

The Beginning of Summarizing a Career of Research on “State Shinto” and an Encounter with Katō Genchi

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KOGAKKAN RONSO No.3, Volume 53

October, 2020

□ Summary

First, I introduce the outline of the author's presentation titled "On the Concept of 'State Shinto'" at Shinto-Shi-Gakkai [the Shinto History Society] on June 3, 1990, in which I proposed, for the first time, to summarize a Career of Research on "State Shinto" by using the concept of "State Shinto in A Broad Sense" and "State Shinto in A Narrow Sense". Then, I explain why it took me a little less than nine years to compile a paper on this presentation. I will also explain the historical and worldview approaches of H. B. Earhart, which gave a new impetus to the author's way of summarizing a Career of Research on "State Shinto." Finally, I'll outline the author's study on Katō Genchi, in which I applied Earhart's method to a specific individual, and explain the meaning of this study at the time and the significance of it today.

□ Keywords

State Shinto, H.B. Earhart, Katō Genchi, The Concept of Religion,
The Theory of Shino as a 'Non-Religion'

Introduction

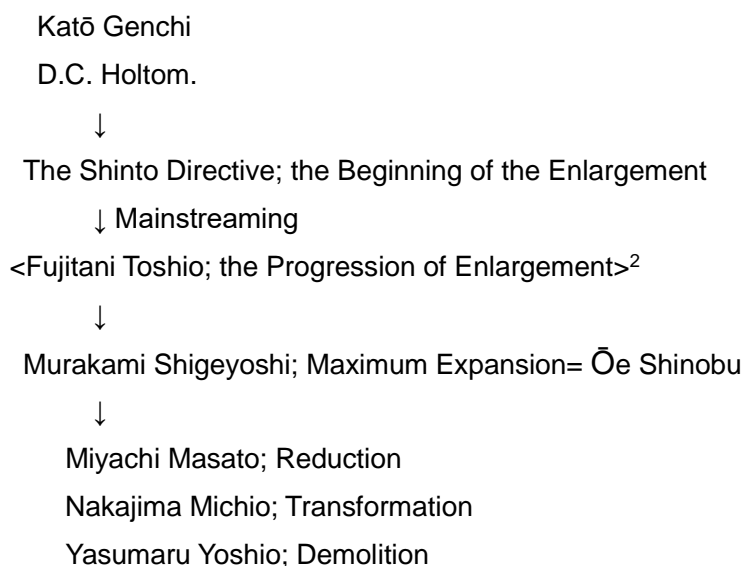
In my last published article “Summarizing a Career of Research on 'State Shinto'”, I explained the process from the author's recognition of the need to summarize a Career of Research on “State Shinto” to the adoption of a methodology that uses the conceptual categories of "State Shinto in A Broad Sense" and "State Shinto in A Narrow Sense." It was a process of gaining a perspective for summarizing through an examination of W. P. Woodard's works, and then by referring to the conceptual categories of Momochi Akira to arrive at my own methodology.

In the article, I have described the process according to the dates of publication of my various papers. However, the methodological exploration work itself was already underway well before the publication of the article, and as of 1990, the perspective was almost complete and the outline of the Career of Research based on it was ready. I presented a summary of it in a presentation entitled "**On the Concept of 'State Shinto'" at the *Shinto-Shi-Gakkai* [Shinto History Society] on June 3, 1990¹.**

1. The Beginning of Summarizing a Career of Research on “State Shinto”

In the presentation, the author first explained that my intention was to "sort out the various conceptual provisions about “State Shinto” of each of the theorists and present a correlation chart in my own way" and pointed out that there was "a change in the mainstream of the 'State Shinto' concept before and after the WW II" (p.1). Then, I presented the following chart under the title of "○Two streams of understanding of 'State Shinto'";

State Shinto in A Broad Sense



¹ The summary of this presentation is posted on the Kogakkan University Academic Repository.

² I forgot to write this part down in this chart and explained it in a later section.

State Shinto in A Narrow Sense

The government's view before WW2

↓

Umeda Yoshihiko; Succession

↓

Asizu Uzuhiko; Development

Sakamoto Koremaru

Ōhara Yasuo

This chart is followed by a detailed description, but I show just the items and the main points as follows;

○Pre-war definition

- * The government's view
- * Katō Genchi's view of "State Shinto"
- * D. C. Holtom's view of "State Shinto"

○Shinto Directive

Contents of the Shinto Directive – Coexistence of "State Shinto in A Narrow Sense" and "State Shinto in A Broad Sense" existing together

- (1) Definition of "State Shinto" = "State Shinto in A Narrow Sense"
- (2) Overall Framework of the Directive = "State Shinto in A Broad Sense"
 - Continued from Katō Genchi's view

@The thinking of "civil religion" reflects the concept of "State Shinto in A Broad Sense"?

○The Concept of "State Shinto" by Fujitani Toshio: While inheriting the basic understanding of the Shinto Directive, he enlarged the concept of "State Shinto in A Broad Sense" in an attempt to clarify the establishment of State Shinto.

* Basic Recognition of "State Shinto"; Basically the same as the Shinto Directive

1. The injector system of the Emperor's ideology
2. The source of the Pacific War

@Different Point; Expand of the contents of ideology to be injected

* Components of "State Shinto"; Expand of understanding of ideological infusion devices in response to expand of the contents of ideology to be injected

1. State Control of Shrines; Basic Component
2. Imperial Rituals ↓ The following elements are not in the Shinto Directive.
3. Shinkan-Kyōdōsyoku-Bunri [Separation of Executors of Shinto Rituals and

Religious Missionaries] (The theory of Jinja as 'non-religion') ;The aim is to force people to worship shrines.

4. The Imperial Constitution; which forces the people to believe in a type of religion, known as State Shinto or "Tennōkyō [Worship of the Emperor] ".
5. The Imperial Rescript on Education; the "Scripture" or "Bible" of the Tennōkyō

*The duration of "State Shinto"; From 1871 to the defeat of WW2

@.He consistently discusses the period from 1871 to the defeat of the WW2 under the title "The Establishment of State Shinto" and provides several epochs.

@.No mention is made about the changes of ideology to be injected throughout the entire period.

@ He asserts that the intentions of the government leaders were extremely politicized.

◎ Relationship with Murakami Shigeyoshi's theory

General Discussion and Detailed Discussion: The Murakami's theory was written with the intention of clarifying the relationship between the new elements introduced by the Fujitani's theory, making clear the division of time in the expanded period, and compensating for the simpler aspects of the Fujitani's theory.

◎Remarks; Definition of "State Shinto

The term "State Shinto" is a term born after the WW2.

It means "Shinto" combined with "State."

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○The Concept of "State Shinto" by Murakami Shigeyoshi: He Inherited and enlarged the occupying forces' concept of "State Shinto in A Broad Sense" that the emperor ideology and its infusing system were the source of the war.

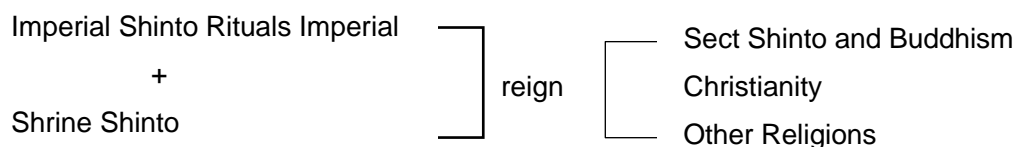
Examples of enlargement

(1) Structure

* "Imperial Shinto Rituals" is added to the "State Shinto" concept.

