

The Discourse on the “Land of Kami” (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan

National Consciousness and International Awareness

KURODA Toshio

Translated by Fabio RAMBELLI

This essay examines the concept of “shinkoku” (land of the kami) as it evolved in medieval Japan, and the part this concept played in the development of a state ideology. A close look at medieval documents reveals that medieval Shinto doctrines arose in Japan as part of the exoteric-esoteric system (kenmitsu taisei), the dominant politico-religious ethos of the times, and was heavily influenced by the Buddhist teaching of original enlightenment (hongaku shisō). In this sense it was a construct of Buddhism, and a reactionary phenomenon arising out of the decadence of the earlier system of government rule.

THE EXO-ESOTERIC SYSTEM (*kenmitsu taisei* 顯密体制) was, as I have discussed in other writings, inseparably related to the medieval Japanese state. How, then, did *kenmitsu* thought influence the contemporaneous awareness of the Japanese state and of the world outside Japan? I would like to investigate this question in the present essay through an analysis of the medieval discourse on the “land of the kami” (*shinkoku* 神国).

Earlier studies on the *shinkoku* concept have tended to consider it in isolation rather than in the context of the various historical factors with which it was inseparably linked, factors such as exo-esotericism (*kenmitsu shugi* 顯密主義, the womb or essence of *shinkoku* thought) and the contemporaneous Japanese attitude toward the world out-

* This article is a translation of the fourth section, “Chūsei no shinkoku shisō: Kokka ishi-ki to kokusai kankaku,” of Kuroda Toshio’s essay “Chūsei ni okeru kenmitsu taisei no tenkai” (KURODA 1994). The first section of this essay is translated above (pp. 233–69) in this special issue as “The Development of the *Kenmitsu* System as Japan’s Medieval Orthodoxy.”

side. Modern scholars, having rather hastily linked *shinkoku* thought with external developments like the Mongol invasion and internal events like the Kenmu Restoration, tend to treat it as a manifestation of “national self-awareness.” In the present essay I do not intend to consider the *shinkoku* concept as a manifestation of a suprahistorical autochthonous cult or national consciousness, nor as a mere political or class ideology. Instead I shall analyze its logic and its characteristics as they related to the dominant medieval consciousness of state and to the perception of the non-Japanese world.

To state my conclusions in advance, *shinkoku* thought was, philosophically, an essential part of exo-esotericism, and in this sense was a construct of Buddhism; historically, it represented an essentially reactionary phenomenon arising out of the decadence of the earlier system of government rule composed of multiple centers of influence (*kenmon taisei* 権門体制), that is, out of the decadence of the *kenmitsu taisei* itself.

The Problematic Nature of the Medieval Discourse on Shinkoku

The term *shinkoku* usually refers to the idea, found in many medieval documents, that “Japan is the land of the kami.” This was in general a rather vague concept, meaning simply that “Japan is the country protected by the kami,” and it allowed a variety of positions ranging from a simple religious belief in divine protection, to complex doctrines on the sacrality of particular shrines, to political thought relating to the imperial throne and imperial rule.

If considered in this broad a sense the concept is indeed supra-historical in nature, existing as it does from the time of its first occurrence in the *Nihonshoki* until the present day. Still, it must be kept in mind that it is the *medieval* interpretation of the *shinkoku* concept that is of particular significance, since the concept achieved its greatest maturity during that period; among all the texts dealing with the “land of the kami,” for example, it is the *Jinnō shōtōki* 神皇正統記, by Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房 (1293–1354), that is traditionally considered the most representative. Furthermore, medieval *shinkoku* thought has had a singular and profound impact upon the modern age, retaining the power to function as a living ideology even in quite recent times, as many of us have experienced personally in prewar Japan. These developments were in large part due, of course, to the distinctive character of the imperial system (*tennōsei* 天皇制) and the nationalist ideology of the modern Japanese state, but insofar as they represented the denouement of Japanese history up to that point we

must recognize the special significance that the *shinkoku* discourse has had in Japanese intellectual history.

The variety of forms taken by *shinkoku* thought has contributed to the desire among scholars to separate it from its historical context and analyze it as an independent conceptual construct endowed with a meaning all its own. Closely related to this approach is the ideology of “Shinto” as an indigenous, suprahistorical Japanese entity that has always existed independently of Buddhism and Confucianism. Following its creation by early modern Nativism, this ideology informed Meiji State Shinto, the Imperial vision of history (*kōkoku shikan* 皇国史観), Japanese folklore studies (which represent a form of “Neonativism” [*shin-kokugaku* 新国学]), and contemporary concepts of Japanese culture. By now it has taken on the character of a deeply rooted traditional concept.

It is within the context of this particular interpretation of Shinto history that the academic analyses of the *shinkoku* concept have taken place. This has led to the view that the medieval *shinkoku* concept, corrupted though it may have been by spurious tendencies like *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合 (Buddhist-Shinto syncretism), should still be considered an indigenous religious notion rooted in the kami cults (*jingi sūhai* 神祇崇拜) that formed the basis of popular religiosity.¹

This position, as far as it goes, is rooted in an objective view of Japanese religious and intellectual history. One should be aware, however, of its underlying presuppositions. Based as it is on the assumption that Shinto is a belief or religion originally different from Buddhism and that the separation (*bunri* 分離) of the kami and buddhas is therefore the natural state of things, it concludes that if one studies the historical transformations of this autonomous Shinto one has thereby grasped its historical reality. But the notion that the old forms are the original ones—and are thus correct—originated with the “nationalism from above” that commenced around the time of the Meiji Restoration. Scholars are free to promote the distinctive qualities of Shinto if they so wish, but this is an entirely separate issue from whether Shinto has ever been, in objective historical terms, an independent entity. It was because of its ambiguous stance on this point that the above-mentioned scholarly approach was unable to offer a coherent critique of modern ethnic radicalism.

From this Nativist traditional view developed a second interpretation, one claiming that the medieval *shinkoku* concept was a manifestation of national consciousness of the same order as the modern

¹ This is the general view of Shinto historians. Needless to say, it is shared by some scholars of Japanese folklore as well.

consciousness of the nation-state. According to this interpretation, the perfect form of the *shinkoku* concept is to be found in the *Jinnō shōtōki*, the fundamental spirit of which should serve as a model even today (see, e.g., YAMADA 1932 and HIRAIZUMI 1933). Philological studies of the classics conducted by the advocates of this view have yielded a certain amount of evidence. This approach, however, possesses neither the outlook nor the methodology to pursue a concrete investigation of the history of the state, and it lacks the philosophical resources needed to perceive the religious nature of Shinto (either that, or it has intentionally avoided the issue). Its antimodern and nonscholarly attitudes are obvious. An accurate analysis of the “divine land” is possible only on the basis of a firm and rigorous understanding of the state, religion, and history.

Another approach sees the *shinkoku* concept as an expression of religious thought, and discerns in it a premodern essence as defined according to a historical theory of developmental stages. One form of this approach, which accepts the standard view that Kamakura New Buddhism comprised the mainstream of medieval religiosity, views the *shinkoku* discourse as an opposing mode of thought linked to ancient forms of authority.² However, one might equally well interpret it as part of the medieval, rather than of the ancient, worldview, since the concept was employed by the bakufu and the warrior class (see NAGAHARA 1951). In the final analysis such evaluations are based not on the concepts themselves but on the political relationships of which the concepts formed a part, and are thus questionable as constructs of intellectual history.

Yet another approach focuses on the ideological structure, seeing *shinkoku* thought as a fundamentally politico-religious discourse supported by a religious logic. This position, which holds that the *shinkoku* discourse, reactionary and fragmented though it may have been, was essentially medieval in character (see KURODA 1975, pp. 253–330), attempts to overcome the weaknesses of the various theories discussed above (including the equating of the *shinkoku* idea with the modern concept of state) and makes a clear contribution by revealing the premodern nature of the *shinkoku* discourse and its basic ties with medieval thought. However, because of its exclusive emphasis on the *shinkoku* discourse as an internal, class-related ideology, it cannot adequately explain the role of *shinkoku* thought in shaping Japan’s national

² One of my own earlier articles, “Kamakura Bukkyō ni okeru Ikkō senju to honji sui-jaku” 鎌倉仏教における一向専修と本地垂迹 (originally published in KURODA 1975, pp. 191–218; reprinted in KURODA 1995, pp. 254–82), is based on this standpoint. This theory still has its advocates today.

consciousness and its outlook on the outside world. The formation of national consciousness is something that cannot be grasped in terms of internal class conflict alone; the role of international factors must be taken into account.

But did the conditions really exist in medieval Japan for the formation of a concept of a state? Unless this issue is clarified it is hardly worth discussing the role of *shinkoku* thought in the Japanese national consciousness, especially in light of scholarly warnings about the care necessary when even so much as mentioning the existence of a state during the medieval era (see ISHII 1970, especially the appendix to the introduction). The mere fact that the various relationships constituting a state are in place does not necessarily signify the existence of corresponding discourses on the *concept* of the state. Let me thus begin my discussion with a consideration of three points relating to this issue.

