SAISEI ITCHI: THE IDENTITY OF
RELIGION AND GOVERNMENT IN THE EARLY
MEIJI YEARS 1867-1872

by

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This thesis is a study of the interaction of religion and government in the first five years of the Meiji Restoration (1868-1872). It deals with the ideological premises as well as the political application of Shinto as an organ of government. The paper discusses the elevation to national prominence of Shinto in the form of Restoration or Revival Shinto (Fukko Shintō) and traces both the theological antecedents as well as the ancient institutional origins of the religio-political theory of state espoused by the Restoration Shinto movement. This theory found political expression in the early Meiji years through the government's re-introduction and promotion of the religious policy of saisei itchi, the identity or unity of religion and government.

This thesis has three main objectives: first, to examine the Shinto administrative mechanisms in the central government and thereby define saisei itchi as both an administrative structure and a religio-political ideology; second, to investigate the practical application of saisei itchi as a religious policy by looking at the legislation effected by Shinto administrative bodies; and third, to define the position and role of the saisei itchi construct within the context of the general pre-war alliance of Shinto and the Japanese state which is categorized under the blanket term State Shinto (Kokka Shintō).

This thesis concludes that the implementation of saisei
*itchi* was a consistent goal of the early Meiji government between 1868 and 1872. The promotion of the Restoration Shinto ideology expressed through the *saisei itchi* ideal provided an ideological framework which aided in the consolidation of Shinto as a religious structure and in the acceptance of the new Imperial government. The paper argues further that *saisei itchi* was to a significant degree religious in intent, so much so that it can be viewed as being a distinct entity within the general context of State Shinto with which it is usually fused or confused. That is, in the work of several modern historians, *saisei itchi* has either been treated as an integral component of State Shinto or mistaken for State Shinto itself. By highlighting *saisei itchi* as the major facet in the early Meiji state's involvement with Shinto, this thesis hopes to provide some insight into this oft neglected aspect of early Meiji government.
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This study deals with the political administration of Shinto in the first five years of the Meiji period. It was inspired initially by the work of Murakami Shigeyoshi and Daniel Holtom. Both these authorities and others writing in the immediate post-war period examined the role of Shinto in the politicized form known as State Shinto which they saw as beginning in 1868. By the nineteenth century, however, the multiplicity of elements which comprise the Shinto world had developed independently into five broad spheres -- Imperial House Shinto, School or Scholarly Shinto, Shrine Shinto, Folk Shinto and Sect Shinto. Although in the main separate, these were linked by a central conviction to the supremacy of kami reverence. To place these diverse forms of Shinto under the single category of State Shinto fails to account for the role and development of each of the Shinto spheres and compresses them into one mold. This mold, moreover, was one shaped by the dictates of the ideology of the political state.

In this essay I examine the role and position within government of Restoration Shinto, the most prevalent form of Scholarly Shinto at the onset of the Meiji Restoration. My research showed that Restoration Shintoists who held official positions in the Shinto administrative departments
of the early Meiji government formulated a religious policy and enacted legislation to re-establish the ancient religio-political ideal of saisei itchi. Although not given precedence over political concerns between 1868 and 1872, Shinto did, as part of the administrative framework, provide the means for the reconstruction of Shinto as an independent religious entity. This entity, when compared to State Shinto, showed a much stronger influence of religious ideology and religious concerns.

This thesis, then, draws a distinction between the saisei itchi formulation and the later State Shinto. In so doing it emphasizes a previously little examined aspect of the early Meiji government's relationship with Shinto. Inherent in the presentation of this general theme is the cogent question of the role and position of Restoration Shinto and Shintoists in early Meiji government. Thus the primary focus of this paper lies in an evaluation of Shinto from the standpoint of religious administration and legislation and in the formulation of early Meiji religious policy. In the examination of Shinto from this viewpoint the thesis provides a unique contribution to the study of the ties between Shinto and the early Meiji state.

To underline the efficacy of such a theme and to demonstrate the worth of the arguments and conclusions herein presented, I wish here to clarify some of the problems raised by such a study. A primary problem faced by the
scholar is that of obtaining a clear picture of the administrative framework formed in the years 1868 to 1872. Numerous administrative changes took place during these years of the Meiji transition period, an era of general political insecurity. The political events in these five years defy accurate assessment as does the exact importance of the numerous administrative bodies set up. Secondly, the response of political leaders to Shinto reform is also difficult to evaluate. There is in fact a paucity of information on the attitudes of the political leaders towards Shinto. It is possible, however, to address directly the question of the role of Shinto in government administration by an evaluation of how various Shinto offices were formed, their position in the general administrative framework and the legislation they issued. As a result, I focus on (1) the religious policy of early Meiji and (2) the degree of priority given to the elevation of Shinto. The acquiescence of the political leaders to Shinto reform, while assumed, is a more difficult question to assess.

This thesis, then, emphasizes the administrative issues and achievements of early Meiji Shinto by a presentation of Imperial edicts and other orders on religion which emanated from the Shinto administrative bodies. Thus, it is possible to show the intent and goals of the Shinto religious leaders for the reconstruction of Shinto as well as the direct effect of the religious policy. Since the primary concern of
Shinto administrators was the elevation and re-establishment of Shinto, the discussions of Shinto doctrine in this paper are confined to those postulates which were utilized to provide a legitimacy for the restoration of the Imperial line to political prominence.

The structure of this thesis was conditioned by the needs to present (1) general background information on the origin of saisei itchi and (2) the development of Shinto doctrine. Both of these concerns, if not crucial to the arguments contained in this paper, are necessary to provide the context for the subsequent religious and administrative development. Thus Chapters 2 and 3 present brief accounts of the ancient bond between Shinto and government and the development of Shinto thought which culminated in the works of Restoration Shintoists in the mid-nineteenth century. Restoration Shinto represents the scholarly or verbalized form of an essentially non-verbal type of worship. That is, intellectuals interested in Shinto by the nineteenth century had formed various schools which had developed doctrines that for the sake of convenience are treated herein as "intellectual Shinto". Shinto itself is the collective name for the indigenous Japanese form of piety towards and appeasement of the kami or deities of the Shinto pantheon. The term religion is applied herein with regard to this phenomenon. It is, in fact, a less than accurate description
of Shinto ritual practices and world view.

The introduction to this thesis presents the major historiographical debates on State Shinto. It also introduces my approach to the subject which deals primarily with the administration of Shinto by Restoration Shintoists holding formal political office. This approach has an added validity due to the shared objectives of the political leaders and the leaders of Shinto. That is, the concern for national political cohesion centred around the Imperial symbol coincided with the religious aims of Shinto and emperor elevation. What emerges from a study of the interaction of religion and government in early Meiji is the religio-ideological continuity provided by Shinto throughout this period.

The position of Shinto, then, is illustrated by an examination of the legal statutes effected by Shinto administrators in their reform of the Shinto religious structure. Thus, Chapter 4 presents the central arguments of this paper and provides an examination of the role of Restoration Shinto in the administrative framework constructed in the first Meiji years. Furthermore, this chapter measures the degree of success in the application of saisei itchi as it was applied in early Meiji.

Several practical factors, however, inhibited a complete appraisal of the ties between Shinto and the early Meiji government. First, as stated above, there is a lack of
primary-source evidence on the precise opinions and intentions of the Meiji political leaders. For example, the diary of Kido Kōin, covering the period 1868 to 1871, is silent on the subject of Shinto. The biography of Iwakura by Tokutomi Iichirō also fails to provide the reader with the Prince's views on Shinto and religious reform. Thus, any assessment on the degree of influence on religious policy formation or support of Shinto must be measured circumstantially by these leaders' and others' laissez-faire attitude to the promotion and elevation of Shinto as direct government policy. Because of this lack of more specific information, in fact, the task of determining such views has been little addressed in the historiography of the period 1868 to 1872. To avoid becoming embroiled in such hypothetical issues, this thesis concentrates on the administration of Shinto in this period.

Secondly, because we lack sources, it is most difficult to determine the precise intentions of the Restoration Shinto leaders. While there is an abundance of material as to the doctrinal extrapolations of these scholars, the various schools they headed and the factional disputes over religious issues, there is little in the way of evidence regarding their directly expressed political goals for Shinto.

Thirdly, there are also the usual general limitations regarding the nature of the sources used, namely, the
Japanese histories I consulted which recount the changes in Shinto's status in early Meiji. Two of these works, however, were to a degree useful. The *Meiji ishin shinbutsu bunri shiryō* (History of the Shinto Buddhist Separation in the Meiji Period), while dealing almost exclusively with the vagaries of Buddhist affairs, did prove valuable in providing primary-source material which included the documentation of several of the main legal orders relating to Shinto-inspired changes in the religious structure. The *Ishin shi* (History of the Restoration), although a general secondary source, provided a detailed account of the names and ranks of the leading figures who held the key positions in government departments. The selections from the *Hōri zensho* (Complete Collection of Laws and Ordinances) as translated by Professor McLaren, though of little use in determining the background issues behind administrative change and the reason for it, do provide a broad survey of the major administrative formulations and their legal enactment.

This thesis draws extensively on more up-to-date research on Shinto by leading contemporary Japanese authorities in the field. This information is contained in the specialized articles in Japanese cited herein. The documentation of primary-source material provided by these articles enabled this thesis to add new material to the discussion in English of early Meiji Shinto reforms.
The above information taken collectively provided enough material to justify the conclusions drawn in Chapter 4 of this thesis. There is a broad body of information on the administrative and legislative activities of Restoration Shintoists in government. Utilizing this, it has been possible to measure their influence in the religious sphere, particularly in effecting the legislation to re-establish an independent Shinto religious structure by 1872. In this respect, this thesis, then, provides an original contribution to the study of the relationship between Shinto and the early Meiji government. Furthermore, by presenting a hitherto little explored aspect of early Meiji government, it demonstrates a view of the Meiji Restoration as more than a secular revolution.

In the task of presenting the material used in this thesis and of clarifying the issues involved, I received the consistent advice of my supervisor, Professor William Wray, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude. I also wish to thank Professor Leon Hurvitz for his illuminating comments on the etymological derivation of the term saisei itchi.
The initial, politically crucial years of the Meiji Restoration (1868-1872) were characterized by the formation of a governmental structure, the keystone of which was the reinstatement of the Emperor to the focal position as head of the political state. Concomitant to this move, the Meiji government, from the onset of the Restoration, carried out a policy for the revival of Shinto. Shinto in all its manifold aspects, but particularly its ancient ties with the Imperial house, provided the Meiji leaders with an acceptable orthodox ideological foundation for the legitimate reinstatement to political prominence of the Emperor in whose name the Restoration and its accompanying reforms were justified.

Thus, the elevation and promotion of Shinto in early Meiji was undertaken with the precise goal of providing a religio-ideological foundation for the modern Imperial state structure. What was developed, not only in the early Meiji years, but throughout the Meiji period (and indeed, with modification until 1945), was an Emperor-centred national polity that had an ideological basis inspired by the example of Japan's classical age. That is, fundamental to the early Meiji theory of state and the religious policy of the first
Meiji governments was the utilization of the religio-social framework and the political institutions of the ancient indigenous kami worship² of Japan.

At the same time, early Meiji political theory and religious policy drew upon more recent religio-ideological developments provided by the ideas of a succession of Shinto and Confucian scholars. The work of these researchers, a protracted progression of broadly connected intellectual outpourings, culminated in and was systematized by the scholars of the school of National Learning (Kokugaku) and its offshoot, the school of Restoration or Revival of Antiquity Shinto (Fukko Shinto). The movement of dissenting samurai who, by November, 1867, had defeated the Shōgun Tokugawa Keiki and restored the Imperial line to national political prominence, was influenced by the Shinto-based notions of Imperial legitimacy and supremacy supplied by the Restoration Shinto school. Thus, from the background of a nation straining to break from the confines of anachronistic feudal government, Shinto emerged to provide a symbolic protection and a religio-ideological focus for those who rallied against the outmoded bakuhan system.³

The transition period from Tokugawa rule to the consolidation of the Meiji state was fraught with change and experimentation in administrative forms. In 1868 the Meiji government, faced with the lack of a suitable alternative and influenced by the doctrines of Restoration Shinto, formed
an administrative structure based primarily on a religio-political theory of governance. The model emulated was that of saisei itchi, the identity of religion and government. Saisei itchi had its first expression in the theocratic polity of ancient Japan. In this period Shinto rites had been paramount in the functioning of the ancient political state. The formation in 1869 of an administrative structure based on the eighth century Yōrō Code, by which the Jingikan (Council of Shinto Affairs) was placed as the pre-eminent department of government, marked the reinstatement of more traditional notions of Imperial government. The position of bureaucratic supremacy accorded the Jingikan also exemplified the influence of Restoration Shinto in the promotion of the government policy on religion.

At the outset of the Restoration, then, the first Meiji government carried out a religious policy which elevated and promoted Shinto as the primary religio-ideological buttress to Imperial rule. This policy advocated the formation and promotion of the ancient ideal of the identity or unity of the Shinto religion and government. Thus was initiated the marriage of Shinto beliefs and practices to the political theory of modern imperial government. After the reintroduction of the saisei itchi model and the initial religious experiments of the early Meiji government, this alliance became increasingly politicized. From the late 1880's onwards, Shinto as the religious voice of the
kokutai (national polity) became crystallized into the form which has come in retrospect to be known as State Shinto (Kokka Shintō). Shinto in this form remained intact until it was disestablished by the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in 1945.

State Shinto is the all-embracing appellation used primarily by post-war scholars to describe the interaction of Shinto and the Japanese state. State Shinto, as defined by most historians, denotes the Japanese government's utilization for political ends of the numerous bodies that comprised the Shinto religion. Furthermore, State Shinto has tended to be treated as a virtual institution, an unmalleable "engine of government" fixed on a definite track and fired by the zeal of Shintoists and political policy-makers who sought to use Shinto doctrines and institutions to control and mobilize the populace behind the Imperial state. The years 1868 to 1945 are designated the State Shinto period. However, as Professor Fridell points out, State Shinto, a general umbrella term coined in retrospect by modern scholars, is somewhat inadequate to describe the complexity of the religio-political element formed by the alliance of Shinto and the state. State Shinto, then, is best viewed from the standpoint of those who formulated the religious policies and must be analyzed also by an examination of its numerous component parts.
A pre-eminent Western scholar of Shinto, Professor Daniel Holtom, examines the religious development of the Shinto-state bond with a view to determining the causes of oppressive Shinto-fostered nationalism in pre-war Japan. To Holtom, State Shinto was "Japan's religion of conquest" and the primary force behind the rise of Japanese nationalism. The leading Japanese authority in this field, Professor Murakami Shigeyoshi examines State Shinto both to clarify the reasons behind the restrictions on freedom of religious belief in pre-war Japan and to warn against their recurrence. To Murakami, State Shinto was a prime evil, spawned in the Meiji period. Using a Marxist-oriented approach, he examines the political, economic and social determinants which underly religious change. However, by stressing religion as a social force, Murakami, to an extent, neglects the primarily religious (doctrinal and philosophical) motives behind the reintroduction of the saisei itchi construct and the consolidation of Shinto in the first five years of Meiji. Both scholars, furthermore, fail to stress the importance of the saisei itchi phenomenon as it was expressed in the early Meiji years, a period categorized by them under the heading State Shinto.

Viewed in the light of the pre-war and immediate post-war experience of the above authorities, the overall indictment of State Shinto is understandable. The Japanese state's exclusive support of one religion did have a
detrimental effect on the other religions of Japan. Emperor-centred militarism and nationalism utilizing Shinto-based Imperial ideology also resulted in political repression and the excesses of the disastrous Pacific war. Yet these views must be tempered by an analysis of State Shinto's various elements in order to clarify both the exact nature of the relationship of the political state with the various Shinto religious bodies as well as to show the effect of the state's intrusion into the religious sphere.

In an attempt to elucidate the exact nature of the relationship between Shinto and government in the first Meiji years, this thesis examines the alliance of Shinto with government from the standpoint of the then contemporary religious policy of saisei itchi. This policy is viewed herein as a distinct integral facet of early Meiji government. This thesis argues that there was a period in early Meiji when the relationship between Shinto and the Japanese state had a complexion different from the later State Shinto formulation. This period, little analysed from the viewpoint of the religio-political policy of the early Meiji leaders, may be called the saisei itchi period (1867-1872). This period is marked by the attempts of government leaders and Shinto intellectuals to elevate and disassociate Shinto from Buddhist doctrinal domination. At the same time efforts were made to establish a governmental structure founded upon the restoration of the ideals and model of the ancient Shinto-
based Imperial state.

After 1872 three further periods can be discerned as exemplifying the nature and degree of the state's interaction with Shinto. Between 1872 and 1877 the government sponsored a joint Shinto-Buddhist-Confucian educational programme for the promotion of the national goals of Emperor loyalty and patriotism. The period 1877 to around 1898 was characterized by an influx of Western enlightened ideas and a concomitant marked reduction of the government's stress on religion as a cohesive factor in national life. However, from the 1880's onwards several political moves were initiated which were to place the network of Shinto shrines into an official non-religious category. This designation was the first expression of the evolution of Shinto into the form of politically motivated State Shinto. Between 1895 and 1945, the fourth period, the character of the interaction of Shinto and the state became that of the complete domination of Shinto by political concerns. In this final period State Shinto was subservient to the dictates of the wider kokutai ideology and as such can be viewed as a virtual political instrument for the implementation of national goals. In light of the inconsistencies in pre-war Japanese governments' support and administration of Shinto and the divergent nature of the religio-political expressions of Shinto, the saisei itchi period is best examined separately on its own terms and not, as is usual, treated as an integral part of the
later State Shinto formulation.

Under *saisei itchi*, the term used in Imperial edicts of the day and by Shintoists in government, a direct government policy was disseminated by which the goals of the early Meiji state were identified with those of the Shinto religion. This unity, with its roots in an idealized past and strongly promoted by Restoration Shinto schools, had as its primary intent the creation of a religio-govern­mental structure in which *kami* rites and government administration were joined in the service of the Meiji Imperial state. Thus, the adoption of the *saisei itchi* ideal between 1868 and 1872, I argue, provided the early Meiji government with a firm religio-ideological foundation. To evaluate the essential distinction between *saisei itchi* and State Shinto, and to reassess the role of *saisei itchi* as an ancient religio-political ideal, a religious policy and an ideological basis for the Imperial theory of government, it is necessary to examine the nature of the relationship between Shinto and the central government administration in the first five years of the Meiji period.