* See it as a "religious political system

*Suppose that "State Shinto" has "reigned" over other religions.



The Imperial Constitution: established a status of State Shinto on the public law directly related to the Emperor.

The Imperial Rescript on Education: the de facto doctrine of the State Shinto

(2) Period; From the Meiji Restoration to the defeat in the Pacific War, the Japanese

were mentally dominated for about 80 years by State Shinto.

1. Formative Period: Meiji Restoration (1868) to the early 1880s (late 1880s)
2. Doctrinal Perfection Period: The Imperial Constitution (1889) to the Russo-Japanese War (1905)
3. Institutional Perfection Period: From late Meiji 30s (late 1900s) to early Syōwa period (1931)
4. Fascistic State Religion Period: From the Manchurian Incident (1931) to the defeat in the Pacific War (1945). State Shinto was at its peak at this stage, and its true value as a weapon of spiritual domination over the people was completely demonstrated.

○The Concept of "State Shinto" by Ōe Shinobu: Almost the same interpretation by Murakami.

○The Concept of "State Shinto" by Miyachi Masato: Reduced to "State Management System of Shrines + Imperial Shinto Rituals"

○The Concept of "State Shinto" by Nakajima Michio

1. He acknowledges that the principles of "freedom of religion" and "separation of church and state" have some binding force. He identifies the suppression of religion during the Syōwa period as the collapse of the "State Shinto" system.
2. He argues that the State Shinto system was not established until after the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars.
3. He does not place much importance on imperial Shinto rituals, the Imperial Constitution, and the Imperial Rescript on Education.

○The Concept of "State Shinto" by Yasumaru Yoshio

1. He expands Nakajima's perspective of "autonomy" to focus on the willingness of each denomination to respond voluntarily to the demands of the state, rather than compulsion from above. This request of the state is not seen as an institutional (legal) mandate, but as a mere expectation or instruction.
2. He defines the framework for understanding political and religious relations in the Meiji period as "Nihon-Gata-Seikyō-Kankei [Japanese style separation of church and state]" rather than "State Shinto", and "State Shinto" as an element of this framework. By this definition, "State Shinto" has been reduced to state control of shrines.

3. He admits that there had been a change in the ideology to be injected into the people: From Kokugakusya and Shintoists' Saiseicchi-Sisō [The idea that politics and Shinto rituals should be consistent with each other] and Fukko-Shino [A thought that seeks to revive ancient Shinto] to a general ideology that effectively secures national loyalty to the new nation-state with the emperor at the center.

○The Concept of "State Shinto" by Umeda Yoshihiko

Although it is a continuation of the pre-war view, the influence of Murakami can be seen in the inclusion of imperial Shinto rituals in State Shinto.

◎Had shrines been emphasized as a device for injecting the will of the nation into the people since the Meiji Restoration?

Despite changes in policy and interpretation in response to changing circumstances at the time, had the intent to position or emphasize the shrine as an ideological infusion device been consistent?

○The Concept of "State Shinto" by Ashizu Uzuhiko

The definition of "State Shinto" is "State Shinto in A Narrow Sense", but it is unique in its assessment.

1. Bitterness about the treatment of shrines before the war
2. The Shinkoku Shisō [The idea that Japan is god's country in the Syōwa period] was not injected by public administration.

○The Concept of "State Shinto" by Sakamoto Koremaru and Ōhara Yasuo

Same view as Ashizu Uzuhiko.

These are the key points of this resume. In addition, the parts marked with "@" and "◎" are points that I had noticed or paid attention to in the process of creating this resume. I would like to explain the significance of this presentation, including my perspective from today.

First of all, I pointed out that "Shinto Directive" is a "mixture" of "State Shinto in A Narrow Sense" and "State Shinto in A Broad Sense." Then, I said that "State Shinto in a Broad Sense" is inherited from the theory of Katō Genchi. Furthermore, I wrote "The thinking of 'civil religion' reflects the concept of 'State Shinto in A Broad Sense'?" This means that the drafters of the Shinto Directive had in mind

Robert Neelly Bellah's "civil religion" theory for the United States, and their view of "State Shinto" may have been the one that negatively applied Bellah's argument to Japan. I have not yet been able to do any specific research on this point, although I would like to study the actual influence relationship.

I explained that Fujitani Toshio's view of "State Shinto" was "inherited from the basic understanding of the Shinto Directive" and points out four characteristics of his view; 1) The difference with the Shinto Directive is that the range of ideologies to be injected was expanded (I added that the influence of Katō Genchi can be seen in calling "State Shinto" as "Emperor Worship" and recognizing the Imperial Rescript on Education as "scripture" of "State Shinto"); 2) Consistently discussing the period from 1871 to the defeat of the war under the title "The Establishment of State Shinto" and dividing it into several periods; 3) No mention of the ideological changes that should be injected throughout the entire period (I made this point with an awareness of the differences with Murakami Shigeyoshi's concept of "State Shinto"); 4) Fujitani stated that the intentions of government leaders were extremely politicized. As for the relationship between his theory of "State Shinto" and Murakami's theory of "State Shinto", I contrasted them in the form of "The General and The Specific" and pointed out that "Murakami's theory was written with the intention of clarifying the relationship between the new elements introduced by Fujitani's theory, of clarifying the chronological divisions of the extended period, and of making up for the parts that had been simplified". This understanding of mine has carried over directly into Summarizing a Career of Research on "State Shinto". In addition, as "Remarks" I listed two noteworthy things that Fujitani said about "State Shinto".; For one thing, he stated that the term "State Shinto" was "a term born after the WW2"; The other, he defined "State Shinto" as "Shinto" combined with "State".

After explaining the genealogy of "State Shinto in A Broad Sense," I raised the following questions; "Had shrines been emphasized as a device for injecting the will of the nation into the people since the Meiji Restoration?"; "Despite changes in policy and interpretation of a shrine in response to changing circumstances at the time, had the intent to position or emphasize the shrine as an ideological infusion device been consistent?". Behind these questions, of course, were perspectives gleaned from Woodard's study.

Finally, referring to "State Shinto in A Narrow Sense," I wrote about Asizu Uzuhiko's view of "State Shinto" as follows: 1) His definition of "State Shinto" is "State Shinto in a Narrow Sense", but his assessment about it is unique; In short, 2) Bitterness about the treatment of shrines by the government before the war; 3) The Shinkoku Shisō [神国思想 The idea that Japan is god's country which was popular in the Syōwa period] was not injected by public administration but rose from the private sector. The third perspective became an important point of contention when Shimazono Susumu later attempted to rework the Murakami's "State Shinto" theory. It is also a major point of contention in today's increasingly popular study of the "National Polity".

2. The influence of H. B. Earhart on my study of Katō Genchi

It took a little less than nine years from the time of my presentation at Shinto-Shi-Gakkai to the time I published it as papers ("Kokka Shintō' Ron no Keihu [A Genealogy of 'State Shinto' Theory", part1, February 1999; part 2, April 1999). The reason for this is that my study of the W. P. Woodard, which is the foundation of this "genealogy" perspective, needed to be completed first. Another reason is that in the process of tracing the genealogy of "State Shinto" research, I began to feel the need to identify the source of "State Shinto in A Broad Sense" and it took me some time to do so.

