the afterlife, referencing Motoori Norinaga's studies and even correcting perceived errors in his teachings.

During the years preceding the Meiji Restoration, some scholars embraced the Hirata Kokugaku's ideology while others tried to reconcile their studies with earlier research done by the school. Nevertheless, in those years, it is undeniable that the Kokugaku school reached a pinnacle like never before and actively shaped the nation in the following years. The scholars that had the most significant impact were from the Hirata school. The ideological activism adopted by Atsutane and his disciples, particularly Ōkuni Takamasa and Hirata Kanetane together with their successors and disciples, had a central and pivotal role for the Meiji Restoration and for the future of shintō in Japan, and became closely tied to the term *fukko shintō* 復古神道 (restoration shintō). *Fukko shintō* generally refers to early modern nativist shintō thought based on the idea of investigating and recovering an idealized form of shintō before it became influenced and contaminated by Buddhism and Confucianism. "However, the term Fukko Shintō is also frequently used to refer not to the entirely of nativist Shinto thought, but more narrowly to the school of Hirata Atsutane, […] which culminated in a political movement aimed at restoring imperial power (*ōsei fukko*) and eliminating foreign influence. In other words, the term Restorationist (fukko) Shinto came to be applied to that part of the Nativist Shinto movement of the late Tokugawa and early Meiji period." [128] As active and leading members of the *fukko shintō* movement, scholars of the Hirata school advocated for the restoration of the imperial rule (*ōsei fukko* 王政

[128]MORI Mizue, "Fukko Shintō", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=8713, accessed December 23, 2021

復古), for the re-institution of the Jingikan 神祇官 (Department of Divinities),[129] and for the separation of shintō and Buddhism.[130] Their works and efforts would result in the promulgation between 1868 and 1871 of shintō as the national cult, a cult centered on the figures of the emperor and Amaterasu, understood as the ancestor of the imperial house and of all the deities. Together with the implementation of standardized rituals and ceremony for all the people in the country, it served as a way to unify the nation under the common worship of national deities.[131]

[129] The Jingikan was a state organ of the Imperial Court that was responsible for the administration of Imperial shrines (官社 *kansha*), religious mission, and shrine rituals throughout the country. During the Meiji period it was envisioned by Hirata Kokugaku followers as an organ that would stand above all other ministries of the government as the basis for the imperial nation and as a symbol of reverence and royalty to the *kami*. See HARDACRE, *Shintō…*, p. 351

[130] FUKASE-INDERGAARD Fumiko, and Micheal INDERGAARD. "Religious Nationalism and the Making of the Modern Japanese State", *Theory and Society*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2008, p. 356-357

[131] For more information on the establishment of state shintō see also John L. BREEN, "Shintoists in Restoration Japan (1868-1872): Towards a Reassessment", *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3, 1990, pp. 579-602; Helen HARDACRE, "Creating State Shinto: The Great Promulgation Campaign and the New Religions." *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1986, pp. 29–63; and SHIMAZONO Susumu, and Regan E. MURPHY, "State Shinto in the Lives of the People: The Establishment of Emperor Worship, Modern Nationalism, and Shrine Shinto in Late Meiji", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 93-124

CHAPTER 3:
DISCOURSES ON SHINTŌ IN THE SCHOOL OF KOKUGAKU DURING THE EDO PERIOD

3.1 Kokugaku and shintō traditions in Edo period Japan

The school of Kokugaku laid the ideological foundation for the development of shintō as a national cult during the Meiji period. However, the movement hasn't always been concerned with spiritual and religious beliefs, and even after the interest of the school shifted in later years, not every *kokugakusha* studied or wrote about them. As I tried to show in the previous chapter, the school was a multifaceted movement and the studies of each scholar depended on their school affiliation, but mostly on their personal interest. Only after what I defined as the spiritual turn of the school did the movement begin to be understood as deeply connected to and involved in religious and spiritual matters. In particular, after the emergence of Hirata Atsutane and his school it began to be strongly tied with some shintō beliefs of the time. Up until those years, the spiritual discourse in the school, that was primarily focused on the concept of a Japanese Way, can be understood as "a superstructure, tagged on to a literary movement."[132] Mark Teeuwen explains:

> Kokugaku's ideas on the Japanese Way must be understood against the background of the movement's foundation in literary practice. The

[132] TEEUWEN, "Kokugaku vs.…", p. 237

> main source of inspiration for these ideas was Shinto. Significantly, in the medieval period, Shinto and Japanese poetry developed as two closely connected nodes of initiation and transmission (denju 伝授 kanjō 灌頂). […] Shinto transmissions and waka transmissions were so closely interwoven that they formed a single discourse throughout the medieval period. This fact alone made the progression from studying poetry to studying Shinto a natural one.[133]

Following Teeuwen's analysis, it is possible to understand the development of the interest inside the school, but what is interesting and important to notice is the contribution that some shintō traditions had in this process, in particular Suika shintō.

3.1.1 Kokugaku and Suika shintō

Suika shintō, as I briefly explained in the first chapter, was a Confucian-shintō tradition that was founded by Yamazaki Ansai in which Confucian principles became highly important in describing the relation of humanity and *kami*. While, of course, it wasn't the only or even the first Confucian-shintō tradition that appeared during the Edo period, many scholars, such as Maeda Tsutomu and Helen Hardacre, understand it as the most prominent one with a substantial impact on other shintō traditions of the time.[134] Suika shintō's founder, Yamazaki Ansai, drew heavily in its tradition from the teachings of Watarai and Yoshida shintō, as he was initiated in both, as well as from Confucian teachings. However, Hardacre explains that "the duality between

[133] TEEUWEN, "Kokugaku vs.…", p. 238

[134] See HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, pp. 256-261; and MAEDA Tsutomu, *Kinsei shintō kara kokugaku he* (From Early Modern Shintō to Kokugaku), Bulletin of the Research and Development Center of Kogakkan University, no. 5, 2019, pp. 7-9

Ansai's Confucianism and Shinto constituted a structural instability in the task of perpetuating his teachings."[135] That was because both traditions found it difficult to accept the teaching of Suika shintō, since each tradition felt that it was far too influenced by the other. From the perspective of some *kokugakusha* that could be considered shintō purists, such as Motoori Norinaga, but also from that of some shintō scholars, Suika shintō and Confucian shintō in general were seen as a moralization of shintō, therefore something to be rejected as being infected by Chinese ideas,[136] a "disease that has infiltrated deeply into people's minds for more than a thousand years,"[137] as Norinaga would say.

On the other hand, Suika shintō took its distance from Confucianism in mainly two points which Maeda Tsutomu considers to be central in the development not only of Suika shintō, but, more importantly, of early modern shintō (*kinsei shintō* 近世神道). These two aspects, central in the Suika tradition, are the concept of divine protection (*kago* 加護) of the *kami* and the immortality of the soul (*reikon no fumetsusei* 霊魂の不滅性), as opposed to the principle of morality and righteousness in Confucianism.[138] In them, it is possible to find the link between Suika shintō, Kokugaku, and early modern shintō thought. Even though Norinaga criticized most of the shintō traditions of his time, including Suika shintō, the connection between this tradition and the Norinaga school's ideas is very strong and important, as Teeuwen explains:

---

[135] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 258

[136] As Helen Hardacre states "Norinaga identified China or 'the Chinese heart' (*karagokoro*) with logic chopping and excessive rationalism." HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 330

[137] MOTOORI Norinaga, "Uiyamabumi", translated by Sey Nishimura, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 42, no. 4, 1987, p. 466

[138] MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, pp. 9-12

> Suika Shinto was an important source of inspiration for Kokugaku. The continuity between both traditions is obscured by our limited knowledge of Suika Shinto's development after it was first formulated by Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎(1618-1682) in the seventeenth century. The main difference between Kokugaku and Suika Shinto was methodological: Kokugaku adopted Kogaku's philological methodology and rejected Ansai's allegorical speculations.[139]

The moment in which the two traditions began to overlap and influence each other can be identified with the spiritual turn of the movement and the works of Motoori Norinaga and his Suzunoya. Particularly, it can be grasped by looking at Norinaga's critique of Confucianism and its theory on the Way of Heaven (*tendō* 天道). Maeda Tsutomu explains that, in order to understand the development from Suika shintō to Kokugaku, it is necessary to understand the historical and economical background of the Edo period. Maeda defined this evolution of the traditions as "the conversion from morality to religion,"[140] and, by analyzing it, it is possible to understand Norinaga's critique of Confucianism as well. Maeda explains it as follows:

> For Norinaga, who criticized the falsehood of the Confucian theory of the Way of Heaven that blesses the virtuous and brings misfortune to the wicked for being nothing but a peddler's nostrum, the irrational reality must have been very real. I believe that the actual feeling that evil people are prospering and good people are suffering is at the core of Norinaga's thought. While this feeling is certainly personal to Norinaga, it can be said that it also belonged to the resentful and dissatisfied people in the society of the late Edo period in which he lived.[141]

---

[139] TEEUWEN, "Kokugaku vs.…", p. 239. Here Teeuwen refers to *kōshōgaku* which I have discussed in the previous chapter as a central methodology especially for Motoori Norinaga and his school.

[140] 「道徳から宗教への転換」. See MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, p. 16

[141] 「儒学の天道福善禍淫説を売薬の能書きに過ぎないと、その虚偽性を批判する宣長にとって、不条理な現実はよほどのリアリティーをもって迫っていたといえるでしょう。

During the Edo period, scholars of Confucian shintō and especially of Suika shintō, felt that some aspects of Confucianism were not enough to explain and describe every aspect of life. First was the feeling that simply conforming to the morality of the Way of Heaven and confiding in it was not enough to bring good fortune, therefore, the concept of divine protection emerged anew in Suika shintō. The idea of divine protection and divine retribution, whether it was rewards or punishments, was already present in Confucianism; however, what changed was the whole understanding and how it was granted. With this the concept and role of the Way of Heaven also changed. Maeda explains:

> From the beginning Confucianism has always had the concepts of good actions lead to good rewards and evil actions bring evil outcomes, as in "the Way of Heaven that blesses the virtuous and brings misfortune to the wicked" (*Book of Documents*, "Announcement of [King] Tang") […]. The "heavenly Way" was replaced by the *kami*.[142]

As Maeda writes in the subsequent paragraphs, during the Edo period, no matter how much one studied in their life, it did not directly lead to success, therefore the idea of relying and depending on the *kami* instead of morality started to gain footing in Suika shintō and other Confucian shintō traditions.[143] Motoori Norinaga felt similarly, as his critics on Confucianism and the Way of Heaven derived from the feeling that, even though people were morally good,

---

悪人が栄え、善人が苦しんでいるという実感こそが、宣長の思想の核心にある、と私は考えています。こうした実感は宣長個人のものであると同時に、宣長が生きた江戸後期の社会のなかで、不満・憤りを抱く人々のものだったといえるでしょう。」 See MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, p. 16

[142] 「もともと儒学には『天道福善禍淫』（［書経］湯誥）〔省略〕とあるように、善因善果・悪因悪果の観念がありました。この『天道』が神に読み替えられたのです。 See MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, p. 11

[143] MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, p. 12

bad things happened to them anyway. Therefore, he writes as follows in Naobi no Mitama:

> To our sorrow, nothing can be done about the violent perturbations of the evil Gods of Magatsubi.
> Foulness and destruction exist in this world; it is not possible for everything to be in accord with just principles. Malice is also abundant, all of which can be attributed to these Gods. When they are extremely destructive, even the great power of the Sun Goddess and the God of Takami Musubi cannot control them, so human efforts accomplish nothing. The good are visited with calamity and the wicked lead happy lives. This and many other things that violate logical principles are all the doing of these gods.[144]