To this end, therefore, Chapter 2 of this thesis outlines the origins of the *saisei itchi* model which pro­vided the inspiration for the government administrative structure that was re-established between 1869 and 1871. Chapter 3 traces the growth and development of Shinto thought which led to the revival of Shinto as an independent
religious entity, the systematization of Shinto ideology and the concomitant rise and influence of Restoration Shinto scholars in the years surrounding the Meiji Restoration. Chapter 4 examines the administrative, religious, institutional and legal mechanisms set up in the first five years of Meiji to promote saisei itchi. It will further raise the question of the degree of influence of Shinto ideology as well as that of the Restoration Shinto scholar-officials in the Shinto offices of the central government. The thesis concludes with a brief evaluation of the role and value of saisei itchi both as a religious policy and ideological formulation and in so doing presents a re-appraisal of saisei itchi which is placed outside the broader State Shinto construct.
CHAPTER 2

THE LEGACY OF ANCIENT JAPAN

Almost one thousand years before the Meiji Restoration the Japanese adopted and modified to their needs a series of administrative and legal codes (Ritsuryō), originally based on the model of T'ang China (618-906). These early codes were the source of and the inspiration for the religio-political institutions of early Meiji and provided the model for the central government administrative bodies set up in the first years of the Meiji Restoration. The general government structure of early Meiji, the ties between the throne, Shinto, and the central administrative institutions established between 1868 and 1871 were direct descendants of the administrative framework and kami ritual offices systematized in early Japan (eighth, ninth and tenth centuries).

To provide an overview of the origins of the religio-administrative structures of early Meiji government, this chapter will outline briefly the formation and systematization of the early administrative codes and the procedural instructions (engi) by which they were instituted. It will show which laws and institutions were revived as facets of the early Meiji saisei itchi model and in addition will examine the relationship between the throne and the establishment of kami worship rituals which provided the stabilizing link between the
political centre and the populace.

The origin and function of the saisei itchi construct

The loose collection of diffuse tribal chiefdoms by which the proto-historic period of Japanese history is characterized had, by the sixth century, evolved to form a relatively centralized state under a single ruler. This ruler, the hereditary chief of the leading clan (uji), owed his status, to a degree, by his claim of descent from the leading, most powerful kami of the native religion. Thus originated the close relationship between Shinto rites and the Imperial house. As the "task of government grew in weight and complexity,"¹ the religious element emerged as a force in the consolidation of the Japanese state. On the other hand, there developed a separation of the secular and sacerdotal aspects of central rule. Religious ritual duties were placed in the hands of hereditary liturgists while the administrative functions were given to civil functionaries. This division or dual nature of the central administration as it evolved from earliest times became a recognizable element of Japanese bureaucracy even before the importation of foreign administrative forms in the seventh century. "The earliest Japanese word for government is matsurigoto, which means religious observances."² This term denotes that the central administrators participated in kami rites and festivals as part of their duties. Kami worship, particularly the rites
held for the national deities, unified the dual aspects of
government and helped in the process of political central-
ization. Thus, to fully appreciate the historical develop-
ment of Japanese government, we must be cognizant of "the
dual nature of its background" as expressed by the secular,
civil and legal aspects and by the kami worship cult. It was
not, however, until the promulgation of the systematized
legal codes of the seventh and eighth centuries and, more
concretely, in the tenth century Engi shiki (Procedures of
the Engi Era) compilation that "these two streams [fully]
converge."

In the seventh century, with the aim of strengthening
the central bureaucracy vis a vis the influence of powerful
landowning families, T'ang dynasty administrative and legal
forms were imported by the Japanese rulers. In 646 the
influence of the Chinese model was reflected in the reform
edict of the second year of the "Great Change" (Taika).
This reform, however, was largely unsuccessful as it failed
to make accommodation for the particular duality between
the official Imperial kami worship and the secular administra-
tive and legal system which was a feature peculiar to the
Japanese scene. Consequently, in 702 the legal re-organiza-
tion known as the Great Treasure Penal and Civil Law Code
(Taihō ritsu-ryō) was instituted. The Taihō Code, and the
Yōrō Code drawn up in 718, provided the foundation for a
bureaucratic and legislative framework that was to remain,
though modified, until modern times. Indeed, the Yōrō Code
provided "the theoretical basis of government until the nineteenth century." Exact details of the Taihō Code have not survived. It is known, however, that in 702 "doctors of law were dispatched to the various provincial governments to explain it and see to its enforcement."  

As will be shown later, this type of proselytization was to be used in early Meiji by government teachers or propagators (senkyōshi).

By the mid-Nara Period (710-794) a centralized bureaucratic hierarchy and administrative structure had been established and the theory of Emperor-centred kami worship was universally accepted. This administrative system was to remain consistent, though for long periods ineffective, until Meiji. Indeed, Professor Robert Hall argues that these early law codes constituted a virtual constitution that was not pre-empted until the Meiji constitution of 1889.

The administrative structure set up by the ritsu-ryō

From China, the Japanese imported two distinct categories of law. They were ryō, the administrative code governing the workings of the various departments of the bureaucracy and ritsu, the penal codes. The Taihō and Yōrō ritsu-ryō exemplify the advances made in bureaucratic cohesion and also mark the culmination of Chinese influence on early Japanese administrative and legal forms. The basic difference from the Chinese model was the division of Japanese bureau-
cratic offices into two branches: civil and religious.

By the provisions of the Yōrō Code, a system of two councils (kan) and eight departments (shō) was set up. The later significance of the Yōrō Code lies in the fact that it provided the basic model for the saisei itchi administrative structure set up in 1869. Also, to a degree, the functions of the early departmental divisions found a parallel in the early Meiji administrative system.

The Yōrō Code structure was headed by the prestigious Jingikan (Council of Shinto Affairs) which supervised kami rites and festivals, Shinto shrines and priests as well as the maintenance of the registry of households. The Dajōkan (Council of State) was the chief secular administrative organ. Below these two bodies were the eight departments of state (hachi-shō). First in the order of bureaucratic rank came the Department of Central Affairs (nakatsukasa-shō) which was responsible for advising the ruler on ceremonial matters and approving Imperial rescripts. Second, the Department of Ceremonies (shikibu-shō) which maintained the registers of all officials and courtiers. Third in the bureaucratic hierarchy was the Department of Civil Administration (jibu-shō). The name of this department, however, belies its role which was mainly concerned with ritual and "religious observances...but these matters were among the principal functions of government." Fourth was the Department of Home Affairs (minbu-shō) which functioned as
the Department of the Interior and oversaw the collection of taxes. A Bureau of Statistics (kazue-ryō) was a subdivision of this department. Fifth was the Department of War (hyōbu-shō) and Sixth was the Department of Justice (gyōbu-shō) in charge of crime and punishment. Seventh was the Department of the Treasury (ōkura-shō) responsible for the setting of taxes and eighth was the Department of the Imperial Household (kunai-shō) which supervised the Imperial palace and landholdings.¹²

Within the ranks of the above offices the highest prestige was accorded those departments which dealt with the kami religion and the inner workings of the Imperial court. The Jingikan "was ranked above the civil branch in position because of its prestige and antiquity"¹³ and was the body in charge of all aspects of the kami religion and its practitioners. Several historians stress the supreme position accorded the Jingikan.¹⁴ Yet, as in Meiji, when this model was revived, the practicalities of political administration prevailed, albeit within the all-pervasive context of kami rites and festivals, and the chief officer of the Jingikan (jingi-haku), in fact, held a lesser position and rank than the Dajōkan head (dajōdaijin).¹⁵ To effect administrative efficiency, the two branches of government, civil and religious, were kept bureaucratically separate, though there was no theoretical division drawn between these two sectors. Administrative functions were fused in the form of the Emperor, Imperial rites and kami religious
ceremonies. Thus, at this level, there was a complete identity of the two spheres of administration.

The ancient emperors held a dual role in government. As the direct descendants of the chief national kami (Amaterasu ōmikami), they were the leading religious practitioners as well as the political head of the central bureaucracy. Thus, in the Nara Period and in the early Heian (794-897), Shinto or more accurately kami worship maintained a singular bond with government. Furthermore, a deity (kami) system was set up whereby the kami of powerful provincial families were ranked in status below that of the Imperial kami and thus a degree of homogeneity was brought to both Shinto religion and state governance. By stressing the legitimacy of the claim to supremacy of the ancient kami-descended Imperial line, the early Meiji leaders sought also to control the diverse local daimyō (feudal lords). Arguably, the main achievement of the early Meiji Dajōkan was the replacement of these local lords with a system of government-appointed provincial governors. The administrative structure recreated in early Meiji had close parallels with the administrative framework controlled by the ancient Dajōkan which headed a "bureaucratic pyramid made up of ministries (shō), important offices (shiki), bureaux (ryō), headquarters (fu), provincial (kuni) and district (kōri) governments." The stabilization of the ancient administrative structure characterized by the identity of kami rites and govern-
ment (saisei itchi) can be identified by the fact that the direction of Shinto rites and practices and the duties of political government "were committed to the same hands, religion (shūkyō) was regarded as the same thing as government (seiji)." Thus, civil government became placed firmly in the context of a religious world-view. The semi-mythical basis of civil legislation founded on religious concepts became prevalent in the Imperial edicts of the first Meiji years which harkened back to a mythological golden age. The primary sources of these beliefs were the Kojiki (Chronicles of Ancient Matters) and the Nihon shoki (Chronicles of Japan) compiled in the first decades of the eighth century. These works provided the major inspiration for the eighteenth and nineteenth century Shinto revival and supplied the mythico-historical basis for the claims by Revival Shintoists for the supremacy of the divinely descended Imperial line. Thus, in the nineteenth century there was a restoration of the religio-political legitimacy of the Imperial institution which roughly ten centuries previously had reached the apex of its influence, an influence accorded by the legal and administrative formulations of the ritsu-ryo period (c. 645-c.1167).

The Engi shiki and the Shinto shrine system

The Taihō and Yōrō-ryo were elaborated on in the tenth century by the formulation of additional categories of law.
One of these, the *shiki*, detailed the supplementary procedures and delineated the implementation of the earlier *ryō*. The first ten books of the *shiki* (Procedures) of the Engi era (901-922) dealt with measures for the employment of the *jingi-ryō* or the laws concerning *kami* worship, rites and festivals. These procedures were necessitated by the special dictates of the *kami* religion, specifically the relationship between the ubiquitous network of Shinto shrines and the central government authorities. The *Jingi-kan*, as the central administrative body governing Shinto, supervised the implementation of the expanded shrine system set out in the *Engi shiki*.

The *Engi shiki* recognized 3,132 seats of *kami*, the majority of which contained the tutelary *kami* of the leading families of the land. Two thousand eight hundred and sixty-one of these deities and their sacred precincts were formally designated as officially registered shrines. The Grand Shrine of Ise, seat of the *kami* of the Imperial house, was placed at the apex of what became a ranked hierarchy of shrines, graded into higher, middle and lower categories. Thus was effected the first major consolidation of the highly diverse Shinto shrine system.

Of special importance to the central government were the twenty-two official shrines which housed the national *kami*. These *kansha* (government or national shrines) were shrines which received favoured status and were directly supported by the government. *Kansha* provided a national
character to the kami rites carried out by the Imperial court government. The rites and festivals performed in the government-sponsored kansha included ceremonies for the protection of the state (kokka no sōshi) as a religiously conceived entity in which all kami were linked to the central kami of the Imperial lineage. The systematization of shrine Shinto, especially the ranking of the kami of the powerful provincial families below that of the Imperial house as well as the universal acceptance of the essential nature of kami rites, acted as a force for national consolidation and stability.

In 1868 with the official elevation of Shinto which accompanied the restoration of the Imperial house to national prominence, the shrine system was again formally re-established. Using the Engi shiki as the basic model, shrines were accorded ranks and placed under the direction of central government Shinto bodies. In 1869 the ancient Jingikan-Dajōkan administrative structure was re-erected and the ancient concepts of kokka no sōshi and saisei itchi became prevalent in Imperial edicts. The early Meiji government also became permeated with the ambience and forms of the ancient Shinto government structure, which were expressed by a return to the court dress and official ranks and titles as laid out in the early law codes.

It must be stressed, however, that the ritsu-ryō and the later Engi shiki were in effect attempts to consolidate
a society which became increasingly characterized by political and economic fragmentation. The early law codes, although they erected a remarkable political and economic structure, were never entirely successful when practically applied. From the end of the tenth century, in an era of competition between local warrior chiefs (bushi), there was a breakdown of the power of the central bureaucracy. The decentralized feudalism of the succeeding six centuries saw also the weakening of ties to the Imperial throne and their replacement by local allegiances.

Nevertheless, the basic framework set out in the ancient codes, though superseded, was never destroyed and remained in the form of the offices and ranks which governed the Imperial court. Shōgun, up to and including those of the Tokugawa family, held "quite modest offices in the Imperial government." During the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), the Imperial house had little political influence, yet "some shadow of authority was preserved" in the form of court-appointed ranks and titles which were prized for their prestige value by bakufu officials. Thus, to a degree, the central idea of the close inter-relationship between throne, civil bureaucracy and Shinto rites remained intact and was preserved in the form of the ritual practices and formal offices of the Imperial court.

Saisei itchi: the etymology of the ideal

From ancient times until around the mid-Heian period,
Japanese government had evolved to embody the two emerging streams: religious rites and civil law. This inter-relationship was a unique convergence of the sacred and the secular expressed in the rituals of the court and in the form of bureaucratic administration. The legal and ritual procedures of the *Engi shiki* show "the depth to which the idea of the state as [a] liturgical community had gone." The sacred religious basis for bureaucratic government was embodied in the ideal of *saisei itchi*. *Saisei itchi* can also be used to describe the form of hamlet and village social organization prevalent in Japan until modern times. At the local socio-economic level, *kami* rites and festivals centred around tutelary deities played a significant role in the social cohesion necessary in a rice-growing culture. At this level "there were no separate committees for shrine festivals and local government issues; both these things were dealt with by the same people."^25

The ideal of the state outlined in the *ritsu-ryo* was one of the inter-relationship of government and ritual worship. Although a distinction is implied by the dual aspects, civil and religious, ideally they were fused into one central organism, the state, which embodied both. The etymological derivation of the term *saisei itchi* (祭政一致) underlines this concept. The character *sai* (祭) meaning *kami* rites and the character *sei* (政) meaning government stem from the same conceptual root, *matsuru* which means
kami rites or religious festivals. That is, in Japanese the idea of religious worship (matsuru) is identified with civil government (matsurigoto). What is implicit here is the ideal of service to an authority in which both concepts are assimilated. Itchi (一) is usually rendered as "unity", but since no distinction was drawn between the two facets of rule, "identity" is perhaps a more appropriate translation. In the term saisei itchi, then, there is no distinction made between secular-civil affairs and religious observances.  

The samurai, who rose to overthrow the Tokugawa bakufu and replace it with an Imperial government, found themselves in 1868 with the problem of erecting a new national administrative structure. These leaders, albeit faced with the lack of a definable modern alternative, sanctioned the resurrection of the religio-political administrative formulation of the ritsu-ryo period and the accompanying ideal of saisei itchi. Once again Shinto became identified with government and acted as a force in the integration of the ideals of the Imperial house, the central bureaucracy and the nation.

The main impetus behind the movement to elevate Shinto in early Meiji was provided by the school of Restoration or Revival Shinto. The writings of this school contemporised the ancient myths and administrative theories of the Emperor-led state. Restoration Shinto theories, the culmi-
nation of a long complex evolution of Shinto thought into modern doctrinal form, advocated the revival of the ancient theocratic polity. Restoration Shinto adherents were highly influential, both in effecting the consolidation of Shinto in modern times and in providing the ideological and doctrinal theories utilized by the government in the first Meiji years to bolster Imperial rule. The next chapter, therefore, traces the growth and development of Shinto thought as it evolved to influence early Meiji leaders.
CHAPTER 3

THE SYSTEMATIZATION AND POLITICIZATION OF

SHINTO THOUGHT

With a view to explicating the basic tenets and assumptions as well as the religio-ideological motivation behind the elevation of Shinto in early Meiji, the rise of the Restoration Shinto school and the re-emergence of the ancient ideal of saisei itchi, this chapter presents a brief conspectus of the evolution of Shinto thought from medieval times. Shinto doctrine from the Nara period onwards developed under the overwhelming influence of Confucianism and Buddhism. This development, characterized at first by a compromise and amalgamation with these two systems, culminated in a strong reaction to both Buddhism and Confucianism which became viewed by Shintoists as 'foreign' religious influences. This chapter argues that the emergence of Shinto as a religio-ideological force in Meiji was the end product of an intellectual movement which strove to formulate a distinct and independent religious identity for Shinto. It argues, further, that the evolution of Shinto doctrines and the emergence of a religious self-definition for Shinto included the broad interpretation of ancient myths and religious practices to suit the necessities of doctrinal and political expediency.
The Shinto doctrines which proved essential as a religio-political justification for the restoration of the Meiji emperor which in turn resulted in the elevation of Shinto in the Meiji period were the product of an accretion of successive theoretical formulations, the unfoldment of which spanned over eight hundred years. Three primary characteristics of this development can be emphasized as being particularly conducive to the formation of Shinto ideology in its modern form. The first was the pre-emption of the religio-political status of Shinto by Buddhism. This took the form of the Ryōbu or Dual Shinto system consolidated from around the beginning of the Kamakura period (1185-1337). The second was the cumulative effect of the doctrinal formulations which developed as a reaction to the overwhelming influence of Buddhism and Confucianism. Third was the work of the historical researcher Motoori Norinaga and the politicization of Shinto based on an expansion of his religious theories by his ideological successor, Hirata Atsutani.

**Ryōbu Shinto (Dual Aspect Shinto)**

The history of Shinto from the Nara period onward is one of increasing interaction with Buddhism. Shinto was a major facet of central government and the Jingi-ryō (laws prescribing the form of kami ritual) placed "ceremonies for the kami in a different dimension from religions such
as Buddhism.\textsuperscript{1} Buddhism and Confucianism, therefore, as independent systems, were left to "satisfy the emotional and intellectual appetites"\textsuperscript{2} of those who sought to explore the wider spiritual postulates not contained in the \textit{kami} religion. Under Buddhist reformers such as Kūkai (774-835) and Saichō (767-822), large Buddhist sects increased in influence and provided sophisticated doctrines including the notions of karma, self-realization and salvation through faith which were lacking in Shinto. The forfeiture of the religio-political influence of Shinto from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, the result of the loss of political power by the court, was paralleled by the spread of esoteric Buddhism. The result was a virtually complete amalgamation of the magic rituals and fabulous festivals of Buddhism with shrine Shinto ceremonies. During the Kamakura period the Shinto accommodation of Buddhism was completely systematized. This amalgamation is called Ryōbu Shinto or Dual Aspect Shinto.

Under the influence of Ryōbu Shinto the \textit{kami} worship tradition carried out in the major Shinto shrines underwent a fusion of identity with the Buddhas of the pantheon of the Shingon sect. Shinto \textit{kami} thus became manifestations of these Buddhas. In this, the \textit{honji-suijaku} (original sources and manifest traces) system, Shinto \textit{kami} were relegated to the position of being mere off-shoots of the original thirteen Buddhas of Shingon. Buddhist doctrinal
explications, furthermore, placed kami worship in the context of Buddhist teachings whereby "the Buddha assumes a state in which kami and Buddha are not different things but are absolutely identical." The kami of Shinto shrines thereby were incorporated as part Shinto and part Buddhist and acquired a dual form and function which was consolidated under the Ryōbu Shinto construct.