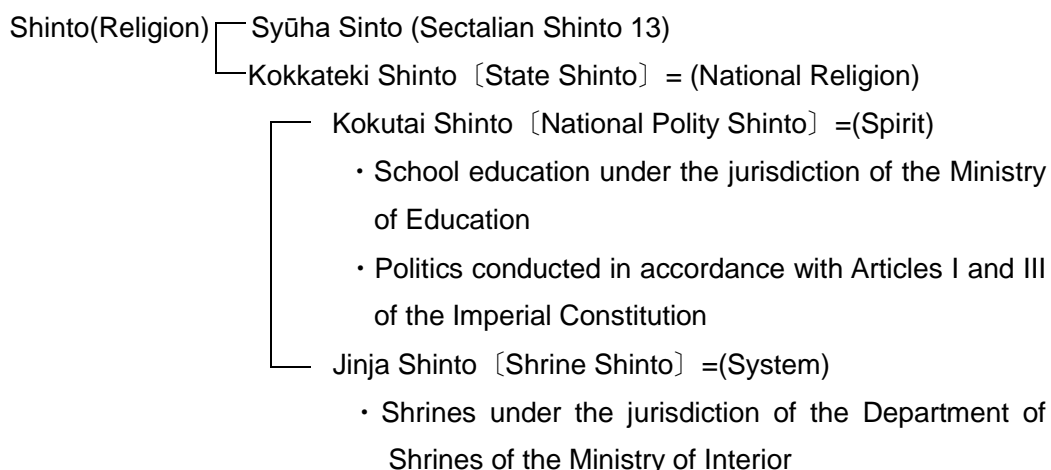
As of 1990, I focused on Katō Genchi, whom Woodard listed as a proponent of "Kokutai Shinto", and picked up and studied his writings, which seemed to express his theoretical system in a straightforward manner, and confirmed that the theory of "State Shinto in A Broad Sense" could be traced back to him. Katō has been identified by Japanese scholars such as Takahashi Shirō and Ōhara Yasuo as an influential figure in the "Shinto Directive," and in this sense, I thought that an examination of his arguments would lead to a clarification of the roots of the "State Shinto in A Broad Sense".

Based on the above ideas, I began in earnest to study Katō Genchi's works as a starting point for the task of identifying the source of the "State Shinto in A Broad Sense." The results of the study were beyond my expectations. Simply put, they confirmed to me that Katō is the origin of the "Broad Sense" and, at the same time, convinced me that the "Broad Sense" is an "illusion." They were published

in "Katō Genchi no Kokka Shintō Kan [Katō Genchi's View of State Shinto] " (Syūkyōhō [Religious Law] , No.14, October 1995)³.

In my presentation at the Shinto-Shi-Gakkai [the Shinto History Society] in 1990, I presented Kato's completed view of "State Shinto," using his *Kaitei-Zōho · Shintō no Syūkyōgaku-teki Shinkenkyū* [A New Study of Shinto from a Perspective of Religious Study (revised and enlarged edition), published in February 1935, and *Shintō no Syūkyō-Hattatsu-Shi-teki Kenkyū* [A Study of Shinto from a Historical Perspective of Religious Development] , published in September 1935. It was as follows;

* Katō Genchi's view of "State Shinto"



The relationship between State Shinto and Buddhism and Christianity

“The Imperial Constitution of Japan was made and the freedom of religion was granted based on the assumption that Shinto-Kokutai Shinto and Shrine Shinto is unique national religions in our country. Therefore, whether one is a Buddhist, a Christian, or a follower of any religious faith, one must recognize the belief in Shinto-Kokutai Shinto and Shrine Shinto.”

Kaitei-Zōho Sintō no Syūkyōgaku-teki Kenkū [The Study of Shinto from the Perspective of Religious Studies] , revised and enlarged edition, pp.384-385,1935.

³ This article was renamed "Katō Genchi no 'Kokka-teki Shintō' Ron" and included in Chapter 9 of *Kindai Seikyōkankei No Kisoteki Kenkyū*, Tokyo:Taimeidō, 1997.

On the other hand, in "Katō Genchi no Kokka Shintō Kan" (October 1995), I posed him as the "pre-war starting point" of "State Shinto" studies, and aimed to clarify the process of formation of his theory. Already from the beginning of my research, I had adopted a method of reading the relevant historical documents chronologically, paying attention to changes in the elements that were considered important in clarifying a particular individual's views on an issue⁴. However, this paper was the first to make a clear distinction in the analysis between the complete picture and the process of formation that led to it. The clarification of this distinction is largely due to my work on the translation of **H. Byron Earhart, *Religions of Japan: Many Traditions within One Sacred Way*** (Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1984)⁵.

Earhart argues that there are two perspectives to the study of religious or cultural subjects. One is the historical development perspective, which studies the subject as a process of development of various parts into a holistic system. The other is the world view perspective, which studies it as a unified system apart from its development through time. He explains the relationship between these two approaches as follows;

There are disagreements about exactly how these two approaches are best used, but it is obvious that some balance between the two is necessary. We cannot trace historical development through time unless we have some notion of the totality of the system we are tracing. And we cannot analyze the unity of

⁴ "Shimaji Mokurai no Seikyō-kankei-ron: Ishin Cyokugo kara Meiji Rokunen Kōhan made [Shimaji Mokurai's Theory of Relationship between Politics and Religion: From Immediately after the Meiji Restoration to the First Half of the 6th Year of Meiji]" (Waseda University Journal of Politics and Public Law, No. 25, March 1988), "Shimaji Mokurai no Chikyō-ron [Shimaji Mokurai's Theory of Chikyō [治教]]" (Kogakkan Daigaku Shinto Kenkyūjo Kiyō, No. 5, February 1989), "Hozumi Yatsuka no Seikyō-kankei-ron [Hozumi Yatsuka's Theory of Relationship between Politics and Religion]" (Kogakkan Daigaku Shinto Kenkyūjo Syohō, No. 43, June 1992), and "Uesugi Shinkichi no Seikyō-kankei-ron [Uesugi Shinkichi's Theory of Relationship between Politics and Religion]" (Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakai Kiyō, No. 7 from reissue, November 1992).

⁵ Ōsaka: Toki Syobō, August 1994, co-translated by myself and Okada Shigekiyo.

a system without some idea of how that unity took shape. The balance between these two approaches becomes apparent from the biological example of studying an oak tree. The developmental or “historical” study of an oak follows the growth of an acorn into a seedling and sapling until the mature tree is formed. An oak also be studied as a mature, unified form constituting a world of its own. This kind of study examines a cross section of the oak, analyzing such features as the layers of bark, the rings of tree, and characteristics of the wood. This helps determine the nature of an oak tree, as distinguished from tracing its development. These are two different ways of looking at the same tree: both are needed for a more complete understanding of the oak tree. The same kind of balance is necessary for the successful study of religion and other human subjects. To simplify matters, I have called these two approaches historical development and world view (p.48).

