

Shinto-Buddhism Syncretism

- A historical peculiarity or a renewed spiritual paradigm?

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Abstract

The long process of syncretization between Shinto and Buddhism has defined much of Japan's philosophical and theological history. This process was only interrupted with the Meiji Restoration, following which the Meiji government enforced an ideology of the two religions being completely separate as part of its State Shinto system. Countless temples and Buddhist treasures were lost in the process, and the Japanese people were told for the first time in their history up-down how to conduct their religious practices. Though the State Shinto system has since been abolished, the Meiji ideology has seemingly remained influential, Shinto and Buddhism commonly viewed as two separate religions and syncretism as a thing of the past. However there are actors seeking a revival of syncretism, the best example being the 2008-formed Shinto and Buddhism Holy Places Organization. That syncretism and the separation are not unproblematic matters is clear, and yet very little research is being conducted concerning them. This thesis aims to contribute to filling the research gap by analysing the Japanese mainstream newspaper discourse surrounding Shinto-Buddhism syncretism. This is done through a critical discourse analysis of *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper articles reporting anything syncretism-related between the period 2008 and 2012. It is found that while syncretism is not exclusively understood as a past phenomenon, it is not often found in a contemporary context either. Portrayals of syncretism as exceptional and as most important to the study of history abound, and it is concluded that the Meiji government's ideology of separation remain successful and influential to this day.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Japan, Shinto, Japanese Buddhism, Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, *shinbutsu-shuugou*

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1. Introduction

The intimate relation and interaction between Japan's native religious tradition, now commonly referred to as Shinto, and that of the non-native religion of Buddhism, has shaped much of Japan's religious and philosophical history since the latter was introduced to Japan in the 6th century. This interaction, often taking the form of the belief and customs systems complementing each other and adapting to fit into the other's world view, has been called 'Shinto-Buddhism syncretism' (*shinbutsu-shuugou*, or slightly derogatorily by *kokugaku* scholars as *shinbutsu-konkou*¹) and can be seen as a historical process continuing more or less uninterrupted until the onset of the Meiji period (1868-1912). The Kami and Buddha separation policies ordered by the Meiji government is commonly seen as spelling the end for continued amalgamation and syncretism between the two traditions, Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as a concrete phenomenon becoming a mere fading memory. Shinto is now exclusively Shinto, and Buddhism is now exclusively Buddhism. But just to what extent is this understanding entrenched in the Japanese societal discourse, and how are any surviving syncretic practices viewed in relation to this? This research aims to at least partially answer these questions through critically analysing Japanese mainstream newspapers' reporting of the concept of syncretism.

1.1. Research problem and purpose

The historical process of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism has been examined in detail by various history of religion scholars such as Kishine (2004), Kamata (2009) and Yoshie (1996). Their definitions of 'syncretization' mechanisms are illustrated by case studies of historically strongly syncretic places and rituals. Breen & Teeuwen (2010), for example, examine the shrine Hiyoshi Taisha's long history of close interaction with the Buddhist Enryaku-ji Temple, beginning roughly with the latter's establishment in the late 8th century. They also examine how imperial rituals have adapted and changed as politics demanded them to, politics not seldom related to Shinto-Buddhism syncretic theologies. Inoue et. al. (2000) discuss in detail how Shinto has developed alongside Buddhism throughout history. Tsuji (2007) examines the syncretic nature of the cult surrounding the god of war, Hachiman-jin, and Smyers (1999) examines the cult of the god of fortune, Inari-okami, discovering syncretic elements remaining intact to this day.

¹ *Shinbutsu-shuugou* literally means 'syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism' whereas *shinbutsu-konkou* literally translates as 'mixing up of Shinto and Buddhism'. *Kokugaku* refers to the study of Japanese philosophy by scholars of the late Edo period (1603-1868), many of which abhorred the Shogunate and its advocated Buddhism and Confucianism, and argued for more 'pure Japanese' practices. Their thought later greatly influenced the ideology behind the Meiji Restoration and the subsequent Meiji government.

Of the scholars explicitly dealing with the concept of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, very few have thought of it as a contemporary issue, viewing it instead as a historical phenomenon. Such a state of affairs in itself might suggest that the Meiji period (1868-1912) government's policies aimed at ending syncretism and clarifying which practices were Shinto and which were Buddhist were successful. This is despite the fact that the field has seen the birth of a new actor recently: the Shinto and Buddhism Holy Places Organization (*Shinbutsu Reijoukai*, henceforth Reijoukai), a religious umbrella organization aiming at reviving syncretic practices. Even so, Smyers (1999:28) and Tsuji (2007:57, 248) demonstrate that vestiges of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism live on to this day. Yet very little research has been done exploring the contemporary situation, and a distinct research gap can thus be identified.

Generally speaking, it is the purpose of this thesis to fill this research gap and to contribute to the small body of research dealing with the contemporary state of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism. The overall research question, which is necessarily general and abstract, is phrased thus:

RQ1: Is Shinto-Buddhism syncretism really a thing of the past?

Ways of answering this question include a case study focusing exclusively on contemporary practices and recent data, but case selection and research design is rendered very complicated by the lack of previous research. This is because there is very little information available that could guide the case selection, since as mentioned almost all literature deal with the history of the issue.

Recognizing that discourses produce and reproduce social identities, social relations and knowledge systems (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002:67) and bearing in mind that newspapers must nurture a mutual identity with their readerships (Richardson 2007:90), I argue that examining mainstream newspaper articles dealing with the concept of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism through a critical discourse analysis (CDA) would be the most feasible and indeed rewarding method to employ at present. The role that Shinto-Buddhism syncretism plays in the newspapers' discourse will correspond at least partially to the role it plays within the overall societal discourse of Japan. Examining this role and the nature of the discourses that the concept of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism is employed within will let us understand how it is that the concept is discursively constructed, and thus how it is viewed and treated, in contemporary Japan. Guided by this choice of method and theory, the second and main research question will thus be:

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RQ2: How is the concept of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism discursively constructed within the Japanese contemporary mainstream newspaper discourse?

Apart from the separation policies themselves, the entire State Shinto system of pre-war and wartime Imperial Japan enforced this understanding of the two religions as completely separate. The National Association of Shinto Shrines (*Jinja Honchou*, henceforth Honchou) has inherited much of the State Shinto philosophy (Inoue et. al. 2000:214), and it is logical to think that it would not be in its interests to advocate or even recognize Shinto-Buddhism syncretism in any way.

Thus, recognizing that the Reijoukai's creation and activities might contribute to the contemporary discourse surrounding Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, and that the Honchou is likely to have a different stance on the matter, a third research question will be:

RQ3: How are the Shinbutsu Reijou-kai, the Jinja Honchou and their respective activities represented in the Japanese contemporary mainstream newspaper discourse?

1.2. Disposition

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 discusses in-depth the methodology used in the research as well as the data used. Chapter 3 provides not only an overview of previous research concerning Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, but also serves as the contextualization material, as part of understanding social practices relating to the newspapers, for the critical discourse analysis. Chapter 4 constitutes the main section of the thesis, being the detailed report of the analysis. Chapter 5 discusses the analysis and attempts to draw conclusions from it. A full list of bibliography is found in Chapter 6, whereas a full list of newspaper articles used and the specific example sentences retrieved from them may be found in Appendix I and Appendix II respectively.

1.3. Notes on language use

Although the term Shinto only became widely used during the Edo period, it will be used in this thesis to refer to the native belief system of Japan even in the form it had before the term was conceived.

Japanese will be Romanized throughout the main body of the thesis and written in italics, according to a modified Hepburn system of Romanization, the modification being that kana spelling (honchou instead of honchô, for example) is used in all cases except for commonly known place

names. Person names are given in the Japanese order, with surname preceding given name. Double quotation marks always signify direct quotations, whereas single quotation marks mark a technical term or a specific term taken out of its context.

2. Methodology

2.1. Data

The material to be studied will be Japanese newspaper articles. Articles from two Japanese newspapers will be analysed, so as to provide a comparative perspective and to include as large a portion as feasible of the overall societal discourse in Japan. The two newspapers selected are the *Asahi Shimbun* (henceforth *Asahi*) and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (henceforth *Yomiuri*). They were selected because they are the two most read newspapers in Japan and because they are generally regarded as being of differing stated ideologies; *Asahi* is more leftist-liberal whereas *Yomiuri* is more rightist-conservative.

Strategy-wise, this project will be located somewhere between quantitative and qualitative research. CDA can, through theoretical sampling, choose a relatively small number of texts to analyse in very great depth – this would be on the qualitative end of the spectrum of CDA strategies (Wodak & Meyer 2009:27-28). However, theoretical sampling does not lend well to this project because of, once again, the lack of previous research. There is also the problem of 'cherry-picking' texts that serve to illustrate our hypotheses (Ibid. 11).

Toward this theoretical background, I have deemed it necessary to employ a clear and transparent sampling method with as few criteria as possible. The only way to realistically be certain that an article is relevant to this project is if the word 'Shinto-Buddhism syncretism' (jp. *Shinbutsu-shuugou*) appears in its body of text. This will be the first criterion. To achieve a contemporary frame, and bearing in mind that the year 2008 saw the creation of the Reijoukai, an event thought to be crucial to the contemporary situation of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, the second criterion will be temporal; only articles published between the year 2008 and the year 2012 will be analysed. Search queries in the two newspapers' databases with these two criteria yield 144 results in *Asahi* and 144 results in *Yomiuri*². Among these, there are weekly summaries, event information and book information, i.e. articles not reporting news events, that have been discarded for the final population. This leaves the final amount of articles at 134 for *Asahi* and 130 for *Yomiuri*, totalling 264 articles. Refer to Table 1 on the next page for an overview of the data.

² The identical number is thought to be a coincidence. A brief overview suggests that it is not the exact same events which are being reported.

264 articles	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total
Asahi	36	38	18	21	21	130
Yomiuri	37	22	23	31	17	134

Table 1: Data overview.

2.2. Analytical procedures

Every CDA study must consider not only the text itself, but also the discursive and social practices that contributed to and influenced its production (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002:68). This study focuses on the linguistic aspects of the texts analysed, but will briefly consider relevant discursive and social practices.

2.2.1. Linguistic analysis

Since we are working with finite time and space for research representation, the more texts one wants to analyse, the less points of analysis can be considered. With a sample of data as large as 264 articles, it is not feasible to consider all linguistic aspects of the entirety of each article. The linguistic analysis of the articles will thus not be analysed word for word, but according to the following two procedures.

First, actors and the actions attributed to them will be considered. By examining what actors and actions are given relevance in the articles, the discourse genre (or discourse strand) that each article has been situated in by the author and editors can be identified. Scrutinizing actors and actions can also reveal potential asymmetric power relations reinforced by the newspaper, since attributing agency gives power to the agent and mentioning an action gives relevance to the action (Wodak & Meyer 2009:55, Richardson 2007:49). Discourse genres are interesting because they can tell us something of the general location of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism in the overall societal discourse in Japan. If syncretism is dealt with in academic discourses most of the time, for example, a tentative conclusion might be that the concept is understood as an object to be academically studied rather than as spiritually significant practices and teachings.

Since considering each and every actor and action mentioned in all the articles is not deemed plausible, only named actors that are explicitly agents of actions in the events reported by an article, as well as actors that are given space for quotes will be considered for the determination of discourse genre. Such named actors will be counted and grouped into categories. Unnamed actors, such as *kannushi* (Shinto priest), *souryo* (Buddhist monk) or *senmonka* (specialist) will not be counted.

Second, the usage of the lexical term 'Shinto-Buddhism syncretism', which constitutes only one four-character noun in Japanese, will be analysed in-depth. What attributes are given to the word and what is the word attributed to? What kind of word is it used as – a noun, an adjective or something else? Does it signify a process, an event, or a place? Is it placed in the past by the tense of sentences it appear in, or in the present? These are all questions that can be asked of the usage of the word in each article. A linguistic analysis guided by these questions will reveal the qualities and functions attributed to the concept of syncretism as well as the function it is perceived as serving, not to mention the way it is constructed by the newspapers (and their readerships). All instances of the word will be analysed according to this framework.

Finally, the same lexical analysis as described above will also be carried out upon the term 'Shinbutsu Reijou-kai' and 'Jinja Honchou' to answer the third research question.

2.2.2. Discursive practices

The discursive practices dimension constitutes the socially constructed settings that influence the production of the texts. These are related to the newspaper's intended audience, actual audience as well as to the stated political stance of the newspaper (Richardson 2007:75). It has already been mentioned that Asahi is general thought to be leftist-liberal and rightist-conservative. From this it can be hypothesized that Asahi will be more positive towards Shinto-Buddhism syncretism than Yomiuri.

The news value given to events, what kind of actors are given space, the position given to articles in the newspaper's physical space, the articles' length etc. is also telling of how discursive practices influence the production of the text. Because not all digital articles have the physical location noted, this is a difficult point to analyse. However, actors as well as the relevance of reporting certain events and not others will be considered to some extent; cross-referencing all 264 articles is not deemed feasible under the scope of this study.

While there is also the matter of how the newspaper articles relate to other texts (i.e. intertextuality) and linguistic style, these points will serve only as minor considerations on an article to article basis.

2.2.3. Social practices

Social practices refer to the institutions, systems and values that influence the production of the text through their relation to the newspaper and to journalism at large (Ibid. 114). How the newspaper treats political campaigns and how economic practices influence its production is relevant here, but also how history and broader societal context influence the newspapers' discourse. Things to consider also are the history of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism and whether there are groups with values or thought-systems that have an interest in influencing the understanding of the concept³, and if these groups can be determined to be influencing the newspapers. Apart from the Reijoukai, another potential such group is the Honchou, an umbrella organization for Shinto shrines that has served as a sort of spiritual successor to the State Shinto system.

