

# RECENT RESEARCH ON “STATE SHINTO”

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*As a scholarly concept, the concept of State Shinto has been developing, especially after 1945, to refer to the prewar situation surrounding the support and management shrine matters by the state. Academic works are accumulating, both on the concept of State Shinto itself and on the elements that concretely constituted State Shinto. This essay will first summarize the scholarly institutions surrounding the researches related to State Shinto developed in the past fifteen years or so. Then it will try to give an overview of the related sites and facilities of State Shinto, elements that concretely constituted prewar State Shinto.*

**H**ELEN HARDACRE published *Shinto: A History* in 2017. In this book she “tries to address the issue of continuity in Shinto history from a new vantage point,” after Kuroda Toshio’s theory on Shinto dismantled “the rhetoric of Shinto as ‘the indigenous religion of Japan’” in the 1980s (5). Hardacre discusses the subject of modern Shinto in the following five chapters in this book: Chapter 12 entitled “Shinto and the Meiji State”; Chapter 13 “Shinto and Imperial Japan; Chapter 14 “Shinto from 1945 through 1989”; Chapter 15 “Shrine Festivals and Their Changing Place in the Public Sphere”; and Chapter 16 “Heisei Shinto.” These five chapters occupy approximately one-third of the main text of the volume (198 among 552 pages).

In this book, “State Shinto” is not a main topic, but nevertheless she pays significant attention to it. In the introduction that summarizes the contents of each chapter, Hardacre comments on the term “State Shinto” in referring to Chapter 12. According to her, this term has been used “to describe the modern Japanese government’s takeover of shrine affairs that began in the Meiji period.” In her view, however, “a variety of problems have been raised regarding the term.” Therefore instead of State Shinto, scholars have proposed as an alternative the term “state management” (*kokka kanri*) of shrines (12).

Regarding the post-Restoration creation of new shrines, including Yasukuni Shrine and shrines in Hokkaido, since it depended “heavily on local fundraising, burnishing the image of local boosters, and producing significant business opportunities,” Hardacre situates it “considerably beyond the parameters of

‘state management,’ as it was “involving the people much more, and extending further into the realm of ideology than that bland phrase suggests” (12–13).

In Chapter 13, Hardacre “treats Shinto from the early twentieth century until the end of World War II, where she “examine[s] ideological campaigns mediated by shrines and explain[s] how the term “State Shinto” can be employed to understand them” (13). In the opening of this chapter, she warns against the use of the term “State Shinto” in the following way:

The term “State Shinto” has most frequently been applied to this period, but I believe that our understanding of Shinto will not advance if we use the term merely to mark off a period, as if “State Shinto” were an adjective describing everything about Shinto at the time. Nor is it appropriate to think of State Shinto as “the religion of the state,” because Japan had rejected the idea of a state religion. (403)

That said, Hardacre does not dispense with the term, but tries to keep using it in a more specific way. In her opinion, the phrase of “state management of shrines” does not cover all the complexity of twentieth-century Shinto. Then she proposes a revised use of the concept of State Shinto:

In order to isolate one aspect of Shinto’s changed character in the twentieth century, I use the term *State Shinto* to identify Shinto mediation of state-sponsored ideological campaigns. [...] When limited in this way, State Shinto can help us better understand the significant aspects of Shinto’s development in the imperial period. (404)

Hardacre emphasizes the changed character of Shinto in imperial Japan in a summarized way:

The state had given Shinto its institutional independence from Buddhism, established the rites to be performed at shrines, provided funding and regulated new shrine construction and staffing through a designated office from 1900. Unquestionably, the state played the defining role in structuring Shinto from 1868 to 1945, but state-sponsored ideological projects mediated by Shinto began in the twentieth century. (440)

As this citation shows, in Hardacre’s opinion the state-sponsored ideological projects mediated by Shinto in the twentieth century can justifiably be called “State Shinto.”