Under this dual religious system both Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples were managed jointly by an amalgamated priest hood (shasō). The boundaries between Shinto and Buddhism thus became increasingly obscured. Parishioners drew little distinction between the two religions. The influence of Buddhism, however, imbued Shinto with the added dimension of speculative metaphysics and, importantly, inspired Shinto scholars with the motivation to construct independent doctrinal formulations with the aim of defining Shinto's historical role. Individual Shinto shrines also increasingly "sought to emphasize the distinctive capacities and lineage of their own kami...as well as the unique teachings and practices passed down in their shrine and schools." Thus, within the framework of the honji-suikaku amalgam which remained intact until the dramatic Shinto-Buddhist Separation of 1868, various independent Shinto religious theories were developed. This development can be viewed as a movement which not only evinced the resilience of native Shinto belief but also exemplified a growing
intellectual reaction to the Ryōbu Shinto system. The end product of this movement was the formation of a distinct, separate identity for Shinto, albeit a Shinto now enhanced by the religious philosophies of Confucianism and Buddhism.

The Shinto reaction to 'foreign' religious influences

The progressive development of Shinto doctrine can be categorized into four broad streams of thought. The first, in the final analysis, was an anti-Buddhist reaction which resulted in the emergence of an independent viewpoint which challenged the Ryōbu Shinto system. Most notable among the schools of this movement were those of Ise Shinto and the scholar Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293-1354).

Ise Shinto or Outer Shrine Shinto (Gegu Shinto) in the thirteenth century fabricated a set of forgeries which were purported to be the Five Ancient Classics of Shinto (Shintō gobusho). These works were regarded "as a treasury of pure Shinto teachings" and proved extremely influential to later Shinto scholars as a source of reference and inspiration. Building on earlier moral constructs which were drawn from Buddhism, Watari Nobuyoshi (1615-1690) stressed the primacy of Amaterasu Ōmikami as the central kami of the Shinto pantheon. Nobuyoshi, drawing heavily on Confucian concepts, was an ardent advocate of the Emperor-Shinto unity as the basis of good government.
The influence of the Ise school and the Five Classics of Shinto is evident in the work of Kitabatake Chikafusa. Kitabatake is renowned for his religio-political formulations written to provide doctrinal legitimacy for the claims to the throne of the exiled Emperor Go-Daigo (r. 1318-1339). In the *Jinnō shōtōki* (Records of the Legitimate Lineage of the Sacred Emperors) Kitabatake revived the notion of the ancient ideal age of Emperor-kami worship unity. His work outlined several key themes which were to recur in the works of Restoration Shinto. Namely, he defended the legitimacy of the Imperial line by tracing its origin to the kami Amaterasu. The emperors, he stressed, were destined to reign over a divine land which inherently could claim unique national qualities and a glorious ancient civilization. Unlike his successors, however, Kitabatake did not outwardly reject Confucianism and Buddhism. Instead, he held that these systems contained the "same essential principles" as Shinto.

Kitabatake's researches underline the utility of the Shinto heritage to bolster the Imperial cause and to provide an ethico-moral and political foundation for Imperial claims to power. Emperor Go-Daigo, for example, restored the state administrative structure and institutions of the ritsu-ryō system. Kitabatake's causal explanation of Japanese history provided a rationale for Imperial restoration backed by Shinto theories. This intellectual approach was taken by the Shinto revivalists who sought to elevate the Emperor
Meiji and of whom Kitabatake was a principal forerunner.

Several of Kitabatake's themes recur in the work of the Shinto scholar Yoshida Kanemoto (1435-1511) who advocated a doctrine of pure and original Shinto called Yui-shinto (Only One or Primal Shinto). Kanemoto reversed the assertions of Buddhist supremacy inherent in the Ryōbu system of honji-suijaku. Thus, rather than the Shinto kami being the manifestation of original Buddhas, the kami were the originals and the Buddhas the apparent manifestations, as Kanemoto stressed in a theological volte face. The work of Kanemoto, like that of the Ise school, offers a broad interpretation of the role and position of the kami in the Buddhist schema to suit the dictates of his particular postulates.

Kanemoto's work re-emphasizes also the major concerns of Kitabatake in that he stressed the unique pre-eminence of Japan, the divinely descended Imperial line and Shinto. He claimed that "all foreign doctrines are offshoots of Shinto." Kanemoto's philosophy, albeit molded in the crucible of Confucianism and Buddhism, was defended and enhanced by later Shintoists. It represents the end of "the long period of Shinto apprenticeship to alien ideologies." Henceforth, Shinto scholars would attempt bold theological interpretations from a more independent standpoint.
The Confucian-Shinto amalgamation

In the late fifteenth century the second broad philosophical stream emerged in the form of the adaptation of Shinto theories by Confucian scholars who "used Confucian ideas to enrich the significance of the Imperial symbols of sovereignty."12 Utilizing Confucian notions, such as loyalty to the virtuous ruler and the concept of do (the way, which was interpreted to mean the way of the kami "as a political or moral norm"13), Shinto thought became tied more closely to the political justifications of the state.

The Shinto scholar Ichijō Kaneyoshi (1402-1481) stressed the Confucian virtues were both inherent in Shinto and provided a sound basis for Imperial government. Kaneyoshi's political philosophy strongly influenced the Meiji Restoration Shinto movement.14 The value of Confucian loyalty in providing socio-political stability is thoroughly exemplified by Tokugawa rule. The work of Hayashi Razan (1583-1657), leader of the school of government-sponsored orthodox Confucianism, expanded upon Shinto doctrine in an attempt to thwart the influence of Buddhism in government. Although Hayashi's influential school "destroyed the old Shinto subservience to Buddhism",15 Shinto remained defined in Confucian terms. With the writings of Yamazaki Anzai (1618-1682), Confucian Shinto (Suika Shintō) reaches its apogee. His combination of the utilitarian socio-political
values of Confucian reverence and loyalty to the ruler with the *kami* worship ideal was "expressed through [the concept of] devotion to their living embodiment, the Emperor." Yamazaki, however, failed to provide an adequate intellectual reasoning for his juxtaposition of the "disparate elements" in Shinto and Confucianism. Thus, like many scholars in the early development of Shinto thought, he resorted to rather abstract justifications for his theories. Nevertheless, his work underlines the themes and issues which were to gather momentum in the hands of succeeding Shinto scholars, specifically, the formulation of independent Shinto doctrines based on the idea of the unity of Emperor reverence and *kami* worship.

Of importance also is the fact that Japanese Confucian scholars came to view the Emperor as being unconstrained by any Mandate from Heaven. Unlike the Chinese emperor who remained a chief priest in the religious sphere, the Japanese emperor acquired the qualities of a divinity (*kami*). Imperial communications in the form of edicts, which became so essential to Meiji governance, were to Confucian Shintoists more than a political mechanism; to them, "an Imperial order was the Mandate from Heaven." The revival of notions of Imperial divinity gave an impetus to the work of later scholars who increasingly came to view the shōgun as a mere delegate to the throne, and so furnished the enemies of the *bakufu* with the political weapon with which it was ultimately dispatched."
Kokugaku (National Learning) and the Shinto Revival

The work of the Shinto scholars in general developed a tradition of formal research into the records of ancient Japan. Drawing on this methodology and recognizing its validity, the Kokugaku movement rose to reject "the secular rationalism of Confucianism." Exemplifying the third general category of the development of Shinto thought, Kokugaku typifies the process whereby the politics of revolution became imbued with religious concerns. That is, the intellectual formulations which provided the bridge between social and politically accepted norms and revolutionary action to change these norms became consolidated in the writings of the Kokugaku school. This movement after 1800 continued to amplify the chief concerns found in the works of previous Shinto scholars. That is, they stressed the elevation of the Emperor, Shinto and the state as a national entity. Kokugaku scholars, however, brought an added depth to these themes through the validity of their highly respected scholarship. In the hands of these scholars, Shinto "as Japan's indigenous religion finally emerged complete both in name and in fact." The decisive difference between the Kokugaku position and those of its predecessors lay in the fact that it sought to construct theoretical formulations for Shinto which were free of the influence of Confucianism and Buddhism. Kokugaku scholars "rejected all metaphysics as
foreign importations and insisted on a literal belief in the ancient myths as contained especially in the Kojiki." They repudiated much of the work of the Confucian Shintoists as inaccurate, but nevertheless expanded upon the ancient notion of the Emperor as a manifest kami (arahito-gami) and Shinto as kanagara no michi (the way as it is with the gods).

The most significant influence of Kokugaku scholarship was in their hermeneutic explications drawn from philological and literary researches. The work of Kada Azumaru (1669-1736) and Kamo Mabuchi (1697-1769) expanded upon Yoshida Kanemoto and Kitabatake's conceptions of the purity of Shinto, the divine land and divine emperor. Their work represents a definitive revival of Shinto. This renaissance of Shinto thought reached a pinnacle with the linguistic clarifications (of ancient textual sources) of Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801). His translation of the Kojiki into the Japanese language of his day added to the canon of Revival Shinto. A centrally directed Shinto shrine administration (jingi-gyōsei) under the Imperial house "was a dream of Motoori" who consequently stressed the primacy of the unbroken Imperial line and the goddess Amaterasu who, he claimed, had accorded a special destiny upon a superior Japanese people and culture.

Motoori is much criticized for his "fulsome formulas" which exaggerated the supremacy of Japanese traditions. In his defense, if one is necessary, it must be pointed out
that he was an inordinately dedicated scholar whose intellectual response to the domination of Confucian thought, though exaggerated, was due perhaps to the frustration of a genius who sought to formulate an intrinsically pure Japanese literary and linguistic tradition but had to do so within the context of "the dominion of Chinese ideas and forms of expression." The main achievement of the Kokugaku school was in its provision of the Shinto revival movement with an ideological foundation drawn from indigenous Japanese sources. This "ideological arsenal" was to be used successfully in the cause of the restoration of the Emperor in Meiji.

**Restoration or Revival Shinto**

The inheritor of the mantle of Motoori was Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) who, though highly influenced by the work of the Kokugaku researchers, developed in the late Tokugawa period the much more directly politicized school of Restoration Shinto (Fukko Shintō). If Motoori was the eminence gris of the earlier Shinto revival, Atsutane was the enfant terrible of the movement to restore or revive the glories of the ancient Shinto tradition. He advocated Shinto's role as that of the primary religion of Japan destined to return to a leading position in the state governing construct. Government, he stated, should be that of rule by the Imperial court which headed the earthly manifestation of the realm of the kami. However, his
claims of Shinto supremacy and "kami-descended emperors as rulers of the world" were at times irrational and contrived. Atsutane's theories, nevertheless, reflected a new realism and a degree of idealism and were expressed in relatively easily understood language. This, an innovative step in the intellectual discourse of the day, brought a much wider audience to the writings and lectures of Atsutane and also endowed his works with the capacity for projecting "the felt perceptions of those social groups which had not been represented in the formalized consciousness of Tokugawa Japan." These groups, for example, lower ranked samurai, rich commoners as well as Shinto priests, were inspired by Atsutane's moral view that the evil in the world (specifically, the severe strictures of Tokugawa life) was rectifiable by the actions of man. Furthermore, his complex theological constructions imbued the theories of Motoori with a directly religious aspect and provided a more universally appealing theological dimension to Shinto. His doctrine was an eclectic compromise of both native and foreign religious traditions, a fact that engendered considerable criticism in the 1870's by those who opposed the influence of Hirata school teaching in government educational programmes.

In the atmosphere of social and political tension caused by the internal and external threats to shōgunal authority that characterized the bakumatsu period (1853-
1868), the teachings of Hirata, especially his advocacy of the superiority of Shinto, the Imperial line and the Japanese as a people, acquired a more immediate political aspect. His doctrine, promoted by his successor Hirata Kanetane (1799-1880), placed shōgun and daimyō in a position of ethico-moral subservience to the throne. Furthermore, many in all walks of life saw the work of the Hirata school as a direct summons for socio-political reform. At the time of Atsutane's death there were 1,330 active disciples within the Hirata school and from the 1860's onwards under Kanetane the number grew extensively. This following, which by 1868 numbered 4,000 adherents, "produced some of the 'men of high purpose' (shishi) of the Meiji Restoration" who sought the political revival of the Emperor and the downfall of the bakufu. The Hirata school became a prime force in the general Shinto revival of the late Tokugawa period and became highly influential when allied to the political movement which sought to replace shōgunal rule by a restoration of the Imperial house. Under leaders like Kanetane, Restoration Shinto formed a direct link with the court and Restoration Shinto-ists vigorously petitioned Imperial officials to promote the revival of the saisei itchi model of government and the ancient Jingikan. These petitions were to prove effective and saisei itchi was adopted in 1868 as the mainstay of the new government's policy on religion.
Hirata school adherents also were accorded official positions in the revived Shinto administrative offices of the central government. Thus, in the first years of the era the Meiji leaders upheld a political theory based on the model of ancient Japan revivified by the ideas of Restoration Shinto. This thought incorporated a Confucian view of the state with the ancient Shinto based notion of the identity of political government and kami worship. \textit{(saisei itchi)}.

The development of Shinto thought, which was expressed in the doctrinal formulations of numerous scholars from around the beginning of the Kamakura era to the \textit{bakumatsu} period, is one of amalgamation and compromise with imported religio-ethical systems. The conclusions drawn herein are that this evolution exemplifies a consistent effort to both re-appraise Shinto beliefs in terms of the other great religions of Buddhism and Confucianism and to utilize the knowledge gained from this re-appraisal in order to formulate a distinct self-identity for Shinto as an independent religious system. Shinto thought, therefore, evolved within a philosophical matrix of diverse ideologies which, though distinct, became integrated and were manipulated to fit the framework of the broad interpretations of ancient myths and religious practices which comprise the Shinto religion.

Over a period of eight centuries the theanthropic kami worship of Japan acquired a set of theological con-
structs which became relevant when applied in the religious and political context. That is, the four general streams of Shinto thought converged in the resurgence and systematization of the ethos of the Emperor worship-state duality expressed by the ideal of saisei itchi. Furthermore, Shinto theories revitalized, expanded and manufactured in Tokugawa times became an ideological legitimizing factor for the Meiji Restoration. The ethico-moral constructs of Shinto provided the rationalizations for superceding and breaking established ties and loyalties. Thus, this politicized Shinto became a dynamic element in socio-political transformation. Shinto intellectuals, then, had formulated the ideology by which Shinto allied to the Imperial cause ceased being dormant and acquired a strong identity as the religion which made "more explicit the moral basis of [political] action." The position and role of Shinto historically was dependent upon the political position of the Imperial house to which it was by definition inextricably linked. Thus, Revival Shinto, exalting the ideals of the ancient liturgical state, became the instrument which provided the ideological unity which lent an added impetus to the many-faceted restoration movement. Shinto doctrine, then, became utilized on an ideological level by political activists as "the link between action and fundamental belief." The influence of Shinto ideology on the politics of the Imperial restoration can be measured by the degree to
which the Shinto revivalist theory of the identity of Shinto with the Imperial state was adopted by the new Meiji government. The political application of this identity as expressed by the ideal of saisei itchi is discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 4

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAISEI ITCHI

The previous two chapters have shown saisei itchi both as the administrative model of the ancient theocratic state construct and as an essential paradigm in the development of Shinto as a modern ideology. These two aspects of saisei itchi, that is, as an administrative model and as a religio-political theory of state, became prevalent in the early Meiji years. Saisei itchi furthermore was promoted as the religious policy of the government and consequently became the inspiration for the revitalization of the Shinto religious structure. This chapter, therefore, deals with the political establishment of the saisei itchi model from an institutional and legal standpoint. That is, it examines the administrative mechanisms and legislation whereby the ideological ideal of saisei itchi was applied as both a religious policy and as part of the early Meiji political and administrative construct. Further, this chapter, by analyzing the programmes and personnel of Shinto administrative bodies, examines the influence of Restoration Shinto groups in the promotion of the early Meiji religious policy. This chapter argues that the saisei itchi ideal as expressed in contemporary Imperial edicts and other legislative measures formed a consistent religious policy in the first few years of Meiji. Since the religious goals of Shintoists coincided with the aim
of national socio-political cohesion stressed by the political leaders, Shinto as a religious institutional structure was re-established as the religious arm of the identity of religion and government. The result of this identity, I posit, which culminated in the revival of ancient administrative forms in 1869, placed early Meiji government to a considerable degree in a thorough-going religious context.

Part One: The Re-instatement of the Imperial House 1867 - 1868

By the 1860's the pro-Shinto intellectual movement became directly active in the debate surrounding the problem posed by the incursion of foreign navies into Japanese waters. In the fifteen years which had elapsed since the visit of Commodore Perry's 'black ships' to Edo Bay in 1853, there had been a gradual decline in shōgunal power. The weaknesses of bakufu leaders became accentuated by inability to find an acceptable solution to the demands of foreign powers. The Imperial court also, as a traditional legitimizing body for the central political ruler, became involved with the fate of a Japan now exposed to the vagaries of the international politics of imperialism. In an atmosphere of general Shinto revival and moves to restore the religious authority of the throne, Emperor Komei (r. 1847-1867) in 1853 journeyed to the Grand Shrine
of Ise, seat of the ancestral goddess of the Imperial line. There he requested divine intervention against the threat posed by foreign 'barbarians'. Amaterasu Ōmikami, however, failed to intervene. Nor did she produce an equivalent of the kamikaze (divine winds) which had so effectively destroyed the Mongol invasion six centuries earlier. Instead, the goddess and the Imperial symbol became the figureheads around which the anti-bakufu forces rallied. The Shōgun Keiki in turn "sought council from the Imperial court and the feudal lords on the momentous problem presented by the demands of Commodore Perry."²

By 1867 the bakufu was in serious trouble. In the face of modern change many of the socio-economic and political constructs of the two hundred-year-old bakuhan system were crumbling. In short, "the shōgun's rule was disintegrating, was not sufficiently national, was resented."³ In this atmosphere of national insecurity, political tension and, to a degree, social fragmentation, new voices rose to demand a part in the decision-making process. To the majority the national dilemma was viewed as a "struggle to determine the future of the Imperial institution and the Tokugawa family."⁴ At the same time, however, political decision-making was restricted to the hands of a narrow political elite. Among the masses many "did not even realize there was an Emperor."⁵ It
was among the educated, elitist factions, then, that the anti-shōgun pro-Emperor struggle was carried out.

Injected into the movement to reassert Imperial authority were two primarily religious factors which were to prove of crucial import in the re-establishment of the Emperor to national prominence. The first was Shinto which provided the inherent legitimacy for stressing the supremacy of the divinely descended Imperial line as well as the inspiration for the revival of the ancient theory of Shinto government unity (*saisei itchi*). This unity was deemed desirable by both court and rebel han leaders as a bulwark to the Imperial cause. A unified national political system exemplified by a Shinto-state-Emperor construct with throne at its apex was for the first five years of Meiji a chief goal of government leaders in the aftermath of political upheaval.