For this study, the history of syncretism, the state of any current practices as well as the consideration of the Reijoukai and the Honchou will constitute the only aspects of analysis relating to social practices, the focus instead being laid on the linguistic analysis.

2.3. Meta-theory

When working with CDA, the epistemology of interpretivism and the ontology of social constructivism is generally included in the 'methodological package' that is CDA. The notion that discourse produces social relations, social identities and knowledge systems is rooted in the social constructivist idea that the social world is constructed by social relations. However, there are discourse analysis approaches that accept epistemological and / or ontological realism (though these methods may be closer to conversation analysis or content analysis than to discourse analysis; see Bryman 2004). Thus it is useful to reconsider what meta-theories we work with, but also to consider exactly what they signify for the project at hand.

Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as a concept and as a process has historically been defined by the societal contexts within which it operated. There is no such a thing as any one objective phenomenon that can from a privileged viewpoint be observed to constitute Shinto-Buddhism syncretism; what it constitutes is defined by our relation to it and by the discourses (re)-producing its meaning. The nature of syncretism both as a concept and as an entity today is thus defined by primarily those who relate to it and by the nature of those relations. Since discourse theory asserts that language reflects discourse and that discourse creates these relations (Jorgensen & Phillips

³ In a CDA approach that does not recognize the existence of non-discursive practices, it would be moot to differentiate between social and discursive practices. The CDA approach to analysing newspapers advocated by Richardson (2007) and Jprgensen & Phillips (2002), however, does acknowledge the existence of such practices.

2002:10-11), we can reaffirm that CDA is a useful method to employ and which is in line with these meta-theoretical considerations.

3. Literature review

3.1. Shinto and Buddhism in history

As a historical process, Shinto-Buddhism syncretism has been discussed by scholars from a variety of backgrounds, but its overall significance to the cultural development of Japan is often underestimated, according to Yoshie (1996) and Kamata (2009). Yoshie argues that the process was and continues to be crucial to the formation of modern Japanese society, and Kamata goes so far as to state that syncretism of any kinds (not only religious) constitutes the very essence of Japanese culture.

Viewing Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as intimately connected to the changing ideology of the Yamato Court⁴ and later local power-holders and warrior families (an assertion that he shares with Kishine), Yoshie proceeds to divide the process of syncretism into four stages:

- The shrine temple stage
- The vengeful spirit worship stage
- The taboo avoidance stage
- The Honji-suijaku stage

During the first stage, Buddhist temples (called *jinguu-ji*, shrine temples) were built at the sites of already existing Shinto shrines, because it was believed that Shinto kami, like humans, were in need of the buddhas' salvation. While this could be interpreted as Buddhism assimilating Shinto, the original shrine has never disappeared as a result, and the opposite idea, namely that of Shinto kami being summoned to protect Buddhist temples (called *shugo-jin kanjou*), was also employed widely (Ibid. 28). It should be noted that Mahayana Buddhism has a tendency to acknowledge the existence of native deities as being more enlightened than humans, but still not of buddha status (Breen & Teeuwen 2010:38).

The shrine temple concept was at first advocated by local landlords who, in principle, ruled on the authority of their honoring the central Yamato Court and its mythology through participating

⁴ The Yamato Court refers to the rulers of ancient Japan. Though the same dynasty as today, the term refers to the period before the dynasty was known as the Imperial Household and when its rulers were referred to as great kings (*ookimi*) instead of emperors (*tennou*).

in court Shinto festivals. Influenced by Buddhism's idea of material wealth being a chief cause for pain, and recognizing that their kami were the source of their authority, they sought salvation for themselves through the salvation of their kami (Yoshie 1996:59). The Mahayana concept of ruling class reaching salvation through supporting Buddhism was also sure to have contributed to their decision to fund the construction of both standard Buddhist temples and shrine temples alike.

As local landlords and power-holders constructed more and more shrine temples, they found the religious motivation for continued support of the court festivals less and less necessary, and participation dwindled as a result. To preempt a total change in religion-based authority, the Yamato Court from the late 8th century in turn began to support the syncretic practices enthusiastically. While the until then effective Yamato system for administrating Shinto shrines, the *Jingikan* system, eventually collapsed as a result of the changing religious landscape, the court still managed to hold on to its authority as a result.

During the latter half of the Heian Period, the belief that local catastrophes and mishappenings were the result of vengeful spirits, fuelled by anger at their unfair life fortune, began to spread. Such vengeful spirits were often enshrined as Shinto kami so as to appease their wrath, and the shrines were often accompanied by Buddhist establishments that kept the spirit in check through daily reading of sutras. A famous example is that of Sugawara no Michizane, now worshiped as Tenjin and regarded as a god of poetry and learning. Before he was enshrined as such, he was considered a vengeful spirit and even a symbol of anti-court rule. This latter fact was of critical interest to the court, which once again acted to preempt popular belief by sanctioning Michizane's enshrinement as Tenjin at Kitano Tenman-guu shrine.

The third stage is characterized by an increasing focus on the concept of impurity (*kegare*). Originally a prominent aspect of ancient Shinto (Ibid. 140), impurity can be described as an amoral negative energy that must be avoided and, in cases when it cannot be, purified. Since death and all dealings with it were seen as one of the gravest sources of impurity, Shinto was in somewhat of a dilemma on how to best deal with it. One of the reasons that spurred Pure Land Buddhism's rising popularity during the end of the Heian period was the belief that the dead could not reach salvation through Shinto. Apparently this belief penetrated all layers of society, and even the court would come to rely on Buddhism to deal with death. The reliance of Japanese religious culture on Buddhism for dealings with death continues to this day.

Honji suijaku represents the final paradigm of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, according to Yoshie's model. The term translates roughly into “traces of original ground” and is the over-arching

name of the theological assertions based on the idea that Shinto kami are in fact manifestations of buddhas, bodhisattvas and other heavenly entities of Mahayana Buddhism's worldview. This can be seen as a theological justification of syncretic practices, and was made possible by Buddhism's increased status as a major power in Japanese religious and political life. The warrior families that rose to power during the Kamakura Shogunate embraced the idea of Honji suijaku, worshipping syncretic gods of war and fortune (such as Hachiman) so as to redeem the impurity they indicted upon themselves through their fighting (Ibid. 196). The court had no choice but to acknowledge the theory as well, lest it alienate the warrior families.

It should be noted that Yoshie does not consider the religious practices of the Edo period syncretic, seeing them instead as an extension of the Shogunate's power based completely on the authority of Zen Buddhism. This is a strange assertion, since the Shogunate's religious ideology included the obligatory worship by warrior families of the Shogunate's founder, Tokugawa Ieyasu, enshrined as a kami at Nikkou Tōshō-gū, an institution observed to be highly syncretic by Kamata (2009:144). Still, Kamata also acknowledges that the Tokugawa Shogunate's religious hegemony sealed all possibility for religious radicalization, or indeed change in any form (Ibid. 165).

Further, while presenting a thorough model, Yoshie has glossed over certain varieties of syncretism that are highlighted instead by Kishine (2004) and Kamata (2009). For example, the inversion of Honji suijaku was almost as prominent as its original form during the later Momoyama period and Edo periods, fueled at first by original branches of Shinto (such as Yoshida Shinto) and later by *kokugaku* scholars (Kamata 2009:142). Other varieties of Shinto employing various forms of specialized syncretic practices include Ryoubu Shinto and Hokke Shinto⁵, influenced by Shingon Buddhism and Nichiren Buddhism respectively (Kishine 2004:115, 118).

An important point to highlight is that Kamata and Yoshie seem at certain points to view Japan and the religious syncretism it has nurtured as something intrinsically unique. Kishine specifically points out that many nationalist scholars share such a view, and reminds us that religious syncretism takes place as soon as two religions come into contact with each other, it is inevitable (Ibid. 39, 102). That being said, the belief system now known as Shinto has only been practised in Japan, making Shinto-Buddhism syncretism something unique to that country (although

⁵ Varieties of Shinto such as these are generally referred to as Sect Shinto (*kyouha shintou*) and localized in scope. Yoshida Shinto, however, was greatly influential during the Sengoku period (1467-1603) and retained much influence until the late Edo period. Its doctrines include the reversal of *honji suijaku* and the idea that all the *kami* of Japan are enshrined simultaneously in Yoshida-jinja Shrine's octagonal inner sanctuary. See Inoue et. al. (2000:116, 142) for in-depth discussion of Ryoubu Shinto and Yoshida Shinto.

Inoue et. al. (2000:20, 24) strongly emphasize that even ancient Japanese practices had many similarities to other East Asian native traditions). Further it should be noted that the Mahayana Buddhism that spread to Japan through the Korean kingdoms in the 6th century was already familiar with adapting itself to fit in to local faiths' world-view, hence its propensity to do the same in Japan (Ibid. 110).

3.2. The Hanzen Directive and the State Shinto system

Just as the development of various forms of syncretic practices were always motivated by not only religious concerns, but also politics and ideology, so too was the decision by the Meiji government to put an end to syncretism and “clarify” which religious practices were Shinto and which were Buddhist. Invariably called the time of Kami and Buddha separation (*shinbutsu bunri*), the official name for the law-binding edict was the 'Kami and Buddha (or Shinto and Buddhism) Clarification Directive' (*shinbutsu hanzen-rei*, henceforth Hanzen Directive).

The Hanzen Directive spelled not only a complete change in religious policy and an official end to Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, but also a reconstruction of Japan's native religious practices to what is today commonly referred to as Shinto. Indeed, Breen & Teeuwen (2010) among others (Rambelli & Teeuwen (2003) and Inoue et. al. (2000) for example) argue that the religious practices commonly referred to as Shinto today is almost entirely a construct of the Meiji period. For while the Meiji government sought legitimacy for restoring the emperor to a position of uppermost power, such legitimacy was actually difficult to derive from until that point syncretic ideologies. A completely new system of ideology was thus constructed, based on the thought of prominent nationalist scholars of late 18th and early 19th century, who in turn used ancient texts selectively to argue for a “Japanese way” (Breen & Teeuwen 2010:61).

While most top-down religious policies in Japan's history have been ideologically motivated, none have wrought so much material destruction as the Meiji government's. At Hie Shrine alone, more than a thousand Buddhist treasures were destroyed as Shinto priests and followers alike were urged (though not literally in the directive) to purge their Shinto shrines of all traces of syncretic practices in a movement that has come to be known as the *haibutsu kishaku* (expel Buddhism and destroy Shakyamuni) movement (Ibid. 109).

Since imperial Japan's constitution would in theory ensure freedom of religion to its citizens, the Meiji government made efforts to present the national Shinto system as not religious, but ritual- and tradition-based so as to still be able to require citizens to follow it (Kamata 2009:182). It was

only often localized versions of Shinto, called sect Shinto (*kyoha shintou*) that was recognized as religions. While not initially a tool for rallying the people to support militaristic practices, the system took on that nature as the politicians and scholars who inherited the system from the Meiji government and original *kokugaku* scholars radicalized it further (Ibid. 217).

Although the State Shinto system was dismantled on order of the occupation forces (Shibata 2004:426), the soon thereafter founded National Association of Shinto Shrines (*Jinja Honchou*, henceforth Honchou) has inherited much of State Shinto's philosophy. In particular, the idea that the sun goddess, Amaterasu-oomikami, is the most important of all kami and that all Shinto shrines must defer to her main shrine, Ise-jinguu, is still strongly advocated by the Honchou. The emperor's non-divinity is, however, now constitutionalized and his divinity cannot therefore be openly advocated by the Honchou⁶. However Apart from this difference to State Shinto, the main difference is that membership of the Honchou is voluntary. Thus, shrines that absolutely do not agree with the Honchou's policies or ideology can choose to exit. However, doing so causes them to lose valuable support and thus only fairly large shrines are in principle able to exit easily.

3.3. Contemporary syncretism

Breen & Teeuwen further consider the function of the Honchou in light of recent disputes with its member shrines, including large shrines such as Meiji-jinguu, Kasuga-taisha, Keta-taisha, Fushimi Inari-taisha, etc. At the surface disputes include but are not limited to the Honchou's self-proclaimed function to recognize which institutions may educate Shinto priests and which may not, its promotion of Ise-jinguu as central to all of Shinto and with it the sale of Ise amulets even at shrines other than Ise-jinguu, an undisclosed annual membership fee, etc. However these issues are all related to the Honchou's efforts of idealizing Shinto according to pre-war notions (Breen & Teeuwen 2010:200).

In such an ideology, there cannot be much space for recognizing Shinto's syncretic relationship with Buddhism except as a distant historical phenomenon. Indeed, the Honchou's homepage only mentions Buddhism as the catalyst that required the native traditions of Japan to be named Shinto so as to differentiate them conceptually (though the word was probably originally read *jindou* and created by Buddhists themselves, something which does not appear on the homepage) (Honchou 2013). While there is an article dealing with Shinto's relationship to Buddhism on the Honchou-sponsored Kokugakuin University's Shinto database, it deals exclusively

⁶ It is unclear to what extent the Honchou complies with this and whether they advocate a constitutional change that would once again recognize the emperor's divinity.

with history and mentions recent developments only in the final two-sentence-long paragraph (Kokugakuin 2013)

As a counterpart to the Honchou, Breen & Teeuwen acknowledges the Reijoukai's foundation as a possible catalyst for a change in the relationship between the two religions (Breen & Teeuwen 2010:220). The Reijou-kai's formation was sponsored by Enryaku-ji Temple, the Tendai School of Buddhism's headquarters and a historically very important advancer of syncretic practices, especially at Hie-jinja (formerly Hiyoshi-taisha) shrine. Lamenting the Meiji government's policies, but also affirming their belief that the peace-seeking spirit of the Japanese that have always worshipped both Buddha and kami has remained unchanged, the Reijou-kai promotes a pilgrimage route of 150 shrines and temples and holds ceremonies and rituals that surpasses the borders of the current establishments (Reijoukai 2013). An interesting point is that shrines that are simultaneously members of the Honchou are also included in the 150 and support the route, most prominent among them Ise-jinguu itself. It is unclear to what extent such shrines subscribe to the syncretism-reviving aspirations of the Reijou-kai.

