

# Shinto Research and Administration in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

## The Case of Miyaji Naokazu

ENDŌ JUN

In analyzing the relation of the modern Japanese nation-state to Shinto and Shinto shrines, we must take into consideration the circumstances surrounding shrines. If the modern shrine system is to be considered an ideological apparatus of the state in the Althusserian sense,<sup>1</sup> the actual nature of the Home Ministry's Bureau of Shrines (Jinja Kyoku 神社局, 1900–1940), which was the administrative core of the shrine system, needs to be clarified. We also have to examine how educational activities and research on Shinto took place within the context of this ideological apparatus (and whether they in fact functioned fully as part of such an apparatus or not).

The case of Miyaji Naokazu 宮地直一 (1886–1949) is of particular interest in this respect, since Miyaji was not only an official of the Bureau of Shrines in the Home Ministry but also a scholar engaged in teaching and research of the history of shrine deities (*jingi* history)<sup>2</sup> at Kokugakuin University and Tokyo Imperial University. Moreover, these two social roles of Miyaji were intimately related to each other. In this essay I will give a general overview of Miyaji Naokazu's activities and consider how they should be understood within the context of the modern shrine world and Shinto.

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1. See Althusser 1970.

2. *Jingi* 神祇, lit. the gods of heaven and earth, is often used as a synonym of *shintō* 神道 and can be translated as “Shinto” accordingly. In our context it is important, however, that Miyaji preferred *jingi* (a term that arguably has more historical and concrete connotations with shrine rituals) to the broader *shintō* (which refers more to doctrines or teachings), at least in his earlier writings. I therefore translate *jingi* as “shrine deities.” [Translator's note.]

### MIYAJI'S ACADEMIC CAREER

During his life Miyaji engaged in a wide range of activities. The list below provides a chronological overview of those bearing directly on the subject of this article.

- 1886 24 Jan., born in Enoguchi, a village in Kōchi prefecture.
- 1908 Graduates from Tokyo Imperial University, Faculty of Letters, Department of History. Enters graduate program.
- 1909 March (23 years of age), assumes an adjunct position in the research section of the Home Ministry's Bureau of Shrines.  
       15 June 1909—31 March 1910, appointed to lecture on "*jingi* history" at the Training Program for Shrine Priests attached to the Institute for Imperial Classics.
- 1915 1 May (29 y.), appointed as an adviser (*sanji* 参事) to the Office for the Construction of Meiji Shrine.
- 1918 10 Aug. (32 y.), appointed as adjunct lecturer at Tokyo Imperial University, Faculty of literature; lectures on *jingi* history at the Department of Japanese History.
- 1919 29 July (33 y.), appointed to regular position in the Shrine Bureau research section.
- 1920 17 Sept. (34 y.), lecturer on *jingi* history at the newly founded Chair for Shinto Studies at Tokyo Imperial University.
- 1922 March (36 y.), appointed lecturer at Kokugakuin University.  
       April, earns a doctoral degree for his thesis "A Historical Survey of Shrines Centering on the Three Shrines of Kumano."
- 1923 April (37 y.), from this year serves as professor at Kokugakuin University.
- 1924 20 Dec. (38 y.), appointed head of the research section at the Bureau of Shrines.
- 1933 (47 y.), classes on the history of Shinto begin to be offered within the History Department at Kyoto Imperial University; Miyaji appointed as lecturer on *jingi* history.

- 1938 11 March (52 y.), appointed as professor at Tokyo Imperial University (Chair of Shinto Studies).
- 1946 31 March (60 y.), retires from Tokyo Imperial University.
- 1949 16 May, dies at the age of 63 in Azumino, Nagano prefecture.

## INSTITUTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS RELATED TO SHINTO SHRINES

Shrines in modern Japan had links to a variety of organizations and associations. To follow Miyaji's career, it will be helpful to identify those institutions most closely related to the state's supervisory authority at the time he served in the Home Ministry (1909–1949) as well as nationwide shrine priest associations that were active during the same period. These included:

- The Bureau of Shrines (Jinja Kyoku) of the Home Ministry (1900–1940); in 1940 this was elevated in status and from then until 1946 was known as the Chamber of Shrine Deities (Jingiin 神祇院).
- The Ise Shrine Imperial Academy (Jingū Kōgakkan 神宮皇学館); founded in 1882, from 1903 to 1940 it functioned as a state college for training shrine priests. In 1940 it was made a state university and from then until 1946 was known as Jingū Kōgakkan Daigaku.
- The Institute for Imperial Classics (Kōten Kōkyūsho 皇典講究所, 1882–1946); Kokugakuin University (1890–today) is an offshoot of this institute.
- The National Shrine Priests Association (Zenoku Shinshokukai 全国神職会, 1902–1941); from 1941 to 1946 known as Association of Shrine Priests of Great Japan (Dainippon Shinshokukai 大日本神職会).
- The Ise Shrine Service Foundation (Jingū Hōsaikai 神宮奉斎会, 1899–1946); an incorporated foundation for organizing and promoting reverence for Ise Shrine, this institution was a restructured form of the earlier Shintō Jingū-kyō 神道神宮教, an association that although not officially recognized as one of the “religious” Shinto sects, shared various characteristics with them.