Among the fundamental forces working for the emergence of a concept of state in medieval Japan, the first to consider is the natural movement toward the creation of a realm in which to actualize a universal ideal. Such a movement formed a basic part of the general development of the feudal system, in which there existed a political entity that transcended the domination of the separate feudal lords and sublated the fundamental contradictions of feudal society (i.e., class conflict and internecine struggle among the domains). A “state” of this type presupposed the authority of an earlier state, and developed its own concept of state in connection with this. In medieval Japan this can be seen in the nature of imperial authority, which lay at the basis of the multi-centered *kenmon* system of power—the Japanese concept of imperial law (*ōbō* 王法) did not refer to actual political power, but to an ideal, a universal order or principle (KURODA 1975, pp. 447–77; and 1983).³

The second point to consider relates to the international situation in East Asia. For the medieval Japanese “state,” “international” relations with East Asia were an ineludible, given condition. Japan, heteronomous though it was, was one of the constitutive elements involved in the creation of the East Asian world. In the process of this creation there emerged the concept of such “states” as China (Shintan 震旦) and Japan (Honchō 本朝).⁴ The relaxation of the ancient system of

³ Although the existence of such concepts such as *kuni* 国 (state) or *kokuō* 国王 (king) does not necessarily imply the existence of a state, I think that it is possible to understand the various actual relations underlying the production of such concepts as one configuration of the state, whatever its nature may be.

⁴ Although such concepts were mainly based on an awareness of territory (*kokudo* 国土), it would be inaccurate to completely deny their nature as concepts of the state.

tributary states (*sakuhō taisei* 冊封体制) that occurred after the tenth century led to a maturation of conditions in Japan for the attainment of relative autonomy and the formation of a concept of national independence. Such developments were furthered by events like the eleventh-century attack of the Toi 刀伊,⁵ the thirteenth-century Mongol invasions, and the Korean assault of Tsushima in 1419; regardless of how unusual they were, these episodes generated in Japan a feeling of struggle and conflict with other countries. Further research is necessary before we can judge how widely spread oral and written texts dealing with Japan and foreign lands were among the common people, but it is certain that the opportunities were there for the formation of the concept of nation.

The third point concerns the fact that, as far as the ruling establishment was concerned, the conditions were in place for the appearance of a state ideology as a tool of domination. One such condition was the necessity on the part of political leaders to emphasize their own authority, a necessity dictated by the circumstances of Japanese feudalism. The development of the feudal system in Japan was a piecemeal affair that left the ruling order dependent upon the traditional *kenmon* centers of power, and thus in need of clarifying its own position of leadership. This need resulted partly from the universal nature of authority in any system of rule; partly from the natural tendency in feudalism for the hierarchy of leaders, centered upon royal authority (*ōken* 王権), to expand the influence of the state; but primarily from the inevitability of emphasizing state ideology in response to a variety of deepening crises. Playing a part in this process was exo-esotericism, the orthodox religion of the establishment, which had its own reasons for emphasizing the state ideology. I have already discussed how exo-esotericism, with its fundamentally esoteric standpoint, regarded the relation between the imperial law (*ōbō*) and the Buddhist law (*buppo* 仏法) as one of mutual dependence (see KURODA 1975 and 1983).⁶ This concept, based on the notion of the sanctity of the realm (*kokudo* 国土), was further emphasized in reaction to the development of the medieval heterodox/reform movements (interestingly, the term *shinkoku* invariably appears in documents denouncing the new Buddhist sects [see KURODA 1975, pp. 253-330]).

The subject of the present essay is precisely the extent to which the

⁵ The Toi were a Tungus tribe residing in the Korean peninsula. They attacked Tsushima and northern Kyūshū in 1019. (Translator's note)

⁶ The terms *ōbō* and *buppo*, translated here as "imperial law" and "Buddhist law," also refer to the entirety of the social structures and institutions that Kuroda so cogently describes. See the essay on "The Imperial Law and Buddhist Law" in this issue, pp. 271-86. (Translator's note)

concept of “state” emphasized by the authorities was based on a real understanding of the country’s situation. I believe that the dominant classes had to emphasize the governmental order and the authority of the “Japanese state” (*Nipponkoku* 日本国) and consciously create a concept of state because of the particular nature of their domination. Although the *shinkoku* discourse may have been involved in every aspect of the state consciousness that formed under these conditions, it can nonetheless be seen as an expression of one of the most characteristic aspects of this consciousness.

The Formation of Medieval Shinto Doctrines

The medieval discourse on *shinkoku* is inseparably related to the various traditions of “Shinto doctrine” (*shintō setsu* 神道説) that emerged during the medieval period. The relationship is not one in which the various Shinto doctrines arose out of a clear concept of Japan as the “land of the kami”; on the contrary, the *shinkoku* concept arose as one expression of the diverse kami doctrines that developed under the rubric of “Shinto.” Thus in order to analyze the medieval discourse on *shinkoku* it is first necessary to examine the Shinto teachings from the perspective of the history of religions.

The Shinto doctrines—doctrines that dealt with the deities of heaven and earth (*jingi* 神祇)—arose with the formation of such systems as Ryōbu 兩部 Shinto, Hie 日吉 (Sannō 山王) Shinto, and Miwa 三輪 Shinto between the end of the Heian period and the middle of the Kamakura period. They displayed an enormous development from the mid-Kamakura period to the Nanbokuchō Era (when Ise Shinto suddenly arose), apparently in answer to an increased popular interest in the kami. If we can understand the reasons for and the significance of this interest, we can thereby understand the historical import of the various Shinto teachings.

Until now the usual explanation has been that, despite the strong Buddhist flavor in many of the Shinto teachings, the general populace was gradually liberating itself intellectually from Buddhist thought. According to this view, among the various doctrines stressing the superiority of the kami over the buddhas some held that Shinto was indigenous and peculiar to the Japanese ethnic group. The reasons given for these developments include such external and internal crises as the Mongol invasions and the Kenmu Restoration, as well as the new social situation brought about by the rise of the warriors and the common people in medieval society.

This received interpretation raises issues of great relevance to the

present essay. First, if we assume that the medieval Shinto doctrines incorporated a rationale for conflict with Buddhism, what then is the position of these doctrines in the development of exo-esotericism? Second, if the Shinto doctrines can be described in the above terms, was the *shinkoku* discourse really an expression of “native beliefs” (*koyū shinkō* 固有信仰), “ethnic self-awareness” (*minzokuteki jikaku* 民族的自覚), “the ancient stratum of Japanese consciousness” (*Nihonjin no ishiki no kosō* 日本人の意識の古層; MARUYAMA 1972), and other features ascribed to the medieval concept of nation?

The Shinto doctrines are manifold and heterogeneous. The most influential ones at the time, Ryōbu Shinto and Hie Shinto, were grounded respectively in Shingon esotericism and Tendai philosophy—indeed, they may be seen as portions of those teachings. Thus in their case the interpretation outlined above does not apply. Ise Shinto, however, is commonly believed to have rejected Buddhism, and consequently the idea has grown that Shinto doctrinal development was marked by tendencies to break with Buddhism and stress the superiority of the kami. Thus the quickest way to clarify this entire issue may be to examine the character of Ise Shinto.

First we must define the limits of the discursive field known as Ise Shinto, which developed mainly around the Watarai clan during the middle and late Kamakura period. As is clear from both contemporaneous texts and from the school’s later historical development, Ise Shinto discourse was quite varied in expression, and it incorporated many Buddhist elements. Such elements, seen by present-day Shinto scholarship as external accretions or as evidence of doctrinal immaturity, are often excluded from consideration. I find it hard to regard this as correct scholarly procedure, given that these elements are actually present in the original texts. I shall discuss this issue in more detail later.

Let us first consider the Ise Shinto doctrines related to the kami and their divine power (*shintoku* 神徳). In Ise Shinto texts the word “kami” relates either to the deities in general or to the twofold Great Shrine of Ise in particular. Even if it were possible today to hermeneutically analyze the differences between the two usages, such distinctions were by no means clear when the words were first used. An example of the former usage is the concept of “divine mind” (*shinshin* 心神), as in the expression “divine mind is the basis of heaven and earth, the body is a transformation of the five agents (*gogyō* 五行)” (WST, p. 78), from an oracle in the *Yamatohime no mikoto seiki* 倭姫命世記. Considering this in conjunction with the statement “human beings are sacred entities (*shinbutsu* 神物) under the heavens, there-

fore do not offend the divine mind” (WST, p. 18), from a prophecy of Yamatohime no mikoto in the *Gochinza denki* 御鎮座伝記, we see that “divine mind” is the kami within the body, considered as the basis of the universe in a sort of spiritualistic claim. The second meaning of “kami,” related to the Great Shrine of Ise, refers of course to the Sun Goddess Tenshō Kōtajjin [Amaterasu Ōmikami], the divine ancestor of the emperor’s lineage and one of the first generation of earthly deities. Because of this Tenshō is characteristically presented as the supreme kami. The *Shinmei hisho* 神名秘書 describes the twofold Great Shrine as supreme and peerless, the original source of everything:

It is the supreme spiritual sanctuary (*sōrei* 宗靈); nothing is more venerable. Therefore, it is different from all the other shrines in the country, in that it is the source of the life essence (*seimei* 精明) of heaven and earth. (WST, p. 202)

This account correlates with those in the *Nihonshoki* and other texts that link the Great Shrine of Ise with the “origin of heaven and earth” and the “source of the original chaos (*konton* 混沌).” However, it is clear that the underlying logic here of “origin” and “source” is essentially the same as that in the spiritualistic explanations of the “divine mind,” as seen in the statement, “Put the origin as such in the original beginning; leave the origin as such to the original mind” (元元入元初本本任本心), which follows the above-mentioned oracle in the *Yamatohime no mikoto seiki*. Also, as indicated by past scholarship (see chapter 4 of TSUDA 1949), there are clear traces of rather forced analogies using borrowings from Confucianism, Taoism, and the five-agent theory.