Not all syncretic institutions suffered the same fate during the separation period. Many rewrote their history so as to seem to have always been purely Buddhist. Smyers cites a Buddhist version of the kami Inari as an example, quoting monks as saying that the popular interpretation of their deities as Inari is a misperception (Smyers 1999:25). At such places, syncretic rituals and worship have survived to this day, aided not only by the monks but also by worshippers' practices. However, during interviews with Shinto priests and worshippers at Inari's head shrine, Fushimi Inari-taisha, Smyers is met with surprise upon informing her interviewees of Buddhist versions of Inari and syncretic practices even at certain areas of Inari Mountain, the mountain behind Fushimi Inari-taisha. Such surprise "shows the success of the government's attempts to create separate conceptual categories regarding sites and certain identities" (Smyers 1999:219). Even so, Smyers continues to note that religious practice remains multiple and non-exclusive.

Though the shrine temple at Hachiman-jin's main shrine, Usa-jinguu, was destroyed during the Meiji period, Tsuji notes that the site continues to be a gathering point for supporters of syncretism and that Buddhist versions of Hachiman continue to be worshiped throughout the country, much in the same manners as Buddhist versions of Inari do (Tsuji 2007:248) The concept of a Buddhist version as opposed to a Shinto version of Hachiman is also a construct of the Meiji period; Tsuji shows in detail how Hachiman has been worshiped as both a kami and a bodhisattva throughout much of history.

There are other case studies of single sites as well that show how syncretic practices have remained intact to the present day (such as Tan 2011), but these are very few in number. Certainly there is more written about the subject in Japanese than in English, but Japanese scholars of religion tend to focus even more on history than those writing in English.

4. Analysis

4.1. Actors

First and foremost, the named actors in all articles were counted and divided into categories according to the considerations outlined under section 2.2.2. While all actors were initially divided into as many categories as there were words describing them in the newspapers, most categories turned out to be very minor and have been grouped into the category 'laymen', meaning they are neither academics nor religious specialists. The summary of both newspapers' actors can be found in Table 2 and Table 3 below.

ASAHI	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total
Academics	21	13	9	4	5	52
Religious specialists	16	15	10	13	3	57
Laymen	17	23	2	2	2	46

Table 2: Actors in Asahi

YOMIURI	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	Total
Academics	16	13	5	15	11	60
Religious specialists	24	9	22	13	6	74
Laymen	13	18	12	35	20	98

Table 3: Actors in Yomiuri

It should be noted first and foremost that the relatively large laymen categories arise from the newspapers', especially Yomiuri's, tendency to offer guide-like tourist-targeted information in an addendum-like separate part of the article. In these parts, restaurant owners, local craftsmen, visiting tourists, as well as many other local persona, are mentioned briefly and / or quoted for at most a line or two. Far from being irrelevant though, these article sections tell us that many sites or events reported by the newspapers are viewed as potential tourist attractions.

Another problem with the laymen category is that I originally created it as the opposite of the Religious specialists category with the name 'Lay practitioners'. My aim was to discern to what extent the actual worshippers and practitioners are given space in a religious discourse. However, it turned out to be impossible to determine whether a company employee visiting a shrine did so

because he was a worshipper or because he had a vacation. Smyers (1999:14) argument that religiosity in Japan is more connected to practice than faith comes to mind.

Disregarding the laymen category for now, we see that the largest group of actors in both newspapers is that of 'Religious specialists'. Actors in this group are either Buddhist monks or Shinto priests of varying rank. The only named *miko*⁷ was not included in this category because she was clearly stated as working part-time while looking for another job (Yomiuri 2010-04-01). The most appearing religious specialist is Okamoto Akio, head priest of Kasuga-taisha shrine in Nara. Okamoto appears in 14 articles.

The only other large specific category of named actors were that of 'Academics'. Actors in this group are scholars by profession, working either at universities or independent research institutions. Though their fields of expertise are not always mentioned, they are predominantly reported to be scholars of religious studies, archeology, history and ethnology. Among these scholars, Yamaori Tetsuo, professor of religious studies at Kyoto University of Arts and Design, appears particularly frequently, often quoted as a major supporter of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism. Yamaori appears in ten articles, far more than any other scholar.

Viewing the frequency of religious specialists and academic actors, we can interpret the discourse that our data is located in by the newspapers as being as much a religious discourse genre as an academic discourse genre. The tendency toward religious discourse is stronger in Yomiuri than in Asahi, an interpretation also evidenced by the fact that it is only Yomiuri that gives space to unnamed religious specialists (such as *kannushi*, *juushoku*, *bukkyoukai juushin*). In other words, we can say that both newspapers view Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as something of both academic interest and of religious interest, Yomiuri leaning more toward religious interest than Asahi.

4.2. Context of the word *shinbutsu-shuugou*

Shinbutsu-shuugou is the four-letter word in Japanese commonly translated as Shinto-Buddhism syncretism. Since the representation and context of this word are the most relevant linguistic aspects to this analysis, the majority of analysis will take place here.

Throughout the analysis, four distinct types of contexts in which this word appears were identified. First I will describe these categories, and then go further in-depth with examples from the articles. The first category is that of 'Past'. In Past contexts, the word is modified in such a way

⁷ *Miko* are female shrine attendants that may perform cleansing rituals, *kagura* sacred dances and handle the selling of amulets. They are regarded as trained helpers rather as members of the priesthood; the term *kannushi* (Shinto priest) refers to female as well as male priests. Historically they were viewed as shamans and had more prominent religious roles.

as to suggest that Shinto-Buddhism syncretism is completely a phenomenon or idea of the past, a bygone age. The second category is that of 'Present'. In Present contexts, the word is used to describe current events, ceremonies or sites. The third category is that of 'History'. In History contexts, the word is used to describe historical events, sites or ideas. The fourth category is that of 'Exceptional'. In Exceptional contexts, the word is used in much the same way as in Present contexts, but with additional words, context or modifications that causes the present phenomenon to appear exceptional. A present ritual that is clearly syncretic in nature can, for example, be reported as being the exception to the rule that syncretic rituals do no longer take place in Japan. Instances of the word that do not easily fit into any of these four categories have been put in to a fifth 'Unclear' category. Many of the instances in the fifth category are purely etymological: the word is used only as a word without any religious or academic context surrounding it, otherwise it is simply the name or theme of a presentation, or combines the previous four categories in such a way as to make easy classification difficult. Some of the instances in the fifth category are clear outlier instances that will require in-depth discussion in section 4.2.5.

First and foremost, the breakdown into categories can be found summarized in Table 4 and Table 5. Each instance of the word has been analysed and placed in a category. Certain double instances which were inseparable from each other have been counted as one instance. If the instance was in an article's heading, or if it was especially outspokenly positive toward syncretism, that has been noted as well.

ASAHI	Total	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Past	11	5	3	2	0	1
Present	32	7	12	5	6	2
History	72	14	21	8	13	16
Exceptional	25	4	8	3	8	2
Unclear	29	9	9	8	0	3
+Heading	11	0	4	2	3	2
+Positive	9	2	3	3	0	1
+Double instances	6	2	3	1	0	0
Total	169	39	53	26	27	24

Table 4: Summary of *shinbutsu-shuugou* context in Asahi. Past, Present, History, Exceptional and Unclear refers to the five main contextual categories identified in the data. +Heading refers to how many instances of the word were found in headings of articles. +Positive refers to how many instances of the word were located in a to Shinto-Buddhism syncretism favourable argument or opinion. +Double instances refers to how many double instances were counted as one because there content were contextually inseparable or identical. Note that the numbers under +Heading, +Positive, +Double instances do not count toward the Total number.

YOMIURI	Total	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Past	12	1	2	2	4	3
Present	33	12	7	5	5	4
History	58	11	10	12	18	7
Exceptional	25	10	4	5	6	0
Unclear	44	23	3	4	10	4
+Heading	15	6	2	3	4	0
+Positive	8	3	3	1	1	0
+Double instances	6	3	0	0	2	1
Total	172	57	26	28	43	18

Table 5: Summary of *shinbutsu-shuugou* context in Yomiuri. Past, Present, History, Exceptional and Unclear refers to the five main contextual categories identified in the data. +Heading refers to how many instances of the word were found in headings of articles. +Positive refers to how many instances of the word were located in a to Shinto-Buddhism syncretism favourable argument or opinion. +Double instances refers to how many double instances were counted as one because their content were contextually inseparable or identical. Note that the numbers under +Heading, +Positive, +Double instances do not count toward the Total number.

4.2.1. Past contexts

As can be seen in Tables 4 and 5, the past context is the least commonly occurring category of context, with 11 instances in Asahi and 12 instances in Yomiuri. Because of the relatively small number, all instances will be discussed here, beginning with Asahi and then moving on to Yomiuri.

Past instances are defined by a modification of the word *shinbutsu-shuugou* that puts it in the past. The most common way this takes place is by adding *jidai* (~era, ~period) or *no jidai* (period of ~, era of~) following *shinbutsu-shuugou*. Consider (1).

- (1) Nishi wa Amida-butsu ga iru Gokuraku-Joudo wo sasu. Chuusei kara Yahiko ni wa Amida-shinkou ga ari, Yahiko-jinja ni wa shinbutsu-shuugou no jidai ni jinguu-ji to iu jiin mo atta.

The west signifies Sukhavati, where Amida resides. Since medieval times, Amida worship has existed in Yahiko, and during the era of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, there was also a kind of temple known as a shrine temple at Yahiko Shrine.

(Asahi 2008-02-21)

Through the construction *shinbutsu-shuugou no jidai*, a period of Japan's history is created in which syncretism existed, as opposed to the current era, in which it is implied that it does not. At the very least, the current period of history is not one of syncretism, whereas the past was. Another point that

should be mentioned in regards to (1) is that the wording *jinguuji to iu jiin* is as easily interpreted as 'a temple named Jinguu temple' as it is interpreted as 'a kind of temple called a shrine temple'. That the concept of a shrine temple is not used unproblematically itself suggests that the general readership might not be entirely familiar with the term. However if that was the case, it might have been more reasonable to explain the term instead of introduce it in an ambiguous manner.

Shrine temples are in fact often the focal point of what is defined as a syncretic aspect of a site, not just in Past contexts either, and the term itself is seldom uncomplicated.

- (2) "Jinguuji" wa shinbutsu-shuugou ga futsuu datta Meiji-izen wa kakuchi no jinja de sakan ni kenritsu sareta ga, Meiji-seifu no shinbutsu-bunri no houshin de, Monraku-in mo 1872 (Meiji 5) -nen ni haizetsu.

"Shrine temples" were vigorously constructed at various shrines at the time before the Meiji Period during which Shinto-Buddhism was normal, however with the Meiji Government's Shinto-Buddhism separation policy, Monraku Temple was abolished as well in 1872 (Meiji 5).

(Asahi 2008-03-11)

In (2), the term is bracketed, signifying it as not of part of the common vocabulary of the newspaper. Regarding the Past context in (2), it is here even clearer: *shinbutsu-shuugou wa futsuu datta*. Before the Meiji period, syncretism was normal. While this certainly is not necessarily a categorical denial of any possible current syncretic practices, it certainly enforces the idea that syncretism ended with the Meiji period. Note also how no actor is immediately implicated in the separation policies by stating simply that the shrine temple Monraku-in was 'abolished *with* the separation policy'. The Meiji Government is mentioned, but not directly implicated by this construction.

Instances placing syncretism in the past by constructing a syncretic era, as in (1), are the most common Past instances. (3) through (9) represent all instances of this kind of Past context in Asahi.

- (3) Onaji shikichinai ni jinja to tera ga aru shinbutsu-shuugou no jidai ga nagaku tsuzuita.

A period of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, during which both a shrine and a temple

existed on the same grounds, continued for a long time.

(Asahi 2008-09-15)

- (4) Sono taki wo nagameru takadai ni, Kumano Nachi-taisha to Seigan-ji ga tonariau koukei wa 8, 9-seiki kara Meiji made tsuzuita shinbutsu-shuugou no jidai wo jikkan saseru.

The view from the elevation, gazing down on the waterfall, of Kumano Nachi Shrine and Seigan Temple standing next to each other, lets one experience the era of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism that continued from the 8th or 9th century until the Meiji period.

(Asahi 2008-10-03)

- (5) Ninuri no shaden-mure wa, katsute Nyoirin-dou to yobareta Saigoku-sanjuusan-sho no ichiban-fudasho no Seiganto-ji ni rinsetsu shi, Meiji made tsuzuita shinbutsu-shuugou no jidai wo shinobaseru.

The vermilion-lacquered group of shrine buildings were once adjacent to Nyoirin Hall, the first *fudasho* ((temple issuing amulets as part of a pilgrimage)) on the Saigoku 33 Holy Places Pilgrimage, and thus reminds one of the age of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

(Asahi 2009-05-02)

- (6) Shinbutsu-shuugou-jidai no Goma-dou-honzon to tsutawaru dou-ritsuzouwa hinoki no kizukuri de takasa 96,9 senchi.

The same standing statue [of Fudou Myouou, or Acala] is said to have been the principal object of worship at the Goma Hall during the age of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, and is made of hinoki cypress and stands 96,9 centimetres tall.

(Asahi 2009-09-15)

- (7) Jinja de mitsukatta no wa shinbutsu-shuugou no jidai ni tera ga chikaku ni ari, jinja de mo shiryō wo hokan shiteita kara to iu.

The reason that it [a collection of scrolls containing the full Mahaprajnaparamita Sutra] was found at a shrine is said to be because there was a temple nearby during

the age of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, and that it was keeping records at the shrine as well.