The second factor was the active participation in the Imperial cause of Restoration and Revival Shinto groups in Kyoto in the 1860's. These men, chiefly of the Hirata school, were to have an influential role in the formation of the religious policies adopted by the court. The religio-ideological aspect proved to be of essential worth to the Imperial cause. This ideology in the main was promoted by Restoration Shinto schools, members of which were influential in court circles from the 1860's onwards.
Hirata school scholars tutored the court on Revivalist Shinto doctrines. These teachers disseminated the theory of Emperor-Shinto identity that had been an intrinsic part of ancient Japanese government. Restoration Shinto ideas, then, became part of a planned programme by courtiers and intellectuals who sought to restore the Emperor to political prominence. Consequently, Restoration Shinto ideologues became instrumental in the formation and implementation of the religious policy of saisei itchi.

In November 1867, Shōgun Keiki, having failed to quell the rising tide of reformist zeal or gain the support of the court, submitted his resignation to the throne. Keiki's letter expressed the need for a strong centralized authority to effect political control and counter the impending danger of "foreign intercourse." The shōgun proposed that if the old order of things be changed then administrative authority be restored to the Imperial court. Keiki, thus, recognized the Imperial symbol and court as a still vital element in national governance. Under the leadership of the court, he stated, national political cohesion and unified government could be achieved. On November 12, 1867, the shōgun's resignation was accepted by the perfunctory statement: "Tokugawa Keiki's proposal to restore the administrative authority to the Imperial court is accepted by the Emperor." On January 3, 1968 the sixteen year-old Emperor, the singular unifying symbol in the nation, proclaimed his restoration to power.
Political and religious factions in and behind the first Meiji government

The events surrounding the Imperial restoration from the early 1860's to the winter of 1867 are characterized by intricate political maneuvering and complex machinations by numerous political interest groups. The first five years of Meiji, indeed, comprise a rather gray area in Japanese history, one "difficult to chart" with complete accuracy. Three factions, however, can be discerned as emerging as predominant in the new government structure. The first and militarily most important was the young samurai administrators who made "the vital decisions" in their own domains and who led the armies of Chōshū, Satsuma and Tosa against the Tokugawa house. Notably, Kido Kōin, Ōkubo Toshimichi and Saigō Takamori held a resentment for the Tokugawa that "was almost pathological in its intensity." Together with the courtier Iwakura Tomomi, they formed the tō-baku (anti-bakufu) faction which sought no compromise with the bakufu. The samurai who were the leading political policy makers in early Meiji utilised the Imperial personage as the rallying symbol for their cause. Thus, political problems became intermingled with the status of the Emperor and his Shinto heritage.

The second predominantly successful faction was com-
posed of those nobles who supported the moves to increase the political power and religious prestige of the throne, moves which brought them into the centre of the political scene. They thus fostered the ideals of Emperor-Shinto elevation, were "allies of the tō-baku faction" and were greatly influenced by the ambitious and forceful Prince Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883). Iwakura was ardently "priest-minded", that is, he was "strongly influenced by the Kokugaku scholar Tamamatsu Misao" of the Hirata school and was desirous of the return of the religious authority of the Emperor on a national scale. Iwakura with fellow nobleman Sanjō Sanetomi (1837-1891) is credited (and blamed) for the promotion of the absolutist pro-Shinto religious policy and its acceptance in court circles and for his support of the Restoration Shinto ideal of saisei itchi. The initial success of "this policy was due to Iwakura Tomomi and Sanjō Sanetomi who were [to become] central figures in the new government." Iwakura "was representative of the [ideals] of the restoration [tō-baku] faction" which he led with considerable authority. Iwakura had the foresight and insight to recognize the possibilities of harnessing the nation under the Imperial symbol backed by a centrally directed unity of Shinto and the state. He was, if any one man was, chiefly responsible for the saisei itchi revival in the first Meiji years.
The third faction was that comprised of Restoration Shinto scholars, primarily those of the Hirata school. Members of this group were close advisors to Iwakura and to several strongly pro-Shinto daimyō. The daimyō most prominent in the promotion of Shinto were Kamei Koremi (1823-1885) of Tsuwano han and Matsudaira Yoshinaga of Echizen. Yoshinaga was a strong pro-Shinto advocate, fanatically anti-Buddhist and anti-Confucianist. He was among the first daimyō to undermine the Tokugawa sankin-kōtai system (enforced residence in Edo) and his defection to the Imperial cause considerably weakened the shogunate.17 As head of the early Meiji University (daigakō Betto) in 1869, he wielded considerable influence in education.

Kamei Koremi held high office in the major Shinto administrative institutions of the central government and had as his chief advisor Fukuba Bisei (1831-1907) who was an extremely influential force in the Hirata school. From around the mid-nineteenth century Tsuwano had carried out religious reforms to strengthen the han economy at the expense of Buddhism and to increase the influence of Shinto. In the late Tokugawa period similar restrictions on Buddhist influence and moves to elevate Shinto had been carried out by pro-Shinto reformers in Satsuma under Shimazu Nariakira, in Okayama under Ikeda Mitsumasa and in Mito under Tokugawa Mitsukuni. The reforms were mainly in the form of the reduction of the number of
Buddhist temples, the taking over of temple property to increase han finances and the utilization of Shinto shrines to replace Buddhist temples as centres of family registration.\textsuperscript{18}

From the 1850's Hirata school influence acquired an increasing impact among intellectuals of the Kokugaku movement in general. Importantly, also, they tutored the court and Emperor in the ancient texts and acted as close advisors to politically influential daimyō. The Hirata school and its branches were centred around Hirata Kanetane in Kyoto during the decade of the 1860's. Kanetane had over four thousand adherents who were drawn from a broad spectrum of the well-to-do sections of society, including "upper- and middle-class merchants and artisans, lower-class warriors, and in farm villages rich farmers, local capitalistic landlords, and Shinto priests."\textsuperscript{19} Thus, as suggested earlier, the politicized aspect of Hirata school doctrine greatly inspired those classes of Tokugawa society who felt stifled by the social circumscription and lack of political mobility inherent in bakufu rule. However, by the mid-1860's the ranks of the Hirata school had swollen to include upper-class samurai as the majority of new converts. These men found in the teachings of Hirata a religio-intellectual buttress to the political movement which sought to end bakufu domination.\textsuperscript{20}

The adherents of the Hirata school, though not the only intellectual force behind the restoration of Emperor
Meiji, became "without doubt the most important." 21 In the late Tokugawa period, the Shinto intellectual movement became highly politicized and advocated a return to the saisei itchi Jingikan-Dajōkan administrative system of the ancient liturgical state. It was anti-Buddhist and became closely aligned with the movement to return the Emperor to political and religious authority. By means of lectures, petitions and personal presentations, the followers of Hirata "found a hearing in the court in Kyoto, about the Emperor, most importantly in Prince Iwakura." 22 In due course, in the first years of Meiji, from positions in high-level government offices, members of the Hirata school were to promote Shinto concerns and pro-Shinto religious policies. Fujitani Toshio, a leading authority on the Emperor system, states that Hirata school adherents were the people at the heart of the government's religious policy, were close confidants of Iwakura and Sanjō who in turn were responsible for the placing of Kokugaku scholars into positions of power. 23 As a whole, then, from around 1850 to 1867 Hirata school members were active on the political level as advisors to han policy makers and pro-Shinto courtiers and from 1868 to 1872 held government offices from which they promoted the elevation of Shinto to its former position of national prominence.
The Jingikan revival movement

The various schools of Restoration Shinto which stressed the necessity of a return to the ancient Jingikan-Dajōkan administrative structure thus promoted the religious ideology and religious policies of Revival Shinto as a firm political goal. Indeed, the political moves by Shintoists between 1840 and 1869 can be viewed as a gradual process for the restoration of the Jingikan to its former political prominence. This was achieved in August, 1869.

As stated above the revival of Shinto took its first political form in the actions of pro-Shinto daimyō. Shinto also, as allied to the religio-political authority of the throne, became more indirectly involved in the anti-foreign movements from the 1840's onwards. In Kyoto in 1847 and in 1849 Emperor Komei held Shinto rites in which it was proclaimed that to achieve national peace all foreigners should be expelled. Imperial messengers were sent to relay this message to the twenty-two major Shinto shrines of the nation. In 1863 having achieved a degree of consolidation, the anti-Tokugawa forces acted on a recommendation by the leaders of Chōshū han which proposed the utilization of the Emperor and Shinto rites in the anti-foreign cause. The Shinto ceremonies which were carried out Ise Shrine, the Imperial court and the twenty-two
national shrines were those of the Muromachi period (1392-1568). Late Muromachi Shinto was predominantly that of the Yoshida school which followed the doctrinal formulations of Yoshida Kanemoto. Thus, in 1865 the Yoshida family was again brought to prominence as part of the Emperor Komei's policy for the restoration of major shrine festivals. The leader of the Yoshida school Yoshida Ryōgi (1821-1888) was to hold high office in various Shinto offices of the Meiji government. The revival of the influence of Yoshida Shinto brought back "an era of Shinto prosperity and was a positive development in the re-establishment of the influence of the Jingikan." 25

The recommendation by Chōshū that Muromachi Shinto be promoted by the Imperial house met with opposition from Imperial court nobles and Restoration Shinto scholars who proposed that the court restore the rites of the ancient Jingikan as laid out in the Engi shiki. 26 This difference in opinion as to the religious model to be adopted was also reflected in arguments over the choice of political structure to be adopted to replace the bakufu. According to one authority, both the Chōshū and Satsuma daimyō held that the "ideal government was that of the end of the sixteenth century." 27 This system was that of national rule by a council of five leading daimyō. Many of the younger samurai of Chōshū, Satsuma and Tosa, who were the mainstay of the Meiji Restoration and whose primary goal was that of national consolidation under a strong central authority, maintained that the best government was that of
the Confucian conception of rule by men of virtue who would comprise "a council of elders [but in which] popular opinion was consulted in various ways." The late Muromachi model was also opposed by Restoration Shintoists and several pro-Emperor daimyō who sought the revival of the pre-feudal Imperial bureaucracy. This proposal "was not only radical, but revolutionary in its proposition, inasmuch as it aimed at the abolition of the shōgunate and even of the daimiates." There was, then, considerable discussion among the various political factions as to the administrative form of the first Meiji government. By the 1860's the Jingikan revival movement gained in momentum and strongly promoted a return to the administrative model of the ancient Imperial bureaucracy. Indeed, the term Dajōkan which originated in the ancient structure was used from the beginning as the general name for the early Meiji central government.

In July 1867, the Iwakura to-baku faction sought advice from Hirata Kanetane on the subject of religious administrative forms. Kanetane in a "secret memorial" to the Iwakura group "set forth an eight clause political programme for the revival of the Jingikan." Kanetane also recommended the removal of all ties between Buddhism and the Imperial court. In December 1867, a detailed policy for the "unity of worship and administration (saisei itchi), centred on Shintoism" was presented to the court by Yano Gendo (1823-1887). Gendo, a leader of the Hirata school, strongly promoted the return
of the Shinto administrative bodies of the ancient bureaucracy. Thus, the theories of Motoori and Hirata Atsutane found an influential following at the highest levels of political power. Particularly influential was Iwakura's principal advisor Tamamatsu Misao (1810-1872) who was an Hirata school advocate and student of Ōkuni Takamasa (1792-1871) of Tsuwano. Ōkuni also acted as advisor to the prominent courtier Tokudaiji Sanenori (1838-1919) who was to hold highly influential posts in Meiji departments of Home Affairs.

Another pro-Shinto figure who was to hold high office in early Meiji governments and who played a key role in the formation and enactment of Shinto religious policies was Maruyama Sakura (1840-1944). A Shimabara samurai and pupil of Hirata Kanetane, Sakura was a leading force in the Jingikan revival movement. The restoration of the Jingikan "was a life-long heart-desire of Sakura." \(^{32}\) and one which he strove for long after the early Meiji Jingikan had come and gone. He was an ardent exponent of the adoption of ancient court ritual forms and ranks. Sakura was closely associated with Iwakura in the formation of early Meiji Shinto administrative bodies and, as a Restoration Shinto intellectual, he upheld "the Jingikan restoration as the spiritual fulcrum" \(^{33}\) of their ideas.

On August 17, 1867 the first religio-political conception of the new government was indicated by a statement issued by the court which called for a revival of the ancient Imperial
bureaucracy. This statement read: "It is our desire to restore the respective traditional [Shinto] ceremonies of the Dajōkan and restore the Jingikan." This was a clear statement of the formal adoption in central government circles of a policy to re-instate the Jingikan and led to the establishment of the Jingi-ka (Shinto Office) in the central government in February 1868. On December 7, 1867 a group of leading courtiers presented to the throne a definite proposal for the official establishment of the ancient Jingikan-Dajōkan structure. This was formally accepted as court policy and the first Imperial edict called for a return to the system of saisei itchi.

Part Two: Initial Experimentation with Administrative Forms 1868-1869

The administrative mechanisms by which Shinto was introduced as part of the institutional structure of the early Meiji state were formed by a gradual process characterized by a consistent experimentation with governmental forms. From the beginning of 1868 and the victory of the to-baku faction, the central authorities issued a stream of orders for socio-political and religious change. 1868 was a year of political experiment, resurrection and innovation. Major political and administrative innovations were announced by means of Imperial edicts expressed in the terminology of the ancient Imperial state. The Imperial edicts, nevertheless,
however much couched in nostalgic Shinto-state rhetoric, did exemplify the tenor of the time which was that of a desire to recreate the ideal of ritual purity and administrative clarity of the idealized ancient structure. However, the exact form this construct was to take in modern times was, in early 1868, uncertain. From 1868 to 1872, nevertheless, "public opinion conceived of direct Imperial rule as a going back to the ancient Japanese past." 36

The court leaders, especially Iwakura and Sanjō, supported by Restoration Shinto groups upheld a religious policy which would advance the establishment of *saisei itchi*. In upholding the profoundly religious view of the throne and its place in government, Iwakura stated that the Emperor was identical with heaven and descended from a continuous heavenly lineage; "consequently, the path of *saisei itchi* was clearly a celebration of something which proceeded from a divine source." 37

In 1868 the samurai leader, Kido Kōin, as his diary attests, was at first overawed by the proximity of the Imperial personage with whom he formed a close and practical friendship. Kido also understood and supported all efforts to elevate the Imperial symbol. 38 Both court and samurai leaders realized the advantage of promoting Shinto, both to bolster the status of the central government and to inculcate a national allegiance to the throne by means of a universal Shinto ideology. They also saw the utility, in face of a lack of acceptable modern alternatives, of the re-introduction
of the legal and administrative codes of the seventh and eighth centuries.

Shinto rites and festivals quickly predominated to become a hallmark of all major legislative and institutional reform. These transformations were invariably presented by means of Imperial edicts heralded amid the fanfare of Shinto ceremonies presided over by the Emperor. Thus, the political promulgation of new laws was placed in the context of religion. Shinto added the dimension of divine authority and mystical import to the regal solemnity of these occasions. This aspect of legislative pronouncements was extended also to all forms of secular reform. The Emperor "spoke less like a modern chief of state than like the ancient sage-king." Shinto, then, which provided the sacred authority and prestige to kingship, also played a major role in the introduction and acceptance of socio-political as well as religious change.

The Shichi-ka (Seven Offices of State) administrative reform and the establishment of the Jingi-ka (Shinto Office)

On January 3, 1868 the anti-shōgunate (tō-baku) faction took command of the political situation centred around the courtiers, daimyō and samurai assembled at the Imperial court in Kyoto. It was at this juncture that Iwakura began to take control. He "knew precisely what he wanted to do and how he wanted to do it." Iwakura and his
advisors drafted a considerable number of legislative and administrative proposals as well as the Imperial Restoration Edict. The Restoration Edict of January 3, proclaiming the return to power of the Imperial house, was composed after seeking the advice of Yano Gendō, a primary advocate of saisei itchi. The rescript was the first political declaration of the new regime. It contained the first public announcement of the importance to be placed on Shinto religio-political constructs by the new government.

The Emperor also on January 3, following guidelines set out by Iwakura, announced the establishment of the first of several administrative structures. This, the San šoku (Three Offices of Government) system, was composed of a sōsai (President or chief executive officer), a council of gijo (senior or concillors first class) and under this, a junior executive body comprised of sanyo (junior or councillors second class). At this early period, the final decision on the form of government administrative bodies lay with the Iwakura faction which also was closest to the court and the members of which, as gijo, held the effective reins of power. As far as religious policy was concerned, the Iwakura group received the direct support of those Shintoists given office in the San šoku structure. These included the gijo Shirakawa Sukenori and Yoshida Ryögi of the traditional orthodox Shinto families both of whom were also of court rank.
The more progressive Shinto schools were represented by, among others, the sanyo Hirata Kanetane and the daimyō Kamei Koremi and Shimazu Tadayoshi of Satsuma who also held gijō rank.

By February 1868, with the defeat of the Tokugawa forces at the Battle of Toba-Fushimi, and thus in an atmosphere of increased security and confidence, the Imperial council was in a position to re-organize the administrative structure along more systematic and effective lines. On February 10, 1868 the San shoku system was replaced by six administrative offices (ka). These were a Home Office, Foreign Office, Offices of the Army and Navy, Finance, Justice and Institutional Legislation. The cabinet council (Byōgi), however, decided it was "necessary to add an office of (Shinto) deities." Shinto, then, was accorded a voice in political affairs and the Jingi-ka and the various Shinto administrative bodies which succeeded it would henceforth be the crucible for the direct formulation and enactment of the religious policies of the early Meiji state. Restoration Shinto ideology would predominate in these early offices whose major legislation would be sanctioned by the Dajōkan and announced by the Emperor. The addition of the Jingi-ka represented a victory for the Shinto revival movement.

The Jingi-ka signified the first move toward the restoration of the ancient Jingikan-Dajōkan state structure.
The duties of the Jingi-ka were those of the administration of Shinto "rites, shrines, missionaries, festivals and those parish households which provided services to the shrine." Reflecting the general acceptance of Shinto's role in government was the fact that the Jingi-ka was accorded the status of being placed first among the seven new offices of state. The absence of an official body to administer Buddhism or the establishment of an all-embracing office of religion underlines the general mood created by Restoration Shinto ideas as well as the stress placed upon the age-old ties between Shinto and the throne.

The ideological and ritual importance of Shinto is underlined by the appointment of Arisugawa no Miya (1835-1895) to a leading position in the Jingi-ka. Prince Arisugawa was the senior executive officer (sōsai) of the Meiji government. As fellow first rank officials (sōtoku) in the Jingi-ka were the courtiers and gijo Nakayama Tadayasu, Konoe Tadafusa and the sanyo Shirakawa Sukenori. Below these men, as second ranked administrative officers (kakari) were three Shinto priests appointed for their "technical knowledge of the doctrine and rites of the faith." On February 2, 1868 Iwakura and Sanjō were appointed as assistants (fuku sōsai) to Arisugawa. Thus, the three leading positions in the state were held by pro-Shinto advocates.