The interpretation of Tenshō Kōtajjin noted above is, needless to say, at the origin of the doctrines associating her to Mahāvairocana Buddha (Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来, the supreme, primordial Buddha of esoteric Buddhism). Ise Shinto differs from Ryōbu Shinto or Hie Shinto on this point, however, in that it does not represent Ise as a manifestation (*suijaku* 垂迹) of Mahāvairocana. Watarai Tsuneyoshi 度会常昌 (1263–1339) writes in the *Daijōgū ryōgū no onkoto* 大神宮兩宮之御事, “Mahāvairocana has a soul (*tamashū*).... This kami [of Ise] is Mahāvairocana’s spirit (*rei* 靈), therefore this kami has no original state (*honji* 本地)” (WST, p. 467). It should be noted that the same logic is at work as in the spiritualistic interpretation above stressing the “origin” and “source.” I believe that this logic comprises a feature common to the entire multifarious body of Ise Shinto texts. The aforementioned *Daijōgū ryōgū no onkoto* develops this logic further:

[The kami of] the Inner and Outer Shrines [of Ise] is the kami of original awakening (*hongakushin* 本覺神). The Great

Bodhisattva Hachiman, because he has become enlightened to the Buddha-Dharma and thereupon manifests original enlightenment, is the kami of initial awakening (*shikakushin* 始覚神). The Great Shrine of Izumo is the original ignorance, therefore it is called the kami of true ignorance (*jitsumei no kami* 実迷ノ神). (WST, p. 468)

These concepts are obviously heavily influenced by the esoteric doctrine of original enlightenment (*hongaku shisō* 本覚思想), already present in the *Nakatomi no harae kunge* 中臣祓訓解, which categorizes all kami according to the three classes of original awakening (*hongaku* 本覚), nonawakening (*fukaku* 不覚), and initial awakening (*shikaku* 始覚). This classification can be found in passages like the following:

The world is original enlightenment from the very beginning; from the very beginning it is ignorance; in origin it is also the Realm of Essence (*hokkai* 法界); in origin it is the living beings, in origin it is the Buddha, in origin it is the kami. (KDZ 5: 167)

The deities of heaven and earth and all the buddhas are one entity and not two (*ittai muni* 一体無二), since three thousand [world systems] are one [single thought] and since the Tathāgata is originally awakened. (KDZ 5: 178)

Therefore, the Two Shrines of Ise are the most venerable among all buddhas and all kami, and differ from all shrines in the country. (KDZ 5: 179)

It is clear that the Ise Shinto logic stressing “origin” corresponds to the Buddhist doctrine of original enlightenment. Earlier studies have already pointed this out;⁷ what concerns us here is the significance of this relationship and of its historical conditions. These issues have never been investigated in depth, a matter not unrelated to the atti-

⁷ See for instance MIYAJI 1935 and NISHIDA 1957. Nishida in particular emphasizes Ise Shinto's relations with the doctrine of original enlightenment, but he lumps together under this term the Tendai *honji suijaku* doctrine and various Pure Land and Zen tendencies, and does not point out their relations with esoteric Buddhism, as I have done in the present article. Furthermore, Nishida apparently concludes that in Buddhism there is only the position of initial enlightenment (*shikaku*), and that the flourishing of original enlightenment doctrines is the result of Shinto ideas. This may be true from the perspective of early Buddhism, but it is clearly not the case with esoteric Buddhism, which had close ties with the doctrines of original enlightenment. Nishida, in order to stress the autonomy and leadership of “Shinto,” ventures to propose the aberrant notion that all doctrinal developments in medieval Buddhism originated in Shinto. We can see in this attitude an inflated idea of “Japanese thought,” in which Shinto is expanded to encompass every original philosophical development in Japan.

tude of scholars of Shinto history. Let me explain briefly the major points in question.

Ise Shinto and *hongaku* thought are related at an extremely essential level, as is evident from the fact that Ise Shinto stresses the concept of “purity” (*shōjō* 清浄) as the fundamental characteristic of the kami. The *Nakatomi no harae kunge* describes the Great Shrine of Ise qua the kami of original enlightenment (*hongakushin*) as “the originally pure principle, the sublime substance abiding and unchangeable” (KDZ 5, p. 179). There was an intention to present purity as the essence of original enlightenment, as is clear from Buddhist texts like the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* (T No. 1666, 32.575–583 and No. 1667, 32.583–591), where we find the expression “as pure as a bright mirror of the sky.” Another example is the “Original Practice” 本行品 chapter of the *Ninnō hannya kyō* 仁王般若經 (Sutra of benevolent kings) in which “purity” is defined as follows:

The pure substance (*jishō shōjō* 自性清浄) is called the essence of original enlightenment; it is the omniscient wisdom of all Buddhas, and it is the origin of living beings, the origin of the practices of all buddhas and bodhisattvas, the original practices of the bodhisattvas. (T 8.837a; see TAMURA 1965, p. 371)

It is possible to find many passages connecting Ise, original enlightenment, and purity in texts influenced by esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō* 密教), such as the *Ryōgū gyōmon jinshaku* 両宮形文深釈 (KDZ 5: 146) and the *Yamato Katsuragi Hōzanki* 大和葛城宝山紀 (DNBZ 4). The latter, following the *Nakatomi no harae kunge*, describes the Great Shrine of Ise as the embodiment of original enlightenment. In the second “Transcription of Oral Instructions” (*kuden kikigaki* 口伝開書) appended to the *Daijōgū ryōgū no onkoto*, the “kami of original enlightenment” is glossed as “purity,” in what is presented as the “meaning of a text by the Great Master of Kōya [Kōbō Daishi]”:

The dharma of the Great Shrine [is] to give maximum importance to purity and to engage in sincerity (*shōjiki* 正直). This is purity. (WST, p. 471)

“Sincerity” (*shōjiki*) is another concept emphasized in Ise Shinto, as we see in this quote. The *Daijōgū ryōgū no onkoto* states that “before the appearance of karmic circumstances (*ki* 機) there are no teachings, before the disease there are no medicines; these two kami [of Ise] are the ‘sincere kami who have put aside skillful means’” (WST, p. 467). The appellation “sincere kami who have put aside skillful means” derives from a passage in the “Skillful Means” chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*: “Among the bodhisattvas, I am sincere and have put aside skill-

ful means; I only proclaim the supreme Law.”⁸ In the above Ise Shinto text, “sincerity” refers directly to the source of Mahāvairocana’s “soul” (*tamashii*), but at the same time it connotes the purity of the kami, as indicated by the above “Transcription of Oral Instructions.” Likewise, the *Shintō kan’yō* 神道簡要 states: “Kami give priority to sincerity, and sincerity is rooted in purity” (WST, pp. 487–88). Purity is an absolute value stemming from the original nature of the kami. It is related to sincerity, the attitude of the kami toward human beings, which therefore defines the norm of human morality. These concepts are ultimately inseparable from the essence of original enlightenment. Purity and sincerity are related to other frequently found expressions concerning values and morality, such as “virtue of the life essence” (*seimei no toku* 精明之徳), “spiritual substance” (*reiki* 靈氣), “[unconditioned] non-action” (*mui* 無為), that are in turn connected to the importance attributed to abstinence and purification (*kessai* 潔齋).

Is it possible to dismiss the concurrence of Ise Shinto thought and *hongaku* thought as the result of the former’s opportunistic borrowing of the latter, as is often maintained? Put in different terms, is the logic of Ise Shinto grounded in indigenous Japanese thought, or does it depend on Confucian, Taoist, or Buddhist thought? This is another question requiring careful treatment, but the evidence suggests that Ise Shinto thought appeared as a consequence of the development in medieval Japan of intellectual tendencies centered on *hongaku* thought.

This is indicated, first of all, by the order in which the Ise Shinto texts were composed. Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact dates, it is reasonable to assume that *Nakatomi no harae kunge* and *Ryōgū gyōmon jinshaku* were the first to appear, followed by the *Gobusho* 五部書 (the “Five Books”),⁹ and, later, the *Ruijū jingi hongen* 類聚神祇本源 and *Toyō-ashihara jinpū waki* 豊葦原神風和記. As we have seen, the *Nakatomi no harae kunge* displays a strong flavor of *hongaku* thought, so that the concept of the nonduality of the two shrines of Ise can be understood as an adaptation of this esoteric Buddhist teaching. From the time of the *Five Books* and related texts there was a neutralization of Buddhist

⁸ Leon HURVITZ (1976, p. 45) translates this section: “Now I, joyfully and fearlessly,/ In the midst of the bodhisattvas,/ Frankly casting aside my expedient devices,/ Merely preach the Unexcelled Path.” (Translator’s note)

⁹ KUBOTA Osamu (1959, pp. 248–49) suggests that the order of composition is: *Gochinza hongū* 御鎮座本紀—*Ryōgū gyōmon jinshaku*—*Hōzanki* 宝山記 (p. 249), but the comparative analysis he uses to justify the position of the first two texts is not persuasive. The sentence “appearing above the dais of the mind-lotus where original enlightenment abides” from the *Ryōgū gyōmon jinshaku* is close to one in the *Hongakusan* 本覚讚 (a verse from the *Renge zamaikyō* 蓮華三昧經); it is difficult to see it as a revision of the sentence “the mind pedestal where all kami appear” in the *Gochinza hongū*.

vocabulary and an embellishment with expressions from Confucianism, Taoism, and the five-agent theory.