(Asahi 2010-04-07)

- (8) Mata, Kanou Gyokuen Naganobu-hitsu no "Toushou-guu sairei emaki" (19-seiki) de wa, kannushi dake de naku yamabushi ya souryo no sugata mo mirare, shinbutsu-shuugou-jidai no matsuri no yousu ga ukagaeru.

Further, in Kanou Gyokuen Naganobu's "Picture scrolls of Toushou-guu Shrine's festivals", not only *kannushi* but also monks can be seen, thus allowing one to surmise the appearance of religious festivals during the age of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

(Asahi 2010-05-29)

- (9) Edo no shinbutsu-shuugou no jidai, Edono-san no go-honzon wa Dainichi-nyorai datta.

During the Edo's age of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, the principal object of worship at Mt. Edono was Vairocana.

(Asahi 2012-06-02)

Apart from the constructions involving *jidai*, it is worth noting how even these constructions of the past is not something that is immediately apparent to the voice of the articles. In (4), a specific vista lets the viewer experience the age of syncretism, whereas in (5), one is *reminded* of the past age by a historical fact relating to a site. Further,

A variant of the *jidai* instances can be observed in (10).

- (10) Touji no shakai wa shinbutsu-shuugou no sekai de, ironna kamisama ga ite, minshu wa shinbatsu ya futubatsu wo osoreta.

The society of those days was one of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, so many different kami existed and the populace feared both kami punishment and buddha punishment.

(Asahi 2008-02-06)

Here, the construction *touji no shakai wa shinbutsu-shuugou no sekai* states that Japanese society used to be a Shinto-Buddhism syncretic world in the past, implying that it is not today. (10) is

located within a quote by scholar of medieval religion Murayama Kyouji, suggesting that this is an understanding that even academics can have. It does not separate it from the newspapers' understanding, because the choice of giving space to this particular passage has been made by the newspaper.

The last Past instance in Asahi is not quite as concrete as the ones so far discussed, but nevertheless implies that Shinto-Buddhism syncretism is no longer a palpable phenomenon in the present, especially since the rest of the article only discusses how syncretic treasures and practices have been lost since. Consider (11).

- (11) Meiji-ishin-chokugo, seifu wa Shintou no kokkyouka wo mezashi, Nihon-koyuu no kami to bukkyou no shinkou ga yuugou suru "shinbutsu-shuugou" wo hitei shita. Immediately following the Meiji Restoration, the government, aiming to make Shinto the state religion, denied Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, through which the native kami of Japan and Buddhism had fused.
(Asahi 2009-01-01)

Though the term *hitei shita* (denied) disarms the action of much of the weight it entailed, this is still one of few examples in which an actor (albeit one as abstract as a government) is immediately implied in the separation through direct action.

Moving on to the past instances of Yomiuri, we see first and foremost the same tendencies in the instances.

- (12) Nihon no shuukyou wa, "kami" to "hotoke" wo matsuri shimasu. Shinbutsu-shuugou to iu ketai wa arimasu ga, kihonteki ni, toku ni Meiji-ikou wa, kami to hotoke wo bunri shimasu.
Japan's religion(s) worship(s) kami and buddha. There is a form [of religion] called Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, but basically, and especially since the Meiji period, one separates between kami and buddha.
(Yomiuri 2008-01-08)

(12) is from an article that transcribes the entirety of a lecture by Nakamaki Hirochika, professor at the National Museum of Ethnology. It is of interest how the separation and the entire religious

world of Japan since then is simplified into this single statement. Syncretism is presented as a peculiarity that does not have much significance after the Meiji period.

(13) and (14) are excerpts from the same article, a column written by philosopher Uchiyama Takashi, who laments the destruction of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism's 'world' and argues for a revival of that world. Positive instances such as these can be interpreted as Past as well, since they draw the line at the Meiji period and puts syncretism in the past just like other past instances.

- (13) Nihon no jinja-bukkaku wa, haigo ni mori ga aru koto wo miseta shinbutsu-shuugou no sekai. Shikashi, Meiji no shinbutsu-bunri-me de kamisama-ryouiki no mori ga toriagerare, ushiro ni shizen no kamigami ga iro to iu sekai wo kowashita.
The [Shinto] shrines and [Buddhist] temples of Japan belong to the world of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, which displays the forest in the background [of actual sites or of ideas is unclear]. Because of the Meiji [period or government unclear] Shinto-Buddhism separation order, the kami territory of the forest was taken away, and the world in which the kami exist in the background, in nature, was destroyed.
(Yomiuri 2009-08-17)

- (14) Mou ichido, shinbutsu-shuugou no sekai wo torimodoshi, mori no sekai ga mieru you ni subeki deshous.
We must recover the world of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism and make it so that the realm of the forest is once again visible.
(Yomiuri 2009-08-17)

The term *shinbutsu-shuugou* may also be placed into the past by past tense copula *datta*. I have interpreted most such instances as modifying a site, and thus not containing a Present/Past judgment on the state of syncretism as a whole. However, there was one such instance, found here in (15), in Yomiuri that I deem refers to syncretism as whole.

- (15) Gassan-jinja wa yaku 800-nen-mae, Oushuu-Fujiwara-shi no sandai Hidehira ga kenritsu shita to sarete ori, bonshou wa 1828-nen (Bunsei 11-nen), touji wa shinbutsu-shuugou datta tame, ryoukyuuka shita shaden wo saiken shita toki ni tsukutta.

Gassan Shrine is believed to have been constructed by the Oushuu-Fujiwara clan's third chief, Hidehira roughly 800 years ago. Because that time was Shinto-Buddhism syncretic, the temple bell was constructed in 1828 (Bunsei 11), when the aging shrine hall was renovated.

(Yomiuri 2010-04-20)

The term *touji*, translating into 'at that time' is used slightly more often in Yomiuri, but *jidai* is frequently used as well.

- (16) Akai rankan ga azayaka na shinjiike no shinkyou wa katsute no shinbutsu-shuugou-jidai no nagori da to iu.

The divine bridge, which handrail is a vibrant red, is said to be remnant of the age of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

(Yomiuri 2010-09-07)

- (17) Nettowaaku no jimukyokuchou de Touhokudai no Satou Daisuke-jokyoku wa "Dentougeinou wa kouden ga ooku, mojikiroku wa mezurashii. Shinbutsu-shuugou no touji wa bukkyou-iro ga kokatta koto nado, kagura no henka ga wakaru kichou na shiryoku da" to hyouka suru.

The network's [Miyagi network for preservation of historical material] secretary-general and assistant professor at Touhoku University, Satou Daisuke, evaluates the material: "Traditional arts are often transmitted orally, and written records are rare. It's a valuable material [records about *kagura*] that lets us learn of the [historical] change of kagura, such as how [at an unspecified point?] during the time of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism Buddhist influences were profound".

(Yomiuri 2011-06-25)

- (18) Jiin nara de wa no kawarabuki no yane ya sanjuu-no-tou, shourou, soshite souryo no sugata ga shinbutsu-shuugou no jidai wo monogataru

The kawara tile roof, three-storied pagoda, bell tower and the appearance of monks, all characteristic of temples, tell of the age of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism

(Yomiuri 2011-09-06) (Photo description)

- (19) Kawamura-san wa "ima mo shinbutsu-shuugou no jidai no butszou ga nokotte iru no wa, jimoto no hitobito ga dochaku no shinkou wo taisetsu ni mamotte kita shirushi. Kichou na shiryō wo kanshou shite hoshii" to hanashite iru.
Kawamura [curator at Fukui Prefectural Museum of History] is saying that "the fact that a buddha statue from the age of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism still remains is proof that the local people have protected their indigenous faith dearly. I want [people] to appreciate such an important record".
(Yomiuri 2011-11-22-A)
- (20) Touji wa shinbutsu-shuugou ga goku shizen ni ukeirerarete ite, souryo to kami to no kankei wa chikakatta.
At that time, Shinto-Buddhism syncretism was accepted very naturally, and the relationship between monks and kami was close.
(Yomiuri 2012-04-28)

The term *hitei suru* is used once by Yomiuri as well, though in the passive form and thus not as directly connected with an actor as in Asahi. However, the Meiji government is still quite implied in (21), as they are seen as the instigators of the 'storm of haibutsu kishaku'.

- (21) Meiji-seifu ni yori haibutsu-kishaku no arashi wa Hiko-san ni mo fukiareta.
Shinbutsu-shuugou wa hitei sare, ooku no butszou ya bugurui ga sannitsu shita.
The storm of Haibutsu kishaku wrought by the Meiji government blew violently over Mt. Hiko. Shinto-Buddhism syncretism was denied, and many buddha statues and buddhist altar materials were scattered and lost.
(Yomiuri 2012-05-05)

(22), found below, also shows some implication of the Meiji government as responsible for the separation, but only as the ones who 'ordered' it. The part that justifies a Past context classification states how syncretic thought 'was part of common values until the Meiji government ordered the separation'. The term *made*, meaning until, is like *datta* often used to describe a site. However, in this instance I found it clear that it refers to syncretism as a whole. (22) was taken from an article

that is a transcription of an interview by the reporter and layman Kojima Ichirou with the head priest of Kibune-jinja Shrine, Takai Kazuhiro.

- (22) Kono monogatari ni wa, Meiji-seifu ga shinbutsu-bunri wo mejjiru made Nihon de wa ippanteki na kachikan to shite najinde ita shinbutsu-shuugou no shisou ga irokoku nijinde imasu ne.

This story is markedly blotted with Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, the thought that was a part of common values in Japan until the Meiji government ordered the Shinto-Buddhism separation order, isn't it.

(Yomiuri 2012-06-10)

Finally, the last Past instance can be found below. (23) also utilizes *made*, this time to describe how Japan nurtured an open-minded belief system called Shinto-Buddhism syncretism until the Meiji period, suggesting that it isn't nurturing such a system today. (23) is from a transcribed lecture given by Iwashimizu Hachiman-guu Shrine's head priest, Tanaka Tsunekiyo.

- (23) Sore kara Meiji no haibutsu-kishaku made yaku 1300-nenkan, shinbutsu-shuugou to iu shintou to bukkyou ga naka yoku kyouzou suru tyo iu ooraka na shinkou wo tsuchikatte kimashita.

Since that period until Meiji's Haibutsu-Kishaku, for roughly 1300 years, an open-minded belief system called Shinto-Buddhism syncretism was nurtured, in which Shinto and Buddhism co-existed friendly.

(Yomiuri 2011-08-18)

All linguistic aspects of Past instances in both newspapers are summarized in Table on the following page.

Past instances	Total	<i>jidai</i>	<i>hitei</i>	<i>bunri suru</i>	<i>datta</i>	<i>made</i>	<i>touji</i>	<i>kowash ita</i>	<i>torimo dosu</i>
Asahi	11	8	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
Yomiuri	12	5	1	1	1	2	(1)	1	1

Table 6: Summary of linguistic aspects of Past contexts. Some of these instances combine the different linguistic aspects. In such cases, the aspect used last in the clause or predicate was counted as it is deemed most important to the sentence under a SOV sentence structure.

4.2.2. Present contexts

Present contexts are the next least commonly occurring context after Past, observable in 28 instances in Asahi articles and in 31 instances in Yomiuri articles. While the definition of Past contexts were that they put the entirety of syncretism in Past construction, Present contexts do not always deal with the entirety of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism. The majority of Present contexts on the other hand refer to a certain site, ritual or event that is described, without any kind of problematic additional words, as being fully in the present and syncretic in nature.

The vast majority of Present contexts are characterized by the term *shinbutsu-shuugou* modifying a noun, through the particle *no*, and then ending the sentence with a non-past verb or copula, alternatively just stating that something 'is' syncretic, as in *shinbutsu-shuugou da*. Consider (24).

- (24) Mainen 3-gatsu no Yama-hakkou-gyouji wa dou-shi Shimonegori no Yahata-jinja ni Nanboku-chou-jidai-goro kara tsutawaru. Dou-ku no daihyou ga akatsuchi no manjuu wo name, hashira ni "yama" "hachi" no ji wo kakitsukeru shinbutsu-shuugou no gyouji.

The Yama-hakkou ritual, held every year in March, has been passed down at Yahata-jinja Shrine, Shimonegori, the same [Obama] city, since the Nanboku-chou period. It is a Shinto-Buddhism syncretic ritual in which a representative from the same [Shimonegori] ward licks a red manjuu⁸ and writes the letters "yama" [mountain] and "hachi" [eight] on the pillar.

(Asahi 2008-05-15)

The article describes the ritual as a current Shinto-Buddhism syncretic ritual *shinbutsu-shuugou no*

⁸ *Manjuu* is a Japanese confection made from *mochi* (pounded rice cake) and flour usually filled with *an* (sweet red bean paste).

gyouji. Note how there is no verb or even copula at the end - such an omission is not uncommon in Japanese newspapers. The context here makes it safe to assume that the tense is non-past, however. An example of the word describing a present state of affairs without directly modifying another noun can be found in (25).

- (25) Tsumari, kami mo hotoke mo agameru shinbutsu-shuugou da to iu no de aru.
 In other words, it [a buddha statue made of kusunoki wood] is [an example of] Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, which worships both kami and buddha.
 (Asahi 2008-07-08)

In 6 instances, *shinbutsu-shuugou* is located in the present through verbs or adjectives, in other words the predicate, that it is the subject of, such as in (26) and (27). Other verbs include *ikizuku* (breathes or lives), *tsuzuku* (continues), *mirareru* (can be observed).

- (26) "Kami to hotoke to Nihon no kokoro" wo teema ni, Nara ni nezuku shinbutsu-shuugou ni tsuite kouen to paneru disukasshon ga atta.
 With the theme "Kami and buddha and the spirit of Japan", a lecture and a panel discussion about Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, which is firmly rooted in Nara, were held.
 (Asahi 2010-07-14)
- (27) Dou-jinja wa shinbutsu-shuugou no shikisai ga koku, keidai ni wa, Shichifuku-jin wo hajime 15-tai no o-jizou-sama ga okarete iru.
 The [Atago-jinja] shrine's Shinto-Buddhism syncretic hue is pronounced, with 15 statues of Ksitigarbha placed alongside ones of the Seven Gods of Fortune.
 (Asahi 2008-10-25)

A summary of linguistic aspects of all Present contexts can be found in Table 7, found on the following page.