Together these institutions formed the framework of State Shinto, which came to an end in February 1946. Among them, the Shrine Bureau, as a governmental office, was of a different character from the others. As Sakamoto Koremaru has pointed out, Home Ministry bureaucrats' understanding of Shinto was not always congruent with that of the priests actually serving in shrines throughout the country, a situation that resulted at times in sharp confrontations between these parties.<sup>3</sup> There were certainly intimate connections between the Institute for Imperial Classics, the National Association of Shrine Priests, and the Ise Shrine Service Foundation, ranging from their joint compilation and publication 1906–1908 of *Jingi zensho* 神祇全書 (Compendium of Texts on Shrine Deities), a collection of medieval and early modern texts about major shrines and deities, to their collective effort immediately after the Second World War to work out a common conception of the future world of Shinto shrines, but even these organizations were not always of the same opinion. When we try to understand the world of shrines at Miyaji's time, it is essential not to overlook these differences.

### MIYAJI'S ACTIVITIES AS A SCHOLAR-BUREAUCRAT

Born into a family from Kōchi prefecture that traditionally had many ties to shrines and *kokugaku* scholarship, Miyaji began to work in an adjunct position at the Home Ministry Shrine Bureau in March 1909, one year after entering graduate school. The Shrine Bureau was at that time divided into two departments, one responsible for overseeing matters concerning the most prestigious category of shrines, the so-called “state shrines” (*kankoku heisha* 官国幣社, more literally “shrines receiving offerings from the national and regional governments”), and one responsible for prefectural shrines and shrines of lower rank. As a researcher, Miyaji engaged in work pertinent to both departments, for the “survey of shrine histories” (*jinja kōshō* 神社考証) in which he was employed was directly connected to the system of shrine ranks established in 1871. Under that system, shrines throughout the country were assigned to a category—“imperial shrines” (*kanpeisha* 官幣社), “national shrines” (*okuheisha* 国幣社), “prefectural shrines” (*kensha* 県社), “village shrines” (*sonsha* 村社), etc.—or remained “unranked” (*mukakusha*

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3. Sakamoto 2003, p. 296.

無格社). The first two categories, which comprised a total of ninety-seven shrines in 1871, were further subdivided into several rank levels. Over time new categories were added and the ranks of individual shrines were adjusted, so that by 1945 there were more than 220 shrines in the top two categories. Since various perquisites were attached to the different categories and ranks, including, for shrines in the top two categories, a degree of official financial support, ranking was a matter of substantial concern for shrines and their priests.

“Historical shrine survey” entailed in the first instance evaluating the documentary basis for a given shrine’s rank or its elevation to a higher rank—documents substantiating its historical importance and pedigree. To make such appraisals required a specialized knowledge beyond what could be expected of an ordinary bureaucrat. Sakamoto Koremaru has termed those such as Miyaji who engaged in this kind of work “scholar-bureaucrats.”<sup>4</sup> The expression captures the hybrid situation of people who commanded a high level of scholarly knowledge, but who, unlike their peers based in universities, carried out their research in a nonacademic environment.

The first major step in Miyaji’s bureaucratic career was his employment at the Office for the Construction of Meiji Shrine (Meiji Jingū Zōeikyoku 明治神宮造営局). Following Meiji Tennō’s demise in 1912, a movement to erect a new shrine dedicated to him soon took shape. To create a new shrine of this sort, it was necessary to carry out an investigation of historical precedents so as to decide on appropriate shrine treasures, rituals, and such.

Miyaji was initially employed in an adjunct capacity by the preparatory committee that conducted a preliminary review of these matters, but when the Office for the Construction of Meiji Shrine was formally established in 1915, he was appointed as an “adviser” (*sanji* 参事) to it. As such he was able to play a significant role, next to that of the “senior advisers” (*san’yo* 参与), in decisions concerning the shrine’s concrete shape. Considering that Miyaji was still only twenty-nine years old and held no more than an adjunct position at the Shrine Bureau, this assignment can be regarded as an exceptional promotion. As Miyaji’s son Harukuni testified, “Mother once told us, after having been appointed to this honorable task [... Father] literally forgot to

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4. Sakamoto 2003, p. 296.

eat and drink and hardly ever returned home from the office, devoting all his energies to the foundation of the august shrine.”<sup>5</sup>

In June 1919, when the construction of Meiji Shrine was still under way, a reform of the Bureau of Shrines brought about an increase of its personnel.<sup>6</sup> One month later, Miyaji and Ogino Nakasaburō 荻野仲三郎 (1870–1947), who had been employed by the Shrine Bureau as an adjunct researcher already before Miyaji, were appointed to permanent positions as research officials (*kōshōkan* 考証官). Miyaji started his bureaucratic career as a “higher official of fifth degree.” In 1924, when a separate research department was newly established within the Shrine Bureau, Miyaji was appointed its head.

