

**Salvation and Sovereignty:
Buddhism and Shinto in Japanese History
Seminar
Spring 2020
Course Syllabus**

Instructor: Adam Lyons

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Course Time: Tuesday/Thursday, 1:10-2:40 PM

Location: KCJS Classroom

Instructor Office Hour: Tuesday/Thursday after class and by appointment.

Course Description and Goals

This course draws on the rich resources of Kyoto to consider the place of Buddhism and Shinto in Japanese history. In addition to traditional reading assignments and classroom discussion, we will conduct multiple research expeditions to museums and significant religious and cultural sites in and around Kyoto.

Although there are common misconceptions that hold Buddhism to be a “world-renouncing” religion and Shinto to be a form of nature worship, this course places an emphasis on the political dimension of these traditions to pursue a more nuanced understanding of Buddhism and Shinto. We will explore how Buddhism and Shinto have been driving forces in Japanese history—with many of the most powerful institutions based right here in Kyoto. By the end of the course, students should be able to articulate the political significance of Buddhist and Shinto institutions and ideas. Students should also refine their grasp of the relationship between the social and the ideological in light of the course’s themes: kingship/cosmology, and voluntary political associations/salvation. They should ultimately gain the ability to deconstruct ahistorical representations of Buddhism and Shinto as static and monolithic, and they can also expect to cultivate a familiarity with some of the major figures, sects, and concepts of Japanese religious history. Moreover, students will gain a firsthand knowledge of some of the major temples and shrines in and around the Kyoto area as well as an understanding of the historical significance of these sites.

We will cover a range of topics that should interest students from a wide variety of concentrations by exploring the relationship between religions and politics, aesthetics, law, literature, and more. There are no prerequisites for this course. Whenever possible, readings are paired with either visits to related religious sites or recommendations for exploring the city independently.

Prerequisites

Some familiarity with Japanese religions will be helpful, but there are no prerequisites for this course. Extra meetings may be organized for students with capability in Japanese language sources in order to introduce relevant primary and secondary texts.

Format

The course will consist of two, ninety-minute meetings each week. In most weeks, there will also be an expedition to a site of interest (usually scheduled for the Thursday session). Students are required to attend each lecture and each outing.

There is one weekend outing that will take place on Saturday February 15th: a trip to Mt. Hiei (Enryakuji). In lieu, a reading day is provided at the end of term. Students who must be absent for any reason should contact the instructor in advance. Students are allowed one absence for a reason other than illness. Absences beyond those allowed will result in a grade penalty. See the section below on attendance.

Course Requirements

Class participation: This class is discussion and activity based. Students are expected to read the week's readings before the first weekly meeting, to consider the discussion questions set out in this syllabus for each week, to participate vigorously in class discussion, and to participate constructively in all outings. As part of class participation, students will be expected to introduce and discuss readings. Each week I will ask for volunteers. Each student is expected to fulfill this duty at least once (possibly more depending on enrollment). Please refer to the section below, An Academic Approach to Religion for guidelines regarding class discussion.
30 percent.

Response papers: Students will be required to prepare two 1-2 page response papers on the readings and/or a field trip. Guidelines for the response papers are included below in Guidelines for Written Assignments.
20 percent total (each is worth 10 percent of the final grade).

Midterm test: The format of the midterm test will be covered in class. The test will include a mixture of objective questions, such as identifying particular figures, sites, and quotations, defining key terms, and short essay questions. (See the questions for each week on the syllabus below—take note of the **bold** terms).
20 percent

Final Paper: Students will prepare a 5-7 page research paper on a chosen topic based on the readings and outings. The topic of the final paper is to be approved by the instructor in advance. Please refer to the section below, Grading Rubrics for Written Assignments for the criteria on which papers will be assessed.
30 percent

Grading

The grading scale adopted in this course is as follows:

A	95-100
A-	90-94
B+	86-89
B	80-85

B-	75-79
C+	70-74
C	65-69
C-	60-64
D	55-59

Accessibility Issues

Any student needing academic adjustments or accommodations is requested to present his or her letter from the Accessible Education Office (AEO) and speak with the professor by the end of the second week of the term. Failure to do so may result in the Course Head's inability to respond in a timely manner. All discussions will remain confidential, although AEO may be consulted to discuss appropriate implementation.

Course Policies

You will find course policies on "An Academic Approach to Religion," attendance, late papers, re-submissions, creative assignments, the Honor Code, and others in later sections of this syllabus. Please read them carefully.

Course Readings

All course readings will be available as PDFs in the course dropbox.

Schedule of Classes

Week #	Topic	Expeditions	Assignments
1	Introduction. What is Buddhism? What is Shinto?	1/14 Tu. First Class Mtg. 1/16 Th. Visit Shōkokuji Temple and Kitano Tenmangu Shrine	Read this Syllabus carefully. Do you want to take this class? Provide a brief self-introduction. What do you hope to learn in this class?
2	The Transmission of Buddhism to Japan	1/21 Tu. Class Presentations. 1/23 Th. Visit Ryūoku Museum of Buddhism	What kind of picture of Buddhism does the museum provide?
3	Nara Buddhism and Shinto	1/28 Tu. Class Presentations 1/30 Th. Visit Kyoto National Museum.	Response paper 1 due by class on Thursday 1/30. What characteristics

		Recommended: Visit Saihō-ji	do you notice about Buddhist and Shinto art? What sense do you get of a pantheon?
4	Heian Esoteric Buddhism	2/4 Tu. Class Presentations 2/6 Th. Visit Tōji Weekend: KCJS Hiroshima trip. Visit Itsukushima Shrine.	Who were Kūkai and Saichō? Why are they important?
5	The Medieval Pantheon	2/11 Tu. Holiday. No Class. 2/13 Th. Visit Shōren-in What is Fudō? Where does this figure come from? How is Fudō incorporated into Japanese Buddhism?	Weekend Trip: Mt Hiei 2/15 Sat. Enjoy the trip to Mt. Hiei! Who founded this temple complex? Why is this site important?
6	Buddhism and Shinto in Medieval Japan	2/18 Tu. Class Presentations 2/20 Th. Visit Yoshida Shrine	Response paper 2 due by class on Thursday 2/20. Who was Yoshida Kanetomo? Why is he important?
7	The Karma of Words: Medieval Buddhist Literary Worlds	2/25 Tu. Class Presentations 2/27 Th. Visit Arashiyama and Tenryūji Temple	The scenery of Arashiyama has inspired many artists. Do you recognize anything? From where?
Break	Spring Break (2/29 to 3/8)	No class.	Try to visit a temple or shrine of your choosing! What do you see? Architecture, visitors, rituals, clergy? Be prepared to share after the break!
8	Kamakura Period Pure Land Buddhism	3/10 Tu. Class Presentations	Take Home Midterm due by