Interestingly enough, the concluding paragraph of Chapter 13, as cited below, appears to point to a possible application of the concept of State Shinto to the postwar period:

“State Shinto” advances our understanding of religious life when used in a limited and specific way, to refer to Shinto’s mediation of state-sponsored ideological campaigns. “State Shinto” should not be restricted to the imperial period, however, as that would assume that the state might never promote (or has never promoted) a similar dynamic after 1945. We will inquire in subsequent chapters whether revival of State Shinto remains a possibility. (440)

This interest in a possible revival of State Shinto after the end of World War II seems to be shared by some contemporary Japanese scholars. A well-known example of the arguments on the survival of State Shinto in the postwar period can be seen in reiterated discussions presented by Shimazono Susumu 島蘭進. Since Shimazono publishes his articles and books not only in Japanese but also in English, one can directly read his argument, for example, in an essay entitled “State Shinto and Religion in Post-War Japan.” I myself had a chance to write a review article on State Shinto, where Shimazono’s work was also mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

In this essay, I will look at the situation surrounding State Shinto in the current discussions presented by Japanese scholars. Regarding these situations, I would like, first, to summarize the scholarly institutions surrounding the research related to State Shinto in the past fifteen years or so. Then I will try to give an overview of the related sites and facilities of State Shinto. Reviewing these two subjects, this essay will give the concrete examples of the research surroundings on State Shinto, and of the objects of the research themselves regarding State Shinto as a scholarly subject. By reflecting on these two concrete subjects, I would like to add to this research field of State Shinto another dimension than the discussions or controversies on the concept of State Shinto.

## New Scholarly Institutions in Relation to State Shinto

Murakami Shigeyoshi 村上重良 published a book in 1970 simply entitled *Kokka Shintō* [State Shinto] in a paperback format, suitable to the general reading public. This slim volume has exerted a continuous influence in the understanding of the subject for nearly fifty years. In the academy, especially in the fields of history and Shinto studies, there is some accumulated criticism against Murakami’s argument. But some revised understanding of State Shinto basically in line with Murakami’s thought has been presented as well. Shimazono Susumu’s discus-

1. I would refer readers for further details to an earlier review article in which I have discussed Inoue Hiroshi 井上寛司 and Azegami Naoki 畔上直樹 as well as Shimazono (OKUYAMA 2011). See also OKUYAMA 2017.

sion of State Shinto can be situated in this line, and can be understood as an attempt to revise and develop Murakami's basic idea.

If I try to summarize a common motif of Murakami and Shimazono, it can be stated that these two authors have intended to understand the structure of religion in modern Japan approximately from 1868 to 1945 as a whole, in terms of State Shinto that functioned as an overall institution to cover, and possibly control, people's religious life accepted in the state and society during those years in Japan. Another common motif of Murakami and Shimazono is a warning against resurrection of State Shinto after 1945, with a careful consciousness towards the contemporary political and social situation.

Shimazono started to publish his articles related to State Shinto in Japanese around the beginning of the twenty-first century. Around the same time, institutional situations surrounding the study of State Shinto changed to develop the related researches more collectively rather than individually. The first instance is related to Kokugakuin University.

#### *Organizing Research Programs of Shinto Studies at Kokugakuin University*

In 2002, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) started a financial support program called "The Twenty-First Century COE [Center of Excellence] Program," which would continue until the fiscal year of 2008. This program was intended to establish world-class research centers of excellence affiliated with national, public, or private universities in Japan. The Twenty-First Century COE Program was the earliest among all the following competitive programs planned by the MEXT to improve and develop the national system of science and technology, and in addition other fields in humanities and social sciences.

The program called for applications from 2002 to 2004 to support five-year projects in all the domains of scholarly researches. The Centers of Excellence were selected from among applications by Japanese universities with a research center and/or a PhD program. Regarding the domain of humanities, the call for application was issued in 2002, whereas for the domain of social sciences, the call was issued in 2003. In 2002 there were 79 applications from 57 universities, and 20 projects of 16 universities were selected. A project planned by Kokugakuin University, entitled "Establishment of a National Learning Institute for the Dissemination of Research on Shinto and Japanese Culture" 神道と日本文化の国学的研究発信の拠点形成, was one among the twenty selected projects. This does not necessarily mean that the Japanese government directly provided a special support to the research on Shinto or State Shinto, but it turned out that it was the result of this financial support promoted Shinto studies indirectly at least.