Second, it is possible to show that Ise Shinto, even when it avoided Buddhist expressions, was understood in terms of *hongaku* thought by contemporary and subsequent scholars. Watarai Ieyuki 家行 (1256–?), author of the *Ruijū jingi hongen*, is a clear example (see the *Tengū-hen* section, WST, p. 553), but even more striking is his contemporary Watarai Tsuneyoshi. A friend of Jihen 慈遍 (who wrote the *Toyoshihara jinpū waki* stressing the Imperial Way [*kōdō* 皇道]), Tsuneyoshi, as noted above, developed in his *Daijingū ryōgū no onkoto* the doctrine of the kami of original enlightenment. Even during the Muromachi period Ise Shinto appears to have been interpreted on the basis of *hongaku* thought, as indicated by transcriptions of oral instructions added to the texts (WST, p. 469) and by works like the *Motonaga sankei monogatari* 元長參詣物語, written in 1469 (WST, pp. 819ff.).¹⁰ Of course, the thought of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu, the theories of yin-yang and the five agents, the doctrine of original enlightenment, and cosmogonic narrations of the type appearing in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* had already been interacting to a certain extent from the time of ancient China and Japan, so it is difficult to determine the degree to which one influenced the other during the Kamakura period. Still, it was because there was a certain mutual affinity between these various concepts that the borrowings and the sometimes forced analogies were possible, as is often the case in Kamakura religious thought. The general trend of contemporaneous religious thought and the subsequent development of Ryōbu Shinto both indicate that Ise Shinto emerged in the context of a rising interest in *hongaku* thought, and that it was because of this context that it took the form it did. Thus even the forced analogies were not random plays on words, but were based on the doctrine of original enlightenment.

The claim that Ise Shinto formed a configuration of *hongaku* thought does not, however, eliminate the need for further investigation of a number of issues. The logic that connects original enlightenment to the “source of the original chaos (*konton*)” and the “signless non-action” (*musō mui* 無相無為) simply because they all refer to the primordial origin tends to obscure the distinction—made in the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*—between original enlightenment and the condition of nonenlightenment veiled by ignorance. Thus it probably represents a regression from, rather than a development of, the

¹⁰ It should be noticed that the verse (*gāthā*) from the *Renge zanmai kyō* is appended to the text.

ideas expressed in the *Nakatomi no harae kunge*.

The concepts of original enlightenment and initial enlightenment were originally associated with the awakening of the cognitive subject, as they were in the *hongaku* tradition of medieval Tendai. In Ise Shinto, by contrast, they underwent a development akin to that in Buddhakāya theory, with the concept of the kami of original enlightenment enabling the reification of original enlightenment itself as a separate entity distinct from both initial enlightenment and non-enlightenment. It should be noted, however, that the rise and maturation of *hongaku* thought involved the appearance of at least a few doctrines that suggested a belief in a sort of absolute deity. When the Ise text *Shinmei hisho* emphasizes the need to purify the five organs (WST, p. 180), drawing from the Taoist *yangshen* 養神 doctrine that the deities abide in the five organs of the human body, it displays the same outlook and rhetorical strategies as Tendai *hongaku* texts like the *Shinnyokan* 真如觀 and the *Bodaishū* 菩提集, which developed facile immanentist (*sokubutsuteki* 般物的) arguments substantializing original enlightenment.¹¹ Based on the *Hongakusan* 本覺讚 verse from the *Renge zanmaikyō* 蓮華三昧經, they comment:

In the chest of all living beings there is the eightfold lump of flesh [the heart]; it has the shape of an eight-petalled lotus, and this is what is called lotus flower. On this lotus there are nine deities in the case of the maṇḍala of the realm of the Womb, and thirty-seven deities in the case of the maṇḍala of realm of the Vajra.¹²

The assessment of the place of such a logic in the development of medieval Japanese *hongaku* thought requires further investigation.

Shinto Doctrines and Buddhism

If we assume that Ise Shinto arose as a particular configuration of the doctrines of original enlightenment, how can we explain the well-known fact that Buddhism was strictly taboo at Ise?

This taboo is frequently mentioned in the original sources, which also provide explanations of the circumstances and motivations for it

¹¹ The *Shinnyokan* and *Hongakusan* are included in TADA 1973 (NST 9).

¹² Quoted in the *Shinnyokan* (DNBZ 33: 65). The *Bodaishū* (DNBZ 33: 75) has a similar account. It is possible that such material and conceptions were related to the *Mida meizokukan* 弥陀命息觀 [a form of meditation in which breath is envisioned as the life spirit of Amida] and to the doctrines of *genshi kimyōdan* 玄旨歸命壇 [an esoteric ritual process developed in the Tendai *hongaku* tradition to achieve unity with the ultimate, sometimes incorporating sexual practices].

(see HAGIWARA 1962, p. 536ff.). Two passages are considered as the most representative expressions of, as well as the sources for, this attitude. One, “Hide the breath (*iki* 息) of Buddhism and bow twice to the deities (*jingi*)” (WST, p. 78), is from an oracle in the *Yamatohime no mikoto seiki*. The other, “Therefore, the people of the kami (*jinin* 神人) defend the origin of cosmic chaos [the kami of Ise]; they hide the breath (*iki* or *ki* 気) of Buddhism and venerate the deities” (WST, p. 18), is from Yamatohime no mikoto’s oracle in the *Gochinza denki*.

Since it is possible to interpret the expression “hiding the breath” as “stopping one’s breath,” or “hardly dare to breath,” the clause “hiding the breath of Buddhism” should perhaps be read as “being afraid of Buddhism, keeping away from it.” This was probably not intended as a rejection or a negation of Buddhism, however. “Breath” refers in esoteric Buddhism to the substance of life, as in contemporaneous Shingon *nenbutsu* and in the doctrines concerning Amida’s Breath of Life (*meisoku* 命息) (see KUSHIDA 1964, pp. 201ff., and HAZAMA 1948, vol. 2: 275ff.). “The breath of Buddhism,” therefore, is breath as the sign of Buddhist life. The Chinese character used in the above passages for “to hide,” 屏 (*hakusu*, as it was read according to the Japanese *kun* lection at the time), probably meant the concealment of breathing as defined in such Buddhist terms (see HAGIWARA 1962, p. 536). Thus “hiding the breath of Buddhism” referred to a certain etiquette or attitude: while remaining fully conscious of one’s individual status as a Buddhist, one concealed one’s life breath as a Buddhist when in front of the kami or in its space.

The expression therefore did not represent a simple rejection of Buddhism as an antagonistic and heterogeneous external entity. This is clear from the texts of the Watarai clan dealing with Buddhism, as well as from the contemporaneous attitude of the common people towards Ise. For instance, Tsūkai’s 通海 *Daijingū sankeiki* 大神宮參詣記 states that “in her divine will, [the kami of Ise] does not really loath Buddhism.... Her attitudes of internally taking refuge in Buddhism and at the same time externally banning it are not contradictory” (JST, p. 53). The *Shasekishū* 沙石集 states, “[Ise] externally treats Buddhism as a troublesome matter of concern (*uki* 憂キ), but internally it deeply protects the Three Jewels; therefore, in our country Buddhism depends on the august protection of the Great Shrine” (NKBT 85: 59). These texts are admittedly not part of the main corpus of Ise Shinto, and they deal with interiority and exteriority of mind in a formalistic and rather trite way that loses the tension implicit in the etiquette of “hiding,” but in their own way they do testify to the relationship connecting Ise Shinto with Buddhism.

Why was it necessary to “hide the breath of Buddhism”? Setting

aside the legendary accounts related to King Māra of the Sixth Heaven,¹³ one of the most lucid and systematic explanations is the one provided in Jihen's *Toyo-ashihara jinpū waki* (ZGR 1). Jihen, in short, asserts that Shinto pertains to the original, chaotic state when heaven and earth were not yet separate, while Buddhism pertains to the subsequent stage characterized by hubris of mind, arrogance, and selfishness. Based on a notion of stages of temporal development, this vision is a variation of the doctrine according to which this world is corrupt because the Dharma has already reached its final age (*jokuse matsudai* 末世末代). However, this does not imply that Shinto and Buddhism are two entirely separate entities. The *Hōki honki* 宝基本記 describes their relationship in the following way:

Shinto yields to Buddhism; therefore the wisdom of Buddhas and kami is exactly the same; furthermore, the ways of vulgar truth and ultimate truth are not different; the Tathāgata takes the shape of various deities and appears in this world; the deities yield to the Tathāgata and content themselves with delivering oracles; the inner experience [enlightenment, *naishō* 内証] of buddhas and kami is identical; only its external manifestation and rituals are different. (ZGR 1: 115-16)

In other words, the essence of the kami and buddhas transcends their different temporal stages. This matches perfectly with Watarai Tsuneyoshi's view, as expressed in the *Daijingu ryōgū no onkoto*, that the Inner Shrine is the soul (*tamashii*) of the Buddha Mahāvairocana; since Buddhism flows out of him, Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha are useless in Ise. In other words, Ise, as the kami of original enlightenment, is sincere and refuses to use expedient means, in contrast to Hachiman and other kami of initial enlightenment (*shikakushin*), who manifest original enlightenment only after awakening to Buddhism. In this case, a logical order and ranking is established that goes from original enlightenment to initial enlightenment; this corresponds to the aforementioned temporal sequence from original chaos (*konton*) to contemporary degenerated world (*jokuse*); these two orders are then correlated to kami (Shinto) and Buddha (Buddhism). The *Shinmei hisho*, quoting "a certain text" (the *Jingi fudenzu* 神祇普伝図), states:

[Ise] is the original source of heaven and earth and of the life essence. Its great patriarch [is characterized by] signlessness and unconditioned non-action (*musō mui*). Thus it does not

¹³ On the relations connecting Māra and Ise, see HOSOKAWA 1993, pp. 85-117; IYANAGA forthcoming. (Translator's note)

look at the Buddha or at the Dharma, but instead manifests its sublime body provisionally through a signless mirror.