With his views the irrational of his time was explained as the doings of the *kami*, something that could not be prevented, and not as the results of moral actions. With this understanding, although Norinaga adopts in his writing the concept of the Way, he strips it of any Chinese values. In Norinaga's case, what he defined as the ancient Way could be rediscovered by simply studying the ancient texts such as the *Kojiki*, and then people could conform to it and live in peace and harmony by discarding Chinese thinking, worshipping the *kami*, and following their superiors.[145]

The other concept that Maeda found to be central in the development of early modern shintō was that of the immortality of the soul, a concept that provided an alternative eschatology to those of Buddhism and Confucianism. In that matter, I believe this concept to be the core around which many of the developments of shintō between the Edo and Meiji period occurred. This idea,

[144] MOTOORI, "Naobi…", p. 33
[145] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 330

however, could already be found in many of the shintō traditions of the Edo period such as in Hayashi Razan's *ritō shinchi* shintō 理当心地神道 (Principle-Mind shintō), Watarai Nobuyoshi's Ise shintō 伊勢神道 (also referred to as Watarai shintō), and Yoshikawa Koretari's Yoshikawa shintō. Maeda explains that "the aspect that advocates the existence of an immortal and eternal soul differs from Buddhism of course, but also from Confucianism, and it is something that is typical of early modern shintō."[146] This idea gave a possible alternative to the people who were unable to decide on either Buddhism or Confucianism at the time since it described how the soul would not be reincarnated as the Buddhist theories argued, nor would it be scattered across the four directions as Confucianism claimed. Instead, even if the body perished after death, the spirit of the person would remain immortal in eternity.[147] The idea of the immortality of the soul found expression in the Edo period with the practice of posthumously bestowing the title of *reisha*[148] to someone. Yamazaki Ansai adopted the title himself, but he can be considered a peculiar example, since he bestowed the title to himself while he was still alive.

Kokugaku scholars also adopted the concept of the immortality of the soul, mostly from the last part of the Edo period with the studies of Hirata

---

[146] 「永遠不滅な霊魂の存在を説いている点で、仏教とも、また儒学とも異なる、近世神道らしさがあるといってよいでしょう。」 MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, p. 7

[147] MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, p. 7

[148] Satō Masato writes that "within Yoshida Shintō, the titles *reijin* [霊神] *reisha* [霊社] and *myōjin* [明神] were all applied to deceased human spirits, and this usage influenced the use of the terms in other schools as well, including Yoshikawa Shintō and Suika Shintō, where they were applied to persons who had mastered the deepest imports of the religion." See SATŌ Masato, "Shingō" *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=9947, accessed January 7, 2022

Atsutane and his school. Before him the thought of many *kokugakusha* was still linked to that of Motoori Norinaga, who struggled with the concept of death and afterlife. As I have shown in the previous chapter, Atsutane provided a more soothing and optimistic view of the afterlife, compared to that of Nakatsune and Norinaga. In regard to their views on death, Bowring writes:

> This was a subject for which Buddhism had for so long provided a satisfactory explanation, whereas the *Kojiki* offered very little. When Izanami died, she simply went to the country of the dead, Yomi no kuni, and was not allowed to return. There was nothing in the *Kojiki* that suggested death was anything but an end to life to which the normal human response was an excess of sorrow. If there was a silver lining at all, it was certainly of no solace to those left behind. When Izanami pronounced her curse of constant death and destruction upon the land, Izanagi immediately countered with a promise to give birth to more beings than she could ever kill, which at least meant that life itself would always prevail. But for the individual there is nothing but darkness and permanent loss.[149]

Regardless of the many similarities or the exchange and adaptations of views and theories between Kokugaku and the Suika shintō tradition, most *kokugakusha* were reluctant to acknowledge Confucian-shintō traditions, considering them a misinterpretation, or deceiving theories, of what they believed to be the pure ancient shintō. However, as Maeda and Teeuwen eloquently explained in their studies, it is undeniable that Suika shintō had a great influence on the production of later *kokugakusha*.

---

[149] Richard BOWRING, *In Search of the Way: Thought and Religion in Early-Modern Japan, 1582-1860*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2017, p. 266

3.1.2 Kokugaku critique of Confucianism: Suzuki Masayuki and the Way

In the years following the spiritual turn of the school of Kokugaku, many *kokugakusha* launched attacks directed to the shintō traditions of their times. The focus of their critiques was the fact that shintō, up until that period, had been deeply influenced and distorted by Chinese ideas that led it astray from what they believed was its original essence. However, during the Edo period, Confucian-shintō traditions and Kokugaku caught the interest of an overlapping audience, even though Kokugaku openly attacked those traditions many times. Based on this premise, one may wonder how Confucian-shintō traditions and Kokugaku happened to influence each other, when clearly the latter attacked and rejected the former. Part of the reason why they became connected and influenced each other during the second half of the Edo period can be understood by analyzing how Neo-Confucianism appeared and was being readapted in Japan during those years. Maeda explains his views on the matter in the following passage:

> It is true that Confucianism made a dashing appearance in the world of thought and religion in the early Edo period. What were the merits of Confucianism as this novel thought? As Kumazawa Banzan explained it, "the people who study Confucianism nowadays make it their role to criticize Buddhism" (*Shūgiwasho*, vol. 1, 1672), therefore, in conclusion it can be said that Confucianism was an anti-Buddhism doctrine that rejected Buddhism. For the first time in the history of Japanese thought, Confucian scholars held up an anti-Buddhist doctrine and gave bold critics against the ideological content of Buddhism, which held a massive tradition ever since ancient time.[150]

[150] 「江戸初期、儒学が思想界・宗教界に颯爽と登場したことは事実です。この新奇な思想としての儒学のメリットは、どこにあったのでしょうか。それは、結論的にいえば、熊沢蕃山が『今時儒学をする者は仏をそしるを以て役とす』（［集義和書］巻一、一六七二

Therefore, what made Confucian traditions appealing to the eyes of those who advocated the idea of a pure and ancient shintō was mainly its anti-Buddhism doctrine, but also the aforementioned new possible eschatology derived from the idea of the immortality of the soul. Although some *kokugakusha* of earlier times did not challenge the *honji suijaku* paradigm in their shintō studies, from Motoori Norinaga onwards the idea of a separation of shintō and Buddhism began to take a central role in their process of rediscovering and reestablishing the ancient shintō. However, only during the latter part of the Edo period did those theories start to take roots and set in motion the *shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離 (separation of shintō and Buddhism) that took place at the beginning of the Meiji period. In the beginning it was mainly just an ideological contribution to the cause, but later on, specifically with the Hirata school, some *kokugakusha* became more and more politically involved.

Still, Confucian-shintō, however helpful it might have been against Buddhist ideas, could not have been accepted as a tradition, because of its Chinese influence, and for that it was criticized. One of the points on which Kokugaku and Confucianism differed was:

> Kokugaku's consistent rejection of the rationalism of Confucian thought. Unlike Confucians, Kokugaku thinkers tended instead to affirm emotion, to accept it as having an inherent validity, defining what it means to be human, which is not to be judged by moralism. Kokugaku thinkers pointed to the power and beauty of the emotions

年刊）と説いていたように、仏教を排斥する排仏論だったといえます。古代以来の分厚い伝統をもつ仏教の思想内容に対して、日本の思想史上初めて、儒者たちは排仏論を掲げて果敢に批判を加えたのです」 See MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, p. 5

> displayed by the Kami in myth, saying that it is not for humanity to judge the gods by human standards.[151]

Also, Kokugaku rejected the Confucian-shintō idea of shintō as a Way just like those in China or other countries which were created by humans. What *kokugakusha* such as Motoori Norinaga, Senge Toshizane, and Suzuki Masayuki defined as the Ancient Way, the "Way of Japan" (*nihon no michi* 日本の道)[152], or the "true Way,"[153] was something that they believed existed before humans were born, therefore, it could not have been created by them. While still adopting the term "way", Kokugaku scholars emphasized the many differences between the "way" of the *kami* and the "ways" found in other countries. On this matter, I will closely analyze the first *maki* 巻 of Suzuki Masayuki's *Tsuki no sakaki*,[154] in which he explains plenty about his views on what he defined as the "true Way" that leads to human truth and fulfillment. In his work, he draws heavily on the cosmology found in the *Sandaikō* and from Norinaga and Nakatsune's take on the afterlife, which I will analyze in the following section of this chapter.

One major point in Masayuki's critique of the understating of the Way was that he believed that the people of his time misunderstood the true Way

---

[151] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 324

[152] SENGE Toshizane, *Izumo fudoki* (Records of Wind and Earth), Shintōgaku, no. 117, 1983, pp. 58-59

[153] See MOTOORI, "Naobi…", p. 36; and SUZUKI Masayuki, *Tsuki no Sakaki*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, p. 546

[154] My analysis of the text is based on John R. Bentley's translation in BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, pp. 454-578

found in Japan believing it was the same as the Ways found in China without realizing how, instead, those were just mere fabrications. He explains:

> Now, what is the Way? The Way is not a perverted version like a variety of philosophies, such as Confucianism or Buddhism. In general people in society imagine Confucianism or Buddhism when they hear the word "Way." But these so-called Ways were willfully created at various times, fabricated according to the qualifications of the human heart or expounded in an especially convincing manner. Within these peripheral Ways many have evil and impetuous teachings that stir up issues dealing with morality. These are not the correct Way. (In general many of the foreign teachings are evil and damage the true Way)[155]

As Motoori Norinaga and others before him, Masayuki understood the *kami* as the central figures in the discourse about the Way. In his studies, the concept of Way drifts away from the moral understanding of Confucian traditions and becomes rooted in the work of the *kami* since, he wrote, "this is a Way where everything is bestowed by the heavenly *kami*."[156] For Masayuki everything, as well as the Way itself, was created by the *kami*:

> The heavenly *kami* refer to the four divine pillars: Ame no Minakanushi, Takami Musubi, Kamu Musubi, and Amaterasu Ōmikami […] The Way of life is fulfilled by these *kami* through their procreative powers to produce all things, achieving their purposes by increasing, nurturing, and prospering their creations […] The definition of the Way is the workings of the august spirit and will of the heavenly *kami*. […] Because the Way is the achievements of the procreative work of the heavenly *kami*, and the bodies of people are endowed with their [divine] power, as long as people fulfill their duty according to this endowed influence and do not commit any grave crimes, there is no necessity for any special teachings in this Way. Thus, anciently in our country there was nothing specially labeled the Way or our doctrine[157]

---

[155] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, pp. 547-548
[156] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 551
[157] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 549

Masayuki's views on the Way were surely influenced by Norinaga's works as it is possible to find many similarities between the two. As Hardacre states, "in the beginning, Norinaga wrote, there was no need in Japan to speak of Shinto or a 'Way,' because it existed in the emperor's benevolent rule, and the people were so completely in harmony with him that they naturally followed the Way, having no need to analyze or even name it."[158] The concept of harmony, as well as sincerity and selflessness, that permeated the Age of the *kami*, can be found in the production of many *kokugakusha*, starting from Kamo no Mabuchi and Norinaga. For them, during the Age of the *kami*, before everything began to be corrupted by foreign ideas, people lived in harmony with themselves, nature, and the *kami*. Masayuki elaborated on this concept by trying to show how everything in this world was born in the Way, and as such, people act to fulfill the Way, not by themselves, but by helping each other, in this way the harmony is preserved:

> The Way of life begins with the relationships of sovereign and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, brothers and friends. […] These various groups follow each other, and fulfill the duty of the Way by helping each other. This is the common situation in society, all due to the profound thinking and mysterious creative power of the heavenly kami. (All things created in the world start by helping each other, which allows them to fulfill their work, and their purposes are fulfilled […]) Therefore, when people go against this Way the country is thrown into chaos and it becomes difficult for people to fulfill their duty to accomplish their purpose in life[159]

For Masayuki, "the Way of humanity is the so-called Way of life of the heavenly *kami*, which is the principle of sovereign and subject, parent and child,

---

[158] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 331
[159] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 551

husband and wife, brothers and friends. As everyone is born through the Way of life of the heavenly *kami*, fulfilling the duty of that Way is the Way of humanity." [160] Therefore, as long as people followed the Way and acted accordingly to their duties, everyone could fulfil their role in the Way and harmony could be preserved. What Masayuki stressed as having a fundamental role in his understanding of the Way was the relation between sovereign and subject - something that became quite common within the school of Kokugaku, especially when drawing closer to the Meiji Restoration. In a similar way to what Kamo no Mabuchi did in *Kokuikō*, he criticized Chinese traditions as they did not respect the sovereign and indicated this reason as the core of why China fell into chaos and, therefore, its Way was not the true Way. He wrote as follows:

> Therefore, when people go against this Way the country is thrown into chaos and it becomes difficult for people to fulfill their duty to accomplish their purpose in life. (When people break this moral law everything under heaven immediately is thrown into chaos and for a while it is difficult to govern the land. You may know this by looking at the tradition in China […]. Even in our country, insurgents accepted the teachings of the sages and the hearts of the people gradually became stained with the philosophy of these evil doctrines.[161]

[160] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 571
[161] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 551

3.1.3 Kokugaku critique of syncretic shintō traditions: Ise Sadatake and Edo period shintō traditions

Ise Sadatake, differently from many other *kokugakusha* of his time, such as Motoori Norinaga, perceived that the definition of shintō as a Way, although in their works it was stripped from any Chinese meaning, was a misinterpretation of what was written in the ancient texts. In his S*hintō dokugo*,[162] Sadatake explains:

> There are many places in the text in *Nihon shoki* that have been colored by Chinese philosophies, so as the writer had added the character 法 "law" to Buddha, naturally he added 道 "Way" to the *kami*. However, the meaning of "law" is completely different from the meaning of "Way." Even though the two terms are set in opposition to each other, the reader must not confuse the two terms. In later eras the majority of people had taught that Shintō represents the teachings of the Way of the *kami*, and this is based on a mistaken understanding of the word Shintō as found in *Nihon shoki*. […] These scholars were embarrassed by the fact that China has Confucianism, India has Buddhism, but ou[r] country is the only one with no Way. They were envious of Confucianism and Buddhism, so they pretended that Amaterasu Ōmikami had also bestowed teachings that formed a Way, and they created one called Shintō. This is all because they do not comprehend that it is a noble quality of our country to lack a Way.[163]

By following this reasoning his work aimed to demonstrate, as Bentley explains, that "what his generation called 'Shintō' […] is not a pure, ancient religion as some Shintō priests pretended."[164] In order to do so, he analyzed

---

[162] My analysis of the text is based on John R. Bentley's translation in BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, pp. 358-384

[163] ISE Sadatake, *Shintō Dokugo*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, 361

[164] BENTLEY, *An Anthology of…*, p. 358

shintō traditions of the Edo period and presented his perceived views on their doctrines and teaching. In this process, *Shintō dokugo* also served a secondary aim, that was to explain the superiority of Japan over other countries by demonstrating the existence of what he understood as a pure original shintō that, by the Edo period, had been stained by foreign teachings. In his analysis, he divided shintō into three different categories: the first is shintō based on the *Book of Changes* (ca. tenth century BC); the second is remnant Shintō, or ancient shintō; and the third one is the amalgamated form of shintō that has been altered over time, or, in other words, *ryōbu shūgō* shintō. Although his division of shintō is not something new, in fact it closely resembles the one proposed by Yoshida Kanetomo in *Yuiitsu shintō myōbō yōshū*, that I have presented in the first chapter. What I believe to be interesting is the way he analyzed and criticized the different traditions with the aim of rediscovering a shintō tradition as close as possible to what he believed to be the original shintō. In his work Sadatake claims that the second category he distinguished, "ancient Shintō of our land, [which] worships the *kami* of heaven and earth, and has reference to festivals, ritual prayers, and ritual purification as well as officiating in all the rites at the shrines"[165] is the closest to the original shintō, while the others had all been led astray, some more than others, by foreign ideas.

Sadatake, as was common in the school of Kokugaku in its later years, viewed Japan and its people as superior to other countries, therefore he felt the need to separate the original shintō tradition from those influenced by Chinese traditions. This is evident in the second section of *Shintō dokugo* in which he

[165] ISE, "*Shintō…*", p. 360

first analyzes Confucian-shintō (to which he referred to as the shintō based on the *Book of Changes*), criticizing its understanding of shintō as a Way similarly to those in China and other countries. He argues that when Confucianism entered Japan, their customs underwent a drastic change adopting this Way, the same happened with Buddhism. Furthermore, he argues that the people did not realize that it was wrong to adopt these teachings strongly basing his arguments on his firm belief in the racial superiority of the Japanese people, writing as follows:

> These Ways are set up to prevent evil tendencies in the people of that country. The traits and customs of the people of this land of Japan have no evil tendencies that need to be prevented, so the divine *kami* of our land did not feel the need to establish any specific teachings. Thus, I believe that the disposition of our land is the best. With no evil disposition, there was no need to establish a Way to teach the people. […] the character and customs of the people of China are evil. And there is no need to debate the fact that the people of India are no different than the birds and insects. ··· Thus, I believe that the disposition of our land is the best. With no evil disposition, there was no need to establish a Way to teach the people. [166]

While his reasoning is initially introduced on this racial basis, he quickly expanded his argument with a more philological explanation, writing that "if it is true that the great sun goddess did establish this Way it would represent a very important event, so it should have been clearly delineated in *Nihon shoki*, *Kojiki*, *Kogo shūi*, and other national histories […] and venerable records, but there is no such account."[167] Therefore, due to the lack of evidential proofs, Sadatake believed that this category of shintō should not be trusted. He also

[166] ISE, "*Shintō…*", p. 363
[167] ISE, "*Shintō…*", p. 363

claimed that *rigaku shintō* was not trustworthy as well, because "what is often called the study of *li* 'reason' or the study of *xin* 'the mind' started in the Song Dynasty in China. […] During the time of Amaterasu Ōmikami the learning of China had not yet come to our country. Furthermore, the study of *li* from the Song Dynasty naturally did not exist."[168]

In a similar way Ise Sadatake analyzed the other shintō traditions of the Edo period, in particular he criticized Buddhist-shintō syncretism. By following the same methodology and logic behind his critique of Confucian-shintō traditions, Sadatake argued that there is no evidence supporting the claim of the *honji suijaku* paradigm. When he writes about *ryōbu shūgō shintō*, after claiming that the connection and syncretism between the two was merely just "a scheme to take Shintō festivals and ritual prayers and make them the property of Buddhist monks," [169] he argues that there was no reason for the Buddha to go to Japan and "change into a Japanese *kami*," however, even if it was so, the "idea that Japanese *kami* are actually Buddhist *kami* is nowhere seen in the records of Sakyamuni's teachings."[170]

Lastly, Sadatake took a scalpel to *yuiitsu shintō*, distinguishing two types that he identified as an old and a new one. He wrote that, contrary to what one might believe or might expect, "the term [*yuiitsu*] does not refer to the fact that the teachings have not been influenced by Buddhist thought. It is with fear and trembling that I say the word *yuiitsu shintō*."[171] Sadatake mainly criticized what

[168] ISE, "*Shintō…*", p. 364
[169] ISE, "*Shintō…*", p. 365
[170] ISE, "*Shintō…*", p. 365
[171] ISE, "*Shintō…*", p. 359

he defined as the old *yuiitsu shintō*, since he affirms that the new is just a re-creation of the old one, but without any Buddhist influence. Regarding the old one, he argues that "on the surface, the old type of *yuiitsu Shintō* does not resemble Buddhism, but if you look deeper you see that it is built around a Buddhist doctrine." [172] However, since it does not outwardly show any kind of Buddhist influence, it was named *yuiitsu shintō*.

What I primarily wanted to achieve in this first section was to present a distinct perspective on the relations between the school and the shintō traditions of its time. Since much of the research on the views on shintō in the school of Kokugaku is mainly focused on the work of Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane, here I intended to present how some understudied *kokugakusha* tried to develop their own opinion on Edo period shintō traditions, and sometimes even challenged those of Norinaga and Atsutane. Additionally, I believe that grasping the way those scholars perceived syncretic shintō traditions is of particular importance for the complete understanding of the following section. Overall, the Kokugaku critique of Edo period shintō traditions was grounded in the process of rediscovering (read as creating) an original and pure shintō tradition of the Age of the *kami*, uncontaminated by foreign ideas that entered Japan in later years. Their quest, however, differently to what they argued, led to the development of concepts and ideas that initially emerged from Confucian traditions that the school readapted as something indigenous and pure. What is important to emphasize regarding the final aim of the school, is that, during the years of the *bakumatsu* period, many

[172] ISE, "*Shintō…*", pp. 364-365

kokugakusha embraced the proto-nationalistic ideology of the Hirata school, therefore, their interests shifted towards finding a way of separating shintō from Buddhism, rather than rediscovering (read again as creating) the shintō of the Age of the *kami* through the evidential analysis of ancient texts. For these reasons, it was necessary, in my opinion, to present a distinctive perspective that was not derived of that ideology.