Kokugakuin University was celebrating its one hundred and twentieth anniversary in 2002, and issued a grand design under the title of the “Twenty-First Century Research and Education Plan” in the same year. Under this orientation Kokugakuin University restructured to start a new faculty of Shinto Studies, which became independent of the existent faculty of Letters, and also the Twenty-First Century COE Program at Kokugakuin started in the same year. The project was financially supported by the Twenty-First Century COE Program for five years, and with the closure of this support, Kokugakuin University established the Organization for the Advancement of Research and Development in 2007 to promote research activities conducted by its sub-organizations, including the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics and the Center for Promotion of Excellence in Research and Education, among others.<sup>2</sup>

Under this institutional development, researches on Shinto in general have been developed, and those on State Shinto have also been stimulated to a certain extent. Sakamoto Koremaru 阪本是丸 is a professor in Kokugakuin University and a specialist on national learning and modern Shinto, whose earlier publication of 『国家神道形成過程の研究』 [A study of the forming process of State Shinto] published in 1994 has become an authoritative work in the field. Sakamoto’s contributions to the research on State Shinto in the past fifteen years or so can be understood, at least to some extent, in the framework under the stimulation of institutional development of scholarly facilities promoted by the Twenty-First Century COE program at Kokugakuin University. One interesting feature of his contributions to Shinto studies is seen in his collaboration with a Tokyo publishing house Kōbundō. With the support of a Shinto shrine named Hisaizu Jinja, located in Koshigaya city, Saitama prefecture, Kōbundō started to publish a series of scholarly works on modern Shinto in 2003, with Sakamoto as the series editor. This series entitled 『久伊豆神社小教院叢書』 has published ten volumes by 2017.<sup>3</sup> This series includes a volume edited by Sakamoto him-

2. One of the results of the Twenty-First Century COE Program and the following research activities collaboratively conducted at Kokugakuin University is the online publication of the English version of the *Encyclopedia of Shinto*. The Japanese version of *Shintō jiten* [Encyclopedia of Shinto] was originally edited by the Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics of Kokugakuin University, and published in 1994 by Kōbundō, a publisher I mention in the next paragraph (A revised and slightly shorter version was published in 1999 by Kōbundō). The current English version is posted online at: [http://k-amc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/dbTop.do?class\\_name=col\\_eos](http://k-amc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/dbTop.do?class_name=col_eos)

3. In the series the following volumes are especially important in understanding State Shinto.

Suga Kōji 菅浩二 『日本統治下の海外神社—朝鮮神宮・台湾神社と祭神』 [Shinto Shrines overseas under the Japanese rule: Chōsen jingū, Taiwan jinja and deities enshrined] (2004).

Saitō Tomoo 齊藤智朗 『井上毅と宗教—明治国家形成と世俗主義』 [Inoue Kowashi and religion: State formation of Meiji and secularism] (2006).

Sakamoto Koremaru 阪本是丸, ed. 『国家神道再考—祭政一致国家の形成と展開』 [Rethinking State Shinto: The formation and development of the state that unifies rituals and politics] (2006).

Fujita Hiromasa 藤田大誠 『近代国学の研究』 [Studies in modern national leaning] (2007).

self, but Kōbudō also has published a few other volumes written by or edited by Sakamoto.<sup>4</sup> And in addition this publisher has published other works in the field of Shinto studies. These orchestrated projects of publication on Shinto have contributed to the development of this field.

### Research Projects Promoted by Meiji Jingū

Emperor Meiji died in 1912 and his wife, Empress Shōken, in 1914, after which there emerged a wish among the general public to commemorate their achievements, and the government also started to establish a facility for their commemoration. The way of commemoration took a form of shrine construction with a huge precinct called “Gaien” 外苑, where some buildings, including a wedding hall Meiji Kinenkan and athletic facilities would be constructed. Thanks to voluntary laborious efforts and donations from the public, Meiji Jingū was established in 1920. The surrounding forest has grown thick today, starting from 100,000 small bushes donated from all the corners of the nation and some from abroad. The establishment of Meiji Jingū and its surroundings of *Gaien* is understood as a concrete symbol of State Shinto. Although the shrine was bombed and destroyed in 1945 in World War II, the new building was established, again based on public donations, in 1958.