(WST, p. 202; ZGR 1: 124)

The meaning of such Taoist-flavored expressions is quite obscure, but the reason why “it does not look at the Buddha or at the Dharma” is probably related to the logic discussed above. Terms like “sublime body” (*myōtai* 妙体) are also generally used to refer to the essence of original enlightenment. One can therefore say that the notion of Buddhism as taboo in Ise derived, paradoxically, from *hongaku* thought, and was understood as such at the time.

Thus it is not correct to interpret the logic underlying Ise Shinto as stressing the superiority of the kami and the inferiority of the buddhas, as is commonly done today. As we have seen, the kami of Ise “is the soul of the Buddha Mahāvairocana, and therefore this kami has no original state (*honji*)”; hence “she does not discard one single thing pertaining to Buddhism, and Buddhism flourishes everywhere in Japan” (*Daijingu ryōgu no onkoto*, WST, p. 467). The expression “hiding the breath of Buddhism” thus relates to the special quality of the Ise Shrine that protects the prosperity of Buddhism in Japan. As is clear from the claim that the Ise kami “has no original state,” what is involved here is not a relationship between kami in general and buddhas in general, nor a reversal of the usual *honji suijaku* relation to form a kind of anti-*honji suijaku* doctrine. Rather, the notion of “hiding the breath” highlights the fact that within the world of kami and buddhas, as understood in *honji suijaku* theory, only the Ise kami (and the shrine) have a completely different and distinctive status, being neither provisional deities (*gonsha* 権社, i.e., kami of initial enlightenment, manifestations of buddhas and bodhisattvas) nor true deities (*jissha* 実社, i.e., unenlightened or ignorant kami, such as evil spirits). In this sense Ise Shinto was not essentially different from the various forms of Shrine Shinto (*shake shintō* 社家神道), in which each cult center and sacerdotal lineage emphasized the virtues and the peculiarities of its own deity (Hachiman, Sannō, Kasuga, Tenjin, and so forth).

This relationship between the kami and the buddhas—expressed in Jihen’s words as, “The inner experience of buddhas and kami is identical; only the external manifestation and rituals are different”—is generally regarded as the basis of medieval religiosity. However, with the exception of a few places such as the Naishidokoro in the imperial palace,¹⁴ nowhere were the differences of “external manifestation and

¹⁴ The Naishidokoro, now called Kashikodokoro, is a building in the imperial palace compound where the Yatanokagami, one of the Three Imperial Regalia, is kept. (Translator’s note)

rituals” emphasized as rigorously and forcefully as at the Two Shrines of Ise. Although due in part to an adherence to ancient mystical customs, it is quite remarkable that the shrine maintained these customs even in the medieval period, when people firmly believed that everything in the trichiliocosm could be understood on the basis of Buddhism. Expressions like “Shinto is truly hard to fathom” (*makoto nishintō no koto hakari gatashi* 誠に神道のこと測り難し) were the natural result of the contradictions resulting from Buddhist-Shinto syncretism (*shinbutsu shūgō*), but at the same time they proved admirably efficacious in sublating those contradictions through a process of mystification. In the same way, the non-Buddhist nature of religious rituals in Ise was a striking oddity that could only be presented as something mystical in character. This aspect of Ise ritual was not enigmatic, much less imperfect or heretical: it was attributed a positive significance as a manifestation of mystical power. Thus Ise, far from being the forerunner of anti-Buddhism, was a quite distinctive ritual configuration of the doctrines of original enlightenment hegemonic at the time.¹⁵

It was for this precise reason that Ise Shinto was able to become “Shinto” during the medieval era. Ise Shinto contributed nothing new to religious thought other than its explanation of the singular origin of the two Ise shrines; otherwise it limited itself to performing its special rituals. This, however, is really all that “Shinto” was. Its original feature was fear of a vaguely defined “defilement”; its ceremony of purification (*harai* 祓) was readily absorbed into the logic of purity typical of *hongaku* thought, as shown by the *Nakatomi no harae kunge*’s ingenious identification of *harai* with the magic rituals of esoteric Buddhism (KDZ 5: 161). All that remained were particular forms of ritual, modes of behavior, and ceremonial protocols. Thus in reality there was no independent religion called “Shinto”—the name referred to a mystical system of taboo rituals. Ise Shinto was no different; indeed, it was one of the most typical of such ritual systems. Ise Shinto was anomalous at the time for its “anti-Buddhist” rituals, to be sure, but pilgrimage accounts and collections of stories like the *Shasekishū* suggest that it was popularly interpreted as simply a peculiar aspect of the Buddhist teachings.¹⁶

¹⁵ Scholars have already pointed that it is inaccurate to consider, for instance, Yoshida Kanetomo’s *Yūiitsu Shinto* as “anti-*honji suijaku*” (SHIMAJI 1926, p. 184). Even so, it can be considered a credit to Ise Shinto that it did not share Kanetomo’s questionable Shinto logic.

¹⁶ In the past many scholars have recognized that Buddhism lay at the basis of Ise Shinto and of the logic of so-called “anti-*honji suijaku*.” Nevertheless, they overlooked the fact that “Shinto” was a complex of ceremonial protocols, and therefore fell prey to the illusion, if not the specious logic, that Shinto surpassed Buddhism.

In his *Ruijū jingi hongen* Watarai Ieyuki, after listing several genealogies of Chinese-studies scholars (*kanke* 漢家), state officials (*kanke* 官家), Buddhist priests (*bukke* 仏家), and shrine sacerdotal families (*shake* 社家), states in the postscript that “Shinto” and “Buddhist priestly lineages” are different names for the same thing, and argues that “if one distinguishes the shapes, there are buddhas and kami, but if one eliminates the forms, essence and signs are identical” (WST, p. 695). Buddhas and kami were not separate beings, but manifestations of the same entity. Nor was this a union of two opposing things, since the “Buddhist lineages” and the “way of the kami” maintained a relative independence. Therefore, although one could say that Ise Shinto was a form of Shinto different from or in opposition to Tendai Shinto and Shingon Shinto doctrines, it would be wrong to argue that it was created in order to establish an original form of Shinto separate from Buddhism (see TSUDA 1949, pp. 102–104). Even farther from the truth is the current Shintoistic interpretation that Ise Shinto defended Shintoism from the influence of Buddhism and other systems of thought in order to ensure its independence (see KUBOTA 1959, p. 127). This is nothing but a subjective position grounded in the idea that “Shinto” is “the ancient belief of the Japanese,” an idea invented by Nativist thinkers and forcibly applied by Meiji State Shinto through the division of Buddhism and Shinto, a separation comparable to the ripping apart of a living tree.

In conclusion, Ise Shinto arose and developed as a new and more systematic form of exo-esotericism, and not as the earliest and most explicit force of “de-Buddhistization” in medieval Japan. Once we realize this we are freed from the stereotyped notion of the medieval Shinto doctrines as expressions of an “indigenous Japanese ethnic consciousness,” and can understand them instead as a form of exo-esotericism whose aberrant logic was grounded in manifold and complex correlations of a mystical nature.

The Religious Nature of the Concept of Shinkoku

The statement that “Japan is the land of the kami”—and thus the concept of *shinkoku* itself—began to appear more and more frequently with the increasing development the Shinto doctrines. The meaning of the expression “land of the kami” was never clearly defined, however. Judging from its usage in various texts, it appears to have had three basic connotations.

First, it pointed to the fact that the kami “soften their radiance and manifest their traces” (*wakō suijaku* 和光垂迹 [a variant of *wakō dojin*

同塵]) in Japan, where they protect the territory and provide living beings with religious guidance. This is seen in descriptions of the “land of the kami” in such works as the *Keiran shūyōshū*, which states that in Japan “the religious guidance (*kedō* 化導) of the deities (*shinmei* 神明) is very active and extensive” (T 76.511); the *Shintoshū* 神道集, which explains the wondrous fact that “the manifest traces (*suijaku*) bring benefits to the living beings, whereas the original states (*honji*) give rise to the compassionate vow” (see the first chapter, “On the origins of Shinto”); and the *Yamatohime no mikoto seiki*, which emphasizes the “protection of the deities” (WST 1: 79). These examples are instances of a general trend. The *Zegaibō ekotoba* 是害房絵詞 claims that the manifest traces, thanks to the “softening of their radiance,” are able to protect Buddhism; the *Hachiman gudōkin* 八明愚童訓 states that, thanks to the protection of the true and the provisional (*gonjitsu* 権実) deities, Japan has never fallen under the rule of a foreign country (GR 1, p. 386); Ken’a 剣阿 writes in a postscript to the *Nihonshoki* that because of the kami and buddhas the inside and the outside [of the country] are pacified;¹⁷ and the *Nakatomi no harae kunge* declares that the living beings of the land of the kami receive the protection of the kami and buddhas (KDZ 5: 162–63). All of these texts rely on the same conceptual framework. Needless to say, underlying this framework were the *honji suijaku* doctrines, and in passages on the “traces” there always appears the concept of the benefits (religious guidance or protection) of the kami.