3. An analysis of Katō Genchi's works

I reinterpreted what Earhart called the approach of “world view” and the approach of “historical development” as “the completed structure” and “the process leading to it”. It was my article entitled “Katō Genchi no Kokka Shinto Kan [The Katō Genchi's View of State Shinto] ” that applied the reinterpretation to an individual, and it was my article entitled “Kokka Shinto Ron no Keihu [The Genealogy of the Theories of State Shinto] ” published in 1999, that applied it to the history of study on “State Shinto”. It had been my hypothesis that the completed form of the theory of State Shinto should be regarded as Murakami Shigeyoshi's theory of “State Shinto”. Therefore, in these two papers, I necessarily focused on the existence or non-existence of the various elements constituting Murakami's theory of “State Shinto” and the process of their emergence, which I picked up in “On the Concept of State Shinto” in 1990.

Reading the “Katō Genchi no Kokka Shinto Kan” again, it is clear that the careful study of the process of the formation of Katō's theory had provided me with a variety of sources, both consciously and unconsciously, of awareness of problems, ideas, and perceptions of the times. This thesis contains many misconceptions and misunderstandings due to my immaturity at the time. However, since each of them has led to the development of my later researches, I will leave the old text as it was, summarize the main points in every section, and

add **【Reflection】** to explain and correct them from the present point of view.

First of all, in the "**Introduction**", I wrote the fundamental reason why I wanted to organize and critically examine the various theories of "State Shinto" as follows:

Many scholars today use the term "State Shinto" when discussing political and religious relations in pre-war Japan. However, few of them have clearly defined the term, but rather they have thrown various elements into it one after another in the course of their argument, and in the end they have often closed their argument without defining it. Therefore, although it is a term that often appears in court cases concerning political and religious relations, it is not at all clear which elements must be present in order for it to be called "State Shinto", and which elements must be absent in order for it to no longer be called "State Shinto". So, in order to make steady progress in this field of research in the future, it is first necessary to clarify the definition of "State Shinto" that can be read from each researcher's essay. And it would be easiest to understand such an arrangement if we follow the research history of "State Shinto"⁶.

【Reflection】

In the course of reading Katō's works, I became aware of the elements and the scope of the concept of "State Shinto in a Broad Sense". The premise of the awareness was based on the following words about the importance of "definition" written by Asizu Uzuhiko in the "Introduction" of his book KOKKA SHINTO TOWA NANDATTANOKA [What was State Shinto?] (Tokyo: Jinja-shinpō-sya, 1987, April):

If the concept of the word at the heart of the problem was abused by different people at will, no clear and logical theory or historiography could be established, and no theoretical communication between opponents would be possible (p.7).

From this point of view, Ashizu adopted the method of "discussing on the basis of the official definition of the 'State Shinto' since the [Shinto] Directive"(p.7) [what I call "State Shinto in a Narrow Sense"] . In contrast to his, my interest in "definition" became directed towards what elements were common between "State Shinto in a Broad Sense", what were the core of the elements, and what were the influence relationship between the theories. It was my encounter with

⁶ p.199 (p.283 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei No Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

Kato's works that provided me with the answers to these questions. Through my research for his works, I was able to grasp the core of "State Shinto in a Broad Sense" and at the same time I was convinced to place him at the "origin" of this theory.

Next, in Section 1, "**Katō Genchi's biography and conventional evaluation for him**", I first wrote Katō's biography, mainly relying on Umeda Yoshihiko's "Katō Genchi" (*Shinto Syūkyō* [Shinto Religion] , No. 41, November 1965)⁷.

【Reflection】

- ①. By researching Katō's biography, I learned that he was born in "a temple belonging to the Jyōdo Shinsyū sect" in Tokyo Prefecture.
- ②. I learned that he was involved in the establishment of the "Shinto Course" at Tokyo Imperial University, and was able to recognize that he was a pivotal figure in the study and conceptual definition of "Shinto" in the modern era.
- ③. At this point, however, I did not know that he was even deeply involved in the education of the army.
- ④. Believing Umeda's description as it was, I wrote that Katō's funeral was held in "Shinsyū style"⁸ by his relatives only according to his will, but later it was revealed by Shimazono Susumu and others that "it was held by the chief priest of Daiunin [大雲院] (Sōtōsyū [曹洞宗] sect) in Gotemba City, who was a close friend of Katō"⁹.
- ⑤. I pointed out that the two main conventional evaluations of Katō were that he was "the first researcher to study Shinto on the basis of comparative religion" and that he "introduced Shinto to foreign countries by writing articles in English".
- ⑥. In addition to these two points, I pointed out that, in discussing Katō's achievements, it should not be overlooked that his theory of Kokka Shinto (or, more precisely, his theory of "Kokkateki Shinto") had a great influence on the "Shinto Directive". And I added that, despite the fact that this point has been made

⁷ pp. 284-285 in *A Basic Study of Japanese Modern Political and Church Relations*.

⁸ Umeda Yoshihiko, "Katō Genchi", p.83.

⁹ Shimazono Susumu, Takahashi Gen, and Maekawa Michiko(eds.), *Shirizuru Nihon no Syūkyō*③, *Katō Genchi Syū, Dai 9 Kan, Ronbun · Kaisetsu* [Series on Japanese Religions ③, Genchi Katō Collection, Vol. 9: Essays, Commentaries] , June 2004, Kuresu-Syuppan, p.4 and p.31.

by W. P. Woodard¹⁰, Takahashi Shirō¹¹ and Ōhara Yasuo¹², the point has not attracted the attention of many people.

In Section 2, "**Kato's Position in the Theory of 'State Shinto'**", I pointed out the followings¹³:

- ①. The theory of "State Shinto" should be understood in two types. One is "the usage that refers only to the state control of shrines", and the other is "the usage that refers to the whole of prewar political and religious relations".
- ②. Before the "Shinto Directive", the former was the mainstream, afterwards the latter.
- ③. The "Shinto Directive" contained a mixture of both.
- ④. According to Takahashi's and Ōhara's researches, the latter has a "genealogy of Katō → Holtom → W.K.Bunce". Katō's theory of "State Shinto" is the "source" of the latter, and therefore is at the "origin" of the career of "State Shinto" research.

【Reflection】

Regarding②: I had already pointed out in my presentation, "On the Concept of 'State Shinto'", that the concept of "State Shinto" could be divided into two categories and that they were "mixed" in the "Shinto Directive". I repeated that point in this paper. And, of course, this point had not been made in previous works by other researchers.

Regarding④: Prior to this paper, it had been pointed out that Katō's theory of 'Shinto' had 'influenced' the 'Shinto Directive', but it had not yet been pointed out that his theory of 'State Shinto' was the 'source' or 'origin' of theories of 'State Shinto' or researches on 'State Shinto' after the war. In fact, in Shimazono Susumu's "Katō Genchi no Syūkyōgaku-teki Shintogaku no Keisei [The Formation of Katō Genchi's Religious Shintology]"¹⁴ published in December of the same year as my article, he wrote: "What place had Katō's scholarship, thought and social practice in pre-war theocratic and nationalist thought? And

¹⁰ "The Occupation of the Allied Forces and Japanese Religion", *International Religious News*, Vol. 3, No. 5 and 6, Institute for International Religious Studies, 1972.

¹¹ "Shinto Shirei Keisei Katei no Kenkyū [A Study of the Formation Process of the Shinto Directive]", *Shinto Sūkyō* [Shinto Religion], No.11, June 1984.