At the fiftieth anniversary of the reconstruction of the shrine, Meiji Jingū established an affiliated research institute called the Meiji Jingu Intercultural Research Institute 明治神宮国際神道文化研究所 in 2008. The Institute started to hold a series of various seminars and symposia in the same year, the year also being an anniversary of the 140th year from the Meiji Restoration. In the past ten years until 2017, the Institute has held ten research meetings with a scholarly purpose. An interesting feature of the research projects of this Institute is that they have organized collaborative projects with guest researchers invited from outside. One example is a research group focusing on the history of Meiji Jingū that started in 2009, and its members are Fujita Hiromasa 藤田大誠 (current professor of Kokugakuin University, who specializes in modern national learning), Aoi Akihito 青井哲人 (currently professor of Meiji University, who specializes in architectural history), and Azegami Naoki 畔上直樹 (current professor of

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Fujimoto Yorio 藤本頼生 『神道と社会事業の近代史』 [Modern history of Shinto and social work] (2009).

Takeda Sachiya 武田幸也 『近代の神宮と教化活動』 [Modern Jingū and their activities of indoctrination] (2018).

4. The examples include: Sakamoto Koremaru 阪本是丸 『近代の神社神道』 [Shrine Shinto in the modern era] (2005); 『近世・近代神道論考』 [A treatise on Shinto in the early modern and modern eras] (2007); and the Center for Promotion of Excellence in Research and Education of Kokugakuin University 國學院大學研究開発推進センター and Sakamoto Koremaru eds., 『昭和前期の神道と社会』 [Shinto and society in the early Shōwa era] (2016).



Joetsu University of Education, who specializes in modern Japanese history),<sup>5</sup> and Imaizumi Yoshiko 今泉宜子 (senior research fellow of the Meiji Jingu Intercultural Research Institute, who specializes in Meiji Jingū history).

Before this research group was formed, Meiji Jingū already became a subject of historical scholarship. A historian, Yamaguchi Teruomi 山口輝臣, published 『明治神宮の出現』 [The emergence of Meiji Jingū] in 2005 (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan), and a group member Imaizumi Yoshiko published her first book in 2008.<sup>6</sup> Another scholar outside of the research group mentioned above, Satō Kazunori 佐藤一伯, published 『明治聖徳論の研究—明治神宮の神学』 [A study of the sacred virtue of Emperor Meiji: Theology of Meiji Jingū] in 2010 (Kokusho Kankōkai).

Fujita, Aoi, and Azegami—members of the research group mentioned above—obtained a KAKEN research grant of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science for their project under the title of “Fundamental Study on the Precincts of a Shinto Shrine and the ‘Public Space’ in Imperial Capital Tokyo” 帝都東京における神社境内と「公共空間」に関する基礎的研究 from 2010 to 2012, and the results of their research on the history of Meiji Jingū were published as 『明治神宮以前・以後—近代神社をめぐる環境形成の構造転換』 [History before and after Meiji Jingū: Structural transformation of the formation of environment surrounding a modern Shinto shrine] edited by Fujita, Aoi, Azegami, and Imaizumi (Kajima Shuppankai, 2015). Focusing on the history of Meiji Jingū, this collaborative group research has approached the subject in a rather multi-disciplinary way, by inviting contributors from various specialties including Shinto history, architectural history, urban history, city planning, environmental science, landscape architecture, and so on. As a research subject regarding State Shinto, the researches on Meiji Jingū have presented detailed historical understanding from multiple viewpoints, partly because of the initiative of this collaborative research project.

## Sites and Facilities of State Shinto

Thus far I first referred to Helen Hardacre’s recent book entitled *Shinto: A History*, and mentioned her deliberate usage of the term “State Shinto.” Then I summarized the recent development of the research institutions focusing on State Shinto in general, and also on Meiji Jingū in particular. Meiji Jingū itself

5. As for the work conducted by Azegami, see OKUYAMA 2011.

6. After she edited and published 『明治神宮：戦後復興の軌跡』 [Meiji Jingū: The trajectory of its postwar reconstruction] (Kajima Shuppankai, 2008), Imaizumi continued to publish books on Meiji Jingū, for example, 『明治神宮—「伝統」を創った大プロジェクト』 [Meiji Jingū: The grand project of inventing a “tradition”] (Shinchōsha, 2013) and *Sacred Space in the Modern City: The Fractured Pasts of Meiji Shrine, 1912–1958* (Brill, 2013).

can be understood as one of several core facilities of State Shinto, or of “the state management of shrines,” but it was not the only example.