The Shichi-ka structure exemplifies the early experimentation with untried administrative bodies. The inclusion
of a Jingi-ka, nevertheless, attests to the importance of Shinto in the formation of early Meiji theories of government. Professors Murakami and Holtom, who place the Jingi-ka and its successor the Jingi Jimukyoku within the State Shinto framework as organs of socio-political control, credit Meiji policy makers at this early stage with a modernistic foresight which is not reflected in the other six offices of government set up at a time of trial and error and shifting administrative forms. However, the hand of both court and Restoration Shinto is obvious in the promotion of reverence and loyalty to the kami-descended Emperor. These ideas were viewed as essential enough for the Jingikan to be accorded high status as a primary office of state. The Jingikan, in fact, was the bureaucratic replacement for "the Jisha bugyō (Board of Commissioners for Temples and Shrines) which had supervised central government relations with religious bodies since the days of Tokugawa Iemitsu (1623-1650)." 48

Inexperience on the part of the early Meiji leaders with national scale administrative forms led to the lack of definition as to the exact functions and responsibilities of the administrative bodies. On February 25, 1868, in an attempt to consolidate and reform the central administration, a government re-organization was carried out. The existing offices (ka) were expanded to include a more developed sōsai and "were henceforth to be known as kyoku [bureaus]." 49
The Hachi kyoku (Eight Bureaus of State) and the establishment of the Jingi Jimukyoku (Bureau of Shinto Affairs)

The eight bureaus established on February 25 were, in order of rank, a Presidential Board enlarged to the size of the other kyoku with Iwakura and Sanjō in effective control; under this body, following the previous structure, were placed the seven bureaus with the Jingi Jimukyoku given precedence of rank over the others. While the establishment of the Jingi-ka office had denoted the general direction of the government's religious policy, the Jingi Jimukyoku was to enact definite legislation for the formulation of saisei itchi. The reshuffle of personnel carried out in the change to the Jingi Jimukyoku reflects more obviously the influence of the Hirata school. Furthermore, as Professor Reischauer points out, the rapidity of change in early Meiji government organs is "less important than the men who staffed them." 50

The sanyo Shirakawa Sukenori of the orthodox Shinto school subsumed by Buddhism during the centuries of Ryōbu Shinto headed the Jingi Jimukyoku with the rank of toku (chief official). Under him were Yoshida Ryogi of the leading orthodox Shinto family which had also suffered a loss of influence in the Ryōbu period, and Kamei Koremi, a gijō and strongly pro-Restoration Shinto advocate who held suke (official second rank). Given the rank of hanji (official
third rank) were Hirata Kanetane and Yano Gendō, leaders of the Hirata school. Tanimori Yoshiomi (1877-1911), a scholar of the Motoori school of Kokugaku, was accorded hanji rank.\textsuperscript{51} On March 27, Tanimori was moved to the Bureau of Institutions (Seido Jimukyoku). He was replaced by two leading Hirata scholars Ōkuni Takamasa and his disciple Fukuda Bisei who held the rank of assistant hanji. Ōkuni was also a close advisor to Prince Tokudaiji Sanenori (1839-1919), head of the Bureau of Home Affairs. Tokudaiji in January 1868 was asked by the government to "establish and supervise"\textsuperscript{52} the Jingikan. He obviously declined this request in favour of an appointment in Home Affairs. Tokudaiji, nonetheless, was represented in the Bureau of Shinto Affairs by Ōkuni. Ōkuni furthermore was the teacher of Tamamatsu Misao who in turn was an advisor to Iwakura.

On March 27, 1868 Hirata Kanetane moved to take up the post of hanji in the Bureau of Home Affairs. At around the same time Hirata Nobutane (1801-1882), heir apparent to the Hirata school leadership, was appointed assistant hanji in the Jingi Jimukyoku.\textsuperscript{53} Thus, the Hirata school was strongly represented in the Bureau of Shinto Affairs. As well as influential Restoration Shinto leaders, the Bureau also included the heads of the two main orthodox Shinto lineages, Shirakawa and Yoshida. These schools which shared the same general aim of Shinto revival can also be grouped as part of the Restoration Shinto and Jingikan revival movements.
It was from the Jingi Jimukyoku that the religious policy of saisei itchi was planned and executed in the first years of Meiji.

**Key legislation that originated from the Jingi Jimukyoku**

As part of the saisei itchi policy, the Jingi Jimukyoku set out to end the Ryōbu Dual Shinto-Buddhist system and replace it with an independent Shinto religious structure. The Dajōkan, acting on a proposal drawn up by the Jingi Jimukyoku, on March 13, 1868 issued the saisei itchi edict.

This edict proclaimed:

> As regards the restoration of the country to the system of saisei itchi and the undertaking of a general reform based upon the restoration of Imperial rule first established by Emperor Jimmu, the Jingikan shall be restored first of all. 54

This pronouncement put in a more concise form the ideals expressed by the Restoration Edict of January 3, specifically, the March 13 edict exemplified the political realization of the Restoration Shinto philosophy of Tamamatsu Misao. It was on the advice of this advisor that Iwakura acted when promoting this edict's acceptance by the government. Thus, through the influence of Iwakura, early Meiji political leaders adopted as a valid precedent the religious model of ancient Japanese government. Both these Imperial edicts, while to a degree couched in traditional patriotic rhetoric,
nonetheless expressed the political reality of the restoration of the identity and unity of Shinto with the central government. The return to the semi-mythological past expressed by references to the reign of Emperor Jimmu was in effect the underlining of the fact that the Imperial lineage was now restored to full status on a national scale. The desire to restore saisei itchi was both "a calculated step in the creation of a religious motivation for the Imperial institution" and a "sincere expression of faith."

The March 13 edict underlines the religious intentions of the government coupled with a pragmatic realization of the use of Shinto to the Imperial cause. The edict also reflects the acceptance in government circles of the ideals of the Jingikan restoration movement. It is questionable, however, how far historians can interpret the political intentions inherent in the saisei itchi edict. That is, did the Restoration Shinto movement and Iwakura have, as Cabot Coville suggests, "the insight to recognize the possibilities in harnessing the nation with a centralized Shinto"? Political stability was the chief aim of the Imperial government at this time and mobilizing the collective Shinto consciousness in support of the religious authority of the Emperor made sound political thinking. Yet there is an equal case to be made for the religious objectives behind a unified, centrally directed Shinto, that is, it was the intent of the Shintoists to consolidate a systematic shrine
structure free of Buddhist influence. As Shinto was a primary ideological factor in the Imperial cause, the Jingi Jimukyoku was encouraged to carry out a programme of Shinto consolidation.

To this end, in March 1868 the Jingi Jimukyoku undertook the supervision of the complicated process whereby the shrines, personnel and kami of Shinto would be separated from Buddhist domination. On March 17, 1868 an official order (tasshi) was sent from the Jingi Jimukyoku to the nation's major shrines. This order read:

Whereas at present Imperial rule is being restored and the nation cleansed of all abuses, it is ordered that in large and small shrines in the various provinces those 'intendants' who wear Buddhist garb, and those persons called 'shrine monks' and the like, shall return to secular life. 60

This order initiated the process for the removal from Shinto shrines of betto (Buddhist superintendents of dual Shinto-Buddhist shrines) and shasō (Buddhist priests who serve in Shinto shrines). These monk-officials usually held the top managerial posts in the shrines. They were in general viewed by Shinto priests as intruders. By the above order, they were given the choice of becoming laicized or being re-ordained as Shinto priests. 61 The March 17 order, then, was the first move towards the practical application of the general ideological precepts outlined in the March 13 edict. That is, the order began the restructuring of Shinto institutions and personnel to form a more unified Shinto.
As an adjunct to the March 17 order, the Jingi Jimukyoku on March 28 issued instructions for the disassociation of Shinto kami from Buddhist deities which shared the same shrine. This instruction stated that: "Buddhist titles...were no longer to be applied to kami...and that Buddhist statues and ritual implements were to be removed from shrine precincts." This order began the process of the separation of Shinto kami from Buddhist deities. The March orders also effectively dealt with the problem of shrine intendants who formed a potential opposition to saisei itchi.

The orders were issued directly by the Jingi Jimukyoku in its capacity as the chief Shinto institution. Thus, there began a pattern whereby those laws affecting Shinto religious consolidation were issued by Shinto administrative offices while legislation on the broader government religious policy was issued through the Dajōkan. From 1867 to 1871 there was a close alliance of religious and political objectives of both institutions. The political power of the Dajōkan was utilized to support the religious objectives of the Restoration Shinto-ists in the various Shinto administrative bodies.

Initiation of the Shinto-Buddhist separation (1868-1872)

Following the legislative moves outlined in the orders
which removed Buddhist statues from Shinto shrines, the Jingi Jimukyoku issued through the Dajōkan the edict of April 20, 1868 generally known as the Edict for the Separation of Shinto from Buddhism (shinbutsu hanzen-rei). Like so many early official instructions, this edict was mainly a request for details into the existing conditions of Shinto shrines. Nevertheless, it demanded that "shrines which are utilizing Buddhist statues as shintai [sacred Shinto objects] must correct the usage and make report." This law, like the March orders, brought to an end the honji-suijaku system in which Shinto kami had played a subservient role to Buddhist deities.

Between 1868 and 1872 numerous orders emanating from the central government offices attempted to establish a more autonomous Shinto shrine network. The enactment of a religious policy by which Ryōbu Shinto influences would be exorcised from Shinto shrines was of pressing concern to Restoration Shintoists. The reaction against Buddhism, however, though varying according to geographic location and local sentiment, was at times fierce. Parishioners of joint Shinto-Buddhist temples led by "local government officials and such people as the scholars of the Hirata school" vented their anger at Buddhism as a symbol of religious repression. By an instruction, issued on April 10, 1868, and sent to Shinto priests and parishioners, the government ordered that the removal of Buddhist objects of worship from Dual
Shinto shrines "was to be carried out peaceably." Nevertheless, the extreme actions of Shinto zealots in strongly pro-Shinto areas wrought havoc on Buddhist property.

Buddhism, by late Tokugawa times, had lost much of its earlier religious vitality. There was a general spiritual bankruptcy exemplified by moribund doctrines and a venal, corrupt monkhood. Buddhist temples also were centres of local education. Household registration and rites of passage in the Buddhist fashion were by and large obligatory. Buddhism, then, became inextricably linked to the bakuhan system.

Professor Murakami stresses the fact that Buddhism had become identified adversely with Tokugawa feudalism and Buddhist institutions had come to symbolize repressive feudal control. Under Tokugawa law, all Japanese were required to be members of a Buddhist sect and be registered at the appropriate Buddhist temple. Thus, the "relationship between temple and parishioners...bound all the people without exception to some temple affiliation." It is possible, however, considering the general religious pluralism and syncretistic nature of Japanese religious beliefs, that few Japanese questioned this practice. Furthermore, the degree to which Buddhist temples "served the function of the smallest units of feudal control" or acted as "observation posts for the central government" must be measured against the fact that Buddhism had little or no
political axe to grind in late Tokugawa times. Buddhism, in general, like all other religious groups, was firmly under the exacting thumb of the central government.

Buddhism, nonetheless, had prospered during the Tokugawa period and had accepted its role in the political status quo. It did not therefore develop as a religio-ideological force for socio-political change and "could not provide the spiritual strength Japan needed if it were to develop into a modern nation." This role was taken over by Shinto, which in the form of Restoration Shinto, furnished the ideology which helped motivate the samurai who carried out the restoration of Imperial rule and the subsequent transformation of Japanese society.

From the beginning of Meiji, nevertheless, Shintoists sought to de-emphasize the role of Buddhism and to establish a close relationship between the person of the Emperor Meiji, his Imperial ancestry and the Shinto administrative offices. This was achieved in three stages. First, Shinto intellectuals and bureaucrats gave their support to the movement for "the restoration of sanryō [Imperial tombs] and the re-establishment of some [other] Imperial tombs." This was a movement that had existed in Tokugawa times when several pro-Shinto daimyō petitioned the bakufu (usually in vain) to allow the reconstruction and upkeep of Imperial tombs on the daimyō's domain. By emphasizing the importance of the Imperial tombs and making them sacred places, Shinto
intellectuals in and behind government attempted to

disassociate the Imperial family from its Buddhist connections and ceremonies, thus stressing Imperial ancestor

veneration instead. This objective was achieved under

the Jingi Jimukyoku. The slogan was "to change from respecting kami and worshipping Buddha to respecting the kami and worshipping ancestors." 71

The second stage was the setting up of the 'Three Palace Shrines' at which the Emperor worshipped inside the Jingi Jimukyoku building. By the placing of all Imperial ceremonies and festivals in this religious environment, the government became directly connected to Shinto and the Emperor. The third step was the re-establishment of the ancient Jingikan. This was achieved by the government re-organization of August 1869.

Part Three: The Jingikan Period (August 15, 1869 to September 22, 1871)

The administrative structures formed during the volatile, politically uncertain first half-year of the Restoration proved inadequate to the task of effecting either political consolidation or systematic legislation. In June 1868, the Dajokan admitted "that these arrangements, made during a time of civil commotion, were necessarily hurried and imperfect." 72 Thus, on June 11, with Imperial forces
in command of the key areas of the nation, a new government structure was set up. By the systematization of more precisely refined administrative bodies, it was hoped to "establish those laws and regulations which have hitherto remained undetermined." \(^{73}\) Fukuoka Kōtei (1835-1919), a key formulator of the earlier administrative systems, was again called upon to formulate a new government structure. He was aided in this task by the Shintoist sanyō Soejima Taneomi (1828-1905) who later became an official in the Board of Shinto Propagation (Senkyōshi). It is interesting to note that Soejima was one of the few Japanese constitutional formulators at this early stage of Meiji who had a little experience with foreign governmental forms and political theories of governance. \(^{74}\) Prior to the June remodelling of the Japanese administration, Fukuoka and others did undertake a limited study by consulting a few volumes on the political systems of "China and the West, as well as the ancient political structure of Japan." \(^{75}\) Furthermore, they did not take advantage of the experience of former bakufu officials.

The new government organization was accepted by the Imperial council and on June 11, 1868 the Seitaisho (June Constitution) delineated the administrative structure now implemented. Under the general title of Dajōkan this government consisted of seven sections now called departments (kan). There was a Legislative Department
with two houses with the *gijō* and *sanyo* in the upper house which comprised "most of the personnel who held high offices in the preceding administration." Next in order were the Executive Department, and the Departments of Shinto, Finance, War, Foreign Affairs and Justice.

The *Jingikan* (Department of Shinto) was headed by the court nobles Takatsukasa Sukehiro, Konoe Tadafusa and Nakayama Tadayasu. As assistants to these mainly ceremonial posts were Kamei Koremi and Fukuba Bisei of the Hirata school. Appointed also was Hirata Nobutane who with his fellow assistants carried out the effective administration of Shinto affairs.

The June 11 government re-organization like its predecessors highlights the political and administrative problems facing the early Meiji leaders. Primary among these remained the need to secure central control of the *daimyō* domains and consequently the various and complex political administrative maneuverings were carried out mainly with this objective in mind. At the same time, national consolidation had yet to be effected militarily. In this atmosphere there was a fear of potentially subversive groups arising in Imperial government administered territory. In keeping with the government's belief in the unifying faculties of Shinto and the important role of Shinto ideology to the national polity, the Emperor on several occasions in 1868 reiterated through Imperial edicts, that Shinto "rites
shall be initiated and rules and regulations to govern
the country shall be firmly established, thus reviving
the way of *saisei itchi*."^{78} At the same time, Christianity
came under severe censure. A problem persisting since late
Tokugawa times was the existence of 'hidden Christians'
(*kakure kirishitan*) around Nagasaki. In early 1868 Kido Kōin
had been sent to deal with this large group of Catholics and
instruct them on their obligations and responsibilities as
good citizens. Faced with their recalcitrance, it is claimed
that he had thirteen of their leaders beheaded.^{79} While Kido's
diary, which does not begin until April 24, 1868, makes no
mention of these executions, the punishment stated being
seven years internal exile,^{80} it does underline the fact that
the Meiji leaders were deeply disturbed by the problem of
Christian activity which was treated as virtual open rebellion.

On June 16, 1868 a National Council (*Jōkyoku keigi*) was
called by Imperial edict to discuss, among other things, the
above mentioned problems. The question of the implementation
of the national policy on religion was decreed as an objective
of this council. The council decided "to promote *saisei itchi*
as well as the veneration of the Shinto *kami* and ancestor
reverence."^{81} Shinto, then, was not only to continue to be
elevated, but the ideals of *kami* worship and Emperor loyalty
were to be greatly amplified. At the same time, however, by
mid-1869 the Seitaisho structure had failed to bring order
to the existing legislative confusion or to solve the prob-
lems caused by the delicate nature of the "relations between the Imperial authorities and the clans." ⁸²

A return to the administrative model of the ritsu-ryo period

On August 15, 1869 the entire Seitaisho government structure was replaced by a more clearly systematized model based on the traditional religio-government structure of ancient Japan. Shinto was accorded a primary position and role in this resurrected construct. August 15, 1869, then, marks the beginning of the Jingikan Period which lasted until September 1871. It is a time characterized by a conscious return to the governing model and religious ideals of ancient Japan which emphasized the identity of Shinto rites with the central political administration. The return to the saisei itchi model was an attempt to systematize the central administration by using the precedent of a workable model from the historical past. Before 1869 the central government in general had effected only stopgap attempts at administrative reconstruction. The administrative transformation of the summer of 1869 exemplifies both the "dissatisfaction of Japanese leaders with the government organs and political theories" ⁸³ previously employed and the influence of Shinto ideology promoted by the Shinto intellectual movements. That is, the Restorationist (Fukko) group which predominated at this juncture looked askance
at the more modern views of government expressed by less traditionally minded Meiji leaders. The result was a political retrenchment marked by a return to the ancient administrative model. The government structure of August 1869 in fact marks the true establishment of the Meiji Imperial state.  

Soejima Taneomi, on August 16 in a Shinto ceremony "informing the gods that harmony now prevailed on questions of national policy," delineated the form of the new administrative bodies. The new structure consisted of two kan (councils) and six shō(departments). The Jingikan (Council of Shinto Affairs) was accorded the position of the highest ranked administrative organ above even the Dajōkan (Council of State) which was now the title for the chief executive office of government. Below these and under the control of the Dajōkan were the Departments of Civil Affairs (Minbushō), Finance (Okurashō), War (Hyōbushō), Justice (Gyōbushō), Imperial Household (Kunaishō) and Foreign Affairs (Gaimushō). With the exception of the Foreign Affairs Department, the August 15 structure was modelled exactly on that of the eighth century Yōrō Code. The elevation of the Jingikan denotes the restorationist traditionalist and religious character of the new administration while the retention of the reins of effective political power in the hands of secular policy makers in the Dajōkan reflects a pragmatic modern approach to state government. The old ranks and names
of official positions were revived as was Nara period court dress. In the new government structure saisei itchi in the form of a theory of state and ideological ideal proved its practical worth. Under the umbrella of this system, the crucial moves towards the disestablishment of the feudal structure and state consolidation were achieved.