¹² *Shinto Shirei no Kenkyū* [A Study of the Shinto Directive], Tokyo: Hara-syobō, 1993.

¹³ pp. 201-204 (pp. 285-288 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

¹⁴ *Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō*, Reissue No.16.

what political function did such his position serve? They have hardly been studied."(p.90). The Shimazono's article was re-published in June 1996 under the new title "Katō Gentshi"¹⁵, but his perception of the current state of research on Katō Genchi did not change.

In Section 3, "**Major Writings on Shinto and the Theory of 'State Shinto'**"¹⁶, I extracted from the catalogue of writings in Umeda Yoshihiko's "Katō Genchi"¹⁷ those writings that might be relevant to 'State Shinto', listed them as a table and marked(*) the works available to me. Then I presented the structural diagram of 'Shinto' and the explanation of its contents given at the beginning of *Shinto no Hattatsushi-teki Kenkyū* [A Historical Study of the Religious Development of Shinto] , which is considered to be the compilation of Katō's theory of Shinto.

【Reflection】

- ①. I include the book, *Waga Kenkoku Shisō no Hongi* [The True Meaning of The Founding Ideas of Our Country] , published in 1912, in the table. But I did not yet have access to the book, so it could not be the subject of discussion in this paper.
- ②. I did not include the book, *Tōzai Shisō Hikaku Kenkyū* [A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Thought] , published in 1924, in the table, because I judged that it had nothing to do with the theory of 'State Shinto'.

In Section 4, "**The Formation Process of the 'State Shinto' Theory**", lists Katō's works available to me in chronological order of publication, and traces the formation process of his "Shinto" theory up to its completed form, paying attention to arguments that seem to be related to the "Shinto Directive" and the post-war "State Shinto" theory. In the following, in the chronological order of publication of his works, I notes my arguments I had extracted his works, my points about the arguments and my **【Reflection】** on them.

- (1) ***Waga Kokutai to Shinto*** [Our National Polity and Shinto] (February 1919)¹⁸.

¹⁵ Shimazono Susumu and Isomae Junichi (eds.), *Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku · Shinto Kenkyūshitsu Kyūzōsyō Mokuroku oyobi Kaisetsu* [A Catalogue and Commentary of the Former Collections of the Shinto Research Office of Tokyo Imperial University] ,Tokyo: Tōkyōdō-syuppan.

¹⁶ pp.204-207 (pp.288-291 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

¹⁷ pp.84-85.

¹⁸ pp.208-209 (pp.291-292 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

- ①. This was Katō's first book with the terms 'National Polity' and 'Shinto' in the title.
- ②. The following three concepts are listed as 'National Polity'; "Tennō Shini Syugi [An idea that sees the Emperor as Absolute God] "; "Sōgō Kazoku Sei no Shisō [An idea of the total family system] "; "Tennō no Seitoku wo aogu Shisō [An idea that worships the Emperor's sacred virtue] .
- ③. Citing Koizumi Yakumo, he states that loyalty to the Emperor as God is a "religious sentiment" and it is the "core of Shinto" and should be called "Tennō Kyō [Emperorism] ".
- ④. He states that the neglect of the religious aspect of Shinto has resulted in the slump in national morality and the inadequacy of moral education, and that it is the evil influence of the idea that see science as almighty and the positivism.

【Reflection】

Regarding①②③: Interest in the concepts of 'Kokutai' and 'Shinto', the formation of modern 'Shinto' studies, and the relationship between 'Kokutai' and 'Shinto' is currently on the rise among researchers¹⁹. In this context, the works of Katō, who belonged to the Imperial University of Tokyo and the Military Academy, two key educational institutions in the pre-war period, is naturally the most important subject of study in these issues. His works should also be emphasized as a historical source for understanding the historical situation of the time.

Regarding②③: At this point in time, I could not understand the true meaning of the words as "Tennō Shini Syugi and Kami-taru Tennō eno Cyūsei [Loyalty to the emperor as God] because I had not read the book, *Waga Kenkoku Shisō no Hongi* [The True Meaning of The Founding Ideas of Our Country] published in 1912.

Regarding④: According to Murakami Shigeyoshi, 'State Shinto' is a 'religious political system' that 'spiritually dominated the Japanese people for about 80 years, from the Meiji Restoration to the defeat in the Pacific War'. The year Taisyō

¹⁹ For example, Fujita Taisei (ed.), *Kokkashinto to Kokutai-ron: Shūkyō-nationalism no Gakusai-teki Kenkyū* [State Shinto and The Theory of National Polity: An Interdisciplinary Study of Religious Nationalism] , Tokyo: Kōbundō, September 2019.

8, when this Katō's book was published, falls in Murakami's period classification of "the Period of Institutional Completion - late Meiji 30s (late 1900s) to early Syōwa period (1931)". For this reason, I felt a great deal of discomfort when I read Katō's descriptions of 'the neglect of religious aspects', 'the slump in national morality and the inadequacy of moral education', and the evil influence of the idea that see science as almighty and the positivism'. The rift between Murakami's theory and Kato's descriptions that I glimpsed at that time became one of the important hints for my criticism of the post-war 'State Shinto' theory.

(2) ***Jinja tai Syūkyō*** [Jinja versus Religion] (November 1921)²⁰.

- ①. For this book, Katō only edited and did not write any papers.
- ②. The book contains a lecture ("Jinja-Shinto to Syūkyō tonō Kankei [Shrine Shinto and its Relation to Religion] ") by Inoue Tetsujirō, which presents a classification of 'Shinto' by him. His classification of 'Shinto' influenced Katō's later classification of 'Shinto'.
- ③. Inoue classifies 'Shinto' into three categories: 'Kokutai Shinto [National Polity Shinto] ', 'Jinja Shinto [Shrine Shinto] 'and 'Syūha Shinto [Sectarian Shinto] '.
- ④. Inoue values 'Kokutai Shinto', 'Jinja Shinto' and 'Syūha Shinto', in that order.
- ⑤. The government considered only 'Syūha Shinto' to be a 'religion', but Inoue claims that 'Shrine Shinto' is also a 'religion'.
- ⑥. Inoue's 'Kokutai Shinto' differs from Katō's later discussion in that it refers to rituals center on imperial rituals, which ordinary people do not have the opportunity to come into contact with.

(3) ***Shinto no Syūkyōgakuteki Shin Kenkyū*** [A New Study of Shinto from the Perspective of Religious Studies] (May 1922)²¹.

- ①. This is the first book by Katō dealing with 'Shinto' from the perspective of a 'history of religious development'.
- ②. In this book, for the first time, he presented his own classification of 'Shinto', relying on the classification of Inoue Tetsujirō.
- ③. Katō's term 'Kokutai Shinto' differed from Inoue's and referred to 'Tennō Kyō [Worship to Tennō as God] '.
- ④. The concept of 'State Shinto', which combines 'Kokutai Shinto' and 'Shrine

²⁰ pp.209-210 (pp.292-294 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

²¹ pp.210-213 (pp.294-296 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

Shinto', had not yet appeared in the book.

⑤. His harsh criticism of educational and shrine administrations was repeated by such phrases as 'ancestor worship that even materialists can practice'.