Second, the idea that “Japan is the land of the kami” expressed a certain understanding of the realm (*kokudo*) as a sacred entity, since the land, the sovereign, and the people were thought to have been generated by, or to have descended from, the kami. Tsukai’s *Daijingū sankeiki*, stating that Japan is “the land of the kami created from the drops of the halberd” of Izanagi no mikoto (JST, p. 51), is an extreme example of this sacred vision of the realm. The *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書 explains that Japan is the land of the kami because it has been ruled “continuously by the same lineage” (SZKT 31: 252); the *Rokudai shōjiki* 六代勝事記 says that the emperor, as “successor of the humanly kings, is an imperial descendant of Tenshō Kōtaijin” (GR 3: 423); the *Keiran shūyō-shū* claims that living beings are all sons of the kami (T 76.667); the *Shōdanchiyō* 樵談治要 states that the ruler and the subject, the high and the low, all descend from the kami (GR 27: 190). These explanations of the sacredness of the realm and the populace are all related to the aforementioned belief in the protection of the kami, as

¹⁷ See the postscript to the second volume of the *Nihonshoki* in the copy from the Kareki era preserved in the Shōkōkan library.

is the passage in the *Hachiman gudōkin* describing the land of the kami as the place of “the noble and the wise”; the text also emphasizes the divine ancestry of the Japanese and characterizes the five inner provinces and seven outer provinces as an altar for the deities (*shadan* 社壇) (GR 1: 386, 395).

When the *Jinnō shōtōki* explains that Japan is the “land of the kami” because “it was created by the heavenly ancestor, and that it will forever be ruled by the descendants of the kami of the sun” (NKBT 87: 41), it is narrowing its focus to the one imperial lineage. This idea too originated in contemporaneous Buddhism. The *Keiran shūyōshū* states that Japan is the land of the kami because its “original deity” is Tenshō Kōtaijin, that is, Maheśvara [Daijizaiten], who, in turn, is the Buddha Mahāvairocana (T 76.516). The same text explains that the import of the Tantric teachings is “to bring under control the original substance of living beings and venerate them as deities” (T 76.516). It is thus possible to argue that at the basis of the concept of the sacrality of the realm lay a Tantric mode of thinking.

Third, Japan as the land of the kami was presented as a realm characterized by such religious customs as revering the kami and avoiding Buddhism. Examples of this attitude can be found in several texts. The *Nomori kagami* 族守鏡 says that since Japan is the land of the kami, “birth and death should be tabooed” (GR 27: 506). Ken’u wrote in the postscript to the *Nihonshoki* that “our country is the land of the kami, and the veneration of the kami is the main business of the court; our country is also the land of the Buddha, and the veneration of the Buddha is the national policy.”¹⁸ Tsūkai’s *Daijingu sankeiki* stresses that “priority should be given to the kami” and that “everyone should venerate the kami” (JST, p. 54); these statements are very similar to one in the *Ryōgū gyōmon jinshaku* that says, “Our country is the land of the kami; everyone should venerate the kami” (KDZ 5: 146). The same general concepts inform other accounts as well, such as the explanation in the *Shasekishū*, *Mizukagami* 水鏡, *Taiheiki* 太平記, and other texts of Buddhism’s ban at Ise as due to an agreement between Izanagi no mikoto and Māra, the king of the Sixth Heaven of desire; and the rationale in the *Yamatohime no mikoto seiki* and *Shinmei hisho* for the interdependence of the kami and the state (or sovereign). These characterizations of Japan as the *shinkoku* are based on the way of the kami (*shintō*) as a ritual system, and are related in many ways to the above notions of the guidance and protection of the kami and the sacredness of the territory and its inhabitants.

Although these three views of the *shinkoku* concept are not unrelated,

¹⁸ See note 17.

they do not always coincide in conceptual stress and cannot, strictly speaking, be said to constitute a coherent system. This is because of the rather arbitrary enlargement of the *shinkoku* concept that resulted from natural growth and forced analogy with other thought systems. Still, the idea of *shinkoku* was not completely without substance—despite its multiplicity and hypertrophy, the concept possessed a fundamental structure and a certain conceptual standardization. Although certain doctrinal texts, owing to an excess of explanatory zeal, end up presenting a quite fragmented image, the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 and the *Senjūshō* 撰集抄 provide an integrated picture of the “divine land” using a sort of historical narration that begins with the creation of Japan; gives the genealogies of heavenly deities, earthly deities, and human emperors; praises the dignity of the three divine objects (*jinki* 神器: mirror, sword, and jewel); and finally describes the protection and miracles of the kami during invasions by Japan of foreign lands or attacks of Japan by foreign enemies.¹⁹ Thus it would be incorrect to dismiss the *shinkoku* concept as a nonrational religious sentiment simply because of its vagueness. It presented, to a certain degree, a coherent view of the state, and at times even acquired a philosophical dimension.

If this is the case, what then was the concept of state entertained in *shinkoku* thought? Let us consider a few important characteristics.

First, the *shinkoku* concept was primarily concerned with territory. Among the interpretations provided for the *shinkoku* concept above, all ultimately were related to the characteristics of the territory of Japan. One such characteristic was its geographic location. On the basis of the ancient Buddhist cosmology centered on Mount Sumeru, the Japanese archipelago was viewed as “a grain of millet dispersed” (*zokusankoku* 粟散国) in the vast ocean east of the southern continent of Jambudvīpa. Other characteristics concern the “kami”: the status of the traces (*suijaku*); the diffusion of Shinto; and the definitions of the protection that the kami grant upon the territory, the emperor, and the people of the kami. All of the various doctrines involved (*honji sui-jaku*, *sokushin jōbutsu* 般身成仏 [becoming Buddha in this very body], *Mitsugon Jōdo* 密嚴淨土 [the Pure Land of Esoteric Grandeur], etc.) were based on exo-esoteric ideology, and in the final analysis were concerned not with authority but with territory. However, it should be noted that such territorial concepts, grounded in abstract doctrines which stressed their mystical nature, were almost entirely unrelated to

¹⁹ See the accounts concerning the sword (*tsurugi*) and the mirror (*kagami*) in the *Heike monogatari* vol. 11 (NKBT 33: 345ff., 353ff.); see also “On Japan as the Land of the Kami,” the first story of the *Senjūshō*, vol. 9.

such concrete factors as the landscape, the environment, human beings, and the towns and villages that were developing at the time. They also showed little if any explicit intent to draw comparisons with other countries.

Second, in *shinkoku* thought the sovereign (emperor) had the status of a thoroughly religious authority. Buddhist doctrine originally saw the emperor as “the sovereign [who performs] the ten good deeds,” or as “the sacred king of the golden wheel [of the Dharma]” (*cakravartin*), and in that sense he was a human being. *Kenmitsu* ideology, as expressed in the *Teiō hennenki* 帝王編年記 or *Mizukagami*, originally held the same view. So too was the emperor a human being in the early accounts of the transition from heavenly kami to earthly kami and finally to human rulers. *Shinkoku* thought, however, underscored the particular “breed” (*shusei* 種姓) of the emperor, making the Japanese sovereigns into descendants of the kami or sometimes of the Buddha Mahāvairocana. In this way the *shinkoku* concept lent a religious foundation to the *shusei* concept, which characterized the ruling order and class system of medieval Japan. The emperor acquired a pronounced ideality indistinguishable from that of a divine being; the impoverished foundations of this concept were shored up through explanations related to the mystical power of the Three Divine Regalia.

Third, the *shinkoku* concept enabled the systematization and religious justification of the secular order and the ethical code. The concept of the kami nature was used to explain the virtues of purity and sincerity, while analogy with the Three Divine Regalia helped define such moral values as wisdom, benevolence, and courage (or wisdom, compassion, and resolution). On the verbal level there was a pronounced use here of inference and analogy, but also at work was a clear intent to organize the accepted secular morality into a system of ethics. The power to confer ultimate religious status on those ethical practices was attributed to prayer (*kigan* 祈願) and magic ritual (*kitō* 祈禱). As we can see from the fact that purification ceremonies (*harai*) were regarded as esoteric Buddhist rites, *kigan* and *kitō* functioned as religious practices for the attainment of worldly benefit (*genze riyaku* 現世利益), as did *kōmyō shingon* 光明真言 and *nenbutsu*, two other forms of esoteric Buddhist magic of the time.

Fourth, *shinkoku* thought enabled history to be understood as the manifestation of religious truth. In contrast to the original exo-esoteric view, which saw history as the divine economy of the kami or as an actualization of the Buddhist principle of the decline of the dharma (e.g., the *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記, *Teiō hennenki*, *Mizukagami*, and *Gukanshō* 愚管抄), *shinkoku* thought saw it as the *result* of the activities of the

kami, in which sense history became myth. Although both positions conceived of history as under the control of the kami, there was in *shinkoku* thought a definite shift in stress from universal philosophical principle to nonrational myth.