In this section, I would like to present an overview to rethink the subject of State Shinto before the end of World War II. If I take a hint from the phrase that Hardacre presents, “the state management of shrines,” that state management should include: (1) the management of the buildings and lands of shrines, and of the materials belonging to them; (2) the management of the personnel related to shrines; (3) the legislation of legal procedures and financial procedures related to the two items above; and (4) the organizations for the administration for shrine affairs. Shimazono Susumu points out that if we think about State Shinto, we need to take into consideration rituals and ceremonies conducted in the imperial house. If we follow Shimazono’s opinion, the state management of imperial rituals and ceremonies should be an important subject of research. One element of the imperial rituals and ceremonies is specific dates of rituals or ceremonies, which lead us to the study of imperial holidays. Another element of the imperial rituals and ceremonies is specific places and sites for them, about which I would like to present an overview.

In the researches on State Shinto a number of shrines and other related places and sites deserve special attention. Here are some categories related to them.

1. The Imperial Palace and related facilities
2. Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮
3. Two main shrines established in modern Japan: Yasukuni Shrine 靖国神社 and Meiji Jingū (and at a regional level, Gokoku shrines 護国神社 [*gokoku* means “protection of the nation”] serve a function similar to Yasukuni Shrine)
4. Newly established shrines to commemorate historic emperors: Kashihara Jingū 橿原神宮 and Heian Jingū 平安神宮, among others
5. Newly established shrines to commemorate historic subjects loyal to some emperor(s) (newly categorized as *bekkaku kanpeisha* 別格官幣社)
6. Traditional imperial mausoleums and other sites newly designated as an imperial mausoleum

In addition to Meiji Jingū mentioned above, some places related to Emperor Meiji’s visits or activities were to be sanctified later.<sup>7</sup> The general backdrop of this trend is legislation for preservation of historic objects, including religious treasures. First, the Law for Preserving Old Shrines and Temples 古社寺保存法 was promulgated in 1897, which prescribed the designation of national treasures

7. The description in this paragraph is based on the work by Morimoto Kazuo 森本和男『文化財の社会史』[Social history of cultural properties].



and the preservation of historic buildings. In addition to treasured objects and buildings, the importance of historic sites became gradually recognized. Later in 1919, the Law for Preserving Historic Remains, Sites of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments 史蹟名勝天然紀念物保存法 was enacted. In 1929, the Law for Preserving Old Shrines and Temples was replaced by the Preservation Law of National Treasures 国宝保存法.

Under the nationalist policy around 1930, in reaction to the prevalence of social and labor movements, the governmental action was taken to praise the activities of Emperor Meiji by designating the related sites as “sacred.” This designation of the sacred sites of Emperor Meiji amounted to 1375 nationwide, and only ten prefectures lacked such sites.<sup>8</sup> In 1933, 86 sites among 1375 were legally designated as “Historic Remains.” From 1933 to 1937, 317 sacred sites were designated as such in total (as of 1945, 377 sites were designated). The meaning of “sacred” of these historic remains related to Emperor Meiji is not clear but at least we can understand that this governmental movement in the 1930s was trying to resort to something called “sacred” in their nationalist orientation.

Among the six categories mentioned above, accumulated researches on the facilities of (1), (2), (3) are well known. Thus now I would like to focus on the facilities in (4), (5), (6).

### *Kashihara Jingū and Heian Jingū*

Kashihara Jingū is a shrine established in the present Kashihara city in Nara prefecture in 1890 for dignifying the legendary or mythical first emperor Jinmu and his empress. This place had a legend that Emperor Jinmu became enthroned there. The local people petitioned for the establishment of the shrine for this first emperor, the petition was accepted, and the shrine was established at the 2550<sup>th</sup> year from the mythical enthronement of Jinmu, in 1890. At the 2600<sup>th</sup> year from the enthronement, namely 1940, the additional facilities were constructed. To commemorate this mythical enthronement, the date of 11 February was decided on in 1873 as a holiday called 紀元節 or Foundation Day, and after World War II, this holiday was deleted from national holidays under the Occupation policy. In 1966, under the new name of National Foundation Day 建国記念の日 the holiday on 11 February was resumed. As for the history of the establishment of Kashihara Jingū, Takagi Hiroshi work should be consulted.<sup>9</sup>

Heian Jingū is a shrine established in Kyoto in 1895 to commemorate Emperor Kanmu 桓武天皇 (737–806), who established the capital in Kyoto in