⑥. His interpretation of the Imperial Constitution's freedom of religion was presented for the first time. It was as follows: " As long as one is Japanese, one should naturally be born a believer in Shinto - Kokutai Shinto · Shrine Shinto. In other words, Japanese people do not have the freedom to adopt or reject, i.e. the freedom to choose, Shinto - Kokutai Shinto · Jinja Shinto".

【Reflection】

Regarding⑥: Before examining Katō's arguments, I had examined the theories of relationship between politics and religion by Hozumi Yatsuka and Uesugi Shinkichi, two theorists of the Emperor's sovereignty²². There was no claim in the theories of these two men that shrine worship or Shinto belief was a 'duty of subjects' as referred to in Article 28 of the Imperial Constitution. I first encountered the theory in Kato's book. In other words, I finally confirmed the existence of the 'claim' of compulsory shrine visits or belief, one of the important components of the post-war theory of 'State Shinto', by encountered this Katō's book.

(4) *A STUDY OF SHINTO, The Religion of the Japanese Nation (1926)*²³

①. In this book, for the first time, the concept of 'State Shinto', which integrates 'Kokutai Shinto' and 'Shrine Shinto', appeared, solidifying the basic structure of Katō's theory of 'State Shinto'.

②. This publication was, of course, written for foreigners²⁴.

③. Despite the fact that, up until this book, the education administration had been criticized for being positivist, this book explains that 'Kokutai Shinto' is expressed by the 'Imperial Rescript on Education' and is taught repeatedly in schools.

²² "Hozumi Yatsuka no Seikyō-kankei-ron [Hozumi Yatsuka's theory of relationship between politics and religion] ", *Kogakkan Daigaku Shinto Kenkyūjo Syohō*, No 43, June 1992. "Uesugi Shinkichi no Seikyō-kankei-ron [Uesugi Shinkichi's theory of relationship between politics and religion] ", *Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō*, Reissue No. 7, November 1992.

²³ pp.213-215 (pp.296-298 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

²⁴ This book was reprinted by the Routledge Taylor & Francis Group in 2013 and still retains influence over the English-speaking world.

【Reflection】

Regarding^①: Regarding Katō's concept of 'State Shinto', The new view was expressed that "the first appearance of the concept of him in a monograph was in *Tōzai Shisō Hikaku Kenkyū* [The Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Thought] , published in 1924.", by the note (46) of the "Commentary" in *Shirizuru Nihon no Syūkyōgaku*^③:*Katō Genchi Syū Dai9kan: Ronbun, Kaisetsu* [Series of Japanese Religious Studies ^③ , Katō Genchi's Works, Voi.9, Essays, Commentaries] , under the supervision of Shimazono Susumu, Takahashi Gen and Maekawa Michiko published in June 2004.

In the section on 'State Shinto' in the book, *Shinto Yōgo Shū: Syūkyō Hen 2* [The Technical Terms of Shinko Study: the section of religion 2] ,published by the Kokugakuin University Institute for Japanese Cultural Studies in April 1986, Maeda Takakazu wrote: "In 1919, in a special lecture at the Military Academy, Katō Genchi already used the expression of 'State Shinto'" (p.12)

I had underlined this sentence, but I had forgotten it. Had it not been for this oversight, I might not have missed the statement in *Comparative Studies in Eastern and Western Thought*.

According to the above-mentioned Umeda's paper, *Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Thought* is described as "1924 (first edition), 1926 (reprint), Kyōbunsha". In the book published by Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai (December 1924), which I had access to, "Preface" is dated 20 March 1923, and "Preface to the Reprint" is dated July 1923. And in the "Preface to the Reprint", it is stated that the book was published after 12 typographical errors were corrected because the Great Kanto Earthquake of September 1923 had destroyed the bookbinding paper forms.

According to the "Preface", *Comparative Studies in Eastern and Western Thought* is a compilation of ten 'lectures' given at the Military Academy. So far, there is no reliable historical record that Katō gave a 'special lecture' at the Military Academy in 1919 and used the term of 'State Shinto' there as Maeda says. Therefore, I would like to assume that it was between March and September 1923 that Katō made public the concept of 'State Shinto', which integrated 'Kokutai Shinto' and 'Shrine Shinto', in the form of his writings.

As stated above, it would be significant that I set myself the task of clarifying the date of emergence of the concept of 'State Shinto' and identified it as being in 1926, even though it was later necessary to revise date.

Regarding③: I found significant discrepancies between Katō's account of the reality of education in Japan at the time, both for domestic and foreign audiences. This detection provided me a valuable perspective for understanding the genealogy of 'State Shinto in A Broad Sense' as 'Katō → Holtom → Bunce (Shinto Directive)'.

In addition, regarding the Imperial Rescript on Education, Katō had already stated in the aforementioned *Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Thought* that "I would like to assert that teachers throughout Japan are educating students centered on the Imperial Rescript on Education as institutions for cultivating and fostering the spirit [of the Kokutai Shinto]" (p.290).

(5) ***Nihonjin no Kokutai Shinnen*** [Beliefs of the Japanese People about the National Polity] (April 1933)²⁵.

①. Explanations have emerged that refer to 'Kokutai Shinto' as a 'metaphysical dimension' and 'Shrine Shinto' as a 'concrete representation of the physical'.

②. As 'scriptures of emperor worship', the 'Gunjincyokuyu [Imperial Rescript to Military]', the 'Boshin Syōsyō [Imperial Rescript at 1923]', the 'Imperial Constitution', the 'Seventeen-Article Constitution of Prince Syōtoku' and the 'Stories of Kami in *Kojiki* and *Nihonsyoki*' became added to the list in addition to the 'Imperial Rescript on Education'.

【Reflection】

Regarding②: Newly added in the book are the 'Imperial Constitution' and the 'Mythological sections of the *Kojiki* and *Nihonsyoki*' as elements linked to the post-war theory of 'State Shinto'.

◎From this book I quoted the following statements: "All of our nation's education should begin here [from the Imperial Rescript on Education and other sacred texts of 'Kokutai Shinto'] and return here. The foundation and guiding principles of all education in Japan, whether primary and secondary, higher education, business education, or military education, should be based on these. In other words, the education of the Japanese nation should have as its ultimate goal the cultivation of faith in the Emperor as God."(p.75)

Although I was not explicitly aware of it at the time, I would later use this sentence as a key to understanding Katō's contradictory domestic and foreign accounts of

²⁵ pp.215-216 (pp.298-299 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

Japanese education²⁶.

(6) ***Jinja Mondai no Saikentō - Shinto no Hongi to Waga Kuni no Kyōiku*** - [A Re-examining The Shrine Problem: The Nature of Shinto and Education in Our Country] (May 1933)²⁷

①. The main focus of this book was to argue that the situation of frequent Shrine Problems, such as the issue of shrine visits in schools, should be seen as a 'bankruptcy' of the theory of Shrine Shinto as non-religion, and that State Shinto should be openly declared a national religion all subjects should believe.

②. Following topics covered in this book include; The description of the period from the first to the third year of Meiji (1868-1870) as the 'The era when Shrine Shinto was the national religion': The dissolution of the Daikyōin in 1875: The abolition of the Kyōbusyō in 1878: The abolition of the Kyōdōsyoku in 1885: The separation of Shrine Shinto and Sectarian Shinto in the process: The guaranteeing freedom of religion by promulgation of the Imperial Constitution: The abolition of the Shrines and Temples Bureau of the Ministry of Interior and establishment of the Shrines Bureau and Religious Affairs Bureau in 1900. The transfer of the Religious Affairs Bureau to the Ministry of Education in 1913. In other words, the history of modern Shinto administration was told in almost the same interpretation and framework as it is today. Therefore I explained that these Katō's descriptions are "the starting point for today's [modern Shinto] research".