Present contexts	<i>shinbutsu-shuugou no~</i>	<i>shinbutsu-shuugou da</i>	Predicate	Others
Asahi	20	2	6	3
Yomiuri	23	1	6	2

Table 7: Summary of linguistic aspects of Present contexts.

The 'others' category in Table 7 warrants some special attention. Each instance in this category presents a unique linguistic aspect.

- (28) Sono hittou wo kazaru no ga "Kinpu-daibosa". Shinbutsu-shuugou ni yotte bosatsu no shougou de yomareru ga, akiraka ni Kinpu-jinja wo sasuru.

The first position in the list [of deities kept at Toudai-ji Temple] is adorned by "the great bodhisattva Kinpu". Because of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, it is read with the bodhisattva title, but it clearly refers to Kinpu-jinja Shrine.

(Asahi 2009-03-10)

In (28), syncretism is the cause for a ritual's form. It should be noted that this form of causality (~ *ni yotte*) suggests a present continuing influence, earning its interpretation as a Present context.

- (29) Sangaku de shugyou suru yamabushi-ra no shinbutsu-shuugou-teki na "shugendou" no kyoten to shite shirarete iru.

It [Nara Prefecture's Yoshino-cho town] is known as the base of "Shugendou"⁹, the Shinto-Buddhism syncretism-like religion of the *yamabushi* doing ascetic practices in the mountains.

(Asahi 2009-07-14)

Moving on, we see another form in (29), wrought about by adding *teki* to *shinbutsu-shuugou*, making the construction 'Shinto-Buddhism syncretism-like'. Although this could be interpreted as not explicitly referring to a present aspect of syncretism, it still modifies a site in non-past tense.

- (30) Ueshima-san no kaisetsu de, Kumano-kodou no sekai-isan to shite no kachi ya, sekai

⁹ *Shugendou* refers to a set of highly syncretic ascetic practices that involve seeking enlightenment through worshipping and respecting nature. See Inoue et. al. (2000:155) for a more in-depth discussion.

no shuukyou-gakusha-ra ga chuumoku shite iru shinbutsu-shuugou wo tokuchou to suru Kumano-shinkou nado Kumano-chiiki no miryoku ni semaru.

In Ueshima's [Ueshima Keiji, scholar of anthropology of religion] commentary, he presses for the world heritage value of the Kumano kodou pilgrimage route, as well as the appeal of the Kumano region's Kumano faith, in focus by scholars of religion the world over, which features Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

(Asahi 2009-02-24)

(30) is close to being classified Exceptional, since the word *tokuchou* can be translated as 'peculiarity'. However I deem that in this context, it should be interpreted as 'feature' or 'characteristic'. Other than this clarification-requiring point, (30) is a Present context with a predicate linguistic aspect.

- (31) [Sasazanami] Shinbutsu-shuugou shin-junpai de yasuragi wo = Saga
[Ripples] Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, tranquility with new pilgrimage route = Saga
(Yomiuri 2008-09-23) TITLE

Headings and sub-headings have been counted as separate instances for the entirety of the data, as long as they are not identical to the body of the article they were found in. (31) is an example of a heading that was counted as one instance. This instance also requires special attention because it consists of separated terms without predicate, not forming a coherent normal sentence in the general sense - a common enough phenomenon in Japanese newspaper headings. I have interpreted the phrase *shinbutsu-shuugou* in this instance as modifying the other two phrases, as if a copula *da* or *no* behind was omitted, thus classifying it as a Present context.

- (32) Tendai, Shingon-ryoushuu wa shinbutsu-shuugou to iu katachi de Nihon no shizen no kami wo ogami, jinja wa shizen wo kami to shi, jinja wa shizen wo kami to shi, sansensoumoku no subete ni songen wo mitomete imasu.
Both the Tendai and Shingon schools [of Buddhism] revere Japan's kami of nature in the form of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism and acknowledge the sanctity of all of nature.
(Yomiuri 2012-06-20)

The last Present instance that demands special attention is that of (32), retrieved from a transcribed discussion. The speaker is Kobayashi Sojou, senior monk at Enryaku-ji Temple. *Shinbutsu-shuugou* modifies the term *katachi* (form) through a relative clause verb *to iu* (called thus). This verb could easily be replaced by *no* and still have the sentence retain almost the same meaning. However using it suggests that the speaker does not consider the term perfectly natural or easy to use in the discussion, thus introducing it in this way.

The objects modified by *shinbutsu-shuugou* through the *~no* construction is summarized in Tables 8 and 9. As can be seen, nearly all nouns modified thus have by themselves a religious character. There is a tendency for Yomiuri to repeat exactly the same constructions, but this is most likely a result of reporting the same event more than once at greater frequency than Asahi does.

One thing worth noting is that since most of the instances in the Present contexts do not deal with syncretism as a whole, they may all be interpreted as exceptional in the sense that only a certain event or site is syncretic, the rest, unmentioned sites, are not syncretic by default. Nevertheless, it will become apparent how the Exceptional category is slightly different.

Asahi	<i>shinbutsu-shuugou no...</i>	Shinto-Buddhism syncretic...
2008-03-03-A	<i>atarashii ruuto</i>	new route
2008-05-15	<i>gyouji</i>	event / ritual
2008-06-02	<i>tera</i>	temple
2008-10-05-B	<i>chi</i>	territory
2008-10-25	<i>shikisai</i>	color / nuance
2009-01-25	<i>chi</i>	territory
2009-03-13	<i>shuukyoku</i>	religion
2009-05-25	<i>shinji</i>	Shinto ritual
2009-10-25	<i>waku</i>	framework
2009-11-21	<i>sugata</i>	shape / figure
2009-11-21	<i>kaigan-houyou</i>	Enlightenment service
2009-11-21	<i>Tenmu-tennou-shinzou</i>	Idol of Emperor Tenmu
2010-04-12	<i>shouchou-teki sonzai</i>	symbolic location
2010-04-12	<i>shinkou</i>	faith
2011-03-03	<i>higi</i>	ritual
2011-04-22	<i>pawaa supotto</i>	power spot

2011-05-08	<i>namanamashii sugata</i>	vivid shape
2011-08-14	<i>Nihon-rashii sugata</i>	Japan-like / Japanese form
2011-10-13	<i>dentou-gyouji</i>	traditional event / ritual
2012-04-17	<i>ba</i>	place
2012-07-21	<i>senku-teki na kami</i>	precursor kami

Table 8: Summary of *shinbutsu-shuugou no*~ linguistic constructions of Present contexts in Asahi.

Yomiuri	<i>shinbutsu-shuugou no...</i>	Shinto-Buddhism syncretic...
2008-03-03	<i>shin-juinpai-ruuto</i>	new pilgrimage route
2008-05-05	<i>moyooshi</i>	festivities
2008-05-27	<i>keishiki</i>	form
2008-08-30	<i>shin-junpai-ruuto</i>	new pilgrimage route
2008-09-08	<i>keishiki</i>	form
2008-09-09	<i>keishiki</i>	form
2008-11-04	<i>saiten</i>	(religious) festival
2008-11-07	<i>kosatsu</i>	ancient temple (not a ruin)
2009-01-03	<i>dentou</i>	tradition
2009-02-19	<i>arikata</i>	state of being
2009-04-30	<i>chi</i>	territory
2009-08-10	<i>Nihon-korai no shinkou</i>	Japan's ancient faith
2009-10-21	<i>tera</i>	temple
2009-08-29	<i>kuni</i>	country
2009-08-23	<i>fukugou-shaden</i>	combined shrine hall
2010-04-01	<i>shouchou</i>	symbol
2010-04-15	<i>koshiki</i>	ancient ritual
2010-05-18	<i>keishiki</i>	form
2010-10-26	<i>fukugou-shaden</i>	combined shrine hall
2010-03-07	<i>chi</i>	territory
2011-05-21	<i>sekai</i>	world
2011-08-18	<i>daihyoukaku</i>	representative
2012-04-15	<i>matsuri</i>	(religious) festival
2012-11-11-A	<i>gyouji</i>	event / ritual

Table 9: Summary of *shinbutsu-shuugou no*~ linguistic constructions of Present contexts in Yomiuri.

4.2.3. History contexts

History contexts are characterized by the word *shinbutsu-shuugou* being used in the context of a discussion or report concerning history, with no room to interpret the instance as a Past or Present context. I have identified six distinct sub-categories to this type of context, and the breakdown of both newspapers instances can be found in Table 10 below.

History contexts	Item(s)	Past site	History of SBS	History of site	History of practice	History of person	Past practice
Asahi	14	22	14	14	6	1	1
Yomiuri	21	12	14	9	2	0	0

Table 10: Sub-categories of History contexts.

Instances belonging in the Item sub-category are defined by *shinbutsu-shuugou* describing an item that is only reported in the context of its historical value. They are often part of exhibitions at museums or excavated ruins, but may also be a part of a present religious site. Even when the latter is the case, however, there is nothing in the report to indicate that syncretism still plays an active role at the site in question, and only the item's history or significance to the site's history is mentioned.

Consider (33). The article discusses the Kasuga Deer Mandala, a mandala which has been kept at Kasuga-taisha Shrine since the late Heian Period. Even though other articles often report contemporary syncretic practices at Kasuga-taisha and other temples or shrines in Nara, in this article the term syncretism only occurs when discussing the history of the mandala.

- (33) Sonna denshou no hoka, sakaki wo shinboku to shite yorishiro ni suru shuukyoukan, sara ni wa, Nihon no kamigami wo gairai no hotoke to musubitsukeru honji-suijaku-setsu ni motozuku shinbutsu-shuugou no kangae mo, kono zu ni wa hyougen sarete iru.

Apart from that legend [of Kasuga-taisha Shrine's origins], the illustration [of the Kasuga Deer Mandala] expresses the religious view of the *sakaki* tree as divine and as housing *kami*, as well as the Shinto-Buddhism syncretic idea of combining the *kami* of Japan with the foreign buddhas through the Honji suijaku paradigm.

(Asahi 2008-01-05)

An example of the Item sub-category from Yomiuri can be found in (34). Here Yuyama Kenichi, director of Nara National Museum, is describing wooden buddha statues thought to be made during the Asuka period, noting how the material they are made of could be a significant early aspect of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism. Taken out of any contemporary religious context, and now on display at the Shousou-in Exhibition, they serve only as item through which history can be studied.

- (34) Korera no sairyō wa subete kusunoki. Kami ga yadoru reiboku, kusunoki, wo tsukau koto ni imi ga ari, kore ga shinbutsu-shuugou no hajimari da.

These [wooden buddha statues made during the Asuka period] are all made of *kusunoki*. Using *kusunoki*, a divine tree that is thought to house *kami*, is of great significance and signifies the beginning of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

(Yomiuri 2011-10-26)

Linguistically, History contexts are quite diverse depending on how the newspapers structure their historical reports. However, the Past site and Past practice sub-categories are defined by a single linguistic aspect, that being the word *shinbutsu-shuugou* modifying a religious site (such as a temple or a shrine) or a religious practice (such as a ritual or worship of a particular deity) in a sentence which predicate is past tense. Many of such sites still exist, but have earned their classification as Past sites because they are reported as having *been* syncretic in the past.

Consider the examples of a Past site and a Past practice in Asahi, (35) and (36). In (35), *shinbutsu-shuugou* modifies the noun *shima* (island) in the past tense, clearly putting the site's syncretic period in the past as part of a discussion on the site's history. (36), the only example of a past practice, discusses a location that is described as syncretic in one of the Present contexts. Even so, one of the practices that made the site syncretic is no longer practiced. The term *araware* can be translated as 'manifestation' or 'materialization' and is used in (36) in the present tense even though it describes a past practice. This raises the question of what exactly is required for a site to be viewed as presently syncretic by the newspapers. We can only assume that other practices are taking place at the shrine, if not we are faced with the dilemma that the newspapers (or at least Asahi) deem a syncretic history enough to call a site syncretic today.

- (35) Koko wa nagaraku shinbutsu-shuugou no shima datta ga, Meiji-ishin-go no haibutsu-

kishaku de haiji-mei ga deta. Sore made tera no hondou datta kenbutsu wo jinja ni akewatashi, kiki wo manugareta.

This [Chikubu Island] was once a Shinto-Buddhism syncretic island, but after the Meiji Restoration's *haibutsu kishaku* policy, a temple abolition order was issued. The structure that had so far been the [Hougon-ji] temple's main hall was surrendered to the [Tsukubusuma-jinja] shrine, thus averting the crisis.

(Asahi 2008-06-13)

- (36) Honden no yukashita ni wa geden to yobareru saishi-shisetsu ga ari, Meiji-jidai no shinbutsu-bunri made wa butsuzou wo oki, futsuji ga itonamareta to iu. Kore mo shinbutsu-shuugou no araware da.

Beneath the inner sanctuary [of Hiyoshi-taisha Shrine] lies a ritual chamber called the lower sanctuary, in which buddha statues were kept and buddhist rituals performed until the Meiji period's separation policy. This is also a manifestation of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

(Asahi 2010-04-12)

The remaining four sub-categories of History contexts are harder to glean common linguistic aspects from. Instead, what they have in common is that the context in which the word *shinbutsu-shuugou* was used in them is exclusively located within a discussion or report about, or a foray into, the history of a site, practice, person or Shinto-Buddhism syncretism itself, then as a theological or philosophical system. The aspect is, however, often past tense, but not always.