		<p>3/12 Th. Visit Nishi Honganji</p> <p>Recommended: Visit Chion'in and Higashi Honganji.</p> <p>(Instructor away from 3/13 until 3/16)</p>	<p>midnight of Friday the 13th (!).</p> <p>What are the major sects of Japanese Buddhism? Can you make a lineage chart? How many sects trace their origins to the Kamakura period?</p>
9	Edo Period Religion 1: Two Faces of Zen	<p>3/17 Tu. Class Presentations</p> <p>3/19 Th. Visit Ryōanji and Ninnaji</p>	<p>What do you notice about the aesthetic of the Zen temples? What was the <i>danka</i> system?</p>
10	Edo Period Religion 2: Shrine Life	<p>3/24 Tu. Class Presentations</p> <p>3/26 Th. Visit Fushimi Inari Shrine</p>	<p>Final Paper Topics due by class on Thursday 3/26.</p> <p>What is a pilgrimage? Inari, the rice deity, is also associated with wealth. Why?</p>
11	Meiji Restoration: Separating Buddhas from Kami	<p>3/ 31 Tu. Class Presentations</p> <p>4/2 Th. Visit the Gosho Palace (With Prof. Stavros)</p>	<p>Why did the Meiji government separate Buddhas from Kami?</p>
12	Religion and Empire	<p>4/7 Tu. Visit Heian Jingū (With Prof. Stavros)</p> <p>4/9 Th. Class Presentations.</p> <p>Recommended: visit Gokoku Shrine.</p>	<p>What was State Shinto? Why is Heian Jingū <i>not</i> an example of State Shinto? (Cf. Gokoku Shrine).</p>
13	The Postwar	<p>4/14 Tu. No Class. Reading Day.</p> <p>4/16 Thursday. Final Meeting. Class Presentations.</p>	<p>How did the 1947 constitution impact Japanese religious life?</p>
14	Finals Week	No class or excursion this week.	Final papers due by midnight of Wednesday 4/29.

Reading Schedule:**Week 1 Course Introductions****Visit: Shōkokuji Temple (相国寺)**

-Rinzai Sect, founded in 1382 CE by Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (足利義満 1358-1408 CE). Dōshisha University rents land from Shōkokuji.

Kitano Tenmangu Shrine (北野天満宮)

-Founded in 947 CE to appease the vengeful spirit of exiled scholar Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真, 845-903 CE). Now he is revered as the kami of learning, Tenjin (天神).

Week 2 Kami and Buddhas in Ancient Japan 古代の仏教と神祇信仰**Visit: Ryukoku Museum of Buddhism.**

This museum specializes in the history of Buddhism. It was opened by Ryūkoku University (the Honganji sect's private university) in 2011. An important part of the museum's collection is drawn from materials gathered by the Ōtani expeditions to continental Asia conducted between 1902 and 1914 (about 9,000 items). These expeditions are regarded as the first Japanese academic investigations of the route Buddhism took across Asia to Japan.

Readings:

Como, Michael I. *Shōtoku: ethnicity, ritual, and violence in the Japanese Buddhist tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Read chapter 1.
Hardacre, Helen. In *Shinto: A History*, New York: Oxford UP, 2017. Read Chapter 1 "Shinto in the Ancient Period."

Recommended:

Como, Michael I. *Weaving and Binding: Immigrant Gods and Female Immortals in Ancient Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.
Ooms, Herman. *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan: the Tenmu Dynasty, 650-800*. University of Hawai'i Press, 2009. Read chapter 1.
"The Century of Reform" in Hall, John Whitney et al, ed. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 1. Cambridge University Press: 1988.
"The Earliest Records of Japan," "Early Shinto," and "Chinese Thought and Institutions in Early Japan" "Nara Buddhism" and "Prince Shotoku and his Constitution" in De Bary, et al, ed. *Sources of Japanese Tradition Volume One: From Earliest Times to 1600*. 2nd edition. New York: Columbia UP, 2001.

Discussion:

- 1.) Why did the rulers of Japan see Buddhism as appealing?
- 2.) Who was **Shōtoku**? Why is he remembered today?
- 3.) How was Buddhism transmitted to Japan? Was this transmission related to "missionaries?" Why or why not?
- 4.) Some people opposed the introduction of Buddhism to Japan.

Who were they, and why did they oppose it?

5.) Who was **Himiko**?

6.) What was the **Jigikan**?

Week 3 Nara Buddhism and Shinto 奈良仏教と神祇信仰

Visit: Kyoto National Museum

Opened in 1897 as the Imperial Museum of Kyoto.

-Relevant Exhibitions: 1st floor: temple and shrine treasures exhibition (sculptures); 2nd floor: magnificent Buddhist painting, sliding door paintings from Kyoto temples, the flowering of Edo painting; 3rd floor: ceramics and archaeological national treasures.

For information on the exhibitions:

<https://www.kyohaku.go.jp/eng/theme/index.html>

Readings:

Hardacre, Helen. In *Shinto: A History*, New York: Oxford UP, 2017.

Read chapter 3 “The Coalescence of Early Shinto.”

Como, Michael I. *Shōtoku: ethnicity, ritual, and violence in the Japanese*

Buddhist tradition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Read chapter 6.

Recommended:

Hall, John Whitney et al, ed. In *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 1. Cambridge University Press: 1988. Read “Early Kami Worship” and “Early Buddha Worship.”