8. Ten prefectures include Wakayama, Tottori, Shimane, Tokushima, Ehime, Kōchi, Saga, Ōita, Miyazaki, and Okinawa.

9. See Takagi Hiroshi 『近代天皇制と古都』 [Modern Imperial system and old capitals], especially chapter 1.

794. In the modern period, the basic situation surrounding Kyoto was that it lost the status of the capital that had continued for over 1000 years, which could mark its position as the cultural, commercial, and industrial center of old Japan as unstable.<sup>10</sup> One procedure taken to deal with these negative aspects was to introduce a modern big event of civilization and industry from Europe, that is, universal expositions. Trends of civilization and the introduction of the western culture brought about the tendency of neglect of the old tradition. The economic foundations of the temples and shrines were weakened, and some of them needed to sell their treasured properties to survive, which was the backdrop of the legislation of the preservation of traditional objects mentioned earlier. Thus the measures to be taken in this new era were to retrieve and protect traditions in parallel with promoting civilization at the same time.

Political and business leaders planned an urban development of the east area of the Kamo river that runs through Kyoto by constructing an irrigation canal from Lake Biwa, which was completed in 1890. In connection with this project, a hydroelectric power plant was built and started to transmit electric power in 1891. Then began a new plan of holding the national exposition in this east area called Okazaki. This plan for the exposition combined with another idea of holding the commemoration of the 1100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the setting of the capital in Kyoto. In 1894, a committee for this commemoration petitioned for the establishment of the shrine for Emperor Kanmu, the petition was accepted, and the shrine, Heian Jingū, was established in 1895. The garden of Heian Jingū was designed and made by Ogawa Jihee 小川治兵衛 (1860–1933), a famous landscape architect who designed a number of Japanese gardens with pools and streams, attached to villas and temples around Okazaki, using the water of the canal from Lake Biwa. In the same area, the electric tram was constructed for the first time in Japan, which connected Kyoto Station (opened in 1877) to Okazaki in time for the exposition. The exposition was held from April to July in 1895. In October of the same year, after the end of the Russo-Japanese War, the festival known as the “Period Matsuri” 時代祭 started with a parade of people in historical costumes of the past 1,100 years or so. Later, in 1940, Emperor Kōmei 孝明天皇 (1831–1867, Emperor Meiji’s father) was enshrined in addition to Emperor Kanmu. Emperor Kōmei was the last emperor before the capital was moved to Tokyo.

A new construction, Heian Jingū, in connection with the exposition, emerged in the end of the nineteenth century, side by side with a new tradition of the Japanese garden of Jihee’s style, and also with a new tradition of the Jidai Matsuri of Kyoto. I do not have exact data as to how the general public think of Heian Jingu, the Japanese gardens of Jihee’s style, or Jidai Matsuri as traditional

10. The situations surrounding Kyoto in the modern period, see Kobayashi Takehiro 小林丈弘 『明治維新と京都』 [The Meiji Restoration and Kyoto].

or modern. But if they think they are traditional, the reality is that those traditions only started around the turn of the twentieth century.

### *Bekkaku Kanpeisha*

The institution of *bekkaku kanpeisha*, literally meaning “shrines with a special status, sponsored by the state,” started in 1875. Its backdrop is the following. In 1872 Minatogawa Shrine 湊川神社 was established in Kobe with Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 as a main deity. Masashige is known for his loyalty to Emperor Gadaigo 後醍醐天皇 in the fourteenth century. The modern hierarchical system of categorization of all the shrines had already begun in 1871, but there was no category for a shrine that reveres a historic figure who was not an emperor nor a person of the imperial family. Thus a new category was invented to classify existent shrines of the same kind. In 1873, Tōshōgū 東照宮 in Nikko, which reveres mainly Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康, and Hōkoku / Toyokuni Shrine 豊国神社 in Kyoto, which reveres Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉, became categorized as *bekkaku kanpeisha*. By the end of World War II, the number of *bekkaku kanpeisha* had increased to 28. Deities revered at these shrines are basically historic figures in ancient or medieval Japan, but Yasukuni Shrine (established in 1879), which reveres modern fallen soldiers, was also categorized as *bekkaku kanpeisha* at the time of its establishment.