The Jingikan personnel

The achievement of the re-establishment of the Jingikan marks the apex of the work of the Restoration Shinto scholars and politicos who had been promoting the saisei itchi structure both in government office and as advisors to government leaders since 1867. Due to their efforts "the foundations of saisei itchi were established and the Jingikan was [again] set up based on the old system [of government]." 87

The courtiers Nakayama Tadayasu and Sanjō Sanetomi, the head of state (udaijin), held the first rank (jingi haku) offices in the Jingikan. Shirakawa Sukenori and Prince Konoe Tadafusa were the second rank (jingi taifuku) officers. Fukuba Bisei headed the third ranked officials (jingi shōfuku). Under Bisei as assistants were Hirata Nobutane and Yoshida Ryōgi whose forefather held similar offices in the ancient Jingikan. 88 The absence of Hirata Kanetane and Tamamatsu Misao is explained by the fact that they were given the position of lecturers in the Board of Chamberlains (Jijūshoku)
which "was established to undertake the tutelage of the young Emperor." Nevertheless, a continuity of administrative personnel was prevalent in the Shinto administrative offices.

As in the general political administrative formulation where court and samurai interests coincided to share an emphasis on Emperor-centred state unity, in the Jingikan and its predecessor Shinto offices, orthodox Shinto and Restoration Shinto groups found common cause in the elevation of Shinto to national prominence. Furthermore, we can see the commonality of political objective and religious goals expressed in the over-all acceptance of the utility of the Shinto-Emperor bond. There was little or no opposition encountered when the revival of the ancient Shinto-state structure was accepted by the National Council of June 1869. This council was composed of all groups in government and virtually all acquiesced to the re-establishment of the Jingikan and thus to Restoration Shinto theories of state government. For a time, in fact, due to the influence of "extremely conservative aristocrats [who] were temporarily in the [political] ascendancy...Shinto was receiving more attention than was reform." The political structure formed in August 1869 placed politics firmly in the context of religion while at the same time the adoption of saisei itchi was found suitable to all major political groups. To the court it consolidated the Imperial position vis a vis samurai military leaders. In
turn, Shinto groups received consistent court support, especially from Iwakura and Sanjō. Most importantly, as George Sansom points out, Shinto religious policy was not opposed by the samurai leaders Ōkubo and Kido. Saisei itchi, then, replaced experimental administrative forms with a more authoritative and systematic construct and the theories of Restoration Shinto provided an acceptable and constructive model for Imperial government. The first effective Imperial government structure, then, was to a significant degree religious in inspiration. The state structure was united by the ideology and model of saisei itchi. The Jingikan, consequently, was given a free rein to implement the religious policy and to enact the consolidation of Shinto.

Saisei itchi in action: the reconstruction of Shinto under the Jingikan

The legislative enactments of the Jingikan to consolidate the Shinto religious system were numerous and complex. There were, however, two objectives uppermost in the minds of early Meiji Shintoists. The first was to regain control of all Shinto shrines and shrine personnel. The second was to direct the construction of a uniform shrine system. Concomitant to these was the implementation of an ordered systematized Shinto doctrine and ritual practice.

The rules delineating the duties of the Jingikan were drawn up on July 8, 1869. They stated that this office was
to oversee the "administration of rites, the inspection of Imperial tombs, the propagation of Shinto and shrine festivals and the households of the parish which provided services to the shrine (kanbe)." Following the procedures set out in the Engi shiki, the Jingikan undertook to supervise all facets of shrine worship, both at the level of major national shrines and the smaller local level shrines. A chief goal of Shinto officials was to recreate the ancient system of interrelated and standardized kami ceremonial and to re-introduce the concept of certain shrines as kokka no sōshi, that is "institutions in which national worship took place or national reverence was expressed." In this way shrine festivals would be more closely aligned to the religious policy and Shinto doctrine espoused by the Jingikan. "The shrines were to be the spiritual model of the nation" by which reverence for the kami was united with and identified with loyalty to the Emperor and through him, the government.

The shrines, also following the Engi shiki code, were to be accorded ranks or grades as were shrine intendants and indeed this practice extended to include all central government personnel. The Jingikan itself became a religious institution, the significance of which was underlined by the nature of the kami rites held in the Jingikan building. On June 28, 1869 the Emperor Meiji presided over the enshrinement in the Jingikan of the 'Eight Kami' protectors of the
Imperial ancestors. The Emperor announced in his dedication that this move was carried out to further the cause of saisei itchi. The Shinto genealogy of the Imperial house was further stressed and augmented by the Peace Preservation Rite which was held in the Jingikan on January 3, 1870. The edict restoring this ceremony paid tribute to the "ancient origin of the identity of religion and government."  

The Peace Preservation Rite or Pacifying Festival (chinsai) "deified the divine spirits of the historical emperors as the enshrined kami within the three thrones set up in the Jingikan." In this way the superiority of the Imperial kami was established as was the concomitant religious authority of Emperor Meiji. Restoration Shintoists in the Jingikan thus placed great emphasis on the elevation of those kami which were central to the religious status of the Imperial line. At the same time, the official enshrinement of the 'Eight Kami' "was a useful delimitation of the lush Shinto pantheon bringing it within bounds." The Jingikan also to the same end would carry out reforms to unite the Shinto deity system with the secular political authority. The identity of the central government with Shinto was also furthered by the widespread promotion of Shinto doctrine by government sponsored teachers. To achieve this the Great Teaching Edict (daikyō senpu) was proclaimed on January 3, 1870. This edict ushered in the phase of the ideological proselytization of saisei itchi by senkyōshi (government sponsored
Shinto propagators), the activities of whom were directed by the Jingikan. The Imperial pronouncement of January 3 declared that the original ideal was government according to the principle of saisei itchi. However, it stated this way had been lost and had fallen into disuse. With the innovations brought about by the rule of Emperor Meiji, however, once again the old ideals had been restored. Thus, "all efforts must be directed to making clear that the great way of the kami religion shall be promoted by the government through education. Therefore, [to this end] Shinto teachers (senkyōshi) are now appointed to spread the [kami] Way throughout the land." Henceforth, the 'way of the kami' became without reservation the "guiding principle of the nation." To this degree, then, the goals of Shinto elevation sought by Restoration Shintoists had been achieved. To implement the task of broadcasting the unity of the aims of Shinto doctrine with the Imperial state, the senkyōshi, who will be discussed later, were set up. Of equal importance to the saisei itchi ideal was the consolidation of the Shinto shrine network and the establishment of direct administration of the shrines by the Jingikan.

The Shinto shrine system

In 1871 several successful measures were carried out to consolidate Shinto shrines, priests, shrine property
and parishioners more directly under the Jingikan. Under the direction of Prince Konoe Tadafusa and Fukuba Bisei, legislation was passed to consolidate the shrine system into a more cohesive religious structure. Konoe, an influential member of the court and government as well as a leading Jingikan official, was also head of the Ise school of Hirata Shinto. In July 1871, the Grand Shrine of Ise was officially designated as the nation's leading shrine and was placed at the apex of the nationally ranked shrine system.

Since the first year of Meiji, under the Jingi-ka, the primary task of the central Shinto authority had been to a great degree one of general research and classification of the larger Shinto shrines. At the same time, in an attempt to systematize shrine rites and shrine regulations, official questionnaires were sent out to each shrine. These documents, which had to be returned to the Home Ministry, provided information on shrine possessions and personnel. From late 1868 onwards the government intensified its official research policy (torishirabe tesoku) which examined the "present conditions [of Shinto shrines] in order to formulate a policy of religious laws." A nation-wide survey was undertaken to determine the exact names, locations and the extent of the landholdings of Shinto shrines as well as the nature and number of their kami, rites and festivals. One set of rules was drawn up to (1) categorize
and grade the shrines and (2) allocate financial support to them.

From November 1868 the Jingikan had been classifying the major Shinto shrines according to the dictates of the Engi shiki as well as creating categories not included in that code. The first categories drawn up, for example, were (1) ancestor shrines (soreisha), (2) shrines which invited the souls of the Meiji Restoration civil war dead (shokonsha) and (3) far-off shrines to which people could pray (yōhaisho). Further categories were Imperial worship shrines (chokusaiasha), inside ceremony shrines (shikinaisha) and miscellaneous shrines (shōsha). The basic distinction in these categories was between Imperial house connected shrines and prefectural or han shrines.

By the Dajōkan edict of May 14, 1871 the government established the basic system of shrine ranks which was to endure until the disestablishment of Shinto in 1945. By the Dajōkan order, the shrines of the nation were classified into the basic categories of kansha, higher grade shrines, and minsha, lower grade or local shrines. Kansha were those shrines which had a religious import on a national level, were seen to have ties to the Imperial line and were now placed under the supervision of the Jingikan. Kansha, following the distinctions set up in the Engi shiki, were divided into the further categories of kampeisha.
(governmental shrines) and kokuheisha (national shrines).\textsuperscript{103} Both these categories were subdivided into taisha (upper grade), chūsha (middle grade) and shosha (lower grade) shrine ranks. In 1871 out of an approximate 170,000 shrines the number of kansha was ninety-seven.\textsuperscript{104}

The vast majority of the nation's shrines this were minsha, lower rank shrines. These were administered by local authorities and had a religious significance directly related to the sociological and spiritual needs of their specific locale. Under the country district shrine rules established in July 1871, minsha were divided into fu-sha (town shrines), han-sha (domain shrines), ken-sha (prefectural shrines), gō-sha (district shrines) and son-sha (village shrines). Ungraded shrines below the village level were allocated the rank of mukakusha (shrines with no rank).

Consonant with the general religious policy of saisei itchi, the May 14 edict, then, established a systematic Shinto shrine system unprecedented in modern times. The control of shrine affairs in the hands of the Jingikan marks a major success in the implementation of the religious policy of saisei itchi. As well as establishing the delimitations of the Shinto shrine network, the research into and grading of shrines was an attempt to establish nation-wide unity using shrines of all classifications as a cohesive factor which linked the local people to the central government. The centrally directed shrine system thus established expressed
for the first time in eight centuries an over-all perception of the entire shrine network as a complete religious entity, an entity, moreover, which would be administered from a central office and unified under the broadly acceptable doctrines of Restoration Shinto. The establishment of the shrine system also replaced the moribund and disorganized Buddhist temple system with a cohesive, centralized religious institutional structure. This was a laudable feat in a state still characterized by the dire need for national unity.

The financing of saisei itchi: the shrine fiscal policy

Included in the general instructions on shrine classification was a set of regulations governing shrine operation. Any major change in shrine buildings, landholdings or personnel were to be reported to the Jingikan. The government also set out to rebuild and re-instate defunct shrines. However, the shrine fiscal policy, which was set up at the same time as the general classification of shrines, offered guidelines that were complex and not straightforward. Nevertheless, the process was set up whereby suggestions on the financial conditions of the shrines could be forwarded to all levels of government. What was established in 1871, however, was a general policy of government support for Shinto shrines.
In January 1871, the Meiji government "decreed the confiscation of all shrines and temple landholdings (shōen) excluding the property within the shrine or temple complex." In return the government undertook to provide financial support for Shinto shrines and shrine intendants. This move brought the shrines (and temples) under the fiscal thumb of the central shrine authorities and thus made religious institutions and their personnel dependent on the public purse for financial support. The system of allowances to be allotted shrines was worked out over a period of years and it was not until 1874 that the system of remuneration was fully operational. The decree thus had the effect of making shrine priests virtual salaried government officials.

The January decree applied to shrines at the kansha level and involved considerable territory. The total shrine and temple land confiscated was 140,000 hectares with shrine landholdings alone equalling 87,200 hectares. The early Meiji government, consistently faced with an unpredictable financial situation, had by taking control of the revenue of shrine lands provided an economic foundation for the promotion of the policy of saisei itchi.

Reform of the Shinto priesthood

The move to control shrine finances was followed by major reform of the Shinto priesthood. The edict of
May 14, 1871 abolished the tradition of hereditary priesthood whereby a son inherited his father's position. This custom was replaced by a system of employment by appointment and the setting up of graded ranks of shrine priests. The importance of the rank was to coincide with the grade of the shrine.

The May edict stated that under the reinstatement of *kokka no sōshi* [national worship or rites for the state] Shinto shrines "should not be owned privately." The reasons elaborated for this change were that there had been a regression in the spirit of Shinto over a long period characterized by a lack of formal central shrine organization. This decline was accompanied by the assumption of personal privileges by shrine personnel, such as the practice of inheriting priest positions. "Accordingly, this government which believes strongly in the unity of politics and divine service [*saisei itchi*], has decreed that all Shinto priests must be newly appointed through a national examination." This examination was held in 1872 and Shinto priests, at least for a time, became religious officials (*kanri*) under *Jingikan* jurisdiction. The *Jingikan*, in fact, now took over a role held primarily by the Yoshida family of Shinto who in Tokugawa times were the formally sponsored Shinto school and as such were given the right of approving the official credentials of Shinto priests. The systematization of Shinto under the *Jingikan* sought to abolish the abuses and
personal privilege inherent in the old shrine system. As a result, not only was the private ownership of shrines abolished along with hereditary priest positions, but Shinto priests now became part of the central bureaucracy.

Family registration under the Jingikan

The establishment of the modern shrine system under the direction of the new Shinto religious elite who staffed the Jingikan was accompanied by moves to change the existing practice of national family registration. In July 1871, the government replaced the Tokugawa system of compulsory family registration at Buddhist temples with registration at Shinto shrines. The Dajōkan edict on "The Matter of the Investigation of the Parishioners of Large and Small Shrines" set out the seven articulated 'parishioner investigation regulation' (ujiko torishirabe kisoku). The first article stated that "a citizen on the birth of a child must visit a shrine and notify the family registration official of this occurrence and he must receive the required amulet (mamori) from the shrine." The sixth article stated that "every six years thereafter changes in family registration will be checked by the registration official and a new amulet issued." Thus, in 1871, was continued the practice of using religious institutions for national census purposes. Shinto shrines in a revival of the function
laid down for them by the Yōrō Code took over the role of census-keeper previously held by Buddhist temples. It has to be noted, however, that the use of the religious institutions of Shinto for family registration purposes was in part due to the fact that efficient secular local government offices had yet to be set up in the nation.

**Kokka no sōshi (rites of the state)**

The reform of the Shinto religious structure and the celebration of saisei itchi at the major Shinto shrines was accompanied by the re-introduction of the idea stressed in the Engi shiki that the shrines were kokka no sōshi. The edict of May 14, 1871 upheld kokka no sōshi as the ideal of shrine worship. By the dictates of kokka no sōshi the shrines acquired not only a more public character in that they were no longer the sole preserve of individual priestly families but also wider national responsibilities. These included the offering of rites for the protection of the state as a religious realm which was inextricably linked to the trans-temporal realm of the kami. Inherent in these rites was the reaffirmation of the close bond between kami worship and veneration of the Imperial kami, the sovereign and the state.

Under the banner of kokka no sōshi, shrine ceremonies began to stress the alliance of kami worship and the
religious theory of the Imperial state. The shrines thus acquired the function of being places which "provided those rites which were integral to government within the context of saisei itchi." However, if the saisei itchi model and its application in Meiji is not stressed, then the term kokka no sōshi taken more literally comes to mean "the function of shrines is to provide a place of worship for all the people of Japan." The former aspect of shrine worship is the most reflective of the religious themes promoted by the early Meiji government. Kokka no sōshi exemplified the realization that the idealized model of shrine worship was to be that stressed under the religious policy which identified Shinto rites with national government.

The early Meiji government applied directly the shrine format set out in the Engi shiki which included the ideal of kokka no sōshi as a key support of a religious structure. The reforms of the Shinto religious structure carried out between 1869 and 1871 under the direction of the Jingikan had been necessary primarily in order to (1) end the 'old abuses' inherent in the traditional Shinto structure, (2) complete the separation of Shinto from Buddhist influences and (3) establish a concretely systematized religious body which could uphold its position as the religious arm of the saisei itchi model.
The achievements of Shinto under the direction of the Jingikan

The enactment of the above shrine legislation and other rules for shrine government proved effective in the formation of an over-all religious structure for Shinto. The bureaucrats of the Hirata school, from their positions in the elite Shinto administrative departments of government, were successful in promoting the practical application in law of the religious aspect of saisei itchi. Furthermore, the religious policy of saisei itchi was endorsed through legislation by the same legislature which formulated the political policies of the early Meiji state. Although the shrine regulations in general directly affected only the nation's major shrines at kansha level, the result of this legislation was that these imperially connected shrines now came under Jingikan control. These aspects of modern Shinto, that is, as having achieved a centrally directed shrine network, a close Imperial bond with the shrines and the concomitant elevation of the religious authority of the Emperor were the major goals of Meiji Shintoists and exemplify the success of the Restoration Shintoists in government.

Under the Jingikan, Shinto 'came of age' as a distinct religious entity, an entity, moreover, which provided the ideological buttress to the Imperial state in the transition from feudal rule to a modern nation. The disparities and flaws in the old Ryōbu Shinto system were effectively
removed. The abolition of the hereditary priesthood and the aspect of the shrines as financially self-supporting was eliminated and substituted with a uniform fiscal policy. The problems caused by Dual Shinto-Buddhist rituals and ceremonies were also solved by moves to re-introduce uniform ritual practices. Furthermore, an interconnected and consolidated shrine system was constructed and placed under centralized administrative supervision. By 1871, then, the main problems facing early Meiji Shinto as a religious entity had been eradicated.

The centrally directed reform of the shrines is viewed by some historians as a continuation of the use of religious institutions as mechanisms of feudal control and social repression.116 Professors Oguchi and Takagi decry the utilization of Shinto shrines as institutions for control of the populace. Nevertheless, their severest censure is that under the family registration system each household was required to buy an amulet as proof of registration. A central theme in the work of Murakami Shigeyoshi, the pioneer scholar of the origin and nature of State Shinto, is a warning against any interference by government in religious matters. This Murakami underlines as constituting a challenge to freedom of religious belief and a threat to democracy. Murakami, who measures religious change against socio-economic and political factors, views saisei itchi as part of the re-
pressive State Shinto construct. While he concedes that saisei itchi was a religiously conceived ideal, he ignores the religious intent inherent in the search for religious self-definition carried out by early Meiji Shintoists.

In early Meiji the primary task of the central Shinto authorities was to a great degree one of research and classification of the larger Shinto shrines. This was carried out to formulate a religious structure with which government could identify under the policy of saisei itchi. The Shinto religious structure, moreover, was to be staffed by qualified religious practitioners licensed by a central Shinto authority. Control of the populace, such as it was, took the form of the use of Shinto ideology to promote allegiance to the Imperial cause. National mobilization behind the new government, when it was achieved in 1871, led to modernization and a more enlightened society. From 1868 onwards, a chief motivation behind shrine control carried out by Restoration Shintoists was one of religious institutional consolidation achieved through political means. In such a diverse religion as Shinto wholesale conformity to a set standard either religious or political was not achieved before the turn of the century when, under State Shinto, Shinto shrines were placed under the canopy of the politicized kokutai (national polity) ideal. Only after 1900 did shrines become "civil instruments for the implementation of national goals."117
The effect of the changes to Shinto shrines under the religious policy of saisei itchi remained at the level of priests, bureaucrats and intellectuals of the Shinto schools. In the main, the religious life of the Japanese people was little affected by the government proclamations concerning shrine governance. Furthermore, Buddhist monks serving in Shinto shrines who faced removal with the dismantling of the Ryōbu system in 1868 "could be rehired as Shinto functionaries if they wanted to be." This policy therefore does not seem unduly harsh or repressive. The increase in the intensity of Shinto self-reform did, however, lead to a change in the character of the Shinto priesthood which now became an official adjunct to the central Shinto office.