What was apparently behind this shift was the logic of *engi* 縁起 (karmic causality), which was used to educate the people against heterodox/reform groups like the *senju nenbutsu* 専修念仏 movement. The logic of *engi*, as seen in the *Shintoshū*, was usually linked to *honji suijaku* doctrine, and thus tended to interpret sacred places in terms of *sokushin jōbutsu* or *Mitsugon Jōdo* thought. The same tendency seems to have been at work in the area of Heizan scholastics known as “archivistics” or “chronachistics” (*kirokubu* 記録部), which concerned itself with the hidden religious significance of the history, disposition, structure, and erection of temples and shrines (see HAZAMA 1948, volume 2, chapter 6). It should be noted too that in contemporaneous exo-esotericism the doctrines of original enlightenment were becoming increasingly radical, paralleling a tendency toward hypertrophy and irrationality in *honji suijaku* thought. Even the view of history based on the *shinkoku* concept was characterized by the *engi*-like, mythological logic of *honji suijaku* rather than the doctrine of the Unconditioned (*jinen hōni* 自然法爾) with its teaching of a principle transcendent of causality and and the cycle of arising and perishing.

The preceding analysis shows that *shinkoku* was a religious concept of the state that explained the complete rule by the kami. Although such a notion was too abstract to comprise a realistic nation-concept, one can perceive in it an *engi*-like, mythological understanding that differed from “classic” exo-esotericism, and that incorporated a stress on something peculiarly Japanese. The story of the monk Kōken 公顕 of Miidera, reported in the *Shasekishū* (NST 85, p. 63), is an example of the same attitude. Ultimately the *shinkoku* concept was just a form of Buddhist doctrine and belief, but in it the desire to define Japan’s peculiar status was clearly at work. At this point a final question arises: What was the actual historical role of such a concept in defining the Japanese consciousness of the state and awareness of the world outside?

The Shinkoku Discourse as a Medieval Intellectual Formation

As discussed above, the medieval concept of *shinkoku* was religious in essence. It would thus be a mistake to see it as something akin to modern national consciousness or ethnic thought, or to interpret it as the primarily political ideology of a particular medieval power group. Yet it would also be wrong to see the *shinkoku* concept as a purely religious

notion sustained by the simple faith of the ordinary people, and without any direct relation to politics. Though the idea of *shinkoku* was essentially religious, it existed in the everyday sociopolitical context of medieval Japan, and had the potential to function in that dimension as a political and social ideology. This is why contemporary scholarship on *shinkoku* must not ensconce itself in an ivory tower uncontaminated by political and social concerns. When I refer to *shinkoku shisō* (*shinkoku* thought) I am referring to this system of logic with its capacity to serve as political and social ideology. Let us now consider several of its more important aspects.

First, *shinkoku* thought played an important role in the reactionary politics of the *kenmitsu* system, and was emphasized for precisely this reason. We have already examined the relationship between the *shinkoku* concept and exo-esotericism as religious thought and doctrine; here we are concerned more with the issue of how the exo-esoteric cult centers (*jisha seiryoku* 寺社勢力) protected their position as social and ideological entities. As I have repeatedly pointed out, the *kenmitsu* cult centers played an indispensable role in the governing order and state authority of medieval Japan.

In order to understand this reactionary aspect of *shinkoku* thought we must first grasp the general context of its emergence. As noted before, exo-esoteric Buddhism's increasing emphasis on *shinkoku* thought coincided with the development of the heterodox/reform movements, which were accused of refusing to worship the deities (*jingi fuhai* 神祇不拝) or of openly slandering them (*jingi hibō* 神祇誹謗). The first notable formulation of this position is found in the *Kōfukuji sōjō* (see esp. article 5; NSK 15: 35; MORRELL 1987, pp. 79–80); later texts like the *Shasekishū* and *Nomori kagami* present the standpoint of the *kenmitsu* orthodoxy at a point when the heterodox/reform movements had become relatively established. Although statements describing Japan as “the land of the kami” are also found in documents of the heterodox/reform movements, this fact does not negate the existence of a state of opposition between the orthodox and heterodox/reform sides.

That *shinkoku* thought constituted the *kenmitsu taisei*'s reaction to the heterodox/reform movements is evident, first of all, from the character of its logic. As noted above, *shinkoku* thought was based primarily on the exo-esoteric logic of *honji suijaku*, which served as a powerful ideological support for the *kenmitsu* cult centers. In contrast to the heterodox/reform movements' stress on exclusive dedication to a single practice (*ikkō senju* 一向專修), a stress that overcame the spell of polytheism, the logic of *honji suijaku* attempted to preserve polytheism and subsume it within the ruling ideology by linking it to the genealogy

of a transcendent being. *Shinkoku* thought, moreover, taught the attainment of the “other world” (*higan* 彼岸) in forms that lacked the negative mediation of reality—forms such as the logic of a non-rational *sokushin jōbutsu* or the mystical concept of the Japanese realm as a sacred space (see KURODA 1975, pp. 191–218). It is only too evident that this form of thought comprised a powerful ideological weapon for preserving the power of the *kenmitsu* cult centers, with their inseparable links to state authority and their vast worldly holdings in the form of *shōen* estates.

However, we must also pay attention to the role played by *shinkoku* thought in the *kenmitsu* cult centers’ efforts to manage secular society. *Shinkoku* thought developed during the period that saw the gradual emergence of a class of resident lords on the *shōen* estates (*zaichi ryōshusō* 在地領主層) and of popular classes in the urban and rural areas. All shared a simple faith in the deities of heaven and earth. From the end of the Heian period the religious institutions proceeded to organize the residents on their estates, with influential members of the villages being divided into the categories of *jinin* 神人, *gyōnin* 行人, and *yoriudo* 寄人, or becoming *shōji* 承仕 or *geshū* 夏衆 (personnel in charge of miscellaneous services in the temples). Guilds (*za* 座) centered on the *kenmitsu* cult centers were also established. From the late Kamakura period the resident lords began to build *ujidera* 氏寺 (family temples) and *chinjusha* 鎮守社 (shrines for the protection of the region); at the same time *miyaza* 宮座 and *teraza* 寺座 appeared in the countryside and villages. Performing preachers (*shōdōke* 唱導家) and such low-ranking religious professionals as *sekkyōshi* 説經師, *oshi* 御師, and *miko* 神子 also began to operate throughout Japan. These developments varied in their direction and potential, of course, and some were unrelated to *shinkoku* thought or even diametrically opposed to it; overall, though, we can see here the efforts of the *kenmitsu* cult centers to create a new social order among the residents of the villages. There are many indications that *shinkoku* ideology became deeply rooted in the spirit of the people, examples being the name “Land of the kami” for the province of Yamato, the development of Ise Shinto and Hie Shinto, and the compilation of the *Shintoshū* by members of the Agui lineage.

This helps clarify why medieval *shinkoku* ideology, though political and social in nature, remained an abstract notion seriously lacking in the sort of concrete realism it might have possessed had it been based on a comparison of Japan with other lands. The *kenmitsu taisei*, adjusting to the rapid rise in kami worship (folk religion) that was taking place at the time, reorganized and invigorated itself through a process of vulgarizing the Mahāyāna doctrines of causality and *honjakuron*

(absolute condition and provisional manifestations) into a system of nonrational myth. The resulting lack of conceptual and logical strength is one of the characteristics of medieval *shinkoku* thought. It is often said that the determining factor in the rise of *shinkoku* ideology was the Mongol invasions, but this view can easily lead to misunderstanding. What actually happened was that, on the occasion of the Mongol invasions, *shinkoku* thought—already existent and originally conceptual in nature—stimulated a sudden movement among the *kenmitsu* theoreticians in the direction of increased religiosity and abstraction.

The second point to keep in mind with regard to *shinkoku* thought is that it functioned as a form of national consciousness within the framework of Japan's relations with other lands. Although essentially religious in nature, the *shinkoku* concept, insofar as it constituted an awareness of Japan as a *kuni* 国 (country), comprised a recognition by the Japanese of “their land” as a part of the actual East Asian world.

The East Asian world was traditionally understood in the *kenmitsu* doctrinal system as composed of the Three Countries (*sangoku* 三国): India (Tenjiku), China (Shintan), and Japan (Honchō). As described in, for example, the *Sangoku buppō denzū engi* 三国佛法伝通縁起, the *Sangoku denki* 三国伝記, and the appendix to the *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集, the notion of the Three Countries represents a worldview based on the route of Buddhism's diffusion. Though all three lands were equally the recipients of the Buddhist transmission, it was emphasized that “the salvational means (*upāya*) of the Great Saint [Buddha] vary according to the conditions (*ki* 機) of each country, and there is no fixed standard”; therefore,

one should not attach too much importance to aspects karmically related to other countries and belittle the forms [that Buddhism takes] in order to fit the Japanese context. Our country is the land of the kami where the Great Manifestations (*daigon*) leave their traces. (Shasekishū, NST 85: 64)

In this way, the *shinkoku* concept came to overlap with the image of the world presented in the teaching of the Three Countries. The *Keiran shūyōshū*, for example, states that “India is the country where the Buddha was born, China is the country of Miroku, and Japan is the land of the kami” (T 76.511); the “Record of Things Heard in Oral Transmission” chapter of the *Daijōngū ryōgū no onkoto* says that “Japan is [shaped as] a single-pointed Vajra club (*tokko* 獨古), China is a three-pointed Vajra (*sanko* 三鉗), and India is a five-pointed Vajra (*goko* 五鉗)” (WST 1: 469).