3.2 (Re-)Defining shintō: cosmology and the afterlife

Starting with the works of Motoori Norinaga, the spiritual turn of Kokugaku set in motion a wide process of (re-)definition of shintō which finds its roots in the construction of a new understanding of *kami* and shintō cosmology. The reinterpretation of the concept of *kami* and the creation of a novel cosmology can be identified as the foundation on which later *kokugakusha* proposed eschatological theories distinct from the ones of other shintō and religious traditions of the time. As Helen Hardacre points out, Norinaga's copious works, particularly the *Kojiki-den*, became touchstones for subsequent shintō studies, as they introduced and envisioned a new definition of the concept of *kami*, along with the understanding of shintō as the ancient Way, which many priests and shrines later embraced.[173] More importantly, as Yijang Zhong writes, Kokugaku was more than just a proto-nationalistic movement

[173] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 327-329

in which *kami* and shintō were simply used to promote the divine nature of the imperial institution. He explains as follows:

> 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. […] 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.[174]

For Zhong, Norinaga's new interpretation of the concept of *kami* as a critical category on which he constructed his definition of shintō, became the stepping stones for the process of evolution and emergence of a self-conscious *shintō* discourse during the later years of the Edo period. Norinaga, writing about *kami* and his understanding of the Age of the *kami*, argues:

> I really do not claim to fully comprehend the meaning of the word *kami*. Generally, *kami* denotes, in the first place, the divine beings of heaven and earth that appear in the ancient texts and also the enshrined spirits that are revered in the nation's jinja; furthermore, among other beings, not only human but also animate and inanimate beings such as birds, beasts, trees, grass, seas, mountains, and the like. Any form of being whatsoever which possesses some unique and eminent quality, and is awe inspiring, may be called *kami*.[175]

For the *kokugakusha* it was not important to define what should or should not be defined as *kami*, instead, he simply showed what he believed was the vastity of this category. Furthermore, he writes that "the *kami* in the age of

---

[174] Yijiang ZHONG, *The Origins of Modern Shinto in Japan: The Vanquished Gods of Izumo*, edited by Fabio Rambelli, Bloomsbury Academy, London, 2016, p. 92

[175] MOTOORI Norinaga, *Kojikiden*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, vol. 1, Chikuma shobō, Tokyo, 1968– 1993, p. 135; translated in Stuart PICKEN, *Sourcebook in Shinto: Selected Documents*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, 2004, pp. 200-201

kami were for the most part human beings of that time, and the people of that time were all *kami*. Therefore, it is called the age of *kami*."[176] In his views all human beings are descendants of the *kami*, and for this reason they are all connected. In the subsequent passages, Norinaga expanded his thought on the matter, posing the foundation of the idea of Japan as a family state, in which all Japanese descended from the same *kami*, connecting every Japanese citizen to the imperial house.[177] This novel understanding of *kami* and their connections with human beings found its roots in an alternative interpretation of the creation myth initially proposed by Norinaga, and later expanded on by other *kokugakusha* such as Hattori Nakatsune, Senge Toshizane and Suzuki Masayuki. Norinaga believed everything to be created by a singular *kami*, therefore humans were all connected, not only to the *kami* but also to the Way which was as well created by the original *kami*. For that reason, he believed that humans, as they are superior to any other living beings, knew virtues and what they should do intuitively without being taught. In *Naobi no mitama*, he writes that "thanks to the spirit of the God of Musubi, people are born with innate knowledge and have capacity to perform what they ought to perform in this world."[178]

[176] MOTOORI, *Kojikiden*, p. 136

[177] Norinaga never actually wrote about Japan as a "family state", in fact this concept emerged as a central and unique property of *kokutai* 国体 (national essence), an idea developed and popularized by Aizawa Seishisai 会沢正志斎 (1782-1863). Norinaga simply posed the ideological basis that would be further developed by Hirata Atsutane. On their ideas Aizawa Seishisai later modeled the concept of *kokutai*, central to the process of the Meiji Restoration. For more information see HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, pp. 348-350, 355-359, 628n17.

[178] MOTOORI, "Naobi…", p. 37

Even from this small premise it is possible to understand how Noringa's new discourse on *kami* and their relations with human beings became deeply connected with the concept of the immortality of the soul. From this correlation, Hirata Atsutane and later *kokugakusha* developed their thoughts on the afterlife, that would become a central discourse in the school of Kokugaku at the end of the Edo period. The production of the school of Kokugaku on *kami*, cosmology and the afterlife presented an alternative understanding and definition of shintō that slowly pushed away from the Edo period shintō traditions that were influenced and controlled by foreign ideas, in particular by Buddhism.

3.2.1 Kokugaku thoughts on the creation myth and kami genealogy

Motoori Norinaga proposed his interpretation of the creation myth analyzing the opening section of the *Kojiki*. In fact, in his *Kojiki-den*, he developed the novel idea that all creation owes to a single, original *kami*, which preceded even the creation of Heaven and Heart. As Hardacre explains, "*Kojiki* opens with the appearance of three deities, Amenominakanushi no Kami, Takamimusubi no Kami, and Kamimusuhi no Kami, who immediately disappear. […] Norinaga's innovation was to treat the three earliest Kami as a single entity, whom he named Musuhi-no-kami (or Musubi no Kami)." [179] Norinaga attributed the creation of everything to Musubi-no-kami 産霊神, however, it is important to note that what Norinaga understood as a singular

[179] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 330

creator *kami* cannot be said to adhere perfectly to the deities that appear in the *Kojiki*. In fact, Isomae Jun'ichi writes as follows:

> In the opening of the Kojiki, three deities – Amenominakanushi no Kami, Takami Musuhi no Kami, and Kami Musuhi no Kami – appear together, but Norinaga reread them as a single original deity, Musuhi no Kami. Thus, Amenominakanushi no Kami lacks any concrete meaning, and even the two deities, Takami Musuhi no Kami and Kami Musuhi no Kami, are actually seen as one […] In the opening of the Kojiki, the musuhi no kami and other deities remain fundamentally no more than an enumeration of the names of kami: they lack a concrete connection to the history of the age of the gods. […] Norinaga, however, added his own unique interpretation, rereading the musuhi no kami as the source of all beings, existing since before the creation of heaven and earth: a single, fundamental deity from which all things are 'born into the world' (成出でる).[180]

The reinterpretation of Musubi-no-kami, initially proposed by Motoori Norinaga and then expanded on by Hattori Nakatsune, had a great impact on shintō studies produced by many *kokugakusha* and shintō scholars of the late Edo period. For example, Suzuki Shigetane further developed Norinaga's views on the *kami* of creation giving a slightly different interpretation on how they came into being. Shigetane wrote in his *Engishiki norito kōgi* that:

> The august spirits of Ame no minaka nushi grows and split into two separate gods, Takami musubi and Kamu musubi, and through their generative power (*musubi*), gave shape, in the empty sky, to heaven, earth and myriad things. This is the blessing of the august spirit of the god Ame no naka nushi.[181]

---

[180] ISOMAE Jun'ichi, "Reappropriating the Japanese Myths: Motoori Norinaga and the Creation Myths of the Kojiki and Nihon shoki", translated by Sarah E. THAL, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Spring, vol. 27, no. 1/2, 2000, p. 24

[181] SUZUKI Shigetane, *Engishiki norito kōgi*, vol. 2, Kokusho kankōkai, Tokyo, 1990, pp. 612–620 in SAITŌ Hideki, "Orikuchi Shinobu and the Sea as Religious Topos: *Marebito* and *Musubi no kami*", in Fabio Rambelli (edited by), *The Sea in the History of Japanese Religions*, translated by Emily B. Simpson, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2018, p. 178

Therefore, in his interpretation Amenominakanushi-no-kami 天之御中主神 became the original *kami* from which Kamimusubi-no-kami 神産巣日神 and Takamimusubi-no-kami 高御産巣日神 came into being. This understanding of Amenominakanushi-no-kami as the central *kami* from which all the other *kami* were created is also shared by Suzuki Masayuki. He believed, similarly to Shigetane, that everything was created through the division of the spirit of Amenominakanushi, and through this premise Masayuki argued on the immortality of the soul and, as I will analyze later, his understanding of the afterlife. In *Tsuki no Sakaki* he writes as follows:

> Before heaven and earth were created, Ame no Minakanushi resided in the void and divided his mysterious and incomprehensible spirit, giving birth to the two *musubi kami*. Thus, the spirits of the *musubi kami* were endowed with fortune, so when their spirits were divided it became the matter of heaven and earth, and also created the two male and female *kami* [Izanagi and Izanami]. Every form of life was created through the mysterious work of the divine spirit[182]

Hattori Nakatsune, however, shared a view much more similar to that of Motoori Norinaga since his work began with the aim of expanding the theories proposed by his master. By studying Norinaga's *Tenchizu*, Nakatsune produced the *Sandaikō*, with which he hoped to present a more coherent explanation of the creation myth by expanding the material found in the *Kojiki* with diagrams and explanations of his own.[183] Closely following the work of his master, Nakatsune identified Kamimusubi-no-kami and Takamimusubi-no-kami as the two *kami* responsible for the creation of the universe. The two *kami* appeared in the sphere of heaven together with Amenominakanushi-no-

[182] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 557
[183] BOWRING, *In Search…*, p. 279

kami that, however, doesn't hold any important role in Nakatsune's interpretation of the myth. From the two *musubi kami* a "substance resembling floating oil […] appeared in the sphere of heaven […]. It is the source of creation by these two *kami* down till the tenth diagram, when the act of creation ceases."[184] From this substance other *kami* were created and the sphere began to divide into three different spheres connected by small passages: heaven (*ame* 天), or *takama no hara* 高天原 (High Plain of Heaven);[185] earth; and *yomi* 黄泉. In each sphere different *kami* began to appear, most notably Izanagi-no-mikoto 伊邪那岐命 and Izanami-no-mikoto 伊邪那美命 appeared on earth, and the "*kami* of Yomi"[186] in *yomi*. The former two then gave birth to the country of Japan close to the sphere of heaven, and it was connected to it by the floating bridge of heaven (*ame no ukihashi* 天浮橋). In his diagrams, Nakatsune explained how only "the imperial country" was created by Izanagi and Izanami, and:

> the foreign countries were created from these large and small pieces of hardened material. Takami Musubi and Kamu Musubi gave birth to these hardened pieces of material, each piece being equal. Izanagi and Izanami did not give birth to the foreign countries. This is the original difference between the noble imperial land and the base lands, the beautiful and the evil.[187]

The point which really set Nakatsune's interpretation of shintō cosmology apart from that of shintō tradition until then, was how he

---

[184] HATTORI Nakatsune, *Sandaikō*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, p. 455

[185] Hattori Nakatsune accepts his master's understanding of *ame* and *takama no hara* as both synonyms of heaven. See MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", pp. 362-363

[186] Hattori Nakatsune explains that "because we have Izanami's words, 'I will go and discuss it with the *kami* of Yomi,' we know another *kami* already exists in Yomi. I noted this in Diagram Four, but we do not know his name." See HATTORI, *Sandaikō*, p. 456

[187] HATTORI, *Sandaikō*, p. 456

understood the three spheres, their location in the universe, and how they were connected to each other. As McNally explains:

> Of all the interpretations put forward by Nakatsune those that received the most attention dealt with the nature of the sun and of the moon. Nakatsune accepts Norinaga's assertion that Takama-no-hara was synonymous with *ame* 天 (heaven), but he takes this formulation a step further, arguing that both *ame* and Takama-no-hara signified the sun itself (SDK p. 262). Since the *Kojiki* states that the sun goddess, Amaterasu 天照, lives in Takama-no-hara, he concludes that Amaterasu must reside on or within the sun.[188]

He argued that the title of sun *kami* (*hi no kami* 日神) attributed to Amaterasu does not mean that she is the sun, but simply that she rules the sun, therefore, since she was appointed by Izanagi to rule over *Takama-no-hara*, that must mean that "the sun *is* the High Plain of Heaven!"[189] By following the same reasoning, Nakatsune identified *yomi* with the moon by writing that:

> the phrase 'the country that rules the night' is the land of Yomi. It is also called the nether land or the bottom land, and is located below the other countries. As the diagrams that follow demonstrate, the moon *kami* rules over Yomi; in other words, it is Tsukuyomi, who *is not* the moon, but is a *kami* dwelling within the moon, just as the sun goddess dwells within the sun.[190]

Therefore, Tsukuyomi-no-mikoto 月読命, who is the moon *kami*, must reside on the moon, and, since he dwells and rules over *yomi*, Nakatsune argued that *yomi* is in fact the moon. He based this assumption on Norinaga's understanding of *yomi*, to whom it was the same as *yoru no osu kuni* 夜之食国 ("the country that rules the night") and *ne no kuni* 根国, therefore the moon

[188] MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 362
[189] HATTORI, *Sandaikō*, p. 457
[190] HATTORI, *Sandaikō*, p.458

must have simply been another name for *yomi*. Subsequently he further argued that "Tsukuyomi and Susanoo are truly one and the same *kami*, with Tsukuyomi being another name for him."[191] The reason behind the fact that Susanoo-no-mikoto 須佐之男命 and Tsukuyomi were the same *kami* came from the link that the former had to *yomi* through his mother Izanami, and, as Nakatsune explains, it was mainly based on what Norinaga "expounded in the ninth chapter of *Kojiki-den*." [192] As McNally states, Nakatsune, by openly identifying the two *kami* as one, and proving that *yomi* and the moon were the same, "not only does he answer a question that Norinaga deemed inconclusive, but he also formulates what became the central concept upon which Atsutane later based his *Tama no mihashira* 霊能真柱."[193] As I will show later, this premise became fundamental in the development of later ideas and interpretations of the afterlife and the soul. In the conclusion to the *Sandaikō*, Nakatsune discussed some major events that occurred before the three spheres eventually separated and the passages between the three realms were severed. First was the appearance of the "Imperial Grandson" Ninigi-no-mikoto 瓊瓊杵尊 in *takama no hara*, and that of Ōkuninushi-no-kami 大国主神 in the "imperial land." Subsequently, Ōkuninushi hid himself in *yomi* and "he took charge of the hidden, spiritual matters. This appears to be what we now call death."[194] After

[191] HATTORI, *Sandaikō*, p.459

[192] HATTORI, *Sandaikō*, p.459. For more details see MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 363-364

[193] MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 364. As I have briefly explained in the previous chapter where I analyzed the paper of Mark McNally, the Sandaikō became the center of a debate inside the Norinaga school. One of the major critiques moved by Suzuki Akira and Motoori Ōhira was precisely directed to this novel interpretation of *yomi* and the moon as the same.