The reform of the Shinto religion carried out between the beginning of 1869 and late 1871 heralded the main achievements of the saisei itchi policy. In the political sphere Restoration Shintoists had succeeded in placing early Meiji government firmly within the context of Shinto religious forms. Furthermore, the government became strongly identified with the court-Shinto ideological alliance, an alliance which was utilized to promote the acceptance of political reform. Restoration Shinto ideology provided a sound support for Imperial government. It was on the level of ideology that early Meiji Shinto proved highly effective. To effect wider religio-political proselytization, the government authorized
the use of senkyōshi (teachers or propagators) who disseminated the 'new' theory of state throughout the land.

Part Four: Senkyōshi and the Propagation of Shinto Ideology

Just as the central government had accepted Shinto ideology as a basis for Imperial rule, so it was hoped the general populace would rally behind the central rulers by the widespread dissemination, through education and religious proselytization, of the ideals of saisei itchi. To this end, in early 1868, the Imperial Council ordered the leaders of the Restoration Shinto school to formulate an educational system. Yano Gendō (1823-1887) of the Hirata school forcefully argued for the establishment of a centrally directed educational policy. In March 1868 Gendō's ideas were accepted and together with Hirata Kanetane he was ordered to investigate the formation of a national education system. In the same month these scholar-officials were transferred from the Jingi Jimukyoku and posted to join fellow Shintoist Tamamatsu Misao as chief officials in the Bureau of Home Affairs.¹¹⁹

The end result of their researches was published in their Proposals for Educational Organization (Gakushasei). This work promoted the dissemination of the ideals of Shinto and stressed the worship of the founding kami of Japan, Amaterasu, to replace the accent on Buddhism prevalent under the Tokugawa.
The educational curriculum espoused by the Hirata school scholars stressed the primacy of religio-moral and ethical education as well as "political economy, composition, art, and foreign studies." \(^{120}\)

Under the Jingikan, a programme for the dissemination the ideals of saisei itchi and the goals of the Restoration was undertaken. Following the general practice of setting up investigative and research organs to examine various facets of and to uncover potential problems inherent in the introduction of legislation, the Teaching and Research Bureau (Kyōdo torishirabe kyoku) was established under the Dajōkan on March 10, 1869. \(^{121}\) Ono Shigenobu, a Confucian scholar and a chief retainer of Chōshū han, was put in charge of this bureau and instructed to carry out research into the nature and methodology of the promotion of Shinto religious instruction. Ono recommended that the Teaching and Research Bureau be expanded into an office of Shinto propagation. Ono had the support of Ōkuma Shigenobu, a leading official in the Dajōkan and in the Department of Finance, who stressed the need for the systematization of Shinto doctrine to replace those of a decadent Buddhism and to offset the potentially disruptive effects of Christianity. \(^{122}\) The Grand Council of all ranks convened in June, 1869, ratified Ono's proposal and in July 1869, the senkyōshi (Office of Shinto Propagation) \(^{123}\) was established and placed under the Jingikan.
In November 1869, Nakayama Tadayasu, the Jingikan chief, was appointed to head the senkyōshi office. His chief assistant was Fukuba Bisei. Bisei, an official of considerable influence in the Shinto bureaucracy, was a leading force in the senkyōshi until its disestablishment in 1872. Other leading officers in the department were Prince Sanjō Sanetomi and Soejima Taneomi, the Hirata school follower who headed the senkyōshi instruction section (kyō-dō kyoku). Ono was appointed assistant to the above officials and all men felt the strong need for a consolidated programme for the dissemination of the religio-political ideals of the new government.

On October 4, 1869, the rules for the senkyōshi teachers were approved and the prescribed texts were issued to the forty-six senkyōshi who were hired from the ranks of Shinto priests and Confucian scholars. The programme undertaken by the senkyōshi was intended to act as a politically stabilizing factor by promoting the religio-ideological basis of the Meiji Restoration. A further objective was the broadcasting of an understanding of the general socio-political programmes of the central authority. This kind of instruction was deemed necessary in areas experiencing social unrest and samurai discontent. The promotion of Imperial loyalty also was necessary in a decentralized nation where notions of patriotism were overridden by local ties and loyalties.
An added reason for the *senkyōshi* formation was the concern, voiced at the National Council, over the threat of 'alien' religious systems such as Christianity. This danger was expressed most obviously by the discovery and arrest of the more than four thousand Catholics at Uragami near Nagasaki in 1868. In March 1870, Ono Shigenobu was appointed *senkyōshi* to Nagasaki.\(^{125}\) His chief task was to propagate the religious ideals of the Imperial state.

The *senkyōshi* programme was inaugurated formally by the Imperial edict of January 3, 1870. This, the Great Teaching Edict, ordered *senkyōshi* "to proselytize the way throughout the land."\(^{126}\) In March 1870 the systematic propagation of Shinto was extended by the establishment of local *senkyōshi* offices, under *senkyōgakari* (administrators of official propagation), in the newly established urban prefectures (fu), domains (han) and prefectures (ken). *Senkyōshi* offices became ubiquitous and extended "as far as Hiroshima."\(^{127}\)

*Senkyōshi* acted to spread the central government ideal of national unity at a time of decentralization and potential han disaffection. This programme was a sincere effort\(^ {128}\) to disseminate an understanding of the aims of the Restoration.

There is a tendency in immediate post-war Shinto scholarship to attribute later aspects of the Shinto-state alliance (for example, thought control, virulent nationalism) as having existed before in the first Meiji years in the form
of the government use of Shinto to enhance the acceptance of the Imperial cause. Criticism is levelled at the senkyōshi programme as being of a coercive nature and using Shinto propagation as a means of "bureaucratic thought control".\footnote{129} or, for being part of a general effort by "aroused nationalists"\footnote{130} to destroy Buddhism. Earlier scholars such as Sir Ernest Satow are more vituperative, stating that the elevation of Shinto reduced "the people to a condition of mental slavery."\footnote{131} The Reverend S.R. Brown, President of the Asiatic Society of Japan in 1874, offered the mistaken prognostication that "efforts to revive this would-be religion must end in failure."\footnote{132}

The coercion and so-called thought control took the form of the periodic assembling of local people to hear lectures on Shinto. Given mainly by low-ranking senkyōshi, the majority of whom "were former Confucianists and lacked an intensity in their propagation",\footnote{133} these lectures were to a high degree ineffective and fell on apathetic ears. Furthermore, the teaching rules for senkyōshi show that the Jingikan was conscientious in its guidelines for Shinto teachers. The senkyōshi had to ensure that any refutation of competing doctrines remained strictly on a scholastic level. Calumny of their opponents and even slight aggressiveness was decried as a great hindrance to conversion.\footnote{134} Ōkuma and Bisei and other progressive Shintoists emphasized moderation in religious proselytization. Bisei also pressed for lenient
treatment of Christians and the adaptation of Western ideas of social reform. Furthermore, the claim that senkyōshi were part of a scheme to promote ardent nationalism is premature in this period of relative decentralization and precariously balanced daimyō alliances. The nascent central government had yet to effect the consolidation of a securely unified national entity. The senkyōshi programme had as its goals the two recurrent themes of early Meiji religious policy -- that of the inculcation of national unity centred around the Imperial symbol and that of the dissemination of Revival Shinto ideas to enhance the religious authority of the throne. Both these aspects were, in the first few years of Meiji, treated as being ideologically inseparable.

As Professor Murakami states, the senkyōshi programme was the proselytization of an emperor-centred polity.¹³⁵ It has to be pointed out, however, that at this early stage in the Meiji period, the religious character of the government was such that proselytization was seen as an intrinsic part of the religio-political polity. Furthermore, there was no systematically designed political programme nor any seriously worked out policy as to the numerous questions on the position of the Emperor¹³⁶ and other fundamental political issues that were later systematized during the State Shinto period.

The main political task in the first years of Meiji
was the effecting of the return of the feudal domains to the Emperor and central government. The role of senkyōshi in this endeavour was, by promoting ethico-moral ideas such as Emperor reverence, to smooth the transference of local loyalties from the han to the central authorities. The task placed before senkyōshi was a considerable one. They met with confusion and apathy from a populace generally uninformed as to the exact nature of the Restoration. Furthermore, religion was only one part of people's lives and outside of the religious elite most found little time for the complex, absolutist tenets of Hirata Shinto. More pressing problems faced the populace, problems not easily assuaged by lectures on 'the kami way'.

At the same time two pervasive forces began to undermine the central authorities' efforts at religio-political 'education'. One was the growing strength of sectarian Buddhism which resented being excluded from a role in national religious affairs and the other was the growing acceptance of Western ideas of 'civilization and enlightenment'. The failure of the senkyōshi programme exemplified the weakness of the sole reliance on saisei itchi as a religious policy and as a cohesive force for national unity. The work of the senkyōshi did, however, underline the need for further attempts at the dissemination of central government ideology of state. This, however, was carried out within the atmosphere of an increasing utilization of modern and Western ideas of
By late 1871 support of the government both for the policy of saisei itchi and for the elevation of Shinto ended abruptly. Henceforth, political prerogatives would take precedence over religious reform. On September 22, 1871 the Jingikan lost its prestigious status in the government bureaucracy and was demoted to a Jingishō (Department of Shinto), a body which had considerably less influence in government. In the following April (1872), the Jingishō was replaced by a Kyōbushō (Department of Religions) which included the administration of both Shinto and Buddhism. Furthermore, while official regulation of Shinto continued to be a concern of various government departments, the support of the government for these bodies lapsed considerably. The reasons for the curtailment of the direct application of saisei itchi and an exclusive pro-Shinto religious policy was a result of factors which were both political and religious.

In the sphere of politics the Meiji government had, by mid-1871, achieved a considerable degree of national political consolidation and administrative security. In August of that year the Meiji leaders had, after long negotiations and political maneuvering, achieved control of the daimyō domains. The Imperial edict of August 29, 1871 reads: "We now completely
abolish the Clans (Han) and convert them into Domains (Ken), with the object of...abolishing the disease of government proceeding from multiform centres." The existence of independently controlled daimyō territories which had been the major stumbling block to national unification was now ended. The national control and political consolidation under Imperial authority achieved by the abolition of the han was the most outstanding achievement of the early Meiji government. Henceforth modern nation building could commence within the framework of the modern prefectural system which was set up in 1871.

By late 1871 the government undertook a re-organization of the central government. This restructuring, "the great change of 1871", was planned by a commission directed by government leaders of a much more progressive bent. A new, more permanent government organization was now planned. This administration saw less need to support the traditionalist, conservative policies favoured by reactionary daimyō and most members of the court. On September 13, 1871 this new administrative structure was formed. It consisted of the division of the Dajōkan into three chambers, Sa-in (Board of the Left), U-in (Board of the Right) and Sei-in (Central Board). All former government departments were placed under the Dajōkan. The Sei-in, dominated by the young samurai leaders, held the effective reins of power and "with the exception of Iwakura and Sanjō, the top posts
in the central government were swept clean of nobles and daimeño" and the government leaders commenced the construction of a new order.

Under this new re-organization the Jingikan was reduced to the level of an ordinary department. The reasons indicated for the downgrading of the Jingikan were far from specific. The official justification stated that the Jingikan's "jurisdictional offices were few in number compared to that of the Dajokan." As a result of the changes, the Jingikan (like the other administrative departments) suffered a considerable reduction in staff. Most of the senior and all lower-grade ranks were abolished. To replace the bureaucrats thus removed ordinary Shinto priests were appointed whose duties were restricted to the administration of shrine festivals.

The lowering of the status of the Jingikan caused considerable consternation in Restoration Shinto circles. The Shinto revivalists now found they no longer shared the same objectives as the new government. Henceforth, their political influence would be much less significant. The Jingikan was now to a degree an anachronism and a new government structure in which purely secular political policies would replace the stress on religion which characterized the previous administrative structure.

On May 22, 1871, for example, Census Regulations (kôseki
were enacted by a law which stated: "Census districts are created, in each of which, the Ko-chō [District Officer] and his assistant must procure accurate information as to the number of houses, of inhabitants, or births and deaths, and the movement of the population." Thus, Shinto shrine registration was replaced with a modern and secular system. On September 2, 1871, "the Department of Education (Mombushō) [was] established in place of the Daigaku [National University]." The Daigaku, then, which had stressed the tenets of the Hirata school was now abolished. It was replaced by the beginnings of a modern and Western-style education system.

Factions in the Jingikan

One of the primarily religious reasons for the down-grading of the Jingikan was the fact that the Shinto bureaucrats, who were drawn from various schools of Restoration Shinto, became involved in doctrinal disputes. The result was that the Shinto bureaucracy became rent by factional divisions which had a detrimental effect on both Jingikan administration and the Shinto revival movement. The chief cause of this division lay in the absolutist and radical nature of the Hirata school teachings. Included in the general undertaking of saisei itchi was the pre-eminent position accorded both the members and the doctrine of the Hirata school. Therefore, inherent in the application of
the Shinto religious policy was the danger of the wholesale application of the tenets of one school over the others. This was particularly unusual in the case of Shinto which before Meiji had seldom been held to a generally accepted doctrinal orthodoxy. The various branches of Shinto united by the goal of saisei itchi, the achievement of a religious self-identity and the need for a reconstructed shrine system began to assert their independent views once these goals had been achieved. Herein lay the internal weakness of early Meiji Shinto, a weakness which would become exacerbated and lead to conflict and ultimate division of the various groups that comprised the Shinto world.

The doctrinal orthodoxy attempted under saisei itchi was that of Hirata Atsutane and this met with resistance from some Shinto priests when applied locally, at the level of general shrine Shinto, by senkyōshi teachers. Thus Restoration Shinto which had succeeded on an ideological level and which had "provided the chief intellectual motivation for the restoration of Imperial rule" \(^{144}\) began to flounder when applied locally on a national scale. The leaders of the more traditional schools, such as Yoshida Ryōgi and Shirakawa Sekenori, found Hirata doctrines too eclectic and derivative of Buddhism and other religious systems. Hirata's doctrine indeed expressed a progressive universalism which included unique interpretations of such notions as a Supreme Creator Kami and an afterworld or
realm of the dead which were derived from Christian and Buddhist teachings. Atsutane, to meet the philosophical and theological tenor of the day, integrated these concepts (and others) into the Shinto schema. Atsutane's bold innovations were expanded by his successors Kanetane and Nobutane as well as Yano Gendō, Senge Takatomi, Ōkuni Takamasa and Maruyama Sakura. Many of these scholars formed independent branches of the Hirata school.

Within the school of Hirata Shinto there also developed broadly progressive and conservative groups. Theological progressives such as Kanetane, Gendō and Ōkuni were opposed in the Jingikan by conservative-traditionalists, such as Konoe Tadafusa, head of the Ise school of Hirata Shinto, and Shirakawa Sukenori of the ancient Shinto lineage. Both groups, however, were criticized by Fukuba Bisei and Kadawaki Shigeaya who were among the politically progressive Hirata school officials in the Jingikan. Bisei, also a senkyōshi chief official, advocated the inclusion of more modern reformist ideas and praised the usefulness of foreign 'enlightened' ideas in the promotion of Shinto. Kubo Sueshige (1830-1886), a progressive member and official Shinto commentator, stressed that the religious and political policies should not be mere imitations of the past but be made compatible with the necessitates of a changing Japan. This view was contrary to the spirit of saisei itchi.145
In the Jingikan factional wrangling over doctrinal issues became accentuated in 1870 over the question as to which kami should be worshipped in the Shinto government offices and over the question of the senkyōshi curriculum. These disputes made the Jingikan a prey to strong criticism by several authoritative government members, such as Etō Shimpei and Saigō Takamori who saw the Jingikan become a source of doctrinal confusion. These criticisms increased as the senkyōshi programme continued to make little progress. The demotion of the Jingikan in 1871 caused further rifts in the ranks of Restoration Shinto and this downgrading in effect halted the momentum of Restoration Shinto achievements.

The Jingishō (Department of Shinto)

The criticism of the conservative group became focused on Fukuba Bisei and Kadowaki Shigeaya. These Hirata scholars-officials had supported the new government changes of 1871 and thus were accorded leading positions in the Jingishō established on September 22, 1871 to replace the Jingikan. Etō Shimpei and Saigō Takamori, two dominant figures in the new government, became the leading officers in the Jingishō.

With the government changes of 1871, court Shinto ceremonies were removed to a separate office, the Shikiburyō (Ceremonial Office) which was placed under Dajōkan control.
Also in September 1871, the 'Eight Kami' worshipped in the Shinto administrative offices were transferred to the Palace Sanctuary (Kyūchū kashikodokoro) of the Imperial court. Thus, the religious character of the Jingishō was altered considerably. The emphasis in the Jingishō became one of study and research. There was little achieved in the sphere of religious administration. At the same time the doctrinal disputes and factional schisms continued to plague the department. The ineffectuality of the Jingishō reflected the general change in the religious policy of the government. By 1872 the government had considerably reduced its support of Shinto, and shrine administration began to take an inferior position in the priorities of government, a situation which lasted until around the turn of the century. At the same time, from the beginning of the 1870's amid an intellectual climate increasingly characterized by much more progressive and enlightened ideas, political policies stressed reform along modern and Western lines.

The Jingishō, reduced in staff and lacking the ardent commitment of the more conservative Hirata scholars, failed to make progress in the national proselytization of Shinto by senkyōshi. Consequently, the Jingishō became viewed as a "useless white elephant." Arguments arose between Etō and Saigō as to the usefulness of the department. Saigō called the Jingishō "a siesta department" and both
officials proposed its replacement by a more modern and pragmatic approach to religious administration. In April 1872, therefore, the Jingishō and senkyōshi were abolished and replaced by a Kyō bushō or Department of Religions which included Buddhists among its officials and was authorized to supervise the joint administration of both Shinto and Buddhism.

A major factor in the setting up of the Kyō bushō was the opposition to the early Meiji religious policy by the organized forces of sectarian Buddhism. This opposition was particularly effective as the government's main concern was socio-political stability. The Buddhist movement arose out of resentment at the general anti-Buddhist atmosphere, the preferential treatment accorded Shinto and also because many sect leaders wanted Buddhist teachings included in the national propagation of the Imperial cause. As a result amalgamated sect associations formed a unified Buddhist front which, led by vocal sect leaders, constantly petitioned the government to achieve their aims. Shimaji Mokurai, leader of the powerful West Honganji sect of Shin Buddhism, among others, proposed the formation of a department of religions in which Buddhism would be included. The result was the Kyō bushō established on April 21, 1872 which effected a Shinto-Buddhist amalgamation at the administrative level. This body under the direction of the politician Eto Shimpei was to carry out a general religio-ideological education of
the populace. The new stress was to be on the promotion of an educational policy and the Kyōbushō worked hand in hand with the Mombushō (Department of Education). From 1872 onwards the religious character of the government supplied by Restoration Shinto and the Jingikan was gradually replaced by a more modern, politically-oriented and systematic approach to the dissemination of religious ideas through national education.