Lowe, Bryan D. *Ritualized Writing: Buddhist Practice and Scriptural Cultures in Ancient Japan*. University of Hawai‘i Press, 2017.

Lowe, Bryan D. “The Discipline of Writing: Scribes and Purity in Eighth-Century Japan.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2012, pp. 201–239.

Piggott, Joan R. *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*. Stanford University Press, 1997.

Discussion:

1.) What was the role of the **Jigikan** under the **ritsuryō** system?

2.) What was the **Daijōsai**? What are **tatari**? What do these have to do with governance?

2.) Who was **Gyoki** and why is he remembered today?

3.) What was the relationship between **Buddhas** and **Kami** in ancient Japan? Did most people recognize a difference?

4.) What was the significance of **Tōdaiji**?

5.) What was the **Dōkyō** Incident?

Week 4 Kūkai and Esoteric Buddhism 空海と密教

Visit: Tōji Temple 東寺

-Shingon sect 真言宗

-Founded in 796 CE. Kūkai 空海 (774-835 CE) was appointed abbot of Tōji, and along with Saiji and the Shingon'in inside the imperial palace, Tōji was one of only three Buddhist temples in the Heian capital.

Recommended Visit: Saihōji Temple 西芳寺, also known as the moss temple (kokedera)

-Rinzai sect of Zen 臨濟宗. Originally belonged Hossō sect 法相宗. Legendary origins: founded by Gyōki (行基, 668-749 CE) in the 8th century. Saihōji is connected to the biography of the semi-mythological figure Prince Shōtoku (聖徳太子, putatively 574-622 CE). Saihōji requires reservations.

Readings:

Hakeda, Yoshito S. *Kūkai: Major Works*. Columbia University Press, 1972.

Read pp. 1-101. (Part 1: the Life of Kūkai, part 2: Kūkai's thought).

Recommended:

Abe, Ryūichi. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Ambros, Barbara. "Liminal Journeys: Pilgrimages of Noblewomen in Mid-Heian Japan." In *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*. 1997 24/3-4. Pp. 301-345.

Groner, Paul. *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. 7 Vol. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1984.

Hardacre, Helen. In *Shinto: A History*, New York: Oxford UP, 2017.

Read chapter 4 "Shinto during the Middle and Late Heian Period."

McMullin, Neil. "The Enryaku-ji and the Gion Shrine-Temple Complex in Mid-Heian Period." in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*. 1987 14/2-3. Pp. 161-184.

Rhodes, Robert F. "Ōjōyōshū, Nihon Ōjō Gokuraku-ki, and the Construction of Pure Land Discourse in Heian Japan" in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34/2 (2007): 249-270

Shively, Donald and McCullough, William, ed. *Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 2. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999. Read chapter 7 "Aristocratic Buddhism" and chapter 8 "Religious Practices."

Discussion

- 1.) How did **Kūkai** learn about Buddhism?
- 2.) What is "**esoteric Buddhism**" or **mikkyō**?
- 3.) Why is **Mt. Kōya** important?
- 4.) What is the connection between Kūkai and **Tōji**?
- 5.) What is **Mahavairocana** Buddha?
- 6.) What is a **mandala**? What is a **mudra**? What is a **mantra**?

Week 5 The Medieval Japanese Pantheon 中世の神仏

Visit: Shōren'in 青蓮院

-Tendai Sect 天台

- Founded in the late 13th century.
- The third abbot Jien (慈円, 1155-1255 CE) wrote the *Gukansho* (愚管抄, c. 1220 CE), a Buddhist account of Japanese history based on the idea of *mappō* (Age of the Degenerate Dharma). Shinran (親鸞, 1173-1263 CE) founder of the True Pure Land sect, was ordained at Shōren'in at the age of nine.
 - Shōren'in is home to the Blue Fudō, a National Treasure.

Weekend Excursion:

Enryakuji Temple Complex 延暦寺 on Mt. Hiei.

- Head Temple of the Tendai Sect 天台宗.
- Founded in 788 by Saichō (最澄 767-822 CE), an eminent monk who traveled to China at the same time as Kūkai.
- Alongside Shingon, Tendai thought played a major role in shaping Japanese intellectual history, and many 20th century Japanese scholars argue that Tendai doctrine was the pinnacle of medieval Japanese philosophy, comparable to the elaborate doctrines of European Christian thinkers like St. Thomas Aquinas.
- The founders of major sects including Sōto Zen, Pure Land, True Pure Land, and Nichiren (the Hokke lineage) all trained at Enryakuji.
- One shorthand term for Tendai doctrine is “original enlightenment thought” (本覚思想 *hongaku shisō*).

Readings:

- Faure, Bernard. *The Fluid Pantheon*, vol. 1. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016. Read “Chapter 3: The Elusive Center” (about Fudō).
- ten Grotenhuis, Elizabeth. *Japanese Mandala: Representations of Sacred Geography*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999. Read 1: “Introduction,” and Chapter 4: “The Mandalas of the Two Worlds in Japan.”

Recommended:

- Hardacre, Helen. In *Shinto: A History*, New York: Oxford UP, 2017.
Read chapter 5 “The Esotericization of Shinto.”
- Stone, Jacqueline Ilyse. *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.
Read Chapter 1 “What is Original Enlightenment Thought,” pp. 3-55.

Discussion

- 1.) What is a **mandala**?
- 2.) What are the characteristics of the **Diamond mandala** and the **Womb mandala**?
- 3.) How are mandalas used in religious practice in Japan?
- 4.) What is **Fudō**? What other figures in the Japanese pantheon are connected to Fudō?
- 5.) What are some other divinities from the medieval pantheon? What are their characteristics? What objects of veneration have you seen in temples and shrines?

Week 6 Buddhism and Shinto in Medieval Japan 中世の仏教と神道**Visit: Yoshida Shrine 吉田神社**

-founded in 859 CE by the Fujiwara clan.

-Imperial chamberlain Yoshida Kanetomo(吉田兼俱, 1435–1511 CE) established the Yoshida Shrine Office and initiated the practice of granting Yoshida licenses to local shrines, thereby creating an institutional network for Shinto shrines separate from Buddhist temples. He was the first major Shinto thinker to develop and propagate a Shinto theology distinct from Buddhist doctrine.