[194] HATTORI, *Sandaikō*, p.460

Ninigi descended from heaven the connection between the three spheres was ultimately severed, and what first were "three spheres […] strung together, like pearls on a string, and heaven was always above the earth, with Yomi always below,"[195] became independents spheres (sun, earth, and moon) that floated in a void together.

In his interpretation of the creation myth, Hattori Nakatsune, although he closely followed his master's studies, did not mention some *kami* that played a major role in Motoori Norinaga's discourse on shintō: the Magatsubi no kami 禍津日神.[196] For Norinaga the *kami* were deeply connected to the Musubi-no-kami and had a fundamental role in his definition of the Way. As Hardacre writes, Norinaga "attributed all misfortune to these evil gods, the Magatsubi no Kami. Human reason is incapable of understanding why they do what they do; all we can do is accept it."[197] In his view, the Magastubi no kami were the reason why good deeds did not receive due rewards, or why evil actions went unpunished. This understanding would be accepted by later *kokugakusha* such as Hirata Atsutane and Suzuki Masayuki, who also went a step further and closely described the *kami*'s role and actions. Suzuki Masayuki, although he did not completely agree with the whole interpretation presented by Norinaga,

[195] HATTORI, *Sandaikō*, p.460

[196] According to the *Kojiki*, the *kami* came into being when Izanagi cleansed himself from the filth in *yomi*. In the *Kojiki* it is stated that "when he [Izanagi] went down and dived into the middle stream and bathed, there came into existence a deity named Yaso-maga-tu-pi-no-kami; next, Opo-maga-tu-pi-no-kami. These two deities came into existence from the pollution which he took on when he went to that unclean land." See Donald PHILIPPI (translated by), *Kojiki*, Princeston University Press and Tokyo University Press, 1969, p. 69

[197] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 332

accepted the *kokugakusha*'s view that the Magatsubi no kami were the cause of evil actions committed by any person. In *Tsuki no sakaki* he wrote as follows:

> Thus as we fulfill the Way of life evil practices also become intermixed in what we do. All examples of evil spring forth from good. As the Way of life is good, evil practices spring from this [intermixed with the good].
> Magatsubi waits for us and then causes evil to spring forth so that he can obstruct the Way of life. While we can say that evil springs forth from good, it is the work of Magatsubi to cause this to happen.[198]

Nearing the conclusion of his work, he further adds that "there are those who sometimes avoid being punished in this visible world. This likely happens through the assistance of Magatsubi. In other words, he lends aid to those evil people in obstructing life."[199] As it is possible to understand from this last passage, Masayuki shared Norinaga's reasoning behind the irrational realities in which they lived, where good people were not rewarded, and evil deeds were not punished. For them it was all the results of the action of the evil *kami* of Magatsubi. Hirata Atsutane, however, had a different understanding of the *kami*. In fact, Bowring explains that Atsutane, in his *Koshiden*, described Magatsubi no kami as "an essentially benevolent deity, whose anger and subsequent rampages were not innate but rather a response to pollution and hence a corrective to evil."[200] Instead, in order to explain unfairness in life and posthumous judgement "he shifted the locus of an answer into the realm of the hereafter: his vision of Ōkuninushi as Lord of Yūmei was that of a judge

[198] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 563
[199] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 577
[200] BOWRING, *In Search…*, p. 281

deciding on the quality of actions made in *awaranigoto*."[201] **H**ere I intend to focus only on the interpretation of Ōkuninushi by the school of Kokugaku, however, in the following section I will explain in much more details the views of Hirata Atsutane and other *kokugakusha* on the afterlife, or hidden world as Atsutane interpreted it.

From Nakatsune onward, Ōkuninushi began to attract the attention of many a *kokugakusha*. The *kami*, until this point, played only a minor or inexistent role in the production on shintō of many Kokugaku scholars such as Motoori Norinaga. Instead, during the latter part of the Edo period, it gradually became a central figure in the discourse on shintō of a number of *kokugakusha* and shintō scholars. For example, it is possible to deduce the growing importance of the *kami* by analyzing the works of Senge Toshizane, who tried to strengthen the authority of the Izumo shrine by affirming the position of Ōkuninushi as a creation *kami*. Toshizane based part of his work on Motoori Norinaga's writings on two eight-century texts: *Izumo fudoki*, and the prayer *Izumo kuni no miyatsuko no kan'yogoto* 出雲国造神賀詞 (Divine Congratulatory Words of the chief governor of Izumo) that was performed during the inauguration ritual of the new *kuni no miyatsuko* 国造 (also read as *kokusō*) of the Izumo province. [202] The first text was an administrative document of the ancient Izumo province that Toshizane implemented as a way to confirm the authority

[201] BOWRING, *In Search…*, p. 281. Hirata Atsutane, in his understanding of the world and the afterlife, distinguished between "*arawanigoto* 顯露事 and *kamigoto* 幽冥事; the revealed versus the hidden, the visible versus the invisible." See BOWRING, *In Search…*, p. 281-282.

[202] The first written records of the ceremony were in 713. It was performed a total of fifteen times between 713 and 833. See ZHONG, *The Origins…*, 126-127

of Ōkuninushi, and, as a result, of the head priest of the Izumo taisha. As Zhong writes, the document:

> 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.[203]

Toshizane interpreted that as being proof that, although the land was under imperial administration it was only so because Ōkuninushi surrendered the land after creating it. Therefore, the head priest of the Izumo shrine was the central authority on the ritual institution of the Izumo province and should be considered as such by the imperial court as well. The second text was interpreted by Toshizane in a similar way. The prayer narrates the creation of the land by Ōkuninushi and its subsequent surrender to Amaterasu, and it was performed in the inauguration rituals as an expression of submission of the Izumo province and the head priest of the Izumo taisha to the central political authority. However, Toshizane used backward reasoning to prove that, instead, while the prayer certainly expressed the submission to the imperial power, it was itself a testimony of the great power of Ōkuninushi and of the Izumo priests that the imperial court had to recognize on a regular basis. Toshizane, based on his strong beliefs in the creation power of Ōkuninushi, considered the shintō tradition of the Izumo taisha as a paramount tradition in truly understanding what he defined as the Way of Japan. As Zhong explains:

> Senge Toshizane announced that the texts revealed an Izumo Shinto centered on the divine work of Ōkuninushi in creating the land. He

[203] ZHONG, *The Origins…*, 126. *Ōnamuchi-no-kami* 大穴牟遅神 is the original name of *Ōkuninushi-no-kami*.

> further made it clear that this Shinto was retained by the divine genealogy of the Izumo *kokusō* [国造] head priest. It is this Shinto, Senge Toshizane announced, that constituted the Way of Japan (*Nihon no michi*).[204]

Hirata Atsutane's interest in Ōkuninushi was, instead, mostly ideological in his journey to discover the concept of the soul and the afterlife. One of Atsutane's focal points on the importance of Ōkuninushi is expressed in his *Koshiden*, where the scholar "envisioned Ōkuninushi and the emperor as parallel rulers in the sense that Ōkuninushi ruled over the hidden world of the *yūmei* while the emperor rules over the manifest, visible world."[205] Although Atsutane agreed on many points with Hattori Nakatsune's views expressed in the *Sandaikō*, their opinions differed on some of the major points of Nakatsune's treaties: the afterlife and the understanding of the soul.

3.2.2 Kokugaku understanding of the soul and the afterlife

Hirata Atsutane shared the same understanding of Hattori Nakatsune on the creation of the three spheres of heaven, earth, and *yomi*, and agreed with Nakatsune's identification of the location of *yomi* with the moon. In *Tama no Mihashira* he wrote:

> In the beginning, the three spheres of heaven, earth, and the Yomi were strung together like beads, with heaven above and Yomi below; however, heaven was separated early on […]. After the three spheres were clearly separated, the sun in the heavens did not change from its

---

[204] ZHONG, *The Origins…*, 127

[205] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 341. It is important to note that this interpretation did not only serve to uphold the status of Ōkuninushi, but also as a mean to show of how the rule of the "manifest world," since it was entrusted to the imperial line by Amaterasu, was on parallel with that of the *kami*.

> appointed movement, and the earth continued to float about as it had since its creation, and perhaps this is why even though Yomi was separated from the earth, it continued to revolve around it, Yomi having originally been created below the earth, moving in rhythm with the movement of the earth. […] Now, heaven refers to the sun and Yomi refers to the moon; the reason that people do not believe this is because, as was pointed out in *Sandaikō*, people still think that heaven is above and Yomi beneath as they were before they were severed[206]

However, Atsutane disagrees with Nakatsune on his redefinition of *yomi*. Hattori Nakatsune, as Motoori Norinaga before him, identified in *yomi* the final resting place of the soul, stating in the *Sandaikō* that "when people die, and go to Yomi, their body stays in the ground, and only their spirit goes."[207] McNally states that:

> Atsutane, however, claims that Norinaga's views of Yomi, and by extension Nakatsune's as well, were predicated on a fundamental misunderstanding of the Kojiki. Norinaga assumed, he argues, that because Izanami journeyed to Yomi she must have died, so that the compilers of the *Kojiki* used the ideograph for "spring" 泉 to signify Yomi (rendered in ideographs as "yellow springs") the hereafter. […] Atsutane cites many reason that negate Yomi as the Yellow Springs, but the general theme for him is that the idea of the Yellow Springs was not a native one. […] Yomi and the moon were the same for him, but neither of them was the resting place of the soul[208]

The Yellow Springs were the imagined location in the ancient Chinese mind where all human beings would go after death. Norinaga and Nakatsune understood *yomi* in a similar way: a dark and unpleasant place where the dead would reside after their earthly departure. While Atsutane shared with the two

---

[206] HIRATA Atsutane, *Tama no Mihashira*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, p. 531

[207] HATTORI, *Sandaikō*, p. 460

[208] MCNALLY, "The Sandaikō Debate…", p. 371

kokugakusha the understanding that *yomi*, based on the description found in the *Kojiki*, was a place brimming with pollution and filth, he certainly did not agree with their theories of what it represented. His understanding of death and the afterlife was completely different from that of previous *kokugakusha* as he presented a somewhat more optimistic and comforting vision compared to that of his master, who proclaimed in his *Kojiki-den* that "whether you are rich or poor, good or evil, when people die, everyone goes to Yomi."[209] Since Atsutane was not convinced with his master's explanation, he argued on a new interpretation of the soul and the afterlife, which held a central role in his redefinition of shintō.