### *Ideological Premises*

The ideological framework that guided the administration of Shinto shrines at the Home Ministry was marked by the doctrine that shrines were sites of state rites and the manifestation of reverence for gods and ancestors (*keishin sūso* 敬神崇祖) but that such rites and reverence were not of a “religious” nature (*jinja hishūkyō ron* 神社非宗教論). According to Sakamoto Koremaru, virtually all Shrine Bureau bureaucrats conducted their work on the basis of a firm belief in the nonreligious nature of shrines, a notion that had become a central part of the prevailing “state ideology.”<sup>7</sup>

An important factor behind the prevalence of the emphasis on “reverence for gods and ancestors” among Shrine Bureau officials was the nature of the education that many received at the Law Faculty of Tokyo Imperial University. In 1891, Hozumi Yatsuka 穂積八束 (1860–1912), who was a professor in the Law Faculty from 1889 to 1912, published an essay in which he criticized the Civil Code that had been compiled under the direction of the French legal scholar Gustave Boissonade (1825–1910) for being incompatible with Japanese customs and values. In this essay, titled “The Civil

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5. Miyaji (Harukuni) 1980, p. 6.

6. The consecration ceremonies for Meiji Shrine were held in November 1920, but the construction office was not disbanded until 1927.

7. Sakamoto 2003, p. 308. Recent discussions on this topic are mentioned among others by Isomae Jun’ichi in this volume. For further discussion of some of the arguments advanced at the time, see the chapter by Kate Wildman Nakai.

Code Means the Destruction of Loyalty and Filial Piety,”<sup>8</sup> Hozumi argued that Japan was a country based on “veneration of ancestors” (*sosenkyō* 祖先教). Seen from this perspective, Shinto shrines were places for expressing profound reverence for the founding gods of the nation and ancestors. Other forms of beliefs or cults traditionally associated with shrines were blackened out. Hozumi’s elder brother Nobushige 穂積陳重 (1856–1926), who was also a professor of law and who took part in drafting a revised version of the Civil Code, shared the same perspective.

Nakagawa Tomojirō,<sup>9</sup> the head of First Department of the Shrine Bureau,<sup>10</sup> noted at a symposium on the history of the Shrine Bureau held in the 1940s that he had studied under Hozumi Nobushige and that he was asked about the “relation of ancestor belief and law” at his graduation examination. Faithful to his teacher, he explained that ancestor belief was “*keishin sūso*, i.e., showing reverence to shrines and reverence to the ancestors,” which was the foundation of the law in Japan. He went on to explain that, based on this recognition, he had come to realize the necessity to elevate the prestige of shrines.<sup>11</sup> According to this view, shrine worship was informed by or even identical with ancestor veneration. Considering the fact that most government bureaucrats at that time graduated from the Faculty of Law at Tokyo Imperial University, we may suppose that Hozumi Nobushige and Hozumi Yatsuka had considerable influence on how these officials interpreted Shinto.

Was this general understanding of Shinto prevalent among Home Ministry bureaucrats held by the “scholar-bureaucrat” Miyaji Naokazu as well?

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8. “Minpō idete chūkō horobu” 民法出て忠孝亡ぶ. Hozumi Yatsuka’s essay created a stir, and was a key factor in the postponement of the enactment of the so-called Old Civil Code in 1892. The version of the code subsequently drafted by Hozumi Nobushige and others and finally came into effect in 1898.

9. Nakagawa Tomojirō 中川友次郎 (1873–1945) graduated from Tokyo Imperial University’s Law Faculty in 1897 and was employed the following year in the Home Ministry office responsible for overseeing the reconstruction of Ise Shrine. Later he became head of the Shrine Department within the Bureau of Shrines and Temples and put all his energies in creating an independent Shrine Bureau. Following the establishment of the Shrine Bureau in 1900, he headed it for two terms before assuming other administrative posts, including governor of Gunma prefecture (*Shintō jinmei jiten* 1991, p. 217).

10. The department responsible for overseeing major shrines.

11. Jingiin Kyōmukyoku 1942, p. 24.

Shibata Minoru 柴田實 (1906–1967), a scholar of Japanese cultural history who analyzed Miyaji's "jingi history," answered this question affirmatively, arguing that Miyaji's work is based on the "ideology of Meiji State Shinto" that can be equally found in the "Essays on Shrine Deities" (*Jingi-shi* 神祇志) by the Mito scholar Kurita Hiroshi 栗田寛 (1835–1899). According to this ideology, "*kami* are people, ancestors; worship and reverence to them is gratitude to the ancestors (*hōhon hanshi* 報本反始) in ritual form."<sup>12</sup> Shibata emphasizes in particular that Miyaji regarded the narratives of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as factually true. This has been pointed out also by Nakamura Naokatsu.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, Miyaji certainly did not see ancestral rites as totally subsuming belief in deities. At a meeting of the steering committee for the Committee for the Study of Shrine Administration (Jinja Seido Chōsa Kai 神社制度調査会)<sup>14</sup> held in 1930, Miyaji even stated his opinion that shrines were in fact of a *religious* nature.<sup>15</sup> Thus, even if Miyaji's thinking, broadly speaking, may have fit within the framework of the ideology of Meiji period State Shinto, his concrete view of Shinto was not necessarily in line with the general Shinto interpretation propounded by Home Ministry bureaucrats.

### *Survey of Shrine Histories*

Miyaji Naokazu is generally regarded as having exercised a strong authority over prewar shrine administration as it affected individual shrines throughout the country. Since his main responsibility within the Shrine Bureau was

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12. Shibata 1980 (appendix), pp. 84–85. Kurita Hiroshi devoted most of his energies to the completion of the Mito school's 250-year-long project, the *History of Great Japan* (*Dai Nihon-shi* 大日本史), which first appeared in modern print in 1906, seven years after Kurita's death. "Essays" (*shi* 志) on topical issues were an important element of this encyclopedic work, and Kurita was largely responsible for compiling the section of these essays that dealt with deities and shrines.