First we will consider the sole History of person instance, found in (37). The word *shinbutsu-shuugou-sei*, politics of syncretism, itself is merely used as the object of a relative clause in the second sentence, which does have past tense as its grammatical aspect. The rest of the report does not contain any judgments about the current state of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, being only a talk about the history of Empress Kouken. It should be noted that a scholar was quoted in this instance - they often are when it comes to History contexts.

- (37) Kouken-tennou wa, Nara no daibutsu wo kenritsu shi, bukkyou no rinen wo motte kokka wo osameyou to shita Shoumu-tennou, Koumyou-kougou no musume. Kyoto Joshi-dai no Takinami Sadako-kyouju (kodaishi) wa, tennou ga chichi kara ippou

fumikonde bukkyoukai no chouten to shite Doukyou wo mochii, shinbutsu-shuugou-sei wo jitsugen shiyou to shita koto ga, kizoku-tachi no hanpatsu wo katta, to kangaete iru.

Empress Kouken was the daughter of Empress Koumyou and Emperor Shoumu, who built the great buddha statue of Nara and endeavoured to govern the country with Buddhist ideals. Takinami Sadako, professor in ancient history at Kyoto Women's University, argues that the empress [Kouken] took one step further than her father and attempted to realize Shinto-Buddhism syncretism politics by utilizing Doukyou, the then most prominent figure in the Buddhist world, but provoked opposition from the nobility.

(Asahi 2011-09-02)

Moving on, we shall have a look at the History of site sub-category. Instances in this and the remaining sub-categories look very much the same as (37), with *shinbutsu-shuugou* appearing only in the midst of a foray into history. Consider (38) and (39), from Asahi and Yomiuri respectively. In (38) we see that Shinto-Buddhism syncretism is reported as having developed or advanced at Mt. Koujin since the Nara Period. Without further extrapolation, the passage moves on to other aspects of the mountain's history, making it impossible to classify this instance as anything but a History context. (39) presents once again a scholar being given much space, as well as syncretism appearing only to determine the reason why a shrine temple was built in the past. Note how both 'shrine temple' and 'Shinto-Buddhism syncretism' is located in quotes, suggesting once again how they are not the most common of words.

- (38) Koujin-yama wa kodai kara kami no yama to shite shinkou sareta. Nara-jidai-ikou wa ooku no jisha ga souken sare, shinbutus-shuugou ga susunda. Oda Nobunaga no yakiutchi ni atta rekishi mo aru.

Mt. Koujin has been worshiped since ancient times as a divine mountain. Since the Nara period, many shrines and temples were built, and Shinto-Buddhism syncretism advanced. It also has a history of being set on fire by Oda Nobunada.

(Asahi 2009-05-24)

- (39) Kokugakuin Daigaku no Sasou Mamoru-kyouju (shuukyougaku) wo koushi ni

maneki, kodai kara no Kashima-jinguu he no hitobito no shinkoushin wo setsumei. Kashima-jinguu no rekishi wo shitta ue de, Katori-jinguu to no kakawari ya, "shinbutsu-shuugou" ni yotte souken sareta "jinguu-ji" ni tsuite kaisetsu suru. Sasou Mamoru, professor in religious studies at Kokugakuin University, was invited as lecturer [to a presentation about the relationship between the two shrines] and explained people's faith since ancient times toward Kashima-jinguu Shrine. Upon understanding the history of Kashima-jinguu Shrine, he went on to speak about its relationship with Katori-jinguu Shrine and the "shrine temple" built according to "Shinto-Buddhism syncretism".
(Yomiuri 2010-09-19)

History of practice sub-category instances are often interconnected with a foray about a site's history, or at the very least related to a site. What sets them apart from the History of site sub-category is that the main theme of the reports they were retrieved from are particular practices, *shinbutsu-shuugou* modifying a practice (such as a ritual or worship of a particular deity) instead of a site. The instance of *shinbutsu-shuugou* in (40) appeared in conjunction with a description of a ceremony's history. While this ceremony is still being held today, that cannot be surmised from this section alone and this instance of the word only appeared as part of the ceremony's history description, earning it this classification. The making of alcohol at temples and its historical ties to Shinto-Buddhism syncretism is the theme of (41), and as it has religious undertones it is easily classified as a religious practice.

- (40) Houjoue wa tori ya sakana wo hanachi, ikimono no inochi wo itsukushimu gishiki de, Heian-jidai kara shinbutsu-shuugou no katachi de tsuzukerarete kita to iu.
The Houjoue is a ceremony in which affection to all life is shown through releasing birds and fish, and it is said that it has been carried out in a Shinto-Buddhism syncretic form since the Heian period.
(Asahi 2011-09-16-B)
- (41) Bukkyou wa inshu wo imashimeru ga, tera de no sake-zukuri wa mezurashikunai. Shinbutsu-shuugou de jinai ni matsurareta kami no tame ni miki wo tsukutta koto ni hajimaru.

Buddhism forbids the drinking of alcohol, but making alcoholic beverages at temples is not uncommon. This practice began with the making of *miki* [sacred wine] for the *kami* that were enshrined within temple grounds as a part of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

(Yomiuri 2011-09-08)

Lastly, we shall look at the History of SBS (Shinto-Buddhism syncretism) sub-category. These instances are different from the previous in that they do not discuss a particular site, practice or person, instead discussing only the history of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism in *general*. Many of them do not even write about history themselves, instead reporting that a presentation, a book or some other event will be talking about the history of syncretism. This last kind of instance is exemplified in (42). Note how the noun phrase *shinbutsu-shuugou no rekishi* (the history of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism) was used to describe the content of a presentation, but how no other information is given.

- (42) Kinen-kouen de wa, Kumano-honguu Kataribe no Kai no Sakamoto Isao-kaichou ga "Sekai-isan to Kumano no mori" to dai shi, shinbutsu-shuugou no rekishi ya Kumano-moude no junpai-ruuto nado ni tsuite setsumei.

At the commemorative lecture, Kumano-honguu Shrine's Association of Remembrancers' [*kataribe*, keeper of oral traditions] president Sakamoto Isao held a presentation title "World heritage, Kumano and the forest", and explained about the history of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism and the Kumano-Moude pilgrimage route, among other subjects.

(Yomiuri 2011-05-22)

Other examples of the History of SBS category follow in (43) and (44). In both these instances, the history of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism itself is discussed. (43) is a report on a new book and (44) is a report of a lecture held by Yamaori Tetsuo.

- (43) Kodai to chuusei ni tenkai shita shinbutsu-shuugou wa, ishitsu na shinkou wo ii kagen ni mazeawaseta mono de wa kesshite nakatta. Zairai no kami no shinkou wa, hito ga fudan ikite iru semai jikuu wo koe, subete wo mitooshi tsutsumikomu you na,

atarashii chi wo motomete ita.

Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, which developed during ancient and medieval times, was absolutely not something that mixed a foreign belief system irresponsibly. The pre-existing *kami* worship was searching for the kind of new knowledge that surpasses the narrow space-time that humans normally live in and predicts and encompasses everything.

(Asahi 2009-08-09)

- (44) Katsushika Hokusai ga ukiyoe "Fugaku sanjuu rokkei" de, tooku no Fuji-san wo ookiku, chikaku no tabibito wo chiisaku egaita koto wo rei ni age, "yama no sonzaikan wa nihon-jin ni totte ookii mono, to iu dentou, shinkou ga atta kara koso" to katari, yama he no shinkou ga bukkyou no joudo-shisou to musubitsuki, shinbutsu-shuugou no genten ni natta to jisetsu wo nobeta.

[Yamaori Tetsuo] outlined his own theory on how worship of mountains combined with Buddhism's idea of the Pure Land to form the origin of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism by using Katsushika Hokusai's series of *ukiyo-e* pictures "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji" as an example, stating that drawing the far away mountain large and the close travelers small is "surely because of the Japanese people's tradition and faith in which the mountain's presence is large".

(Yomiuri 2008-12-12)

The History context instances represent the most numerous instances in our data, in both of the newspapers and in all individual years. The relevance of this will be discussed in chapter 5.

4.2.4. Exceptional contexts

The Exceptional contexts have much in common with the Present contexts, not least because they share virtually the same linguistic functions, those being the word *shinbutsu-shuugou* modifying a predicate or a noun in the present tense. However, there is one important difference that sets Exceptional contexts apart, namely the presence of additional words that suggest that the site, ritual or event that is 'Shinto-Buddhism syncretic' is an exception to the non-syncretic norm. Refer to Table 11 for an overview of the frequency at which the different constructions occur.

Exceptional contexts	<i>nokoru</i> / <i>nokosu</i>	<i>nagori</i>	<i>mezurashii</i>	<i>tsutaeru</i>	Others
Asahi	10	2	2	5	6
Yomiuri	11	4	4	2	4

Table 11: Summary of Exceptional context instances.

The most common Exceptional context utilizes the verb *nokoru* (to remain) or its transitive counterpart *nokosu*. Consider first (45). Here the word *nokosu* is the predicate in a relative clause in which *shinbuts-shuugou* is the subject, but the exceptionality of the location is further emphasized by the wording *Nihon de mo* which actually emphasizes the national importance of the location. Seeing as the article reports the efforts to have Obama City's shrines and temples registered as World Heritage sites, it may seem natural that they are painted as this extraordinary. The fact remains that this kind of wording suggests that Shinto-Buddhism syncretism is something unusual in the rest of Japan.

- (45) Soshite Meiji-seifu wa shinbutsu wo bunri shita ga, "Obama-shi wa shinbuts-shuugou ga Nihon de mo ooku nokoru kichou na chiiki" da to shi, "O-mizu-okuri" de shirareru Wakasa-jinguuji mo sono ichirei da to shiteki shita.
 And though the Meiji Government separated *kami* and buddha, Kanzaki [Noritake, anthropologist and president of Obama City's World Heritage Registration Promotion Committee] argues that "Obama is an especially important location in Japan in which Shinto-Buddhism syncretism remains", and also identified the Wakasa Shrine Temple's "O-mizu-okuri" [ceremony] as an important example.
 (Asahi 2008-03-03-B)

Other less pronounced examples of *nokoru* / *nokosu* can be found in (46) and (47). Here the only aspect that makes these instances seem exceptional is the very usage of the verb *nokosu*. Using this word leaves the question of where the not remaining practices or aspects went unanswered, and suggests that the remainder of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism that is not left behind at these sites no longer exists or is a complete thing of the past. Thus the site, practice or object described in this way become exceptional, the violation of the norm.

- (46) Yoikei-ji wa 749-nen ni kaisan shita to tsutaeraeru Tendai-shuu no tera de,

shinbutsu-shuugou no keishiki wo nokosu.

Yoikei-ji Temple is a Tendai school temple said to have been founded in 749, and leaves behind Shinto-Buddhism syncretic forms.

(Asahi 2009-10-03)

- (47) Keidai ni wa, rinsetsu suru you ni Benzaiten wo matsuru Daibo-guu ga ari, shinbutsu-shuugou no sugata wo nokosu.

Within the premises [of Enjou-ji Temple], there is a virtually adjacent shrine called Daibo-guu that enshrines Benzaiten and thus leaves behind the shape of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism.

(Yomiuri 2009-10-25)

Using the noun *nagori* is a construction similar to the one achieved through using *nokoru* or *nokosu*. Translating the *kanji* this noun is written with directly yields the meaning 'famous remnant', but dictionaries most often give just 'remnant' or 'traces'. An example of this noun used is found in (48), where it serves as the cause for *torii* being found at a temple and for a local practice.

- (48) Jiin wa jimoto-juumin-ra de kanri shi, shikichi-nai ni wa, shinbutsu-shuugou no nagori de torii ga ari, keyaki wa, "goshinmoku" to shite shitashimarete kita to iu.

The [Furudon Jissou-in] temple is managed by the local residents, and as traces of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism there are *torii* within the grounds and it is said that the *keyaki* trees have long been seen as divine.

(Yomiuri 2011-12-22)

The remaining two sub-categories of Exceptional contexts (apart from the Others category, which I will discuss lastly) are defined by words that are often used in conjunction with the previous categories' aspects, such as *nokoru*. In such cases, the phrase last in the sentence was chosen as the determining factor, since under the SOV word order of Japanese the last word is usually the one modified by the previous ones. For example, since the adjective *mezurashii* (rare) modified into situational adverb form *mezurashisou ni* was the last such phrase in (49), this instance was classified as a *mezurashii* sub-category. Note also the strange wording. Just how does a worshipper look like if he is taking pictures as if what he is seeing is rare? It is almost as if the

newspaper wanted to use this phrase and had to try hard to do so.

- (49) Hatsumoude ni otozureta ooku no sanpaisha-ra wa , shinbutsu-shuugou no dentou ga nokoru gyouji wo mezurashisou ni kamera de toru nado shite ita.
Many of the worshippers coming to the [Kasuga-taisha] shrine were taking pictures with cameras as if Shinto-Buddhism syncretism traditions remaining is rare.
(Yomiuri 2009-01-03)

(50) is another example of syncretism being reported as rare, here by the director of a museum. Even though a reason is given and the exceptionality might be restricted to Miyagi Prefecture, it is still an Exceptional context instance.

- (50) Kiyotake Rekishi-hakubutsukan kanchou no Maeda Hirohito-san wa "Meiji-ki no haibutsu-kishaku ga hageshikatta Miyagi-ken de, shinbutsu-shuugou no jinja wa mezurashii" to hanasu.
Maeda Hirohito, director at the Kiyotake Museum of History, says that "Shinto-Buddhism syncretic shrines are rare in Miyagi Prefecture, where the Meiji period's *haibutsu-kishaku* was especially violent.
(Asahi 2008-01-20)

There are also instances where *tsutaeru*, (to transmit or to convey) is used without *mezurashii* or any other exceptionalistic element. I have interpreted all such uses as exceptional because the idea that a certain aspect of a site or practice must convey the form or history of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism to the present suggests that without them, the knowledge is lost. (51) is one such an example, and (52) is another example from Yomiuri that also elevates the exceptional character by stating that syncretic rituals are few in number.