Readings:

Hardacre, Helen. In *Shinto: A History*, New York: Oxford UP, 2017.

Read chapter 6 “Medieval Shinto and the Arts” and 7 “The Late Medieval Period.”

Rambelli, Fabio. *Buddhist Materiality: A Cultural History of Objects in Japanese Buddhism*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007. Read Chapter 4 “The Cultural Imagination of Trees and the Environment.”

Recommended:

Kuroda, Toshio Memorial Edition of *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 1 October 1996, Vol.23 (3/4).

Teeuwen, Mark, and Fabio Rambelli, 2003. “Introduction: Combinatory Religion and the *Honji Suijaku* Paradigm in Pre-Modern Japan.” In *Buddhas and Kami and Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*. Edited by Teeuwen and Rambelli. London: Routledge Curzon. pp. 1-53.

Discussion

- 1.) In the medieval period, were Buddhism and Shinto the same or no? Why?
- 2.) What is the meaning of the phrase “enlightenment of grasses and trees?”
- 3.) How does Rambelli’s account of *shizen* (nature) provide insight into Japanese aesthetic or artistic traditions.
- 4.) Are Japanese ideas about nature (as described by Rambelli) similar to ideas you have encountered elsewhere or no? Why?
- 5.) How were kami represented in the arts of medieval Japan? Can you think of an example from a shrine or museum you have visited? Having read Rambelli and Hardacre, what strikes you about representations of kami or buddhas?
- 6.) What is *kagura*?
- 7.) Who was **Yoshida Kanetomo**, and why was he remembered today?

Week 7 The Karma of Words: Buddhist Literary Worlds 仏教と文学**Visit: Arashiyama 嵐山 and Tenryūji.****Visit Tenryūji Temple 天龍寺**

-founded in 1339 by Ashikaga Takauji. This temple is the head of the Tenryū sect of Rinzai Zen. Its first chief abbot was Musō Soseki (夢窓 疎石, 1275 –1351), famed for his work on Zen landscape gardens. This temple is a UNESCO world heritage site.

Readings:

LaFleur, William R. *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. Read chapters 1-3.

Childs, Margaret Helen. *Rethinking Sorrow: Revelatory Tales of Late Medieval Japan*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, U of Michigan, 1991. Read "Introduction," "The Tale of Genmu," and "Tales Told on Mt. Kōya."

Recommended:

Tyler, Royall (translator). *Tale of the Heike*. Penguin Group US, 2012. Excerpts.

Discussion

- 1.) What is the meaning of the phrase "**karma of words**?"
- 2.) Childs and LaFleur suggest ways we might expand our thinking about the relationship between Buddhism and Japanese literature. According to their interpretations, how should we see the role of Buddhism in the premodern literature of Japan?
- 3.) What is a **revelatory tale**? What might be the function of such tales?
- 4.) Is there such a thing as Buddhist literary aesthetics or is the term a contradiction?
- 5.) Try to analyze one of the tales translated by Childs according to LaFleur's notion of a Buddhist episteme. What is the **worldview** implied by the tale? What values does it express?

Week 8 Kamakura Era Pure Land Buddhism 鎌倉時代の浄土仏教

Visit West Honganji Temple 西本願寺

-Headquarters of the Honganji branch of the Jōdo Shinshū sect, one of the largest Buddhist denominations in Japan. This sect was founded by Shinran in the 12th century. In contrast to the aristocratic Buddhism of the Heian period, the Shin sect spread as a new religious movement among the peasantry to become one of the most powerful religious institutions in Japan. Among Shinran's many innovations was the practice of clerical marriage (In Shinran's day, other denominations officially practiced celibacy). For this reason, the head of the Honganji sect today is the head of the Ōtani family—a lineal descendant of Shinran.

Recommended Visit: Chion'in Temple 知恩院

-Head temple of the Pure Land Sect or Jōdo-shū 浄土宗.

-founded by Hōnen (法然, 1133-1212 CE), a Tendai monk who sought a form of Buddhist salvation accessible to anyone, including women. Hōnen preached about faith in the Pure Land, and he popularized the *nenbutsu* practice among the masses. In his later years, he was exiled from the capital due to some of his followers being

accused of romantic liaisons with aristocratic women, but he was pardoned shortly before his death. He was the teacher of Shinran.

Readings:

Dobbins, James C., and Eshin-ni. *Letters of the Nun Eshinni: Images of Pure Land Buddhism in Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 2004. Read pp 3-107.

Recommended:

Stone, Jacqueline Ilyse. *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.
Read Chapter 2 "Tendai *Hongaku* Thought and the New Kamakura Buddhism: A Shared Paradigm." (Read pp. 228-236).

i.) Hōnen, Shinran, and the Pure Land 法然・親鸞・浄土

Blum, Mark Laurence, and Gyōnen. *The Origins and Development of Pure Land Buddhism: A Study and Translation of Gyōnen's Jōdo Hōmon Genrūshō*. Oxford; New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Dobbins, James. *Jodo Shinshu: Shin Buddhism in Medieval Japan*. Bloomington, Illinois: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Hōnen, and Senchakushū English Translation Project. *Hōnen's Senchakushū : Passages on the Selection of the Nembutsu in the Original Vow (Senchaku Hongan Nembutsu Shū)*. Honolulu: Tokyo: U of Hawai'i; Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo, Taishō Uni., 1998. Excerpts.

Machida, Sōhō. *Renegade monk: Hōnen and Japanese Pure Land Buddhism*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1999. Chapters 1-3.

Shinran, and Dennis Hirota. *The Collected Works of Shinran*. Kyoto, Japan: Jōdo Shinshū Hongwanji-ha, 1997. Excerpts.

Yoshida, Tomoko. "Kuroda Toshio (1926-1993) on Jōdo Shinshū: Problems in Modern Historiography." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33.2 (2006): 379-412.

ii.) Nichiren and the Nichiren Sect 日蓮

Kitagawa, Zenchō, and Jacqueline Stone. "The Words of the "Lotus Sutra" in Nichiren's Thought." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41.1, 2014: 25-43.