*Hōhon hanshi* (lit., "recompensing benefices received from the ancestors and recommitting to the origin"), a Confucian formulation found in Chinese classics such as the *Book of Rites*, was a favorite slogan of Mito thought.

13. Nakamura 1958.

14. For the Committee for the Study of Shrine Administration, see the chapter by Kate Wildman Nakai, p. 117.

15. Sakamoto 2003 (appendix), pp. 299–300.

the “survey of shrine histories,” we need to ask what was the connection between this function and his presumed authority.

As mentioned above, “survey of shrine histories” in the Shrine Bureau was undertaken primarily as part of the procedures for elevating a shrine’s position within the hierarchy of ranks headed by the so-called *kankoku heisha* (state shrines). The motives for seeking a shrine’s elevation and the bodies requesting such a promotion were diverse, but the Shrine Bureau received great numbers of these requests. Careful inspection of a shrine’s background was necessary to decide whether a particular request should be granted or not. This was basically what “survey of shrine histories” at the Shrine Bureau meant.

According to Ōba Iwao 大場磐雄 (1899–1975), who was involved with such research from 1925 to 1947, when a shrine was nominated or applied for promotion, the first step in considering the application was to send the documents submitted by the shrine to the research section, which thereupon conducted an “investigation of pedigree” (*yuisho shirabe* 由緒調) based on them. Only if the documentation passed this inspection did the matter proceed to the next stage of evaluating the shrine’s financial resources and other conditions. Because the research section put particular weight on written records, applicants would at times fabricate documents or borrow them from other shrines.<sup>16</sup>

Under these conditions, survey of shrine histories was not simply a matter of objective investigation; it also involved exercise of a certain authority toward shrines. From the time he was appointed to a regular position as research official within the Shrine Bureau, Miyaji held the ultimate responsibility for its shrine investigations. Regardless whether he himself was also interested in such research for academic reasons or not, from the shrines’ point of view it was an expression of administrative authority.

#### *Exceptional shrine rituals*

Another major project to which Miyaji contributed during his time in the Shrine Bureau was the “investigation of exceptional shrine rituals” (*tokushu shinji* 特殊神事).<sup>17</sup> Initiated around 1924 by Sagami Shin’ichi 佐上信一

16. Ōba 1967, pp. 15–20.

17. “Exceptional shrine rituals” are defined in the *Great Shinto Encyclopedia* of 1937 as “Rituals of special origin in the history of a particular shrine that do not

(1882–1943), who then headed the Shrine Bureau, this project consisted of a general survey of special rituals that did not accord with the current nationwide ritualistic standards but were peculiar to individual shrines. Information about such rituals was collected from “state shrines” (*kankoku heisha*) throughout the country.<sup>18</sup>

The precondition for a category like “exceptional rituals” was the existence of a ritual standard common to all shrines in all parts of the country. Such a standard set of rituals was devised by the government at the beginning of the Meiji period. It consisted of a number of stipulations regarding the rituals to be performed as well as the details of how to conduct them. Based on a draft by Konoe Tadafusa 近衛忠房 (1838–1873), a court noble who was appointed to serve as head priest of Ise Shrine, and Senge Takatomi 千家尊福 (1845–1918), the head priest of Izumo Shrine, these stipulations, which are generally known as “Meiji rituals” (*Meiji saishiki* 明治祭式), were promulgated by the government in 1875. In 1914, a new law on shrine rituals<sup>19</sup> went into even greater detail. In principle, every shrine was to perform rites according to these stipulations, but shrines also had their own particular ceremonies, and these were referred to as “exceptional rites.”<sup>20</sup>

Another precondition for the identification of a category of “exceptional rituals” was the reshaping of the Shinto clergy through bureaucratization. In the first years of the Meiji period, the government redefined Shinto priests as “priestly officials” (*shinkan* 神官) and held them to be state bureaucrats subject, like other bureaucrats, to transfer from one post to another. Most powerful local shrines had been run by traditional priestly lineages (*shake* 社家), but the government’s new policy on shrines cut the ties between shrines and these families and in place of the latter installed “priestly officials” brought in from elsewhere. Some came to feel, however, that this policy also had the inadvertent effect of weakening reverence towards shrines and belief in their rituals. As Sagami Shin’ichi later put it, the continuous transfer of this new type of shrine priest from one shrine to another had led to a decrease of

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accord with the general ritual regulations or customs followed at shrines these days. Often priestly dress differs from the general code in these cases. [...] Also called antique rituals (*koshikisai* 古式祭)” (*Shintō daijiten* 1937, p. 1040).

18. Jingiin Kyōmukyoku 1942, pp. 42–43.

19. *Kankoku heisha ika jinja saishi no rei* 官国幣社以下神社祭祀令, imperial decree no. 10 of Taishō 3 (1914).