Although Atsutane denied Norinaga and Nakatsune's interpretation of *yomi* because it was based on Chinese ideas, he himself based part of his interpretation of the afterlife on some concepts that were central in Confucian-shintō traditions, particularly Suika shintō. Tsutomu Maeda writes as follows:

> For Hirata Atsuane, the two issues of the stability of the soul and of the judgement of Ōkuninushi become much clearer and distinct then in Norinaga's. Atsutane also faced the irrational reality [of the time]. However, Norinaga said that when one dies, they will go to the dark and dank realm of *yomi* without distinction based on their social status or their wealth, but Atsutane denied it. For Atsutane, as it is in Suika shintō, the soul is subsided and stabilized by Ōkuninushi's judgement, in other words, by saying that even after death the soul will remain in eternity, he denies once again Norinaga's theory, and he end up

[209] MOTOORI Norinaga, *Kojiki-den*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, p.431

returning to something along the lines of Suika shintō and Confucian-shintō. In this lies the instresting thing about Atsutane.[210]

As Maeda eloquently explained, Atsutane turned to and re-elaborated the idea of the immortality of the soul that was rooted in many Confucian-shintō traditions, such as, but not limited to, Suika shintō. Maeda also explains how, in early modern shintō, especially in Yoshikawa and *ritō shinchi shintō*, the concept of the immortality of the soul was already discussed and occupied a core aspect of ancestral worships. Maeda, by citing a passage extrapolated from Hayashi Razan's S*hintō denju* 神道伝授 (Instructions on shintō, ca. 1644), affirms that:

> The aspect of ancestors rituals is regarded as important in the case of Yoshikawa shintō and Hayashi Razan's *ritō shinchi* shintō, as it is explained in the following passage: "The soul of the ancestors is a *kami*. The soul of the descendant is the same as the *kami* of the ancestor. For example, when you plant a fruit tree that tree will eventually rot, however, since the tree that will come after is one with the seed of the original tree, the tree's spirit is the same. No matter how many times you plant it, the seed of the first tree will not be replaced. People also are like this […]." (*Senzo shison konpaku dōki koto*, in *Shintō Denju*).[211]

This vision of the soul as immortal and connected, or even derived, by the original *kami* became a widespread opinion and gradually began to be

---

[210] 「平田篤胤における死後の魂の安定と大国主神の賞罰の二つの問題は、宣長の課題をより一層鮮明にさせます。篤胤もまた不条理な現実に向かい合っていました。ただ、宣長の場合、死ねば黄泉の国で身分・貧富の差別無く、皆黄泉の暗くじめじめしたところに往く、と言っていたのですが、それを否定したのが篤胤でした。篤胤の場合、垂加神道のように大国主神の賞罰によって霊魂が鎮まる・安定する、つまり死後も永遠に留まるということで、ここでもう一度宣長の論を否定して、垂加神道的・儒家神道的なものに戻ってしまうというところに篤胤の面白さがあります。」 See MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, p. 15

[211] 「『先祖魂魄神トナル。其子孫ノ魂魄即先祖ノ神也。タトヘバ菓ヲ植フル時ニ其本木ハ朽トイヘドモ、後ノ木ハ本ノ種トヒトツ物ナレバ、木ノ気ハ同キ也。イク度植カヘテモ菓ノアレバ、初ノ木ノ種ハ替ラズ。人モ如レ此。〔省略〕』（［神道伝授］『先祖子孫魂魄同気事』）と説いている林羅山の理当心地神道や、吉川神道の場合、祖霊祭祀の側面が重視されます。」 See MAEDA, *Kinsei shintō…*, p. 10

accepted and further developed by many scholars after Hirata Atsutane. For example, Suzuki Masayuki presented a similar understanding in his *Tsuki no sakaki*. With this, I do not mean to say that Masayuki simply derived his understanding of the soul, death, and the afterlife from Atsutane's work, as there are some differences between the two. I merely intend to show how those concepts became to be affirmed and accepted notions in many scholars' works, whether they were followers of the Hirata Kokugaku or not. Masayuki criticized Suika shintō understanding of the soul by writing that "the students of Yamazaki Ansai who have demonstrated the tendency to fall prey to the empty logic of the Chinese heart" [212] understood the spirit as their own, however, Masayuki explained that it was not a personal belonging. In the introductory *maki* to *Tsuki no sakaki*, Masayuki described his views on the soul and its immortality, moreover, based on that concept, he argued on how and in what way people were able to live following the Way of life, and fulfill their duties in it. He wrote as follows:

> The spirit functions because it has received the great command of the heavenly *kami*. Read the passages after this to gain an understanding of this.
> This refers to the beginning of the world when the two great *kami* Izanagi and Izanami received the decree to give birth to the heavenly *kami*. This is described in detail in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. In the beginning the spirits of everyone came from the heavenly *kami* and then were divided into thousands and tens of thousands of spirits. (Because these spirits are *kami*, no matter how many times they are divided the original spiritual essence does not decrease. This is based on the same reasoning that no matter how many times we divide up one *kami* and worship him here and there [throughout the country] the original entity does not diminish. […]) The spirits of these two *kami* [Izanagi and Izanami] also came from the heavenly *kami*. […] Now,

[212] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 555

> since the spirits of these two *kami* was divided from the heavenly *kami*, our own spirits are all originally the spirits of the heavenly *kami*.[213]

There are multiple reasons why the understanding of the soul as something immortal, connected and derived from the *kami*, became so popular during the *bakumatsu* period. Some scholars were concerned with finding a more indigenous (or native) understanding of the soul and the afterlife; others wanted to uphold the imperial right to rule by establishing an ideology in which every person was connected to the emperor by their soul; others, especially shintō priests, wanted to find an alternate eschatology that could rid the hegemony that Buddhism held over the funerary rituals. On this matter, Suika shintō laid the foundation on which *kokugakusha* such as Hirata Atsutane built their understanding that every Japanese descended from the same *kami* as the emperor, from which the idea of a family state would later emerge.[214] However, what made Hirata Atsutane's views on the afterlife innovative was not his understanding of the immortality of the soul, or its connection to the *kami*. It was his redefinition of the concept of the afterlife, or, as he called it, the hidden world (*yūmei* 幽冥). As I have introduced earlier, Atsutane rejected Norinaga's interpretation of *yomi* as the realm of the dead in his *Tama no mihashira*. Helen Hardacre explains that:

> Atsutane asserted instead that the 'spirit realm exists in this manifest realm and is not [in] a separate location. It is within the manifest realm simultaneously and is invisible; it cannot be seen from the manifest world.' He spoke of the dead 'concealing' or 'hiding' themselves (*kakuru, kakureru*, and variations on this word), and he used the word *yūmei* 'the hidden world' as his preferred term for the world of the dead. […] He wrote hopefully that while the dead must inevitably "return"

[213] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 553-554
[214] TEEUWEN, "Kokugaku vs.…", p. 240

> to the world of the dead, each soul (*mitama*) becomes a Kami on a par with the Kami from the Age of the Gods. Ōkuninushi, lord of the *yūmei*, bestows good fortune on both the dead and the living. The dead remain near their graves, he wrote, and to build a shrine (*tamaya*) for them brings them peace and tranquility.[215]

Atsutane believed that the spirit of the dead did depart this world, but only to go to the hidden world, which in his conception was a realm overlapped with the material world, and became *kami* on par with those of the Age of *kami*. In this way the spirit of the dead would always remain close and would protect the living as the *kami* do, therefore, he believed that they should be worshipped and regarded as *arahitogami* 現人神 (manifest *kami*). In fact, he wrote as follows:

> When a person dies and becomes attached to the nether land, his spirit becomes a *kami*, and the spiritual classification follows the nature of the individual, some being noble, others base, some good, others evil, some strong, and others weak. And among these, those spirits that are superior perform the same sort of work that the *kami* from the divine age are engaged in, there being nothing different from them and the *kami* from the divine age who gave warning about occurrences before they happened.[216]

Although Atsutane's views on the afterlife and death would become predominant and play an active role in the construction of shintō as a national cult during the Meiji Restoration, some *kokugakusha* moved away from his works and, sometimes, even refuted his ideology. Such is the case of Suzuki Masayuki. As I wrote previously, while it is clear that his vision on the soul has been influenced by Hirata Atsutane, he argued on a different definition on the

---

[215] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 339. In this passage Helen Hardacre is quoting *Tama no Mihashira* in Tahara Tsuguo, et al. (edited by), *Hirata Atsutane, Ban Nobutomo, Ōkuni Takamasa*, Nihon shisō taikei, vol. 50, Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1973, p. 109.

[216] HIRATA, *Tama…*, p. 541

afterlife. He shared the same understanding of the soul as being derived from the *kami*, however, he argued that:

> when our time has come, our spirits will leave our bodies and immediately climb to heaven and return to the presence of the heavenly *kami*. […] Since the spirit originated from the heavenly *kami* there is an established principle that it should return to heaven.[217]

Therefore, he understood heaven as one of the final resting places for the soul. In fact, differently from any previous *kokugakusha* who believed that every single soul, regardless of their actions, or social status, would go to the same resting place, he argued as follows:

> Those who do not follow the Way of life, but engage in evil activities will be detested and hated by the heavenly *kami*. You may know this by how the *kami* banished Susanoo from heaven. […] These people are banished to the land of Yomi, where they live in dilapidated houses, wear poor clothing, and eat filthy food, enduring eternal suffering.[218]

Masayuki presented this dual possibility after death, depending on whether or not one had followed the Way of life. He believed that people should strive to fulfill their duty in the Way, and if they did they would be rewarded by rejoining the *kami* in *takama no hara* as "people [in heaven] live eternally in joy and peace without change."[219] However, those who do not accept or follow the Way would be banished to *yomi* which he describes as the place where the rebellious and evil *kami* dwell, a place that is extremely filthy and evil. From Masayuki, the people who are banished to *yomi* for their evil actions did not act wickedly of their own will, but "because they were

[217] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 575
[218] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 576
[219] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 575

overtaken by Magatsubi while they were still alive, experiencing an increasingly wicked heart, leading them to do evil act upon evil act."[220] In Masayuki's understanding of the spirit, in fact, every soul descended and was divided from the *kami*, therefore every single person is "subconsciously performing the Way,"[221] however some may be deceived by wrong or evil teaching and fail to fulfil their duty within the Way. Masayuki further explained it as follows:

> because all spirits have come from the heavenly *kami*, the spirits do discern and understand this Way. Thus, no matter how violent and evil a person may be, he is not able to completely discard or abandon this Way. […] Rather than viewing these people as having been evil from the beginning, they actually have aligned themselves with Magatsubi and *became* evil, but even after becoming evil they still cannot completely abandon the Way bestowed by the heavenly *kami*.[222]