Stone, Jacqueline I. "The Atsuhara Affair: The "Lotus Sutra", Persecution, and Religious Identity in the Early Nichiren Tradition." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41.1, 2014: 153-89.

Yampolsky, Philip B. *Selected Writings of Nichiren*. New York: Columbia UP, 1990. Excerpts.

iii.) Dōgen and the Sōtō Sect of Zen 道元

Bielefeldt, Carl. *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. Chapters 1-3 and excerpts from the translation.

Bodiford, William M. *Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: U of Hawaii, 1993.

Discussion:

- 1.) What is *mappō*, the age of the degenerate dharma? Why might such an idea become influential in medieval Japan?

- 2.) **Shinran** described himself as neither monk nor layman—what did he mean?
- 3.) What is the **nenbutsu**? How is it related to salvation?
- 4.) Who was the nun **Eshinni**, and why are her letters important?
- 5.) Why was the Pure Land teaching appealing to so many Medieval Japanese people?
- 6.) Unlike the Kamakura Period, today most Japanese Buddhist priests are married. Clerical marriage began with the Shin tradition. How did **Shin Buddhism** pave the way for the linkage of Buddhist temples to family structure? Think of the example of Eshinni and Shinran.

Week 9 Two Faces of Edo Period Buddhism 仏教と幕府

Visit: Ryōanji 龍安寺 and Ninnaji 仁和寺

Ryōanji (Rinzai sect), founded by the Fujiwara family in the 11th century, is famous for its rock garden (枯山水 *karesansui*) and seven imperial tombs. Ninnaji, founded in 888, is head temple of the Omura sect of Shingon. The temple is known for its long tradition of *monzeki* (imperial lineage head priests). The first *monzeki* was Emperor Uda (866-931 CE). The 30th and final *monzeki* was Junnin Hosshinnō in the late Edo period. The aesthetics of these famous temple gardens likely reflect Edo period constructions.

Recommended: Nanzenji (南禅寺)

A Rinzai Zen temple established by Emperor Kameyama in 1291, this temple was placed at the apex of Kyoto's hierarchical system of five mountain temples (五山十刹制度 *Gozan jissetsu seido*) by Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu in 1386. It was the administrative center for Zen Buddhism in Kyoto.

Readings:

Hur, Nam-lin. *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan: Buddhism, Anti-Christianity, and the Danka System*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard UP, 2007. Read Chapter 1 "Introduction."
 Waddell, Norman. *Wild Ivy: the Spiritual Autobiography of Zen Master Hakuin*. 1st ed., Boston, Shambhala, 1999.

Recommended:

"The Regime of the Unifiers" in De Bary et al, ed. *Sources of Japanese Tradition Volume One: From Earliest Times to 1600*. 2nd edition. New York: Columbia UP, 2001, pp. 433-467.
 Williams, Duncan Ryūken. *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen: Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 2005.
 Yampolsky, Philip. *The Zen Master Hakuin: Selected Writings*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971.

Discussion:

- 1.) What was the **danka** system?

- 2.) Why was the **Shogunate** afraid of **Christianity**? Was Christianity a real threat to the regime?
- 3.) Who was Zen Master **Hakuin**? Why is he remembered today?
- 4.) Taking Hur's social history and Hakuin's autobiography together, what kind of picture of Edo period Buddhism emerges?

Week 10 Edo Period Shrine Life and Kokugaku 江戸時代の神々

Visit: Fushimi Inari Shrine (伏見稲荷大社)

The origins of the shrine date to the 8th century. It is the head shrine to Inari, the rice deity. Because rice was not merely food but a measure of wealth through most of Japanese history, the shrine is associated with the pursuit of worldly benefits including financial success. There are around 1,000 *torii* gates at this shrine, and they are mostly donations from parties pursuing the benefits associated with the shrine. It has long been a major pilgrimage site. It is one of the most visited tourist attractions in Kyoto, and it is extremely busy.

Readings:

Hardacre, Helen. In *Shinto: A History*, New York: Oxford UP, 2017.

Read chapter 9 "Edo Period Shrine Life and Shrine Pilgrimage" and chapter 11 "Shinto and Kokugaku."

Recommended:

McNally, Mark. "The *Sandaikō* Debate: The Issue of Orthodoxy in Late Tokugawa Nativism" in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3/4, Tracing Shinto in the History of Kami Worship (Fall, 2002), pp. 359-378.

Discussion

- 1.) What is a *hayarigami*?
- 2.) Why did people want to go on the **Ise pilgrimage**? What can we infer about the state of society based on the popularity of the Ise pilgrimage?
- 3.) What was **kokugaku**? Do you believe that *kokugaku* scholarship played a part in Japan's modernization? Why or why not?
- 4.) Who was **Motoori Norinaga**, and what was his major achievement? What significance does his work hold for the later *kokugaku* movement?
- 5.) Who was **Hirata Atsutane**? What was his relationship to Motoori Norinaga? Based on what you know about Hirata Atsutane, do you think he was invested in promoting the common good, or do you consider him a charlatan? Why?

Week 11 Anti-Buddhism and the Meiji Restoration 廃仏毀釈と明治維新

Visit: Goshō Palace Grounds

The former imperial palace was the site of an armed conflict leading up to the Meiji Restoration. After the Emperor was transferred to Tokyo in 1868, the Kyoto palace fell into disrepair. Today, it is a public park located right next to Dōshisha campus.

Readings:

Hardacre, Helen. *Shinto: A History*. New York: Oxford UP, 2017.

Read chapter 12 “Shinto and the Meiji State.”

Recommended:

Jaffe, Richard M. *Neither Monk nor Layman: Clerical Marriage in Modern Japanese Buddhism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 2001. Chapters 1-3.

Ketelaar, James Edward. *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1990.

Read Chapter 2. “Of Heretics and Martyrs: Anti Buddhist Policies and the Meiji Restoration”

Josephson, Jason Ananda. *The Invention of Religion in Japan*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Maxey, Trent Elliott. *The “Greatest Problem:” Religion and State Formation in Meiji Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014.