20. Mogi 2004.

“private rituals” (*shisai* 私祭) in comparison to “official rituals” (*kansai* 官祭) stipulated by the state. Among such “private rituals,” “exceptional rituals” had suffered all the more. In Sagami’s view, “exceptional rituals” were an effective means for strengthening ties between shrines and parishioners (*ujiko* 氏子) and enhancing reverence for the shrine. Thus he had recommended conducting a survey of these rituals so as to encourage their revival.<sup>21</sup>

In this way, even bureaucrats became aware of the fact that the bureaucratization of priests and the unification of rites might endanger “reverence” for Shinto shrines and seized on “exceptional rituals,” which symbolized the individual features of Shinto shrines that state policy otherwise played down, as offering a clue for overcoming this dilemma.

Miyaji Naokazu agreed to Sagami’s view pointing out that “Meiji rituals” (i.e., those stipulated by the state) tended to be carried out strictly and formalistically, while “exceptional rituals” were treated lightly, almost as if they were something unofficial, and therefore the general public was not even aware of their existence.<sup>22</sup> A distinctive feature of Miyaji’s perspective was that he connected these rites with shrine research and stressed their importance as indicators of a given shrine’s special character. While the Shrine Bureau’s survey of shrine histories was done primarily on the basis of historical documents, as described above, it appears that Miyaji also regarded rites as source material for this kind of investigation. More information is needed, however, to decide whether rites were really taken into consideration in the bureau’s research on shrine pedigrees.

One other form of historical investigation that fell under the purview of the Shrine Bureau was that connected to the construction of new shrines or restoration of existing ones. Here the concern, as mentioned above in regard to the building of Meiji Shrine, was to clarify the most appropriate architectural forms.

Miyaji’s role within the sphere of shrine administration was thus basically that of a scholar. If we look only at his research, based on a careful consideration of written sources, his activities were quite in line with modern scholarship’s striving for objectivity. The site where he conducted his research, however, was the meeting point of state authority and various social

21. Jingiin Kyōmukyoku 1942, pp. 42–43.

22. Miyaji’s position is revealed in a lecture on “exceptional rituals” that he gave in March 1925 at the Fifth Seminar for Shinto Priests organized by the Home Ministry. A report of this lecture was published in the magazine *Ōyashima* (Miyaji 1925).

groups (shrine priests, local society, regional government units, etc.). Under these conditions, the decisions made on the basis of his research were a fundamental element in the power wielded by this site.

### MIYAJI'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO PRIESTLY EDUCATION

Apart from his activities in the Shrine Bureau, Miyaji is known among present Shinto scholars as the first modern author who created a comprehensive “history of shrine deities,” i.e., a general outline of Shinto history. This “*jingi* history” first took shape in seminars that he conducted for shrine priests. Thus to examine the implications of this situation, let us first briefly consider the nature of the prewar training and qualification system for shrine priests and how Miyaji was involved in it.

In 1882, the Institute for Imperial Classics was founded as a private institution where students could acquire qualification as a shrine priest (*shinshoku* 神職). At first the Home Ministry issued instructions indicating that to become a priestly official (*shinkan*) at the lower level of ranked shrines (“shrines of prefectural level and below”) one should be a graduate of this institute or to have passed an examination conducted at it or one of its branch offices.<sup>23</sup> In 1886, the institute proposed a system for licensing priests on the basis of knowledge and merit (the so-called *gakkai* 学階 system); this was eventually approved with some revision by the Home Ministry and promulgated in 1890.<sup>24</sup>

This established a licensing system separate from the specifications for graduating from school. The regulations issued by the government in 1902 for the appointment respectively of priests of “state shrines” and of priests of “prefectural shrine level and below” made a *gakkai* license a necessary

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23. “Only persons with a certificate of graduation from the Institute for Imperial Classics or persons with a certificate of successful examination are allowed to apply as priestly officials at shrines of prefectural level and below” (*Naimushō tatsu*, otsu, #46 [1882/8/30]). With regard to imperial and national shrines, the Home Ministry stipulated that head priests (*gūji* 宮司) and vice head priests should be appointed by the government following a recommendation by the Home Minister, while lower priests should be appointed by the respective prefectural government.

24. *Naimushō shirei*, kō, #35 (Kokugakuin Daigaku 1994, p. 191).

qualification in both cases.<sup>25</sup> In the case of the former, it was specified that the appointee as priest at a “state shrine” had to have obtained a *gakkaï* license from the Institute for Imperial Classics. From 1903, graduates of the several divisions of the Ise Shrine Imperial Academy were also granted qualification to become shrine priests. In 1909, the Home Ministry entrusted the Institute for Imperial Classics with the creation of a new tripartite facility for priestly education. This facility consisted of a regular section for training shrine priests (Shinshoku Kōshūka 神職講習科), a short three-month training course for shrine priests (Shinshoku Kyōshūka 神職教習科), and a short seminar offering training in the performance of rituals (Saishiki Kōshūka 祭式講習科). In this way, a program for priestly education separate from the institute’s normal curriculum was established.

In this period of large-scale reorganization, Miyaji was responsible for lecturing on *jingi* history at the regular and short-term training programs at the Institute for Imperial Classics (the Shinshoku Kōshūka and Shinshoku Kyōshūka). The Institute for Imperial Classics published his lectures at the regular program shortly thereafter as *Jingishi* 神祇史 (History of Shrine Deities, Miyaji 1910). A second volume, *Zoku Jingishi* 続神祇史 (Continued History of Shrine Deities, Miyaji 1912), appeared two years later. These works were much more comprehensive than any previous studies in this field and set a new standard as research studies on *jingi* or Shinto history. At the same time, the fact that Miyaji developed these works in the context of his courses for shrine priests and published them early on as teaching materials also seems to have contributed to his outline of “*jingi* history” becoming a standard reference work in the field of Shinto studies.