③. This book names the following people as those who spread positivism and Shrine Shinto non-religious theory in educational and Shinto priest circles; Katō Hiroyuki, Prime Minister of Imperial University; Kanō Jigorō, President of Tokyo Higher Teacher-training School; Kikuchi Dairoku, Minister of Education; and Egi Kazuyuki, President of the Nation-wide Shinto Association.

④. Katō explains that, due to their influence, Shrine Shinto non-religious theory 'has come to dominate power as a kind of public theories or the government-approved theory of Shinto'.

²⁶ *'Arahitogami' "Kokka Shito" toyū Gensō-'Zettaishin' wo yobidashitanowa Dareka* [The illusion of Living God "Arahitogami" and "State Shinto": What invoke Absolute God?] (Tokyo:Jinjashinpōsya, April 2014, p.132). "Part 2 The Illusion of 'State Shinto', Chapter1 How was 'State Shinto' invented: Tracing the Genealogy of 'Illusion', p.6, in an English translation available on the Academic Repository of Kogakkan University.

²⁷ pp.217-222 (pp.299-305 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

⑤. He classifies Shrine Shinto into four categories: Typical Shrines of Kokutai Shinto, such as the Ise Grand Shrine; Shrines dedicated to persons who had made achievements for the State; Shrines derived from nature worship; and Shrines based on superstition. He then states that the shrines of fourth category needs to be eliminated.

⑥. He states that rapid advances in 'religious studies' since the nineteenth century have led to a shift in views on religion. And as a result, he explains, the initially 'sensible policy' of Shrine Shinto non-religious theory has become a theory that is no longer 'endorsed' even by the Shinto priest.

⑦. He argues that as a result of the Government's adherence to the Shrine Shinto non-religious theory, Shrine Shinto have been forced to remove elements deemed religious and have become 'increasingly castrated, overshadowed and finally on the verge of dissolution' and that, in short, 'government policy towards shrines and religion is bankrupt'.

【Reflection】

Regarding②: I became more and more convinced that Katō was the 'starting point' of the history of 'State Shinto' research when I came across this account.

Regarding③④⑦: These are descriptions that cannot be overlooked when considering what the situation surrounding "Shinto" was like at the time and what "Shinto Study" was like in relation to it. It can also be said that these descriptions reinforce Ashizu Uzuhiko's view of 'State Shinto'.

Regarding⑥: Katō's attribution of the cause of collapse of the theory of Shrine Shinto as non-religion to changes in the concept of 'religion' is quite unique and considerably anticipates today's attention to changes in the concept of 'religion' and 'Shinto' by many scholars²⁸. In this regard, I pointed out in note (8) as follows²⁹; If Kato's analysis is correct, it would be highly misleading to interpret or

²⁸ For example, Yamaguchi Teruomi, "Syūkyō no Katari-kata [How to Narrate about Religion] ", *Nenpō Kindai Nihon Kenkyū 18, Hikanu no Naka no Nihon Shisō*, Heisei 8Nen 11Gatsu [Annual Report, Modern Japanese Studies, 18, Modern Japanese Thought in Comparison, November 1996). In this article, Yamaguchi points out that the way of narration about religion was changed before and after the opening of the 20th century.

²⁹ p.230 (I have deleted this description in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū* because of its duplication with a description in other section). Yamaguchi's argument relies on my raising this issue and quoting Katō's words. On this point, see my article " Yamaguchi

judge the way of narration about religion in the early Meiji period by applying it to today's common sense. Rather, it would be better to see it as a process by which today's common sense became formed.

Regarding⑦: Guided by this point, I became later to examine the debate in the “*Syūkyō Seido Cyōsa Kai* [The Meeting to discuss Institutions of Religions] ” and the “*Jinja Seido Cyōsakai* [The Committee to study the Shrine Shinto System] ”. And I was able to grasp from the historical documents held by the Jinja Honcyō the fact that the “*Jinja Seido Cyōsakai Kanji Kai* [The Executive Committee of the Committee to study the Shrine Shinto System] ” was considering a review of the Shrine Shinto non-religious theory³⁰.

(7) ***Shinto no Sai-ninshiki*** [A Re-acknowledgement of Shinto] (October 1928)³¹

①. Katō's motivation for writing this book was to provide an overview of Shinto for the middle classes of the Japanese people, as mottoes such as 'the clarification of the Japanese spirit' and 'the clarification of National Polity' spread after the Manchurian Incident, and more and more Japanese people wanted to know about Shinto.

②. His contradictory assessment of the education administration is highlighted in this book.

On the one hand, he says that 'Kokutai Shinto' is 'cultivating the brains of students in school education under the Ministry of Education', while on the other hand he criticizes that “The Emperor Meiji, who is an emperor as the Divinity, and his ancestors, who were emperors as the Divinity, have been all taught to the students as mere human emperors” and “they [teachers] interpret the emperor's ancestors as mere human ancestors mentioned in the Imperial Rescript on Education and have no doubts about this interpretation”. He explains this contradictory assessment by saying, "It is just that the education authorities have not been aware of it [the core of the National Polity] until now”.

③. He argues that any religion that does not recognize 'divine imperial worship' should be banned from proselytizing. In this connection, he repeats the argument

Yamaguchi Teruomi-cyo *Meiji Kokka to Syūkū wo Hihan suru* [A Critique of *Meiji State and Religion* by Yamaguchi Teruomi] ", *Kōgakukan Ronsō*, Vol. 32, No. 3, June 1999, pp.12-15.

³⁰ pp.198-203 in '*Arahitogami*'*Kokka Shito*' toyū *Gensō*-*Zettaishin*' wo yobidashitanowa *Dareka*.

³¹ pp.222-225 (pp.305-307 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

that Article 28 of the Imperial Constitution only covers 'world religions' and that State Shinto is not covered by it because it is a barrier clause designed for conducted religions coming from abroad. However, on the other hand, he also states that it is pointless to force people to worship Shinto Shrine under pressure from the government authorities or other authorities, and that such worship should be stopped.

【Reflection】

Regarding①: In the year the book was published, the 'Tennō Kikansetsu Jiken (1935)' arose. In relation to it, the government issued a series of the "Kokutai Meicyō no Kunrei[the Instruction for National Polity Clarification" (April 9, 1935) and two "Kokutai Meicyō Seimei[the Statement for National Polity Clarification]" (August 3 and October 15, 1935). Uesugi Shinkichi, who argued with Minobe Tatsukichi from the end of the Meiji Era to the beginning of the Taisyō Era, had already died in 1929. Until today, the impact of Katō's statements in relation to the incident and the subsequent situation has never been examined. However, given his relationship with the Army, it is necessary to study it.

Regarding②: By noticing the apparent contradiction in Katō's accounts, I could recognize that he was discussing his 'ideals' and the 'reality' of the time without making any distinction, consciously or unconsciously, I was not sure.

(8) ***Shinto Seigi*** [A Detailed Explanation of Shinto] (January 1938)³²

①. In this book, Katō describes the process of establishing the Japanese translation of "religion", "Syūkyō [宗教]", and justifies his own interpretation of Article 28 of the Imperial Constitution on this basis.