- (51) Aoao to mori ga hirogaru keidai no shoumen ni, akai torii ga den to kamaeru. Jinja to omoisou da ga, shinbutsu-shuugou wo ima ni tsutaeru tera da.
In the front of the [Ryousen-ji] temple's verdant grounds, a red torii stands imposingly. One might think that this is a shrine, but it is actually a temple that conveys Shinto-Buddhism syncretism to the present.

(Asahi 2009-06-20)

- (52) Reisai wa "Saru no shinji" to mo yobare, zenkoku-teki ni mo kazusukunai shinbutsu-shuugou no koshiki wo tsutaeru matsurigoto de shirareru.

The annual festival is also called the "Festival of the Monkey", and is known for conveying an ancient Shinto-Buddhism syncretic ritual, something which is few in number even nationally.

(Yomiuri 2010-04-15)

Instances of Exceptional contexts that do not fit into any of these categories but nevertheless serve to make syncretic phenomenon seem exceptional were put in the Others sub-category. One such aspect is the construction *140-nen buri*, translating into roughly 'for the first time in 140 years'. Two instances in Asahi and two instances in Yomiuri use this construction. This term is used in other contexts as well when describing renewed rituals or practices, for the simple reason that it has been roughly that long since the Meiji Restoration at the time of the articles' writing. However while in the instances of such that were not classified as Exceptional by me, the construction was used to describe a specific practice (they will be elaborated upon in the Unclear contexts section). The instances belonging in this category, however, report that it is *shinbutsu-shuugou* that has taken place for the first time in 140 years, making it seem very exceptional (it is also untrue if the term is taken to refer to Japan as a whole). (53) and (54) are examples of this. Both are from the headings of articles, so one might argue that it is the small space that make it seem like the term *140-nen buri* refers to syncretism as a whole. That does not change the fact, however.

- (53) 140-nen-buri, shinbutsu-shuugou no inori Iwashimizu Hachiman-guu, fukkou-negai norito ya dokkyou

First time in 140 years, Shinto-Buddhism syncretic prayer - *norito* and sutra chanting at Iwashimizu Hachiman-guu as part of reconstruction prayer

(Asahi 2011-09-19-A)

- (54) Ima Kumano-jinja "Shinbutsu-shuugou" 140-nen-buri fukkatsu Shougo-in no souryo ya yamabushi maneku = Kyoto

Ima Kumano-jinja Shrine, "Shinto-Buddhism syncretism" revival after 140 years.

Monks of Shougo-in temple and *yamabushi* [*shugenodu* ascetics] invited
(Yomiuri 2008-05-05)

Similar instances in the Others category describe syncretism as having been revived (*fukkatsu*) or a certain ceremony as signifying the first instance of syncretism in the 21st century (*21-seiki hatsu no shinbutsu-shuugou*). Even when such instances are quite positive toward syncretism in their language, using these words still implies that syncretism was stopped completely during the Meiji period and that the instances reported now are exceptional. The shadow (*kage*) of syncretism is described as being pronounced at one site as well.

A final example that I will discuss here comes from an article in Yomiuri that describes how a man born in Kobe who previously lived in Tokyo moved to Kunisaki after having been drawn by the syncretic culture there. See (55). There are bound to be examples of syncretism even in Kobe and Tokyo (Tokyo has the famous example of Toyokawa Inari, for instance), yet the newspaper frames Kunisaki as exceptional.

- (55) Funao-san wa Kobe-shi-shusshin. Kunisaki-hantou wo otozurete shinbutsu-shuugou-bunka ya shizen ni miserare, 2001-nen, Tokyo kara gappei-zen no Kunimi-chou ni ijuu.

Funao is from Kobe City. After visiting the Kunisaki Peninsula and being fascinated by the Shinto-Buddhism syncretism culture and nature, he moved to Kunimi Township from Tokyo in 2001 [before Kunimi Township was merged with other smaller units to become Kunisaki City]
(Yomiuri 2011-11-22-B)

4.2.5. Unclear contexts

Instances in the Unclear context category are difficult to classify in any of the previous four context categories because they either do not fit at all or because there are various additional aspects that make them so special as to warrant separate discussion here.

The Unclear contexts seem very large in number at a first look at Table 3 and 4. A significant portion of them are, however, presentations or events *about* Shinto-Buddhism syncretism that were only reported as such, with little to no reporting of the content of the event. Such instances cannot be classified as any of the previous categories, but they say too little to warrant their own, hence my

putting them in the Unclear category. They will not be discussed in-depth here, instead leaving room for other Unclear instances. The term *shinbutsu-shuugou-kenkyuu* (Shinto-Buddhism syncretism research) was also used in one instance, and since there was no elaboration on what kind of research, I grouped it with the Presentation sub-category.

Firstly, consider Table 12 below that breaks down certain tendencies among the Unclear instances. We see immediately that Yomiuri has quite the penchant for reporting only that an event is to take place, but virtually nothing of the content of the event, as described above. Two other sub-categories are defined by instances appearing in a discussion of World Heritage registration promotional activities, and instances appearing in articles that are outspokenly positive toward Shinto-Buddhism syncretism. Instances of this latter sub-category are never written in the unnamed, anonymous reporter voice of supposed neutrality, but by columnists of various sections in the newspaper. They may also be part of quotes. One book review was included here because it was very detailed and because it discussed a book used as literature for this project: Kamata (2009).

Unclear instances in	Presentations, events, etc. about <i>shinbutsu-shuugou</i>	World heritage or cultural treasure discussion	Instances arguing positively for syncretism	Other Unclear instances
Asahi	6	9	8	6
Yomiuri	26	6	7	5

Table 12: Breakdown of Unclear instances

I will not go into further detail on the Presentation sub-category except for giving one example of how it can look. Consider (56). As a final note of an article reporting a previous event, the term *shinbutsu-shuugou* appears only in the title of the next event. This is the case for all instances in this sub-category (or it may be not in the title but described only as an event *about* syncretism).

- (56) Jikai wa 6-gatsu 15-nichi ni "Kami to hotoke to Nara - Nara no shinbutsu-shuugou" wo teema ni hirakareru.

The next event [Kasuga-taisha Shrine's open lecture] will take place on the 15th of June with the theme "Kami, buddha and Nara - Nara's Shinto-Buddhism syncretism". (Yomiuri 2008-05-25)

There are some recurring themes in the data concerning the efforts of local residents in Obama City and the Kunisaki Peninsula to have local sites and / or practices registered as UNESCO World Heritage Sites or Government-Designated National Treasures of Japan. Depending on how you interpret these instances, they can be seen as either Present or Exceptional (Present because a current site is described as syncretic, or Exceptional because the site is described as special and thus deserving World Heritage registration). However, considering that the articles report the way in which civil society works toward this, as well as the decisions by temporary registration authorities, it is difficult to decide either way, hence me putting these instances in the Unclear category. As an example, see (57). Seeing as it is only a document requesting a discussion that has not been decided upon yet that describes an area as syncretic, this instance cannot be unproblematically put in the Present or Exceptional categories, I would argue.

(57) Sekai-isan ni mukete wa, ken ga 2-nen-mae, "Usa, Kunisaki Hachiman-bunka" to shite zantei-risuto-iri no teiansho wo bunka-chou ni dashita ga, danzoku-shingi to natta. Sakunen 12-gatsu ni wa shinbutsu-shuugou no chi wo kyouchou shita tsuka-teiansho wo dashi, genzai, shingi-chuu ni natte iru.

[the registration promotion committee] submitted a proposal titled "Usa, Kunisaki Hachiman Culture" to the Agency for Cultural Affairs, but a decision was never taken. Last year's December, an appendix emphasizing the area's Shinto-Buddhism syncretism quality and it is currently under consideration.

(Asahi 2008-07-20)

Table 4 and Table 5 has a row that reads +Positive. This is the amount of instances of *shinbutsu-shuugou* appearing in a context which puts it in a positive light. Most of these instances have been put in the Unclear category because they do not fit in any other. Indeed, many of them consist only of a positive statement about Shinto-Buddhism syncretism in general. Consider, for example, (58), which discusses a work written by Mujuu, monk who lived during the 13th century. The article is written by Sumiki Fumihito, professor at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies; as mentioned earlier, positive instances are never written by the unnamed "standard voice" of the newspapers.

(58) Shinbutsu-shuugou to iu to nani ka fujun no you ni kangaeru kindai no joushiki wa,

hansei sarenakereba naranai. Mujuu no chosaku ni wa, tayou na kachikan wo mitometsutsu mo shin wa yuruganai, seijuku shita chie wo miru koto ga dekiru.

The mainstream common knowledge of modern times that considers Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as something impure must be reconsidered. In Mujuu's work, one can see a mature wisdom that acknowledges many different values while maintaining an unmoving core.

(Asahi 2012-06-25)

Another example of a positive instance is given in (59), in which Yasuda Eiin, senior monk at Yakushi-ji Temple speaks openly on how good he thinks syncretism is in a discussion with Kasuga-taisha Shrine's head priest, who is also positive.

(59) Watashi wa shintou to bukkyou ni wa, iroiro kyoutsuuten ga aru to omotte imasu. Nihon-tokuyuu no shinbutsu-shuugou wa subarashii shinkou no keitai desu.

I think there are many commonalities between Shinto and Buddhism. Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, the to Japan unique system of faith, is a wonderful concept.

(Yomiuri 2008-07-10)

The last sub-category of the Unclear contexts category is that of Other unclear instances. These require some special attention because they have very little in common with each other, and because they raise certain interesting points.

Firstly, see (60), from a column written by the director of Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art, Murai Yasuhiko. Following an lengthy description of how the Fujiwara clan nurtured the transformation of Sugawara no Michizane from an evil spirit into a *kami*, Murai proceeds to comment that it is a convenient story based on syncretism. While the comment surely refers to the Fujiwara clan's involvement, this can be interpreted as derogatory of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, but that does not necessarily need to be the case.

(60) Shinbutsu-shuugou, honji-suijaku ni motozuku tsugou no ii hanashi to wa iue, koko made kureba omigoto to iu hoka wa nai.

Even though it is a convenient story based on Shinto-Buddhism syncretism and honji sui-jaku, if it has survived this far, one can only commend it.

(Asahi 2008-04-12-A)

The instance shown in (61) is very similar to some of the Other instances under the Exceptional category. However, it has one important difference to them in that it is not syncretism as a whole which has been revived after 140 years, but a certain ritual. It is difficult to classify as any of the other categories. The same problem arises in (62), which describes the gathering of both monks and priests in front of the restored Heijou Palace of Nara, as the first of its kind in all of history.

- (61) Kami no kami-sama wo matsuru Echizen-shi Ootaki-chou no Okata-jinja, Ootaki-jinja wa, 33-nen goto no "Go-kaichou" no toshi ni ataru kotoshi, 140-nen-buri ni shinbutsu-shuugou no koshiki "Houka-hakkou" wo fukkatsu saseru.

Echizen City, Ootaki Township's Okata-jinja Shrine and Ootaki-jinja Shrine, which enshrines a *kami* of paper, has decided to after 140 years revive the Shinto-Buddhism syncretic ancient ritual "Houka hakkou" in tandem with the Kaichou unveiling ceremony that only takes place once every 33 years.

(Asahi 2009-04-26)

- (62) Nara-jidai no Daigoku-den eria ni sou to shinkan ga douseki shita rei wa nai to mirare, shinbutsu-shuugou ga koto no chuushin de hajimete gutaika suru.

It is thought that this is the first time that monks and priests are seated together in the vicinity of the Nara Period's Daigoku-den [one of the halls of the Heijou Palace], thus making this the first time that Shinto-Buddhism syncretism manifests in the ancient capital.

(Asahi 2010-05-01)

The ambiguity observed in (62) below comes from the very economic style of heading which it utilizes. It is simply impossible to tell in what capacity Shinto-Buddhism syncretism modifies the site, leaving this instance in the Unclear category. Similarly, it is difficult to determine under what auspices the local culture referred to in (63) is syncretic from only that usage, and to what extent syncretism is still influential at the site in (64).

- (63) (Shinbutsu ni deau, otona no ensoku) Kumano no Michi: 5 Kumano Nachi-taisha shinbutsu-shuugou
(Meeting with the kami and the buddha, an adult's outing) The Kumano Path no. 5: Kumano Nachi-taisha Shrine, Shinto-Buddhism syncretism
(Asahi 2009-05-02)
- (64) Kunisaki-hantou wa shinbutsu-shuugou no Rokugouman-zan-bunka de shirareru ga, kirishitan no rekishi mo atta.
The Kunisaki Peninsula is known for its Shinto-Buddhism syncretic Mount Rokugouman culture, but the area also has a history of Japanese Christians.
(Asahi 2010-11-20)
- (65) Omoshiroi hakken mo atta. Kyuusendou-ji-ato ni kagirazu, hantou no tera no sandou ni wa, Jinja ni aru hazu no torii ga tatte iru. Shinbutsu-shuugou no eikyou to kiita.
I had an interesting discovery as well. Not limited to the ruins of Kyuusendou-ji Temple, there are *torii*, something you would think is supposed to be in a shrine, on the roads approaching temples all over the peninsula.
(Yomiuri 2009-05-10)

An interesting phenomenon can be observed in the following three examples. They are all about a television show that played on the characters used to write *shinbutsu-shuugou*, but chose to change name because of criticism. The report of said criticism in (65) and (67) is as close as any part of the data comes to being interpreted as negative toward Shinto-Buddhism syncretism. Yomiuri reports that it was religious officials that complained, raising the question of just what kind and why. What we can assume from this episode is that there are religious officials that must have a negative view of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism and do not want children to come into contact with it. Regarding the context of the actual word, (65), (66) and (67) all use the word only in its own capacity as a noun, making it impossible to place the three instances anywhere else than in the Unclear category.