As can be gathered from Miyaji’s academic background as a history department graduate as well as from his general historiographical approach, *jingi* history was, in his eyes, a field of Japanese history. Therefore, from the beginning he did not aim at a comprehensive study of “Shinto” in the sense that, for instance, scholars of folklore or religious studies did. Nevertheless, the main arenas for Miyaji’s activities—whether the Shrine Bureau or the

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25. *Kankoku heisha oyobi kanbesho shinshoku nin'yō no rei* 官国幣社及神部署神職任用令 (imperial edict #28) and *Fusha kensha ika jinja shinshoku nin'yō kisoku* 府社県社以下神社神職任用規則 (edict of the Home Ministry 内務省令, #4).

programs for training shrine priests at the Institute for Imperial Classics—were always deeply connected with shrines and “Shinto.”<sup>26</sup>

### “JINGI HISTORY” AND “SHINTO” IN UNIVERSITY TEACHING

In 1918 a turning point occurred in the history of modern higher education in Japan with the enactment of a new University Law. An extraordinary pedagogical commission set up to deliberate on educational needs had pointed in its report to the need to reform the university system so as to develop more fully “cultivation of the human character” and “fostering of a patriotic spirit.” The University Law based on these recommendations set forth conditions for elevating private schools to university status and facilitated the establishment of additional faculties and departments in various fields. One such new department was the position in Shinto studies (*Shintō kōza* 神道講座) inaugurated in 1920 in the Faculty of Letters at Tokyo Imperial University.<sup>27</sup> The instrumental figure in the establishment of this position was the professor of Japanese literature Haga Yaichi 芳賀矢一 (1867–1927). In the faculty meeting that debated creating the position, Haga called for it to be put at the head of all others, but this recommendation was rejected. The people charged with offering its lectures were Tanaka Yoshitō 田中義能 (1872–1946), Katō Genchi 加藤玄智 (1873–1965), and Miyaji Naokazu.<sup>28</sup>

26. Regarding Miyaji’s contribution to priestly education, we should also mention the system of examinations to qualify as a shrine priest developed for those who did not graduate from a Shinto college or take lectures there. As mentioned above, the Home Ministry had envisioned such a system already in 1882 (*Naimushō kunrei* #4), but it was not realized until 1925 (Kokugakuin Daigaku 1994, p. 195), when a committee for overseeing the examination for the upper levels of shrine priests was set up. Miyaji was appointed to serve as an adviser to the committee and was responsible for supervising the examinations on the subject of history. He also discussed the coverage of the examinations in a journal intended for those planning to take them. Again, this was a field where his administrative functions overlapped with his academic activities.

27. See also Hayashi Makoto’s chapter in this volume, pp. 58, 61.

28. On Katō Genchi, see the chapter by Isomae Jun’ichi, pp. 35 and 42. From 1919 until his death in 1927, Haga served as president of Kokugakuin University, where he also played a key role in its elevation to university status under the terms of the same University Law of 1918 (see below).

Miyaji had already begun lecturing on “*jingi* history” in the History Department of Tokyo Imperial University in August 1918.<sup>29</sup> This was immediately after the extraordinary pedagogical commission issued its report. When the position in Shinto studies was founded in 1920, Miyaji lectured on the same subject there. As his primary affiliation continued to be with the Shrine Bureau, he undertook these academic activities as an adjunct lecturer. Three years after the founding of the position in Shinto studies, a department office was attached to it, but as Miyaji later wrote, even after that there still was not a full-time professorship, nor, institutionally speaking, were any students formally affiliated with the department.<sup>30</sup> The position in Shinto studies thus seems not to have been a full-fledged independent *kōza*, but in actuality was probably nothing more than a facility for offering lectures. After Tanaka and Katō left in 1933, two other adjunct instructors gave lectures on Shinto-related subjects on a temporary basis, but Miyaji, who continued to offer lectures on *jingi* history, seems to have remained as the central figure within the Shinto studies position.

Under the new University Law, changes also took place at Kokugakuin, the educational facility that had developed out of the Institute for Imperial Classics and had become an independent institution in 1890. Under the provisions of the University Law, Kokugakuin was elevated to university status in 1920. In 1922, in addition to his regular position at the Shrine Bureau and his lectures at Tokyo Imperial University, Miyaji was appointed lecturer and in the following year professor at the new Kokugakuin University. Both were adjunct positions. At the same time, he continued to lecture as well in the training programs for shrine priests at the Institute for Imperial Classics proper.

A major shift in the environment surrounding the place of Shinto studies in university education came with the movement toward greater state control over thought and education in the wake of the Manchurian Incident of 1931. In 1935, the Ministry of Education founded the Council for Educational Reform (Kyōgaku Sasshin Hyōgikai 教学刷新評議会) as an advisory organ to provide recommendations for correcting “aberrations” in education “by taking as the basis the true meaning of the *kokutai* 国体 (‘national essence’) and the essential principles of the Japanese spirit.” In other words,

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29. On this aspect of Miyaji’s activities, see also Endo 1996a, 1996b.