The government re-organization of 1871, then, was followed by a sharp increase in the momentum towards the formulation of political and religious policies more in keeping with the dictates of modernization. The sole promotion of Shinto under the offices of the central government quickly came to be viewed as impractical for the advancement of social reform. Under the Kyōbushō, saisei itchi was replaced by saiseikyō itchi (the unity of religion, education and government).150 From 1875 onwards until around 1900 there was a general trend away from the stress on Shinto by government. In 1882 independent Shinto sects (Kyōha Shinto) were formally recognized and allowed independence from the Shrine Shinto system. The Imperial Constitution of 1889 provided guarantees, albeit of a conditional nature, of freedom of religious belief for all.151 This freedom, nonetheless, was accorded within the framework of an Imperial state which was decreed "sacred and inviolable."152 Thus, in Meiji, Western political and educational ideas became incorporated with native absolutist notions of political control and Imperial house dominance. The result was the for-
mulation of the *kokutai* ideal into which Shinto was incorporated in the form of State Shinto. Therefore, though the government of 1872 forced into the background ideas of a return to the theocratic polity of ancient Japan exemplified by the religious policy of *saisei itchi*, Restoration Shinto ideology, in the sense of having elevated the religious authority of the Emperor, provided a religio-ideological legacy which was utilized to considerable political effect in later years. To paraphrase Clifford Geertz, the first five years of Meiji proved that an increase in the ritual potency of the head of the political state meant an increase in the status of the religion providing the ritual element.\(^{153}\)

In the final analysis, it seems that the ideology behind the religious policy of the early Meiji state was more important than the mechanisms set up to disseminate this ideology.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The first five years of the Meiji period and the establishment of the Imperial state are noted for the promotion of Shinto in the form of the religious ideology and policy of *saisei itchi* which acted to bolster the Imperial cause. The implementation of *saisei itchi* carried out under the impetus of Restoration Shinto scholar-officials lent a definite religious character to early Meiji government. With the re-establishment of the ancient *Jingikan-Dajōkan* structure in 1869, Shinto influence reached its apogee. Under the *Jingikan* order was brought to the Shinto world in that Shinto became consolidated into a systematized religious structure and for the first time in eight centuries acquired an independent self-identity free from the influence of institutional Buddhism.

*Saisei itchi* represents the formation of a religious structure by political means. At the same time, the acceptance by the government of Restoration Shinto theories of Imperial state structure, placed the central administration in the context of religion. In the first years of Meiji, a time of shifting allegiances, experimentation with administrative forms and political insecurity, the government, faced with the lack of a clearly defined modern alternative,
turned to an indigenous source of government found in
the administrative forms of the ancient past. The govern-
ment thus became characterized by the influence of Shinto
and Shinto ideology which provided the religious authority
for the Emperor around whom the state was consolidated.
In this early period there were few clear-cut political
policies and various groups inside and outside of govern-
ment promoted their own political interests. The Emperor,
however, provided a focal point around which diverse
forces rallied and also became utilized in his age-old role
as a legitimizer of political power. The expansion and
development of Shinto as a religious system in the first
five years of Meiji attests to the fact that political
leaders supported the revival of Shinto to its former
position of administrative prominence. They also supported
the proselytization of Shinto amidst a populace ignorant
of the values both of the ancient Emperor state construct
and of the goals of the Restoration. The identity of
religion and political goals allowed Shinto for a time to
dominate the religious sphere and also, by the promotion
of the policy of saisei itchi, government to a degree
became imbued with a religious intent.

The utility of the saisei itchi system lay in the fact
that it provided a religio-ideological and administrative
framework which unified the court and samurai leaders and
aided them in their efforts to control the divergent
interests of the feudal daimyō. After political unification was achieved, however, and the domains returned to the throne, the way was open for the introduction of more modern forms of government. As Prime Minister Sanjō Sanetomi, writing in 1885, pointed out, the re-introduction of the ancient government model was one which "suited as a temporary expedient to the exigencies of the time."¹ The failure of saisei itchi, then, was the failure of the re-established Jingikan-Dajōkan administrative model of 1869 to form a lasting administrative structure. Furthermore, although Restoration Shinto achieved a great deal of its goals by 1871, the failure of saisei itchi highlights the lack of success of Restoration Shinto doctrines to sustain a popular following amid the growing social and philosophical movements of the 'enlightenment'. Another key factor in the downfall of saisei itchi was that it was primarily a religious construct and as such was constrained by the religious factors prevalent in the Japanese scene. That is, the pluralism inherent in Japanese religion as a whole acted as an effective obstacle to the overlordship of Shinto.

In order to define the parameters of the saisei itchi construct, it is necessary to measure it against the wider background of what has come to be known as the State Shinto period. The question is how far can we designate saisei itchi, the prevalent expression of the early Meiji Shinto-government alliance, as State Shinto, the term used by contemporary
scholars to describe the interaction of the Shinto religion and the Japanese state between 1868 and 1945. The beginnings of State Shinto can be traced to the official pronouncement of 1882 which allowed the independence of numerous Shinto sects which had developed with their own founders and doctrinal traditions and at the same time placed Shrine Shinto into a formally designated non-religious category. By treating Sect Shinto as a separate entity from the more traditional Shinto shrines and in effect leaving "matters of religion and morals [mainly in the hands of]... the sects," the government was able to side-step the freedom of religion provision laid down later in the Imperial Constitution of 1889. The government then began a gradual process of the promotion of Shrine Shinto, devoid of such religious characteristics as doctrinal development and theological research, as a symbol of patriotic national worship. Thus, from the failure of saisei itchi there developed a more modern, politically systematized and oriented construct. This, the kokutai, utilized Shinto tenets and institutions for the popular indoctrination of the ethico-political goals of the secular state. From 1900 under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shrine Shinto became a virtual civil body and was regulated within a separate jurisdiction from the religious bodies of Japan. The year 1882, then, "marks the beginning of an effort by the government to differentiate Shinto as a national cult from Shinto as a religion."
Shrine Shinto thus defined evolved to play a major role in propagation of the *kokutai* (lit. national entity) ideology which had its beginnings in the late Meiji period. The *kokutai* idea was the notion of the state as a united national family and was characterized by nationalistic indoctrination by a broad variety of political, educational and religious means. For example, a primary buttress to the *kokutai* was the ethical training laid out in the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 which promoted Emperor reverence and loyalty. By the turn of the century at a time of victories in foreign wars with China (1895) and Russia (1905) and in an atmosphere of virulent nationalism, Shinto came to the fore in the form of State Shinto which was utilized within the *kokutai* framework to engender national mobilization in support of the war effort. State Shinto, then, is the term used by post-war scholars to describe those aspects of Shinto utilized as an intrinsic facet of *kokutai* nationalist ideology and thus more accurately should be termed *kokutai* Shinto. Under the dictates of the *kokutai*, shrine worship became thoroughly politicized. Shrine reverence as fostered by State Shinto superceded personal religious ties and beliefs. Furthermore, the manipulation of Shinto by politicians proved detrimental to the theological development of Shinto as a religious system. State Shinto, then, became, at least theologically, a contradiction in terms. It was the political power of the state given a religious guise.
Some scholars hold, however, that State Shinto, despite the political artifice of its official designation as a non-religion, did possess "unmistakably most of the characteristics of a normal religious cult"\(^5\) which to a high degree utilized the visible forms and trappings of the Shinto religion. However, by the turn of the century, the political intent behind the religious facade made State Shinto a religion which denied its religiosity and it thus became a "national ritual which had little religion."\(^6\)

As Professor Fridell points out, State Shinto must be recognized as an umbrella term coined in retrospect to describe the multi-faceted interaction of Shinto and government between 1868 and 1945.\(^7\) As such, this paper argues that the term is inadequate to define the alliance of Shinto and government which took the form of saisei itchi in the first five years of Meiji. Saisei itchi herein has been viewed in its own terms and within the context of both its intellectual antecedents and as the term used in contemporary Imperial government pronouncements which heralded the Shinto foundations of the new state. Saisei itchi was a religio-political duality based on a religious theory in which both elements were identified within the framework of religious precepts. This identity differed substantively in intent from the subsequent State Shinto formulation in that the religious concerns of Restoration Shintoists in government were accepted and developed. The first Meiji government
administrations between 1868 and 1871 were placed in a religious context and acquired a religious character when the objectives of Revival Shinto became allied to the political goals of the secular leaders. Furthermore, the Restoration Shinto officials in the Jingikan formulated and supervised the religious policy of saisei itchi which marked the achievement of the revitalization of Shinto institutions. In contrast "it was the political authority, rather than the religious elite, which determined the policies and activities of State Shinto." The identity of Shinto with government in the first Meiji years exemplified by saisei itchi, when viewed within the context of its own development, exhibits enough of a contrast to State Shinto that it can be treated as a distinct phenomenon worthy of consideration on its own terms as an historical entity.
Chapter 1

1 Classical or ancient period of Japanese history refers approximately to the Nara Period (646-794) and to the early and mid-Heian Period (794-c.994).

2 The term kami defies an exact etymological definition acceptable to all scholars. In general, kami are the awe-inspiring protective spirits and primary objects of reverence around which ancient rites and ceremonies were carried out. The collective practices of this indigenous cult came later to be known as Shinto or the Way of the Kami.

3 Bakuhan system: government by a central military ruler (shōgun) and military authority (bakufu) over feudal domains (han).


Chapter 2


2 Sansom, Japan, p. 51.


4 Bock, p. vi.

5 Bock, p. 7.

6 Some authorities credit the Taihō Code both as the source of eighth century administrative forms and as being the main inspiration for the Meiji government structure formed in 1869. Professor Bock (1970), however, has shown that the Yōrō Code was a separate compilation from the Taihō Code and
not as most scholars maintain, a slight revision of it. Furthermore, as little survives of the contents of the Taihō Code, the Yoro compilation may claim the distinction of providing the model for the Jingikan-Dajōkan structure re-established in early Meiji.


8 Sansom, Japan, p. 158.


11 Sansom, "Early - Part One", p. 84.


13 Bock, p. 10.

14 For example, George Sansom, Murakami Shigeyoshi, Yanaga Chitoshi.

15 Bock, p. 10.


17 There is much debate as to the exact origin of the term Shinto and its use in everyday language. The term does not appear in the Engi shiki and may not have seen widespread usage before the Kamakura Period (1185-1333). Shinto means the way of the gods and was used to define the practices of the native kami religion in the same way as the way of the Buddha and the way of Confucius. The word Shinto is, however, of foreign origin and like the term Meiji it may have been taken from the Chinese Book of Changes. In early Japan the term kamigoto defined the affairs of the kami religion and the term matsurigoto described the ruler's dual function as head of government and chief officiator of kami rites.

18 R.K. Reischauer, p. 23.


20 Harada Toshiaki, Jinja: minzokugaku no tachiba kara miru, Shibundō, Tokyo, 1961, p. 178.
Chapter 3


2 Sansom, Japan, p. 184.

3 Kuroda, p. 10.


6 Kuroda, p. 12.


8 Tsunoda, p. 282.


10 Yoshida Kanemoto, Yuiitsu shintō myōhō yōshū quoted in Tsunoda, p. 271.

11 Tsunoda, p. 272.

13 Kuroda, p. 19.


15 Muraoka, p. 8.

16 Tsunoda, p. 363.

17 Tsunoda, p. 363.

18 Muraoka, p. 16.

19 Sansom, Japan, p. 506.


21 Kuroda, p. 19.


24 Spae, p. 22.


27 Muraoka, pp. 167-168.


30 Murakami, Kokka, p. 67.

32 Muraoka, p. 203.


34 Apter, p. 17.

Chapter 4


3 Coville, p. 3.

4 Wilson, pp. 1-2.


7 Hōrei zensho 1867-8, _TASJ_, p. 2.

8 Hōrei zensho 1867-8, _TASJ_, p. 2.


10 Craig, p. 7.

11 Wilson, pp. 5-6.

12 Wilson, p. 5.

13 Coville, p. 6.

14 Fujitani Toshio, _Shintō shinkō to minshū tennōsei_, Hōritsu bunka sha, Kyoto, 1980, p. 16.
15 Fujitani, p. 16.
16 Tokutomi Iichirō, Iwakura Tomomi kō, Hozonkai, Kyoto, 1932, p. 2.
17 Wilson, p. 12.
20 Murakami, Modern, p. 10.
21 Muraoka, p. 203.
22 Coville, p. 5.
23 Fujitani, p. 175.
24 Murakami, Kokka, p. 81.
25 Murakami, Kokka, p. 82.
26 Murakami, Kokka, p. 82.
28 Okakura, p. 113.
29 Okakura, p. 111.
30 Tokushige, p. 160.
31 Muraoka, p. 203.
34 Murakami, Kokka, p. 84.
35 Wilson, p. 21; footnote 38, p. 131.
36 Kosaka, p. 54.
37 Iwakura quoted in Tokushige, pp. 660-661.

Tsunoda, pp. 642-643.

Wilson, p. 10.

Ishin shi, vol. 5, Tokyo, 1941, pp. 60-64.

Hōrei zensho 1867-8, TASJ, pp. 4-5.

Ishin shi, p. 377.

There is a high degree of inconsistency in the rendering into English of the titles of the Shinto administrative bodies of the Meiji period. Since no standardized translation exists, confusion is best avoided by retention of the Japanese.


Wilson, p. 23.


Wilson, p. 23.


Hori Ichirō and Toda Yoshio imply wrongly that Tokudaiji headed the Jingikan which they mistakenly state as being set up in February 1868. See Hori and Toda, "Part One - Shinto" in Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era, ed. Kishimoto Hideo, tr. John F. Howes, Obunsha, Tokyo, 1956, p. 44. However, as these authorities state, on January 19, 1868, Tokudaiji received a secret memorial from the government asking him to organize the setting up of the Jingikan. Tokudaiji in turn consulted his advisor Ōkuni Takamasa as to the efficacy of such an implementation. Ōkuni, in reply, outlined the form the modern Jingikan should take. He published this in his work Jingikan hongi (History of the Council of Shinto Affairs). Ōkuni's ideas received widespread attention. See Meiji shūkyō shi kenkyū, pp. 14-15.
53 Shinbutsu bunri, p. 70.
54 Shinbutsu bunri, p. 81.
55 Shinbutsu bunri, p. 6.

56 The Kokugaku investigators of the Shinto heritage maintained that the Emperor Jimmu (660?B.C.-585?B.C.), the semi-mythological first Emperor of Japan, was the originator of both the saisei itchi construct and the Jingikan. The highly idealized rule of Jimmu was constantly referred to in Imperial pronouncements in early Meiji as an inspirational model of government. See Ishin shi, p. 472.

57 Hall, p. 29.
58 Hall, p. 29.
59 Coville, p. 6.
60 Edict of March 17, 1868 quoted in Muraoka, p. 204.
61 Collcut, p. 13.
63 Dajokan order of April 20, 1868 quoted in Holtom
"Political Philosophy", p. 11, footnote 3.

64 Murakami, Modern, p. 25.
65 Murakami, Kokka, p. 87.
66 Murakami, Modern, pp. 5-6.
67 Murakami, Modern, p. 5.
68 Kishimoto Hideo and Wakimoto Tsuneya, "Religion During Tokugawa" in Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era, p. 11.

69 Kishimoto and Wakimoto, p. 13.
70 Sakamoto, "Meiji ishin", p. 57.
71 Sakamoto, "Meiji ishin", p. 57.
Soejima had studied with the Rev. Guido Verbeck, an American Protestant missionary, in Nagasaki in the early 1860's. See Kido, Diary, p. 11, footnote 35.

Wilson, p. 35.
Wilson, p. 40.
Ishin shi, p. 473.
Hori and Toda, see footnote 49, p. 52.
Kido, Diary, p. 53.
Ishin shi, p. 540.
Wilson, p. 66.
Craig, p. 13.
Wilson, p. 66.

The term Jingikan suffers from a lack of consistent translation. Historians have tended towards individual renderings of the term. Bock (1970) underlines this discrepancy and uses the title Department of Shinto. However, perhaps Council of Shinto Affairs is more precise as this translation reflects the Jingikan's position in the two kan eight shō structure as an equal in status to the Council of State (Dajōkan).

Ishin shi, p. 475.
Murakami, Kokka, p. 82.
Wilson, p. 58.
Jansen, Sakamoto, p. 363.
Ishin shi, p. 474.


Coville, p. 11.

Imperial Edict of January 3, 1870 in *Shinbutsu bunri*, p. 86.

Kitagawa, p. 201.


Umeda, p. 28.

Sakurai, p. 18.


Kamada Junichi, "Meiji shintō gyōseijo no ni, san no mondai", *Kōgakkan ronson*, Vol. 10, No. 3, June 1977, p. 2. In fact it was not until the shrine merger policy carried out between 1906 and 1912 that a clear-cut set of regulations was laid down.

Murakami, *Kokka*, p. 94.

Murakami, *Kokka*, p. 94.


The Edict of May 1871 quoted in Hagiwara, p. 226.


The Charter Oath of 1868, arguably the main secular legislation of the first Meiji years, also calls for the need for a nation cleansed of old abuses. The Charter Oath took the form of a Shinto oath which by the recommendation of Kido Kōin was sworn by the entire government body before the Shinto kami in the Imperial palace. Article 4 of this document states that "evil customs of the past be destroyed and all law be founded upon the justice of heaven and earth." See Charter Oath in Meiji shūkyō shi kenkyū, p. 10. It is therefore possible to attribute religious motivation to this clause and state that the 'evil customs' and 'old abuses' may refer to the abuses of Shinto under the Ryōbu system.


Oguchi and Takagi, p. 335.

Wilson, p. 59.

Wilson, p. 60.

Sakurai, p. 15.

Hori and Toda, pp. 54-55.

The term senkyōshi applies also to the individual teacher-official or missionary-emissary who acted as propagator for the religio-political ideas of the new government.

Ishin shi, p. 482.

Ishin shi, p. 483.

Imperial Edict of January 3, 1870 in Shinbutsu bunri, p. 86.

Tokushige, p. 233.

Sakurai, p. 17.


131 Coville, p. 13.

132 Coville, p. 13.


134 Rules for *senkyōshi* quoted in Matsutani and Undō, p. 130.


136 *Ishin shi*, p. 540.


139 Craig, p. 22.

140 Murakami, *Kokka*, p. 98.

141 *Ishin shi*, p. 479.


143 *Hōrei zensho* 1871, *TASJ*, p. 20.

144 Muraoka, p. 233.

145 Muraoka, p. 220.


147 Fridell, "Establishment", p. 141.


149 *Shinbutsu bunri*, p. 281.

150 Tokushige, p. 655.

152 Kishimoto and Wakimoto, p. 32.


Chapter 5


2 Fridell, "Establishment", p. 147.


5 Holtom, *National Faith*, p. 64.


7 Fridell, "Fresh Look", p. 561.

8 Kitagawa, p. 213.
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