Discussion

- 1.) Was the **Meiji Restoration** a “Cultural Revolution?” Why or why not?
- 2.) What was *haibutsu kishaku*?
- 3.) What was the significance of the separation of Kami and Buddhas (*shinbutsu bunri*)?

Week 12 Religion and Empire 帝国と宗教**Visit: Heian Jingū 平安神宮**

Heian Jingū originated as an attempt to build a reconstruction of the Heian period imperial palace in 1895 to mark the 1100th anniversary of the founding of Heian-kyō on the occasion of an industrial exposition fair. After the fair, the reconstruction was maintained as a shrine to Emperor Kanmu (735-806 CE), who reigned at the time the capital was transferred from Nara to Kyoto. Heian Jingū hosts the *jidai matsuri* every year on October 22nd. It is one of Kyoto’s most popular festivals.

Readings:

Hardacre, Helen. *Shinto: A History*, New York: Oxford UP, 2017.

Read chapter 13 “Shinto in Imperial Japan.”

Lyons, Adam. “From Marxism to Religion: Thought Crimes and Forced Conversions in Imperial Japan” in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*. 2019. 46/2: 193–218.

Shields, James Mark. *Against Harmony: Progressive and Radical Buddhism in Modern Japan*. Oxford University Press, 2017. Read Intro and chapter 6 “Extremes Meet: Radical Buddhists of Early Shōwa.”

Recommended:

Blum, Mark Laurence., and Rhodes, Robert Franklin. *Cultivating Spirituality: A Modern Shin Buddhist Anthology*. Albany: State U of New York, 2011.

Excerpts.

Hardacre, Helen. *Shinto: A History*, New York: Oxford UP, 2017.

Read chapter 13 "Shinto in Imperial Japan."

Holt, Jon. "Ticket to Salvation: Nichiren Buddhism in Miyazawa Kenji's *Ginga Tetsudo No Yoru*." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 2014.

Ives, Christopher. "The Mobilization of Doctrine: Buddhist Contributions to Imperial Ideology in Modern Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1/2, 1999, pp. 83–106.

Large, Stephen S. "Buddhism and Political Renovation in Prewar Japan: The Case of Akamatsu Katsumaro." *Journal of Japanese Studies* Vol. (9) 1, 1983. pp 33-66.

Schattschneider, Ellen. "The Bloodstained Doll: Violence and the Gift in Wartime Japan." *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2005, pp. 329–356.

Discussion

- 1.) What was **State Shinto**?
- 2.) What was **tenkō**? Why did the imperial Japanese government view communists as a threat?
- 3.) How did **Buddhist radicals** seek to make a better society?
- 4.) Why might one say Buddhist progressives are **against harmony**? What is harmony? What is wrong with it?

Week 13 The Postwar 戦後の宗教

Dorman, Benjamin. *Celebrity Gods*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2012.

Read chapter 4 "Bureaucracy, the Press, and Religion Under the Occupation."

Hardacre, Helen. *Shinto: A History*, New York: Oxford UP, 2017.

Read chapter 14 "Shinto from 1945-1989."

Takenaka, Akiko. *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan's Unending Postwar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015.

Read chapter 5 "Who has the Right to Mourn? Politics of Enshrinement at Yasukuni Shrine"

Recommended:

Ehrhardt, George, Klein, Axel, McLaughlin, Levi, and Reed, Steven R. *Kōmeitō: Politics and Religion in Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014. Read Chapter 3.

Hardacre, Helen. *Lay Buddhism in Contemporary Japan: Reiyūkai Kyōdan*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1984. Read Chapters 1 and 4.

O'Brien, David M., and Ōkoshi, Yasuo. *To Dream of Dreams: Religious Freedom and Constitutional Politics in Postwar Japan*. University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.

Discussion

- 1.) What was the **Shinto Directive**? How did it impact Shinto and other religions?
- 2.) Besides legal reforms, what were some of the major changes in religious life under **the Occupation**?

- 3.) The role of the press in postwar Japan was complicated by **censorship**. Do you think that censorship under the Occupation has had a lasting impact on the press and public discourse in Japan? Why or why not?
- 3.) Why is **Yasukuni Shrine** controversial today?
- 4.) Some people revere Yasukuni Shrine, but some others detest it. What are the interests of both sides? Based on your understanding of these interests, can you think of a way for these parties to negotiate a resolution that may be satisfactory to the majority on both sides?

Week 14: No Class.

Submit Final Essay by midnight of Wednesday (5/24).

Course Policies

Attendance

Attendance will be required and recorded at all lectures and field trips. Students are allowed one absence without an excuse during the term. Any further absence must be cleared with the student's instructor in advance, and/or accompanied by an explanatory note from student health services. Other excused absences could include a death in the family. Absence to attend an extra-curricular activity will not be recognized as excused. Students anticipating any unavoidable absence should consult with their instructor as soon as possible.

For every unexcused absence beyond the one permitted grace day, a student's grade will be reduced by one letter (A would become A-; A- would become B+). The grade of A is reserved only for dedicated students with perfect attendance (one or fewer absences). Students who intend to skip are advised to avoid taking this class. There will be no lenience regarding the attendance policy.

Late Papers

Students unable to complete an assignment by the due date should consult their instructor as early as possible to discuss an extension. Extensions are not normally granted for reason of work due in other courses or extra-curricular activities, but may be granted for reasons of illness or a death in the family. Any extension granted must be confirmed by email from the instructor. In no case will an extension of more than one week be granted. Students submitting written assignments late without an extension are penalized at the rate of one grade per day of lateness.

Resubmissions

Students may elect to rewrite one paper during the semester if the outcome on the first attempt has been unsatisfactory. A resubmission requires advance permission from the instructor and will be due no later than one week after the original due date.

The Honor Code

This course expects students to be aware of the Honor Code (set out in the next paragraph) and to commit to its principles. In our course, it is encouraged that students would collaborate in various aspects of study, such as discussing readings with fellow students, or participating in a collaborative or creative assignment. However, the written assignments, the midterm and final examinations should be composed individually. While it is fine to discuss the issues with others, once you begin to write, compose your essays on your own. The writing you submit should represent your own, original work.