As I have tried to demonstrate, while Suzuki Masayuki's interpretation of the afterlife draws from some notions found and developed in the Hirata Kokugaku, the *kokugakusha* tried to present a novel understanding of the concept of death and the spirit by mainly focusing on studying and analyzing the ancient texts. In this way, Masayuki broke away from the ideology of Atsutane and the Hirata Kokugaku that during the end of the Edo period became deeply involved with political matters concerning the Meiji Restoration. In fact, Atsutane's views on the soul and the afterlife, after being enriched and further developed by his followers, became central in the process of separation of shintō and Buddhism. In his discourse, the spirit remained

[220] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 576
[221] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 547
[222] SUZUKI, *Tsuki…*, p. 558

forever in a parallel hidden world and, for that reason, graves and everything connected to death and the afterlife, such as funeral rituals, became very important. In *Tama no mihashira* he explained that:

> There are spirits whose protective power extends from the nether land and protects lords, parents, wives, and children. Now, if these spirits do not go to Yomi, where do they reside so that they may protect this world? That is why we build shrines and sacred edifices to worship these *kami*. For those who are not treated in like manner, the spirits are enshrined by the grave. [223]

His understanding of the afterlife provided a fresh new outlook that gave new impetus to the shintō priests movement advocating shintō funerals for themselves during the late Edo period. Buddhism, at the time, held sway over the majority of funerals and death related rituals, something that was not happily accepted by many shintō priests, therefore, shintō funerals became a central issue when advocating the separation of shintō and Buddhism. Helen Hardacre explains how shintō funerals at the beginning of the nineteenth century were becoming more widely known and were performed according to Yoshida shintō, however, shintō priests viewed the situation as oppressive because:

> permission [to have shintō funerals performed for themselves] was rarely granted, […] and even then, it usually applied only to the petitioner, not even extending to members of his immediate family, who remained under the requirement to receive Buddhist funerals.[224]

As Kume Shōjirō explains, Hirata Atsutane proposed and described the school of Kokugaku from a restorationism point of view emphasizing the

---

[223] HIRATA, *Tama…*, p. 541
[224] HARDACRE, *Shinto…*, p. 344

importance of the rituals for the ancestors. His scholarship on the matter became an important guideline for many *kokugakusha* or even shintō priests, such as Hatano Takao, a shintō priest who strongly believed in the need of the separation of shintō and Buddhism.[225] In 1827, Takao, together with Kusakado Nobutaka 草鹿砥宣隆 (1818-1869), another follower of the Hirata Kokugaku, began to set the groundwork for their works advocating the independence of shintō and shintō funerals by collecting data on shintō practices in different provinces to better understand the funerary practices of every territory, and compiled *Mikawa no kuni kansha shikō* in 1842, where he presented the shintō practices of the region. Furthermore, Takao, as a shintō priest himself, performed many shintō funerals during his life, most notably was the one he conducted for his father in 1838, after which he tried to validate his ideas on shintō funerals by asking advice from another prominent *kokugakusha* of the time Ban Nobutomo 伴信友 (1773-1846). Kume explains the events as follows:

> When Hatano asked Nobutomo Ban, an up-and-coming *kokugakusha*, about the advisability of shintō funerals, Nobutomo wrote back that "[…] in the future, temples should be abolished, and all should become *jinja*." This reply must have deepened Hatano and the others' conviction about the importance of severing the relationship between temples and their parishioners and Shinto funerals.[226]

Hatano Takao and Kusakado Nobutaka worked hard on making shintō funerals more common and tried to spread their ideas, along with those of the

---

[225] KUME Shōjirō, *Hatano Takao no shinsōsai jissen to Hirata kokugaku sobyō* (Outlines on the practice of shintō funeral rites and the Hirata Kokugaku of Hatano Takao), *Aichi national literature*, no. 12, 2018, p. 75

[226] 「気鋭の国学者伴信友に、羽田野が神葬祭についての可否を尋ねたところ、信友から『〔省略〕将来には寺は廃され、すべて神社になるべきだ』と、返書が届いた。この返答に羽田野等は離檀・神葬祭の重要性に確信を深めたことであろう。」 See KUME, *Hatano Takao*…, p. 75

Hirata faction, to as many people as possible. Their works, thanks to Takao's role as a co-founder of the Hirata Kokugaku school in Mikawa, managed to raise the awareness of shintō funerals and with it they played a major role in spreading the ideology of the Hirata Kokugaku, inspiring many shintō priests and leading to the further development of shintō funerals. Endo Jun explains as follows:

> Regarding the funeral rites, Kusakado Nobutaka, who was also student of the Ibukinoya in the same region of Takao, began in 1842 a movement towards shintō funeral rites that came into realization in 1854 and revised the rites of shintō funerals in the region.[227]

The two *kokugakusha* were deeply involved with the movement for rejection of Buddhist parishes by shintō priests and Tako became an exponential figure during the initial years of the Meiji period, when he participated in the Great Promulgation Campaign (*taikyō senpu undō* 大教宣布運動) with which the newly established state endeavored the promulgation of great teachings (*taikyō* 大教) aimed at creating a popular awareness of shintō as an independent entity separated from Buddhism.

The end of the Edo period was a time of great changes in the way shintō was being perceived and (re-)defined. The popular perception of shintō practices and traditions began to be deeply anchored with the ideology proposed and protracted by the Kokugaku school. Although there are many

---

[227] 「葬儀については、敬雄の近隣では、同じく気吹舎門人の草鹿砥宣隆が天保一三年から神道葬儀にむけて動きをおこしており、嘉永七年にこれが実現すると、近隣の神職が神道葬儀への改式に動き」 ENDO Jun, *Hirataha Kokugakusha to shinsōsai undō: Ibukinoya to Hatano Takao* (Kokugakusha of the Hirata faction and the shintō funeral rites movement: the *Ibukinoya* and Hatano Takao), *Japanese Association for Religious Studies*, vol. 79, no. 4, 2006, p. 1004

disparities that can be identified between the theologies proposed by different *kokugakusha*, many shintō priests and shrines began to feel the need to unite under a shared understanding of shintō that could be found in the production of the Hirata school. The involvement and participation of shrine priests subsequently lead to the need to develop specific political goals in the Restoration Shintō movement that became the ideological core of the establishment of shintō as a national cult. In my analysis of the proposed *kokugakusha* I wanted to show a somewhat more sideways perspective on how they decided to move away from the highly politicized ideology of the Hirata school. What I believe is important to emphasize is how the thoughts and theories of some of the *kokugakusha* analyzed here did not aim to provide a theology that could align with the ideology and political agenda of the Meiji state, but simply intended to present their views on shintō through the analysis of ancient texts. Moreover, I believe that the work of those and other understudied *kokugakusha* could prove very interesting in the development of different local traditions through Japan at the end of the Edo period.

CONCLUSION

This thesis was an attempt to provide a perspective on the school of Kokugaku and its shintō studies that differed from the most commonly presented one within which the Four Great Men of Kokugaku play a quasihegemonic role. Upon competition of my dissertation, it appears clear how this aim was only partially fulfilled as it would require a much more thorough research involving the recovering of the original works of the *kokugakusha* analyzed in my thesis, as well as field studies, in order to better understand the implications and influences each scholar had with shintō traditions that existed in their surroundings. I hopefully intend to do as much in the future, as I believe it would lead to interesting discoveries.

Through the first chapter I tried to give an understanding of what the discourses on shintō are, and I tried to provide an understanding of what shintō meant during the Edo period. The chapter demonstrated how it is clearly not easy to define shintō, but it showed the understanding different shintō traditions developed during the premodern period. Together with the second chapter it accomplished the aim of demonstrating how both shintō traditions and the school of Kokugaku became tightly connected and influenced each other through the period. For example, as I have shown through textual analysis and by following Maeda Tsutomu study in the third chapter, it appears clear how Suika shintō developed ideas on the immortality of the soul that provided an alternative eschatology which Kokugaku later developed.

In the second chapter, the multifaced reality of Kokugaku is shown through the analysis of the ideological and methodological evolution of movement. Although the chapter pivots on the figures of the Four Great Men, it demonstrated that, while their ideological lineage is certainly important in the work of (re-)definition of shintō and construction of a Japanese identity, other *kokugakusha* put out an interesting production on shintō and its traditions that was not always dependent from the works of Norinaga and Atsutane. Some *kokugakusha*, in fact, rejected ideas proposed by their masters, or sometimes even completely parted ways with their teachings, producing works that helped develop new understandings of shintō, as it was the case with Suzuki Shigetane. However, further research is paramount to understand the precise effects and influences these works had on the school of Kokugaku and shintō traditions of the time.

The analysis I undertook in the last chapter provided but the foundations of what could emerge from a deeper analysis of those and other *kokugakusha*. What it demonstrated is that, while the ideological lineage that began with Motoori Norinaga was certainly at the roots of the development of the national and public character of shintō, the works of other scholars proposed some interesting questions and theories regarding shintō and its traditions. What my thesis wanted to emphasize is that the movement of Kokugaku was not a united school where ideologies and interests were shared among every follower. Kokugaku was but an umbrella term that grouped scholars of the time whose interest was on things Japanese, therefore, contemporary scholarship on the school should adopt a much wider approach to the study of this school. Only by doing so would it be possible to completely

grasp the role many *kokugakusha* had in the development of local shintō traditions, as well as to show how they contributed to the changes that (re-)defined the concept of shintō at the end of the Edo period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AMBROS, Barbara, "Localized Religious Specialists in Early Modern Japan: The Development of the Ōyama *Oshi* System", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3/4, 2001, pp. 329-372

AMBROS, Barbara, and Duncan WILLIAMS, "Local Religion in Tokugawa History: Editors' Introduction", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3/4, 2001, pp. 209-225

BENTLEY, John R., *An Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017.

BOWRING, Richard, *In Search of the Way: Thought and Religion in Early-Modern Japan, 1582-1860*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2017.

BREEN, John L., "Shintoists in Restoration Japan (1868-1872): Towards a Reassessment", *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 24, no. 3, 1990, pp. 579-602.

BREEN, John, and Mark TEEUWEN, *Kami Shrines, Myths, and Rituals in Premodern Times*, in *A New History of Shinto*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, pp. 24-65

BURNS, Susan L., *Before the Nation, Kokugaku and the imagining of community in early modern Japan*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2003.

ENDO Jun, *Hirataha Kokugakusha to shinsōsai undō: Ibukinoya to Hatano Takao* (Kokugakusha of the Hirata faction and the shintō funeral rites

movement: the *Ibukinoya* and Hatano Takao), *Japanese Association for Religious Studies*, vol. 79, no. 4, 2006, pp. 1003-1004.

遠藤潤、「平田派国学者と神葬祭運動：気吹舎と羽田野敬雄」、宗教研究、２００６年、７９巻、４号、p. 1003-1004.

FOULK, Emi Joanne, "The Jeweled Broom and the Dust of the World: Keichū, Motoori Norinaga, and Kokugaku in Early Modern Japan", PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2016.

FUJIWARA, Gideon, *Spirits and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Northeastern Japan: Hirata Kokugaku and the Tsugaru Disciples*, PhD Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2013.

FUKASE-INDERGAARD, Fumiko, and Michael INDERGAARD, "Religious Nationalism and the Making of the Modern Japanese State", *Theory and Society*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2008, pp. 343-374.

HALL, David, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1989

HARDACRE, Helen, "Creating State Shinto: The Great Promulgation Campaign and the New Religions." *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1986, pp. 29–63.

HARDACRE, Helen, *Shinto: A History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2017.

HAROOTUNIAN, Harry, *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*, University of Chicago Press, 1988.

HATTORI, Nakatsune, *Sandaikō*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, pp. 453-461.