Behind this image, however, lay Japan's increasing sense of its own autonomy, which arose from the relaxation of the ancient system of tributary states centered upon China. This autonomy led to a new view of international relations, one accompanied by simultaneous feelings of subserviency and disdain towards other lands, with Japan attempting to acquire a status of equality with China and of superiority over Korea (see TANAKA 1970a). The *shinkoku* concept reflected a similar sense of independence, and at times the same sort of self-righteous contempt with regard to the outside. An extreme example of this occurs in the story of Empress Jingū's conquest of Silla, related in several *engi* narratives on Hachiman, in which it is said that the sentence "The great king of Silla is the dog of Japan" was carved into stone (see *Hachiman gudōki*, GR 1, p. 395). Another instance of such an attitude is found in the *Zenrinkoku hōki* 善隣国宝記, by Zuikai Shūhō 瑞溪周鳳 (1391-1473), which states that "Paekche is part of China," and that "this text contains many records on Silla and Koryō, but they are included in the section concerned with China" (KSS 21). Such attitudes were based not on the reality of actual international contacts but on a quite conceptual "international awareness" domestically produced for the purpose of a rather self-satisfied glorification of the kami.

This can be clearly seen in two documents emphasizing the *shinkoku* concept on the occasion of the Mongol invasions. The first document is the official answer of the Japanese government to the message of the Mongol emperor, in which Sugawara Naganari 菅原長成 explains the idea of *shinkoku* (see the *Honchō monjū* 本朝文集, SZKT 30: 399). This is the only case in which the *shinkoku* concept was used in the arena of international relations as a positive assertion of the Japanese identity with respect to foreign lands. Although Sugawara's statement that "until now we have never heard the word 'Mongol'" is not necessarily scornful, his argument, beginning with a presentation of the heavenly lineage of Tenshō Kōtaijin and proceeding to the claim that "therefore, the realm of the [Japanese] emperors will always be called the 'land of the kami'," was obviously meaningless in the East Asian international context of the time. This document demonstrates the kind of international awareness that was based on, or fostered by, the concept of *shinkoku*.

The second document is an invocation presented by Eison 叡尊 at Iwashimizu to pray for the repulsion of the foreign invader:

O Great Bodhisattva [Hachiman], I supplicate you to arouse an eastern wind that will disperse the enemy fleet attacking our country and burn their ships—but without causing casualties among the invaders. (see KONDŌ 1959)

Although grounded in the concept of *shinkoku*, this document, as befits its Buddhist origin, stresses a philosophy of compassion and peace—a philosophy obviously belonging to a different dimension from that of actual international relations.

Thus the *shinkoku* concept, although fine as a religious ideal, proved an empty construct divorced from the reality and tension of foreign affairs when put to work in the real world as a norm for national and international consciousness. Moreover, when associated with a jingoistic regime the *shinkoku* concept could unleash an extremely dangerous blind violence, as evidenced by many notable examples in later times. This is a major feature of *shinkoku* ideology as a form of national consciousness or international awareness.

Eventually this aspect of *shinkoku* thought was, along with the notion of the Three Countries, rectified in a more realistic direction. The pirates (*wakō* 倭寇) who operated in the seas off the countries west of Japan and the traders who conducted international commerce (and who introduced the term *mukuri* for the Mongols, a more accurate rendering than the usual *mōko*) had a much better understanding of the real international situation than anything based on the *shinkoku* concept. It was they who prepared the new framework of international exchanges in East Asia that came into place after the fifteenth century (see TANAKA 1970b). *Shinkoku* thought did not, however, collapse at this point. Far from it—internal developments in Japan contributed to its preservation as an ever more abstract set of notions.²⁰

The Conception of Shinkoku as State Ideology

This brings us to my third and final point, concerning the systematization of the *shinkoku* concept as a form of state ideology.

As I have discussed elsewhere, the *kenmitsu taisai* comprised the religious aspect of the *kenmon* system, the ruling regime made up of competing yet complementary centers of power. This regime started to show signs of decline in the fourteenth century owing the breakup of the old *shōen* estate system, part of the process—marked also by the rise of the Kenmu Restoration government and the Muromachi bakufu—that led to the formation of a feudal monarchy. During this period the *kenmitsu* sects and their temple-shrine complexes suffered deepening

²⁰ The banner of Hachiman Daibosatsu, displayed on the *wakō* ships, cannot be interpreted as a simple expression of *shinkoku* ideology, although it was probably not unrelated to it, being the expression of an outlook that justified the militarist and aggressive aspects latent in the Hachiman cult. It should be pointed out that the potential for the blind expression of this element continued to exist in *shinkoku* ideology.

philosophical and social contradictions and experienced a decline in the authority they had once enjoyed as integral parts of a regime based on the notion of the mutual dependence of the imperial law (*ōbō*) and the Buddhist law (*buppō*).

This new situation provoked debate concerning the place of the emperor in the *kenmon* power system, leading to a new stress on Shinto. Shinto was seen as a mystical teaching grounded in esoteric Buddhism, which, as I have discussed elsewhere, formed a sort of ideological common denominator for the various *kenmitsu* traditions. Shinto established links with imperial authority by stressing the latter's links with Tenshō Kōtaijin, a development that helps explain the rapid rise of nonorthodox doctrines like Ise Shinto at precisely this time.

Seen in this way, it is easy to understand why the *shinkoku* concept, once it was connected with the movement to establish a feudal monarchy, could easily give rise to a form of state ideology. As earlier scholars have noted, Ise Shintō was a form of “religious belief endowed with national connotations” that laid “emphasis on Shinto’s political significance” (see TSUDA 1949, pp. 103, 111). By the fourteenth century Jihen and Kitabatake Chikafusa were preaching the direct unity of Shinto and the *shinkoku* on the one hand and the “imperial way” and “imperial lineage” on the other. This aspect of Jihen’s and Chikafusa’s thought has been repeatedly analyzed, so there is no need to demonstrate once again its character as a nationalistic ideology. When the *shinkoku* concept developed—or, rather, was reorganized—into a form that functioned as a state ideology, a shift in emphasis naturally occurred, as can be seen in the difference between Ise Shintō as presented in Watarai Ieyuki’s *Ruijū jingi hongen* and as presented in Chikafusa’s *Jinnō shōtōki*.

It is important that Chikafusa’s conception of the *shinkoku* be understood not merely in terms of its relation to the political authority of the Southern court (the Miya-kata 宮方), but also in terms of its potential to form the state ideology of a feudal monarchy. Chikafusa’s ideas were utilized in most Muromachi bakufu documents concerned with the national consciousness,²¹ such as the *Shōdanchiyō* 樵談治要, compiled by Nijō Yoshimoto 二条良基 (1320–1388), and the aforementioned *Zenrinkoku hōki*, which was directly based on Chikafusa’s *Jinnō shōtōki*. *Shinkoku* thought, in other words, became an explicit state ideology combining the naïve, magic-oriented popular cults of the kami with the type of deference to the state expressed in slogans like “peace

²¹ The fact that, in the final tome of the Hakusan version of the *Jinnō shōtōki* after the ninety-sixth emperor, Kōgon’in, a list had been appended of the subsequent emperors of the Northern Court, should also be interpreted from this perspective.

in the land, tranquillity in the nation.” In this way it acquired a status similar to that of esoteric Buddhism at the time when the notion of *ōbō-buppō* mutual dependence held sway. Assertions like “the exoteric teachings and the esoteric teachings are like the Buddhas and the kami: they are different names for the same substance” (postscript to the *Hachiman gudōkin*, GR 1, p. 436) can be seen as indications of such a relation. It was this type of general climate that made possible the wide acceptance of a clever confection like Yoshida Kanetomo’s Yuiitsu Shinto, agenda-oriented and sloppily reasoned though it was.

Shinkoku thought went on to become the trump card in the reactionary ideology of feudal domination. It was used in the suppressions of the *Ikkō ikki* 一向一揆 and Christianity, and was later employed in Meiji-era State Shinto and Japan’s imperialist wars. In each instance we can discern the deep traces of the excessively abstract and mystical consciousness of nation and outside world that characterized *shinkoku* thought.

ABBREVIATIONS

- DNBZ *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. 161 vols. Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai, 1911–22. (reprint, Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1970–73; Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1979)
- GR *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従. HANAWA Hokiichi 塙保己一, ed. Tokyo: Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai.
- JST *Jingū sanpaiki taisei* 神宮參拜記大成. In *Daijingū sōsho* 大神宮妙書. Jingū Shichō 神宮司序, ed. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1976.
- KDZ *Kōbō Daishi zenshū* 弘法大師全集. 8 vols. Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo 密教文化研究所, ed. Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1965–68.
- KSS *Kaitei shiseki shūran* 改訂史籍集覽. 33 volumes. Kondō Heijō 近藤瓶城, ed. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1983–84.
- NKBT *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系. 100 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957–68.
- NST *Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系. 67 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970–82.
- SZKT *Shintei zōhō kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系. Kurosaka Katsumi 黑板勝美, Kokushi Taikei Henshūkai 国史大系編修會, ed. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1941–51.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. 100 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al., eds. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai and Daizō Shuppan, 1924–1932.

- WST *Watarai shintō taisei* 度會神道大成. In *Daijingū sōsho* 大神宮妙書. Jingū Shichō 神宮司庁, ed. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1976. (reprint)
- ZGR *Zoku Gunsho ruijū* 弥群書類従. 30 vols. HANAWA Hokiichi 塙保己一, ed. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1972.

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