30. Miyaji 1942.

education was to be reshaped in the spirit of the nationalist ideology that had become more and more essential in the eyes of the state.

Miyaji was a member of this Council for Educational Reform, which in its report on university education put particular emphasis on the establishment of faculties, departments, and positions related to the *kokutai* and Japanese culture. New positions in Japanese thought and theories of the *kokutai* were founded at the Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, the two leading institutions of higher education, as well as at the two pedagogically oriented universities (*bunrika daigaku* 文理科大学) in Hiroshima and Tokyo intended particularly to train middle school teachers. The establishment of these positions at the nation's most important academic institutions was intended to foster a reform of education along totalitarian lines.

In the same vein, efforts were made to expand positions in Shinto studies at the Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto. In Kyoto contributions from the Kyoto Association of Shrine Priests had already made possible the establishment of a position in Shinto studies in 1933, and Miyaji had been lecturing there on *jingi* history. In 1938, the position in Shinto studies at Tokyo Imperial University was endowed with a full professorship for the first time. Miyaji took up that position, resigning as the head of the research section of the Shrine Bureau. He continued to take part in Shrine Bureau functions on an adjunct basis, but from this point the main arena of his activities shifted from governmental administration to the university.

In a period when the state was increasingly promoting nationalism, it is by no means clear whether this tendency can also be detected in Miyaji's academic activities. On the one hand, he took part in several projects related to nationalism. He served as a member of the general committee for the association established in December 1933 to commemorate the six hundredth anniversary of Emperor Go-Daigo's Kenmu Restoration. In June 1935 the Japanese History Department, the Japanese Literature Department, and the Shinto Studies Departmental Office at Tokyo Imperial University jointly organized a symposium to commemorate the six hundredth anniversary of the death of the imperial loyalist Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成; as noted above, Miyaji was the key figure in the university's Shinto studies program at this time. In October of the same year a committee was established to prepare for celebrations in 1940 of the 2,600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Japanese empire, and Miyaji was appointed to it as an adjunct adviser. On

the other hand, I have not found any materials that offer evidence of his own motives and sentiments at these occasions.

### *New Interpretations of Shinto*

As regards his academic studies, in this period Miyaji seems to have arrived at a new understanding of the history of Shinto in the ancient period. This can be seen in the notes for the lectures he gave at the university in 1936, which were later published as “Preliminaries of Shinto History” (*Shintōshi josetsu* 神道史序説) and in “Intellectual Trends in Shinto” (*Shintō shichō* 神道思潮, 1943).<sup>31</sup> In these works, Miyaji interpreted Shinto history as the history of the relations between *kami* and men. Moreover, he explained the development of *kami* worship as an evolutionary process leading from individual belief to lineage-centered belief to national belief. This new interpretation can be gathered in particular from Miyaji’s explanations concerning Amaterasu.

Miyaji assumed that lineage deities in the ancient period derived from two congruent processes: the deification of human beings and the anthropomorphization of deities. When one lineage succeeded in unifying the country, they attributed this to their lineage deity, which was consequently worshiped by not only the clan but the whole country. On the other hand, there were also nature deities, among which the sun deity came to hold the highest status. On the grounds that they were both of the highest status, the imperial lineage deity and the sun deity were identified; this was how Amaterasu came into being. According to Miyaji, the development of Amaterasu was therefore at the same time the development of a national deity.

In this interpretation, it seems as if Miyaji applied the evolutionary notion of “from polytheism to monotheism” to the history of Shinto. At the same time, he appears to have moved away from viewing *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* as a repository of historical facts. Or perhaps he was seeking an explanation of the origins of the *kami* and the state that was both organic and rational. It is certainly not impossible to surmise a nationalistic motivation behind these ideas. Given the present scarcity of evidence, however, it is difficult to arrive at a final conclusion in this respect.

Another noteworthy aspect of Miyaji’s research in this period is that it was introduced to an international audience by the historian Asakawa

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31. See Endō 1996b.

Kan'ichi 朝河貫一 (1873–1948), who in 1931 published an article on the place of religion in the social and economic history of Japan in the famous French journal *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*.<sup>32</sup> In this article, Asakawa referred in particular to Miyaji's study of the Suwa Shrine,<sup>33</sup> which he praised as exemplary from a socioeconomic history point of view since Miyaji laid out the shrine's development from its origins to its acquisition of status in the medieval period as a powerful landholder. Besides Miyaji, Asakawa also mentioned Tsuji Zennosuke's 辻善之助 "History of Japanese Buddhism" (*Nihon bukkyōshi no kenkyū* 日本仏教史之研究, 1931), Hiraizumi Kiyoshi's 平泉澄 "Relations between Shrines, Temples, and Society in the Medieval Period" (*Chūsei ni okeru shaji to shakai to no kankei* 中世における社寺と社会との関係, 1926), and a study on regional branches of the Ise Shrines by Mikami Sukeaki 三上左明 (1899–1931), an author whom Miyaji also evaluated highly. Asakawa's appreciation of Miyaji's work suggests a need to reconsider its implications within the context of prewar studies of socioeconomic history as well as the history of religion.