According to the *Larger Dictionary of Shinto History* (『神道史大辞典』), the number of the officially or nationally sponsored shrines called *kansha*, which included officially sponsored shrines (*kanpeisha* 官幣社) and nationally sponsored shrines (*kokubeisha* 国幣社),<sup>11</sup> amounted to 178 as of 1945 (86 of the former, 92 of the latter), excluding 28 *bekkaku kanpeisha*. The same dictionary tells the total number of shrines in the same year was 109,733.<sup>12</sup> Among this total number, the number of the officially or nationally sponsored shrines in total, 206, looks very small. When we think about State Shinto, we should remember this very small share of the officially and nationally sponsored shrines among all the shrines.

### *Imperial Mausoleums*

The basic ethics that the Meiji government wanted to spread among the nation included Confucian but already Japanized ideals of loyalty and filial piety. The emperor and the imperial household were supposed to exemplify filial piety in their own way. Their respect should be directed to their past ancestors, but this presented a problem because there were a number of past emperors

11. To refer to both official sponsored and nationally sponsored shrines, the term *kantoku heisha* 官国幣社 was adopted.

12. See the statistics in the *Larger Dictionary of Shinto History*, 1202.

whose graves were not identified. On the other hand, there were many tumuli or mounds, called *kofun* 古墳, scattered nationwide, especially in Kansai area, which were basically understood as tombs of some ancient person of power. It does not mean, however, that all the existent *kofun* would turn out to be an imperial one. A task of the Meiji government and later was to specify which location should be which emperor's tomb. Here also lay a transformation of the meaning of the tomb from impurity of death to piety for the ancestors. A tomb or *kofun* was accordingly turned into *ryō* or *misasagi* 陵 (the same Chinese character having two different pronunciations), namely, "imperial mausoleum." The imperial mausoleum also functioned as the place of ancestor worship for the imperial household. By praying there, one could wish for the protection and prosperity of the nation by petitioning the soul of a past emperor.

Takagi Hiroshi summarizes the meaning of the imperial mausoleum:

After the Meiji Restoration, an idea of the everlasting and unbroken single line of emperors was created, and at the same time, closely related to that idea, imperial mausoleums were invented anew. The latter functioned as a mythical device to enable the continuation of the modern imperial system, by visualizing the single line from the myth of Amaterasu's grandson's descending from heaven to earth, through all the emperors in history to the current one. (Takagi, *Kindai tennō-sei to koto*, 177)

Already before the Meiji Restoration, a Jinmu Mausoleum was specified and glorified as such by 1863.<sup>13</sup> After the Restoration, in 1874, the *Kamiyo sanryō* 神代三陵 or three mausoleums of the mythical era were specified for the three generations before Emperor Jinmu.<sup>14</sup> Next mausoleums were specified for the thirty-second emperor Sushun 崇峻 (1876), for the thirty-ninth emperor Kōbun 弘文 (1877), the second emperor Suizei 綏靖 (1878), and the fiftieth emperor Kanmu 桓武 (1880; see TAKAGI, 185). In 1878, the administration of mausoleum was transferred from the Home Ministry to the Imperial Household Ministry. When the latter issued the list of the imperial mausoleums in 1880, the list stated that tombs of thirteen emperors were not identified.<sup>15</sup> Before the promulgation of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan in 1889, all the imperial mausoleums

13. As to the process of specifying the location of Jinmu Mausoleum, see TAKAGI 2006, especially chapter 1, and 2010, especially chapter 2.

14. The three mausoleums are for Amaterasu's grandson Ninigi, Ninigi's son and grandson, the latter being Jinmu's father according to the Japanese mythology.

15. See TAKAGI 2006, 184–5. The thirteen emperors are: Kenzō 顯宗 (23), Buretsu 武烈 (25), Kōkō 光孝 (58), Murakami 村上 (62), Reizei 冷泉 (63), En'yū 円融 (64), Sanjō 三条 (67), Goichijō 後一条 (68), Nijō 二条 (78), Antoku 安德 (81), Juntoku 順德 (84), Chūkyō 仲恭 (85), and Kōmyō 光明 (the second of the North Court).

were identified except for one, that of the ninety-eighth emperor Chōkei 長慶.<sup>16</sup> Because of the lack of historical sources, it was difficult to specify Chōkei’s tomb, and there were many suspected sites nationwide. Finally in 1944, it was decided on a site in Kyoto.

After World War II, the Imperial Household Ministry was restructured into the Imperial Household Agency, and the imperial mausoleums are now under the management and control of this Agency, not widely open to the public nor to the academy. This policy of closing of the imperial mausoleums is intended to keep quiet preservation of the sites, but it has often been criticized because it prevents free scholarly investigations.