Members of the University community commit themselves to producing academic work of integrity – that is, work that adheres to the scholarly and intellectual standards of accurate attribution of sources, appropriate collection and use of data, and transparent acknowledgement of the contribution of others to their ideas, discoveries, interpretations, and conclusions. Cheating on exams or problem sets, plagiarizing or misrepresenting the ideas or language of someone else as one's own, falsifying data, or any other instance of academic dishonesty violates the standards of our community, as well as the standards of the wider world of learning and affairs.

An Academic Approach to Religion

This course adopts a neutral, socio-cultural approach to religion, without endorsing, condemning, or otherwise evaluating the beliefs and practices of any particular religion as true or false. The course does not seek to influence or challenge students' personal stances regarding religion, their beliefs, or decisions not to believe. The fact that the course presents religious material for students' consideration does not mean that the university, the instructor, or the teaching staff recommends, endorses, or condemns any of the beliefs or practices portrayed in these cultural productions.

Setting the Tone for Discussion

Students are expected to inquire deeply into the social and religious basis of beliefs and practices, even when a student may not share them. Also, students should be aware that their classmates come from a variety of religious backgrounds, including those who follow no religion, who are atheist, or agnostic. It is essential to be respectful of classmates' religious diversity in all aspects of course participation. Any student who finds that impossible is advised not to take this course.

Open Channels of Communication

The course instructor and other teaching staff are committed to maintaining open channels of communication regarding all students' academic concerns regarding the course and its materials. Students should understand, however, that course staff is not equipped to counsel them regarding personal religious issues.

Written Assignments:

The response paper, the midterm paper, and the final paper should each be submitted to the instructor on the due date in both hard copy and digital form. Late papers will be penalized by one-half grade for every day beyond the due date unless prior permission has been obtained from the instructor. Acceptable reasons for requesting an extension on paper deadlines include illness (accompanied by a note from student health services) or a death in the family. Assignments or tests in other courses, extramural appointments or interviews, or commitments to clubs or athletic teams do not constitute grounds for an extension. In no case will papers be accepted more than one week past the original deadline.

The papers should be double-spaced and written in 12-point font.

The papers should include these elements:

1. a distinct introduction setting out the paper's thesis;
2. well-organized paragraphs presenting evidence and arguments to support the thesis;
3. consideration of relevant counter-arguments;
4. a distinct conclusion summarizing the paper's findings;
5. a section for sources cited, in proper citation format.

The papers should use proper citations to refer to readings and films. Any of the standard citation styles (MLA, Chicago, etc.) is acceptable, provided it is used consistently. Students are also welcome to use bibliography software like Refworks, but be advised: the software makes errors, so do proofread your citations.

Collaborative Work: Except in cases approved in advance by course teaching staff, it is expected that all student written assignments will be composed solely by the student submitting the work. It is fine for students to discuss their ideas with classmates and others before the actual writing, but the writing itself should be done by the student alone.

Grading Rubrics for Written Assignments

Papers will be graded in accord with the following criteria:

1. Ideas
 - a. Sound, defensible statement of the paper's thesis or purpose;
 - b. Sound arguments;
 - c. Solid, consistent analysis;
 - d. Shows insight and evidence of thought devoted to subject;
 - e. Shows evidence of consideration of counterarguments or counterevidence.
2. Use of sources
 - a. Appropriate and sufficient citation of evidence;
 - b. Judicious choice of evidence.
3. Organization and coherence

- a. Uses logical structure;
 - b. Quality of introduction and conclusion;
 - c. Coherent paragraphs and smooth, logical transitions;
 - d. Body paragraphs support thesis with examples and specifics;
 - e. Arguments easy to follow;
 - f. Appropriate length allotted to each argument.
4. Style and mechanics
- a. Appropriate word choice, precision in thought
 - b. Sentences flow nicely, with grace and purpose
 - c. Proper syntax, verb tenses, subject-verb agreement, etc.
 - d. Proper use of footnotes or endnotes
 - e. Bibliography presented in consistent format

Research Resources

A.) Sourcebooks and Encyclopedia

Students with an interest in the intellectual history of Asia may wish to read about particular figures or texts in more depth. See encyclopedia for an overview of a figure or topic. The sourcebooks, assembled by leading scholars, include biographical introductions to a wide range of authors and translations of important texts drawn from throughout history. The readings represent the range of religious traditions.

- Buswell, Jr., et al, ed. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan Reference, 2004.
- De Bary, Theodore, Bodiford, William M., Elisonas, Jurgis, Yampolsky, Philip, Dykstra, Yoshiko Kurata, Gluck, Carol, Tiedemann, Arthur E, Barshay, Andrew E, and Elisonas, J. S. A. *Sources of Japanese Tradition. Vol. 1: From Earliest Times to 1600*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia UP, 2001.
- De Bary, Theodore, Gluck, Carol, and Tiedemann, Arthur E. *Sources of Japanese Tradition. Vol. 2: 1600 to 2000*. 2nd ed. New York: Columbia UP, 2005.
- De Bary, Wm. Theodore, et al. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. 2nd ed., New York, Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Embree, et al. *Sources of Indian Tradition. 2nd ed.*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Heisig, Heisig, James W., Kasulis, Thomas P., & Maraldo, John C. 2011. *Japanese Philosophy: A Sourcebook*. Nanzan library of Asian Religion and Culture. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Lee, et al. *Sources of Korean Tradition*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Lopez, et al. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Schaeffer, et al. *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*. New York, Columbia University Press, 2013.

B.) Bibliography of Scholarship on Japanese Religions

The *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions* represents the state of the field of Japanese religions today. It includes essays and bibliographies on scholarly trends and problems organized thematically by topic (ancient religions, religion and law, Buddhism and gender, etc.). It also includes an exceptionally detailed timeline of the history of Japanese religions from ancient times to the present. Those who wish to pursue graduate study in Japanese religions should read this book. Note that the bibliographies here include sources in both English and Japanese.