### THE DEMISE OF STATE SHINTO AND MIYAJI'S POSTWAR ACTIVITIES

After Japan's defeat in World War II, the circumstances surrounding Shinto shrines changed radically. The so-called Shinto Directive issued by the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers in December 1945 effectively abolished "the protection, support, supervision and proliferation of State Shinto or Shrine Shinto by the government," as was indicated already by the title of this legal document.<sup>34</sup> In effect, the national status hitherto held by shrines was denied, and the various institutions linked to Shinto and shrines with which Miyaji had been involved were disbanded. The Jingiin—the enlarged version of the Bureau of Shrines, established in 1940—was dismantled and the establishment of any other governmental office with similar functions was thereafter forbidden. Already before the Shinto Directive was issued,

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32. Asakawa 1931 [1993].

33. Miyaji 1931.

34. The directive's title reads: "Matters relating to the abolition of government protection, support, supervision and proliferation of State Shinto or Shrine Shinto."

people associated with the Institute for Imperial Classics, the National Association of Shrine Priests, and the Ise Shrine Service Foundation had jointly debated how to deal with the changes that were sure to come and had arrived at a decision to try to secure shrines' survival by having them become "religious" institutions. Miyaji undertook to draft a "Prospectus on Establishing Shrine Religion" (*Jinjakyō setsuritsu shuisho* 神社教設立趣意書), but opinions diverged, and ultimately it was decided to try to win recognition for shrines as public interest corporations (*kōeki hōjin* 公益法人). After several twists and turns, the Association of Shinto Shrines (Jinja Honchō 神社本庁) was founded in January 1946 as a religious corporate body. At the same time, the system of official shrine ranks was abolished, which obviated further governmental administrative involvement in research on the basis for assigning shrine ranks.

As regards priestly education, the Institute for Imperial Classics, which the Home Ministry had entrusted with that function in the prewar period, lost its public, governmental character. While Kokugakuin University was allowed to stay in existence, public support of priestly education was forbidden.

Academic research and teaching on Shinto was likewise permitted only at private universities. The positions in Shinto studies at Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities were abolished, as was the Ise Shrine Imperial Academy (Jingū Kōgakkan), which had achieved university status in 1940. With the abolition of the position in Shinto studies at Tokyo Imperial University, the departmental office attached to it was transformed in March 1946 into the Office for Research on Popular Religion (Minkan Shūkyō Chōsashitsu 民間宗教調査室). Miyaji remained there until the end of the same month, when he reached retirement age and left the university world.

Outside the university, however, he remained active as the head of the private Institute for Popular Religious Studies (Kokumin Shinkō Kenkyūjo 国民信仰研究所), set up with contributions from the shrine world. Moreover, feeling that the Occupation authorities did not deal appropriately with the so-called sacred or *shintai* 神体 mountains,<sup>35</sup> he initiated a study group on

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35. *Shintai* hills and mountains were in many cases the object of worship (*shintai*) of a certain shrine. The most famous example is Mt. Miwa in Nara prefecture, worshipped by the Ōmiwa 三輪 Shrine. [Translator's note.]

mountain cults, which published an important series on this topic.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, it appears as if Miyaji began to step back from active research. In 1947, a newly founded Study Group on Shinto Religion (Shintō Shūkyō Kenkyūkai 神道宗教研究会) included figures such as Ōba Iwao, Kojima Shōsaku 小島鉦作, and Kondō Yoshihiro 近藤喜博, who were at the same time members of another study group, the Shintōgaku Kenkyūkai 神道学研究会, headed by Miyaji, but Miyaji himself did not join the new group. Moreover, he almost completely ceased to publish in academic journals. According to Nishida Nagao 西田長男, Miyaji's student in his later years, by that time Miyaji had become just a gentle old man.<sup>37</sup>

In these last years, Miyaji's interests focused on compiling a comprehensive history of Hotaka 穂高 Shrine in Azumino, Nagano prefecture. Since his study was based on materials stored by the shrine, Miyaji traveled quite frequently to Azumino. In May 1949, immediately after having finished the manuscript of his study, Miyaji, who was then in the sixty-fourth year of his life, died unexpectedly in the house of a parishioner of Hotaka Shrine.

## SUMMARY

To analyze Shinto studies under the influence of State Shinto, it is essential to clarify the concrete circumstances under which such studies were carried out. As we have seen, the sites of Miyaji Naokazu's major activities were the Shrine Bureau, where he was involved in administration as well as research on shrine histories, the Institute for Imperial Classics, where he participated in the training of shrine priests, and Tokyo Imperial University and Kokugakuin, where he taught and conducted academic research. Among these institutions, the Shrine Bureau was the arena most central to his activities. While standing at the center of shrine administration and conducting the type of research demanded by his position, he also pursued his own studies. Neither was his position at the Shrine Bureau without connection to his participation in the training of priests and university education. Miyaji's wide range of activities was therefore a product of the complex relations

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36. See Nishida 1965. The series "Collected writings on mountain cults" (*San-gaku shinkō sōsho*, 1958–1959) included four volumes by Ōba Iwao, Hori Ichirō, Miyaji Naokazu, and Higo Kazuo.

37. Nishida 1965, p. 155.

between the different institutions related to Shinto and Shinto shrines. It remains the topic of later studies to analyze these relations and Miyaji's role therein in detail.

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