A recent topic in relation to imperial mausoleums is that several local governments in southern Osaka and the national Agency for Cultural Affairs are campaigning for the inscription as a World Heritage site of the “Ancient Tumulus Cluster in Mozu-Furuichi” 百舌鳥・古市古墳群. A number of imperial mausoleums are included in this cluster, and they are now put on the stage of international cultural politics.<sup>17</sup>

### *Connecting People with the Sites of State Shinto*

Even if the state management worked hard to establish many sites in the six categories mentioned above, the state could not directly promote popularity of, or sympathy with, these sites among the public. How to connect people with these sites was a challenge. In this point, recent studies illustrate the role of the modern industry.

I would like to mention here Hirayama Noboru 平山昇’s recent works. He published two books on *hatsumōde* 初詣, the New Year visit to a temple or shrine. Takagi Hiroshi already clarified that this popular custom nowadays started only in Meiji, as “an invention of tradition.”<sup>18</sup> Hirayama tries to clarify how this New Year custom became popular in modern Japan.<sup>19</sup>

In 1889 the national railway was completely connected between Shinbashi (in Tokyo) to Kobe. A new railroad was constructed later between Shinbashi and Ueno, and the present Tokyo station was opened in 1914 in front of the imperial palace. According to Hara Takeshi 原武史, this station was to be opened in time for the enthronement ceremony of the new emperor Yoshihito (to be called posthumously Emperor Taishō) to be held in Kyoto (HARA 2000, 248–9). But the ceremony was postponed to 1915 because of Empress Shōken’s death in 1914.

16. Emperor Chōkei’s reign was not ascertained until 1926.

17. The campaigning local governments include Osaka Prefecture, and three cities of Sakai, Habikino, and Fujiidera. Details of this campaign can be found on the website: <http://www.mozu-furuichi.jp/en/>

18. See TAKAGI 2006, especially chapter 8.

19. See HIRAYAMA 012, especially, chapter 5.

In the Ise area, private companies connected their railways from Nagoya and Osaka closer to Ise in the 1890s. Hirayama shows how companies existing around 1900 collaborated to promote people's visit to Ise especially around the season of the New Year, for example, by running the direct train, by selling a discount ticket, or by devising a package tour. After Emperor Meiji died, his mausoleum was built in Fushimi, Kyoto, and there is a close train station Momoyama (opened in 1895). A former company of the current Kintetsu Railway also opened a nearby station in 1928. Another former company of Kintetsu opened the railway to Kashihara Jingū in 1923. By then, visiting to Fushimi, Kashihara, or Ise by train from either Nagoya, Kyoto, or Osaka had become fast and easy. Promotion of visits to these sites in the early twentieth century can be regarded as a sign of the growth of nationalist ideology among the public, but there was also another side for the railway companies, that is, the promotion of commercialism through tourism. Also, from the side of the mass population, visits to these sites show people's respect for the emperor and the imperial house, but also can be regarded as recreation through the modern industry of the railway.

## Conclusion

“State Shinto” is a concept to refer to some historical phenomena of modern Japan, a concept intended to point to some relationship between the state of Japan and Shinto. How much this concept can be regarded as appropriate should depend on what historical phenomena are taken up for consideration, and on what kind of relationship is discussed. Any scholarly discussions on State Shinto should deal with these conceptual frameworks, but this essay does not fall in such a discussion.

This essay reviewed, first, two cases of scholarly institutions related to the researches on State Shinto, which is Kokugakuin University and Meiji Jingū. Meiji Jingū itself used to be one element of State Shinto, and now it functions as a research institute on State Shinto. And then this essay secondly reviewed some of the sites and facilities of State Shinto, with a classification of these facilities into six categories. Some of the recent researches have paid attention to people's relationship with the sites and facilities of State Shinto, focusing on how people were mobilized to go there. Recent studies on the railway have clarified concrete measures that connected people and such sites and facilities.

We now understand that State Shinto until the end of the war was not just the state management of shrines but the collaborative movement entangling the state, the local people both powerful and ordinary, private companies, and civilization that developed modern industry. I did not delve into each element of State Shinto in detail in this essay, but further case studies should contribute to

the deepening of the understanding of State Shinto in the past, and also to more deliberate attention to the ongoing social and political situation.

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