- Swanson, Paul L., & Chilson, Clark. *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

C.) Journals

The following journals contain articles related to the study of East Asian religions or Japanese religions specifically. They are available via the digital library JSTOR at www.jstor.org.

Acta Asiatica

Asian Folklore Studies

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Harvard Journal of Asian Studies

History of Religions

Japanese Religions

Japanese Journal of Religious Studies <http://www.ic.nanzan-u.ac.jp/SHUBUNKEN>

Journal of the American Academy of Religion

Journal of Asian Studies

Journal of Chinese Religions

Journal of Japanese Studies

Journal of Korean Religions

Journal of Korean Studies

Journal of the American Oriental Society

Monumenta Nipponica

Numen

Philosophy East and West

D.) Online Resources

This list is by no means exhaustive, but these websites are some of the most widely used online resources in the field. The interface for each website is written in English, making them easy to use.

Columbia University Japanese Religions Research Guide

Compiled by Heather Blair and Henry Smith, Columbia University.

<http://www.columbia.edu/%7Ehds2/BIB95/ch15A.html>

Digital Dictionary of Buddhism

Ed. by Charles Mueller, University of Tokyo.

<http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>

East Asian Buddhist Studies: A Reference Guide

Ed. William Bodiford, UCLA.

<http://alc.ucla.edu/refguide/refguide.htm>

Kokugakuin University Encyclopedia of Shintō Online

Ed. by Nobutaka Inoue, Kokugakuin University.

http://k-amc.kokugakuin.ac.jp/DM/dbTop.do?class_name=col_eos

SAT Daizōkyō Text Database 2012 Edition

Maintained by Charles Mueller, University of Tokyo.

http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index_en.html

(This database includes a digitized version of the Chinese Buddhist canon.)

E.) Publications on Shintō in English

- Ashida Tetsuro. 1994. "The Festival and Religion Boom: Irony of the Age of the Heart." In *Folk Beliefs in Modern Japan, Contemporary Papers on Japanese Religions 3*, ed. Inoue Nobutaka. Tokyo: Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University.
- Blacker, Carmen. 1988. "Two Shinto Myths: The Golden Age and the Chosen People." In *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storr*, ed. Sue Henney and Jean-Pierre Lehmann. London: Athlone Press, pp. 64-77.
- Chun, Jayson. 2000. "A New Kind of Royalty: The Imperial Family and the Media in Postwar Japan." In *Japan Pop! Inside the World of Japanese Popular Culture*, ed. Timothy J. Craig. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, pp. 222-244.
- Endo, Jun. 1998. "The Early Modern Period: In Search of a Shinto Identity." In *Shinto - A Short History*, ed. Inoue Nobutaka, et al. Translated and Adapted by Mark Teeuwen and John Breen. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, pp. 108-159.
- Grapard, Allan. 1987. "Linguistic Cubism: A Singularity of Pluralism in the Sanno Cult." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14: 211-234.
- Ishii, Kenji. 1986. "The Secularization of Religion in the City." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 13/2-3: 193-209.
- Isomae, Jun'ichi. 2000. "Reappropriating the Japanese Myths: Motoori Norinaga and the Creation Myths of the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 27/1-2: 15-40.
- Knight, J. 1994. "Rural Revitalization in Japan: Spirit of the Village and Taste of the Country." *Asian Survey* 34/7: 634-646.
- Kuroda Toshio. 1996. "The Discourse on the 'Land of the Kami' (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan: National Consciousness and International Awareness." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3-4: 353-385.
- Kuroda Toshio. 1996. "The World of Spirit Pacification: Issues of State and Religion." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3-4: 321-351.
- McMullin, Neil. 1988. "On Placating the Gods and Pacifying the Populace: The Case of the Gion 'Goryo' Cult." *History of Religions* 27/3: 270-293.
- Miyazaki, Fumiko. 1990. "The Formation of Emperor Worship in the New Religions: The Case of Fujido." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 17/2-3: 281-314.
- Nakamura, Kyoko Motomochi. 1983. "The Significance of Amaterasu in Japanese Religious History." In *The Book of the Goddess. Past and Present: An Introduction to Her Religion*, ed. Carl Olson. New York: Crossroad, pp. 176-189.
- Nathan, John. 2004. *Japan Unbound: A Volatile Nation's Quest for Pride and Purpose*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, pp. 119-202.
- Nelson, John. 1996. "On Becoming a Priest: Matsumoto-san's Version." In *A Year in the Life of a Shinto Shrine*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, pp. 71-76.
- Nelson, John. 1997. "Warden+Virtuoso+Salaryman= Priest." *Journal of Asian Studies* 56/3 (August, 1997): 678-707.

- Robertson, Jennifer. 1991. *Native and Newcomer: Making and Remaking a Japanese City*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 38-70.
- Schnell, Scott. 1995, "Ritual as an Instrument of Political Resistance in Rural Japan." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 51/4: 301-328.
- Sonoda Minora. 1975. "The Traditional Festival in Urban Society." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 2/2-3: 103-136.
- Teeuwen, Mark. 2002. "From Jindo to Shintô: A Concept Takes Shape." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 29/3-4: 233-263.
- Teeuwen, Mark. 1999. "Motoori Norinaga on the Two Shrines at Ise." In *The Religions of Japan in Practice*, ed. George Tanabe. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 434-450.
- Walthall, Anne. 1986. "Japanese *Gimin*: Peasant Martyrs in Popular Memory." *American Historical Review* 91/5 (December 1986): 1076-1102.
- Yamamoto Yukitaka, 1987. *Kami no Michi: The Way of the Kami. The Life and Thought of A Shinto Priest*. Autobiography of a Shinto priest, Yamamoto Yukitaka of the Tsubaki Shrine, is available in English at the website below:
http://vwww.csuchico.edu/~georgew/tsa/Kami_no_Michi_ToC.html
- Yoshida, Kanetomo. 1992. Translated by Allan Grappard. "Yuiitsu Shintô Myôbô Yôshû." *Monumenta Nipponica* 47/2: 137-161.