HIRATA, Atsutane, *Tama no Mihashira*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, pp. 499-544

ISE, Sadatake, *Shintō Dokugo*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, pp. 358-384.

ISOMAE, Jun'ichi, "Reappropriating the Japanese Myths: Motoori Norinaga and the Creation Myths of the Kojiki and Nihon shoki", translated by Sarah E. THAL, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Spring, vol. 27, no. 1/2, 2000, pp. 15-39

ISOMAE Jun'ichi, "*Nihon shūkyōshi" o dakkyū saseru: kenkyūshi dokkai no ichi shiron* (Deconstructing "Japanese Religion": One Perspective on the Scholarly History), Journal of Religious Studies, vol. 82, no.2, 2008, pp. 267-292

磯前順一, 「〈日本宗教史〉を脱臼させる―研究史読解の一試論―」, Journal of Religious Studies, 2008, vol. 82, no.2, pp. 267-292.

KADA, no Azumamaro, *Kada zenshū*, translated by Ryusaku Tsunoda, in Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann (edited by),

Sources of Japanese Tradition Volume two: 1600 to 2000, Columbia University Press, New York, 2005, p. 486-489

KAMO, no Mabuchi, *Kokuikō*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, pp. 336-358

KATSURAJIMA Nobuhiro, *Bakumatsu minshū shisō no kenkyū: Bakumatsu kokugaku to minshū shukyō* (Research on bakumatsu popular ideologies: Bakumatsu Kokugaku and popular religions), Bunrikaku, Kyoto, 1992

桂島宣弘、「幕末民衆思想の研究：幕末国学と民衆宗教」、京都市 ： 文理閣、1992

KITAGAWA, Joseph M., "Some Remarks on Shintō", *History of Religions*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1988, pp. 227-245.

KOJIMA Noriyuki, and ARAI Eizō, *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei: Kokin wakashū*, Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1989

小島憲之、新井栄蔵、「新日本古典文学大系：古今和歌集」、東京：岩波書店、1989

KUME Shōjirō, *Hatano Takao no shinsōsai jissen to Hirata kokugaku sobyō* (Outlines on the practice of shintō funeral rites and the Hirata Kokugaku of Hatano Takao), *Aichi national literature*, no. 12, 2018, pp. 73-81.

久米昭次郎、「羽田野敬雄の神葬祭実践と平田国学素描」、あいち国文、２０１８年、第 12 号、pp 73-81.

KURODA, Toshio, “Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion”, translated by James C. DOBBINS and Suzanne GAY, *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1981, pp. 1-21.

KURODA, Toshio, “The Development of the *Kenmitsu* System as Japan's Medieval Orthodoxy”, translated by James C. Dobbins, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3/4, 1996, pp. 233-269.

KURODA, Toshio, “The Discourse on the ‘Land of Kami’ (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan: National Consciousness and International Awareness”, translated by Fabio Rambelli, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3/4, 1996, pp. 353-385.

MAEDA, Hiromi, “Court Rank for Village Shrines: The Yoshida House's Interactions with Local Shrines during the Mid-Tokugawa Period”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, 2002, pp. 325-358.

MAEDA Tsutomu, *Kinsei shintō kara kokugaku he* (From Early Modern Shintō to Kokugaku), Bulletin of the Research and Development Center of Kogakkan University, no. 5, 2019, pp. 1-21.

前田勉、「近世神道から国学へ」、皇學館大学研究開発推進センター紀要、第 5 号，2019 年, p. 1-21.

MATSUMOTO Sannosuke, *Kokugaku seiji shisō no kenkyū* (Research on the political thought of Kokugaku), Miraisha, Tokyo, 1972

松本三之介、「国学政治思想の研究」、東京 ： 未来社、1972

MATSUMOTO, Shigeru, *Motoori Norinaga, 1730-1801*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970.

MCNALLY, Mark T., "Phantom History: Hirata Atsutane and Tokugawa Nativism", PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1998.

MCNALLY, Mark T., "The Sandaikō Debate: The Issue of Orthodoxy in Late Tokugawa Nativism", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, 2002, pp. 359-378.

MCNALLY, Mark T., "Who Speaks for Norinaga? Kokugaku Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Japan", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2011, pp. 129-159.

MOTOORI Norinaga, *Kojikiden*, in *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, vol. 1, Chikuma shobō, Tokyo, 1968–1993

本居宣長、「古事記伝」、本居宣長全集、第 1 号、筑摩書房、東京、1968–1993.

MOTOORI, Norinaga, "Uiyamabumi", translated by Sey Nishimura, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 42, no. 4, 1987, pp. 456-493.

MOTOORI, Norinaga, "Naobi no Mitama", translated by Sey Nishimura, *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1991, pp. 27-41.

MOTOORI, Norinaga, *Kojiki-den*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, pp. 417-452

NAOKI, Sakai, Preface to *Kojiki-den: Book 1*, by Motoori Norinaga, introduced, translated, and annotated by Ann Wehmeyer, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1997, pp. vii-xvi.

NISHIMURA, Sey, "The Way of the Gods. Motoori Noriaga's *Naobi no Mitama*", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1991, pp. 21-41.

NOSCO, Peter, "Nature, Invention, and National Learning: The Kokka hachiron Controversy, 1742-46", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1981, pp. 75-91.

NOSCO, Peter, *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth Century Japan*, Harvard University Press, 1990

NOSCO, Peter, *The National Learning Schools*, in Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann (edited by), *Sources of Japanese Tradition Volume two: 1600 to 2000*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2005, pp. 481-519.

PHILIPPI, Donald (translated by), *Kojiki*, Princeston University Press and Tokyo University Press, 1969

PICKEN, Stuart, *Sourcebook in Shinto: Selected Documents*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, 2004

SAIGUSA Yasutaka, *Kokugaku no undo* (Kokugaku movement), Kazama Shobō, Tokyo, 1966

三枝康高、「国学の運動」、東京： 風間書房、1966

SAITŌ, Hideki, "Orikuchi Shinobu and the Sea as Religious Topos: *Marebito* and *Musubi no kami*", in Fabio Rambelli (edited by), *The Sea in the History of Japanese Religions*, translated by Emily B. Simpson, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2018, pp. 167-180.

SANO Masato, "*Kōtai Jingū Gishikichō" kōtei shian* (Tentative Plan for a Revision of the "Records of the Ceremonies of the Kotai Jingu of Ise"), Bulletin of the Research and Development Center of Kogakkan University, no. 2, 2016, pp. 115-208.

佐野真人、「皇太神宮儀式帳」校訂試案、皇學館大学研究開発推進センター紀要、２０１６年、第２号、p. 115-208.

SENGE Toshizane, *Izumo fudoki* (Records of Wind and Earth), Shintōgaku, no. 117, 1983, pp. 58-59.

千家俊信、「出雲風土記」、神道学、第 117 号、１９８３年、p. 58−59

SCHEID, Bernhard, "Shinto as a Religion for the Warrior Class: The Case of Yoshikawa Koretaru", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, 2002, pp. 299-324.

SCHEID, Bernhard, *"Both Parts" or "Only One"?: Challenges to the honji suijaku paradigm in the Edo period*, in Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (edited by), *Buddhas and kami in Japan: Honji sujaku as a combinatory paradigm*, RoutledgeCurzon, London and New York, 2003, pp. 204-221.

SHIMAZONO, Susumu, and Regan E. MURPHY, "State Shinto in the Lives of the People: The Establishment of Emperor Worship, Modern

Nationalism, and Shrine Shinto in Late Meiji", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 93-124.

SUZUKI, Masayuki, *Tsuki no Sakaki*, in John R. Bentley (edited by), *Anthology of Kokugaku Scholars 1690-1898*, introduced and translated by John R. Bentley, Cornell University East Asia Program, Ithaca, 2017, pp. 545-578.

SUZUKI Shigetane, *Engishiki norito kōgi*, vol. 2, Kokusho kankōkai, Tokyo, 1990.

鈴木重胤、「延喜式祝詞講義」、第２、国書刊行会、東京、1990.

TAHARA Tsuguo *kōchū*, *Hirata Atsutane, Ban Nobutomo, Ōkuni Takamasa*, Tahara Tsuguo et al. (edited by), Nihon shisō taikei, vol. 50, Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1973

田原嗣郎校注者、「平田篤胤, 伴信友, 大國隆正」、日本思想大系、５０第、岩波書店、東京、1973

TAIRA, Masayuki, "Kuroda Toshio and the *Kenmitsu Taisei* Theory", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, no. ¾, 1996, pp. 427-448.

TEEUWEN, Mark, *Watarai Shinto: An Intellectual History of the Outer Shrine in Ise*, Research School CNWS, Leiden, 1996.

TEEUWEN, Mark, "Poetry, Sake, and Acrimony. Arakida Hisaoyu and the Kokugaku Movement", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 52, no. 3, 1997, pp. 295-325.

TEEUWEN, Mark, and Bernhard SCHEID, "Tracing Shinto in the History of Kami Worship: Editors' Introduction", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3/4, 2002, pp. 195-207.

TEEUWEN, Mark, and Fabio RAMBELLI, *Combinatory religion and the honji suijaku paradigm in pre-modern Japan*, introduction to *Buddhas and kami in Japan: Honji suijaku as a combinatory paradigm*, RoutledgeCurzon, London and New York, 2003, pp. 1-53

TEEUWEN, Mark, "Kokugaku vs. Nativism", *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2006, pp. 227-242.

WACHUTKA, Michael, *Kokugaku at the Dawn of the Meiji Period*, in *Kokugaku in Meiji-Period Japan: The Modern Transformation of 'national Learning' and the Formation of Scholarly Societies*, BRILL, 2012, pp. 1-26.

WAI-MING, Ng, "The 'I Ching' in the Shinto Thought of Tokugawa Japan", *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 48, no. 4, 1998, pp. 568-531.

WILLIAMS, Duncan Ryūken, *Religion in Early Modern Japan*, in Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson (edited by), *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, University of Hawa'I Press, Honolulu, 2005, pp. 184-201.

YOSHIDA, Kanetomo, "Yuiitsu Shintō Myōbō Yōshū", translated by Allan G. Grapard, *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 47, no. 2, pp. 137-161

ZHONG, Yijiang, *The Origins of Modern Shinto in Japan: The Vanquished Gods of Izumo*, edited by Fabio Rambelli, Bloomsbury Academy, London, 2016.

SITOGRAPHY

MATSUNAGA, Naomichi, "Senge Toshizane (1764-1831)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/id=9469, accessed December 23, 2021

MATSUURA, Mitsunobu, "Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=9555, accessed December 23, 2021

MORI, Mizue, "Fukko Shintō", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=8713, accessed December 23, 2021

MORI, Mizue, "Hatano Takao (1798-1882)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/id=9551, accessed December 23, 2021

MORI, Mizue, "Sanshatakusenkō (Ise Sadatake)", *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/id=8527, accessed December 23, 2021

NISHIMUTA, Takao, "Shinkan", in *Encyclopedia of Shintō***,** https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=8698, accessed December 23, 2021

SATŌ, Masato, "Shingō" *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=9947, accessed January 7, 2022

"Senge Toshizane 千家俊信", in https://www.norinagakinenkan.com/norinaga/kaisetsu/senke.html, accessed December 23, 2021

YAZAKI, Hiroyuki, “Suzuki Shigetane (1812-63)”, *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=9464, accessed December 23, 2021

YAZAKI, Hiroyuki, “Tsukisakaki (Suzuki Masayuki)”, *Encyclopedia of Shinto,* https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/id=8795, accessed December 23, 2021