②. I pointed out in my paper that this book would be the first to study the history of the establishment of "Syūkyō" as a Japanese translation of the "religion".

③. Katō's argument was as follows; Originally, the "Syūkyō" meant Buddha's teachings. However, it came to be used as a translation of "religion" during the period from the end of the Edo period to the first of Meiji Restoration. In the West at that time, "religion" meant Christianity, so in Japan "Syūkyō" referred only to "world religions and individual religions" such as Buddhism and Christianity, and not to "tribal religions and national religions". Therefore, the drafters of the Imperial Constitution also considered religious freedom only for "world religions".

³² pp.225-227 (pp.307-310 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

【Reflection】

Regarding①②③:

◎ From the outset of my research, I was concerned about whether the contents expressed by the word “Syūkyō” remained unchanged. Based on this problematic view, I investigated the history of the establishment of the term “Syūkyō” as a translation word, and in May 1988, in my article “Shinto Hi-syūkyō-ron Saikō Josetsu – Zoku Jinja Hi-syūkyō-ron no Tenkai [The Development of the Shinto Non-Religious Theory: An Introduction of reconsideration of the Shrine Non-Religious Theory 2] ” (*Hō to Chitsujo* [Law and Order] , No 102, later published in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*), I wrote a section titled 'On the term "Syūkyō"'. These statements by Katō confirmed the correctness of my problematic view and hypothesis.

◎ I think nobody other than me has pointed out, then and now, that the first researcher of the 'Syūkyō' as a translation word may be Katō.

◎ After the publication of my article "Katō Genchi no Kokka Sintō Kan [Katō Genchi's View of State Shinto] ", the 'concept' and 'discourse' of 'Shinto' and 'Syūkyō' has been actively studied in Japan by Yamaguchi Teruomi, Isomae Junichi and others.

◎ Katō attempts to justify his interpretation of freedom of religion by the original content of the translation term ‘Syūkyō’. However, he would not seem to have thought about how to reconcile this attempt with the fact that he himself pointed out the subsequent changes in the concept of ‘Syūkyō’ and argued that the theory of shrine non-religion was no longer valid in his *Jinja Mondai no Saikentō*, published in May 1933.

Finally, in the "**Conclusion**"³³, I made the following points and raised the following issues:

- ①. Katō's theory of "State Shinto" was formed gradually, not all at once.
- ②. Katō's theory was "developed with the intention of criticizing the prevailing theory of the time and presenting what he considered to be the correct interpretation." His theory of "State Shinto" was also "an explanation of what he considers to be the ideal way of being rather than an explanation of the current state of Japan and Shinto, and an explanation of what he considers to be the essence of Shinto rather than an explanation of reality of it.
- ③. To what extent did Holtom, who was influenced by Katō, understand the subtle

³³ pp.22-229 (pp.310-311 in *Kindai Seikyōkankei no Kisoteki Kenkyū*).

relationship between “Sein” and “Sollen” in Katō’s arguments?

④. In post-war education, we have been taught that “before the war, Japanese people were taught that the Emperor was ‘Arahitogami’”, but Katō criticized the lack of such education. What is the origin of the difference between our common sense and Katō's argument?

⑤. We have been taught that “other religions have been suppressed by State Shinto”. Katō, however, argued that the theory of shrine non-religion was being used by other religions, and that Shrine Shinto was on the verge of extinction. What is the origin of the difference between our common sense and Katō's recognition?

【Reflection】

Regarding①: Understanding the formation process of Katō's theory of 'State Shinto' provided one solid foundation for my later awareness of the changing historical circumstances surrounding Shinto in general. At the same time, the process of its formation, I think, also contains many facts and perceptions that should be the basis for the research that has since flourished, which seeks to clarify the formation process of 'Shinto', 'Syūkyō' and 'Shintogaku [Shintology]' in modern Japan.

Regarding②: In the course of my subsequent research, I realized that those who argue for the existence of 'State Shinto in A Broad Sense', whether they affirm or deny it, use it as a means to move society in the direction they consider ideal. It was Katō's argument that gave me the opportunity to have the awareness.

Regarding③: In a symposium on 'Taisyō Syōwa Zenki no Shinto to Syakai [Shinto and Society in the Taisyō and Early Syōwa Periods]' held at Kokugakuin University on 19 July 2014, Suga Kōji stated that 'Holtom recognized that the "State Shinto" preached by Katō was an ideal. He did not misunderstand it as reality. Holtom wrote: "In the light of this evidence, it is clear that Dr.Katō's interpretation, which places emperor worship at the heart of Shinto, is more idealistic and educational than real'³⁴. I will clarify my view on this Suga's point of view when I explain the section of the 'mediator of "illusion" - D. C. Holtom' in my book *The Illusion of "Arahitogami" and "State Shinto"*, published in February 2003.

³⁴ 'Issue 1: D. C. Holtom's View of 'State Shinto'', *Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai Kiyō*, Reissue No 51, November 2014, p.368.

Regarding ④ :This awareness of the problem led me to research on the emergence and penetration of the concept of 'Arahitogami'.

Regarding ⑤ :This awareness of the problem led me to investigate the evolution of the situation regarding the Shrine Shinto since the enactment of the Imperial Constitution, with a focus on the debates in the Imperial Diet.

©Although I did not explicitly state it in this paper, the question was always in my mind afterwards; "How we should consider the fact that Katō, who was located at the origin of the 'State Shinto' theory, was born in a Jyōdo Shinsyū priestly family and probably grew up under their ideological influence"³⁵.

Closing Chapter

Rereading my own articles on Katō Genchi, I was reminded of the pressure I always felt when I was trying to grasp the main points of the thoughts and ideas of people such as Inoue Kowashi, Shimaji Mokurai, Hozumi Yatsuka and Uesugi Shinkichi from their writings. I had to pick up all the main points, but when I started reading, of course I did not know the whole picture of their thoughts and ideas, so I could not be sure about the selection of what were the important statements. However, given the breadth of the field of research, I would never again read the works in front of me with the same precision as I did at that time. If I missed important points, I would never pick them up again.

Just as you need the right bait and hook to catch a fish, you need a precise awareness of the issues in order to accurately read and understand historical documents. However, a precise awareness of the issues does not exist beforehand, but can only be formed gradually as one reads the subject's writings. It is also necessary to know the historical situation in which the subject would have been living. Furthermore, it is necessary to be aware of the current issues and prevailing theories in the academic community. You have to start with nothing in place, but everything has to be in place beforehand in order to accurately proceed with the reading. This would be a contradiction that any first-time learner would run into, but the fact that I moved forward even while floundering give me

³⁵ In the 'Kaidai [Explanation]' of the above-mentioned *Katō Genchi Syū, Dai 9 Kan, Ronbun · Kaisetsu*, it is stated that 'Katō's own experience of Jyōdo Shinsyū should also be considered as an ideological background' as the 'main source of Katō's scholarship'(p.21). However, research from this perspective has not progressed since then.

a reasonable foundation to move on to the next stage. I am able to confirm this in my own way.

After publishing my research on Katō Genchi, I began the process of compiling the papers I had published so far into a PhD thesis. How this work affected my subsequent research will be discussed in a separate paper.