- (66) Nihon korai no kamigami to bukkyou ga yuugou shita "shinbutsu-shuugou" to iu kotoba ga ari, "tekisetsu de nai" to no shiteki wo uketa to iu.

[the program] received complaints that there is a word [also read as] *shinbutsu-shuugou*, that denotes the fusion of Japan's ancient *kami* with Buddhism, and it is "not appropriate" [to use as a title call for a television programme]

(Asahi 2010-04-27)

- (67) Bangumi-me wa "Shinbutsu-shuugou" to, Za Dorifutaazu no ninki-bangumi "8-ji da yo! Zenin shuugou" ni chinande ori, futari wa "katai imeeji no aru jinja ya tera ni shitashimi wo motte morau bangumi ni shitai" to hanashite iru.

The show's name is a mix-up of "Shinto-Buddhism syncretism" and The Drifters' famous show "It's 8 o'clock! Everyone gather", and [the priest and monk responsible] are saying how they "want to have people feel more intimate with shrines and temples that usually have a very stiff image".

(Yomiuri 2010-04-06)

- (68) Bangumi no paasonaritii wo tsutomeru Kifune-jinja no Eda Masasuke-guuji ni yoru to, ikkai-me no housou-mae ni intaanetto de shoukai sareta naiyou wo mita shuukyou-kankeisha kara "'shinbutsu-shuugou' wo omowase, yoroshikunai" to shiteki sareta to iu. Nikai-me kara wa, bangumi de nagasu taitoru kooru wo henkou shita.

According to Kifune-jinja's Head Priest, Eda Masasuke, who heads the show, religious officials were complaining already before the first episode, upon seeing information on the internet, that the show's name "reminds you of 'Shinto-Buddhism syncretism' and that is not good". From the second episode, the show's title call will be changed.

(Yomiuri 2010-04-21)

The next Unclear example, (69) is a quote from a translator working to translate pamphlets, signs and other tourist-related material in the Kumano area. This comes close to a Present classification, but it is difficult to judge under what capacity Kumano culture is syncretic from this passage alone (the remainder of the article discusses other aspects of translation difficulty and tourist experiences). Further, one has to wonder why 'syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism' or, as we have used here, 'Shinto-Buddhism syncretism' are not acceptable translations. One can only

assume that they seem to academic, or perhaps syncretism itself is so far removed from the common tourist's thought-world (or so people believe) that it warrants special attention. In any case, because of these problems, I have listed this instance as Unclear.

- (69) "Shinbutsu-shuugou, shugendou to itta Kumano no bunka wo hyougen suru no wa muzukashii. Tadashiku honyaku suru ni wa, dou shite mo neitibu ga hitsuyou."
 "It's difficult to express things pertaining to Kumano culture such as *shinbutsu-shuugou* and *shugendou*. To translate correctly, a native speaker really is necessary."
 (Yomiuri 2008-03-17-A)

Finally, the last Other Unclear instance to be discussed, can be found in (70), which is a photo description, below. While a site is referred to as syncretic in present tense here, thus possibly justifying a Present classification, the following sentence raises some questions. If the shrine temple was destroyed during the Meiji period, what is it about the shrine that makes it describable as a Shinto-Buddhism syncretic site? It would seem, once again, that a history of syncretism is enough to describe something as syncretic today, or that the word itself is understood as a historical paradigm instead of an adjectival noun that may modify present practices.

- (70) Shinrin serapii no koosu ni shinbutsu-shuugou no jinja "Kawanaka-jinja" ga aru = shashin=. Meiji no haibutsu-kishaku yori mae ni wa Seikou-ji ga ari, 718-nen (Yourou 2-nen) ni Ryoushi ga hiraita to tsutaerarete iru.
 On the forest therapy path, there is a Shinto-Buddhism syncretic shrine called "Kawanaka-jinja Shrine" = photo =. Before the Meiji period's *haibutsu kishaku*, there was a temple called Seikou-ji Temple on the grounds as well, said to have been founded by hunters in the year 718 (Yourou 2).
 (Yomiuri 2012-11-11-B)

4.3. Representation of the Shinbutsu Reijou-kai and the Jinja Honchou

There are four articles in Asahi and nine articles in Yomiuri that mention the Reijoukai. First I have summarized the headings into Table 13 below so that we can easily grasp what the articles mentioning the Reijoukai are reporting.

What is immediately striking is that Asahi only reported the founding of the Reijoukai and none of its subsequent activities. The remaining three articles reporting the Reijoukai in Asahi are all part of a series of articles discussing the Reijoukai's new route, with the form that the reporter visits the site and interviews officials there, local craftsmen and businesses, as well as other tourists visiting. In those three articles, the Reijoukai is only mentioned in a memo at the end, explaining what the series of articles is about briefly, not even explaining why the Reijoukai has founded its new route or what their aims are.

Article	Heading
Asahi 2008-03-03	Pilgrimage of Shinto and Buddhist holy places, new route From Ise-jinguu Shrine to Enrayku-ji Temple, 125 shrines and temples
Asahi 2009-05-02	(Meeting with the kami and the buddha, an adult's outing) The Kumano Path no. 5: Kumano Nachi-taisha Shrine, Shinto-Buddhism syncretism
Asahi 2009-06-20	(Meeting with the kami and the buddha, an adult's outing) Yamato, temples of good health 3: Ryousen-ji Temple, hot springs smelling of roses
Asahi 2009-08-01	(Meeting with the kami and the buddha, an adult's outing) Shrines of the great men 1: Tanzan-jinja Shrine
Yomiuri 2008-03-03	Pilgrimage route of 125 famous shrines and temples in 7 prefectures: "Shinto and Buddhism holy places pilgrimage path" presented, holy places organization [Reijoukai] holds founding assembly
Yomiuri 2008-08-30	220 people, including Buddhist leaders, worship at Ise as new "pilgrimage path" opens
Yomiuri 2008-09-08	Shinto-Buddhism pilgrimage, new route 151 famous shrines and temples in the Kinki area connected
Yomiuri 2008-09-09	One step on the new "pilgrimage path" ceremony enacted by 151 shrines and temples, kami and buddha (or Shinto and Buddhism) pray together at Ise-jinguu Shrine
Yomiuri 2008-09-23	[Ripples] Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, tranquility with new pilgrimage route

Yomiuri 2010-04-22	Yomiuri Nara Forum living culture nurtured by the people = special feature
Yomiuri 2011-03-07	Discussion with the theme of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, symposium in Kobe
Yomiuri 2011-03-09	Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as topic, 350 attendants at symposium, Kami and Buddha Holy Places Association
Yomiuri 2012-06-22	120 monks and priests of 50 shrines and temples pray for peace Saga, Taga-taisha Shrine

Table 13: Headings of articles mentioning the Reijoukai

Yomiuri on the other hand has reported much more of the Reijoukai's activities. While it is difficult from viewing only the Reijoukai's homepage to ascertain to what extent all of its activities have been reported, it would seem that a majority of them were reported. Looking at the headings and the events themselves, we can also see that the tourist focus interpretable in Asahi's articles is not present, or at least not as present, in Yomiuri's articles. Ceremonies, presentations and symposiums held by the Reijoukai are reported, located these articles in a more religious discourse. It should be noted that the participation of Buddhist leaders in such syncretic ceremonies, as well as the attendance of both Shinto priests and Buddhist monks at the same ceremony, is emphasized, lending the reports some exceptional quality. It is clear that syncretism on such a scale is not unprecedented.

Moving on to representation of the Jinja Honchou, we see immediately that its representation is very limited in scope compared to the Reijoukai, with only one article in Asahi and two articles in Yomiuri mentioning the organization. Since the articles' main events have barely anything to do with the Honchou, I have instead of the headings summarized all instances of the term 'Jinja Honchou' in Table 14 below. In Asahi's article, the Honchou is given space to comment on a supposedly unique syncretic practice, something that they neither seem to praise or condemn, merely stating how exceptional it is. This was the only mention of the Honchou in Asahi.

Yomiuri presents a few more instances. The secretary-general holds a lecture at Ritsumeikan University and the Honchou itself co-sponsors a symposium. A short memo of what the Honchou represents is included in the second Yomiuri article. It should be noted that the secretary-general of the Honchou speaks positively about syncretism at the lecture and that both he and representatives of the Tendai and Shingon schools speak positively about syncretism at the symposium. This would seem to undermine the assumption that the Honchou should be against syncretism.

Article	Jinja Honchou instance
Asahi 2009-12-19	The public relations department of the Jinja Honchou states that they have "never heard of a shrine and a temple creating a paper talisman together", signifying the rarity of the endeavour.
Yomiuri 2011-08-18	Tanaka Tsunekiyo, head priest at Iwashimizu Hachiman-guu and secretary-general of the Jinja Honchou , held a lecture at Ritsumeikan University's 12th great lecture of "The torrents of Japanese culture", welcoming lecturers from various fields.
Yomiuri 2011-08-18	In 2010, he [Tanaka Tsunekiyo] became the secretary-general of the Jinja Honchou , which includes 80,000 shrines.
Yomiuri 2012-06-20	The "Symposium of traditional religion - religion and the environment, symbiosis with nature", which ponders how the relationship between religion and the environment ought to be, was opened in Kyoto City on the 2nd [of June] (sponsored by Tendai School Mt. Hiei Enraku-ji Temple, Mt. Kouya Shingon School Kongoubu-ji Temple, the Jinja Honchou and co-sponsored by the Yomiuri Newspaper Company)
Yomiuri 2012-06-20	Tanaka Tsunekiyo, secretary-general of the Jinja Honchou [list of participants of above event]
Yomiuri 2012-06-20	The Jinja Honchou: views Ise-jinguu Shrine in Ise City, Mie Prefecture, as the most important shrine, and includes 80,000 shrines.

Table 14: Instances of the term 'Jinja Honchou'

4.4. Agency of the separation

It should once again be emphasized that actors are very seldom implied with the separation policies and the *haibutsu kishaku* movement during the Meiji period. Even when an actor is associated with these events, it is usually simply the Meiji government, a reasonably abstract term that does not really pinpoint any single individual, especially considering that the actual executive was not as influential as the elder statesmen who once led the Meiji restoration. Even articles implying the Meiji government directly by making it the subject in a construction, are few in number. All such instances are summarized in Table 13 on the next page.

Article	<i>Meiji-seifu wa/ga/ni yoru...</i>	The Meiji government...
Asahi 2008-03-03	<i>shinbutsu wo bunri shita</i>	Separated kami and buddha
Asahi 2008-09-15	<i>shinbutsu-bunri wo mejita</i>	Ordered the kami and buddha separation
Yomiuri 2011-01-06	<i>shinbutsu-bunri wo susumeru</i>	Forwarded the kami and buddha separation
Yomiuri 2011-10-19	<i>"shinbutsu-bunri" wo hatsurei shi</i>	Ordered the "kami and buddha separation"
Yomiuri 2012-05-05	<i>haibutsu-kishaku no arashi</i>	caused the storm of <i>haibutsu kishaku</i>
Yomiuri 2012-06-10	<i>shinbutsu-bunri wo mejiru</i>	Ordered the kami and buddha separation

Table 13: Instances in which the Meiji government is directly associated with the separation.

5. Discussion and conclusion

Shinto-Buddhism syncretism is without a doubt not a completely unproblematic term in the two largest newspapers contributing to the construction of the Japanese societal discourse. It is often explained, put into quotation marks, used in an exceptional way, or coupled with comments about its nature or the way it ought to be.

However, the practices it represents are also very seldom located in an absolute past context, as seen by that category being the smallest of our contextual analysis data. Still, two of the other contextual categories contribute to an understanding of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as something of the past or of history as well: namely the History category and the Exceptional category, especially the former. Being by far the largest contextual category, the History contexts firmly situate Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as something that is most relevant to the study of history, and the Exceptional contexts problematize even present instances of syncretic practices, sites and traditions by presenting them as deviating from the norm, the norm being the post-Meiji society in which Shinto is Shinto and Buddhism is Buddhism.

I used the term 'study of history' above. The understanding of syncretism as just as relevant to the academy as to the religious institutions who practice it or once practised it is also clearly reflected in the overview of actors, which situates the discourse in as much an academic discourse as it does a religious discourse. It should, of course, be noted that the religious actors are larger in number than the academic actors, more so in Yomiuri than in Asahi, suggesting that Yomiuri acknowledges the religious nature of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism to a greater degree than Asahi does.

There are other aspects which Yomiuri emphasize more than Asahi as well. For example, Yomiuri reported a significant amount of presentations about Shinto-Buddhism syncretism, more than four times more than Asahi. Yomiuri also reported markedly more of the Reijoukai's activities than Asahi did, and there are two events reported that Yomiuri even co-sponsored (the Nara Forum and the Symposium on Religion and the Environment). However, the number of articles concerning the Reijoukai was still very small, and the organization cannot be said to have had a huge impact on the discourse, especially if one considers the overall data spread (which does not increase after 2008).

Considering as well that the History context instances were significantly larger in Asahi than Yomiuri, one might tentatively interpret the difference between the newspapers as Yomiuri viewing Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as something more important to the present and to present

worshippers than Asahi does.

This is in direct conflict with our hypothesis, which stated that if anything a rightist-conservative newspaper should be more allied with the Jinja Honchou and should have more ideology against syncretism than a leftist-liberal newspaper. But perhaps the mistake in the hypothesis did not necessarily lie in the supposed stance of newspapers, but in the supposed stance of the Jinja Honchou. There certainly is not enough data to draw a strong conclusion concerning the Honchou's stance on the matter, but what we do have certainly seems to suggest that it is not against Shinto-Buddhism syncretism at all, its secretary-general openly positive toward the concept and the organization itself co-sponsoring events that discuss syncretism. Yomiuri allying itself with the Honchou in co-sponsoring an event suggests that they may share an understanding after all, and that that understanding is not negative towards syncretism at all. There is very little data to support this, however, and the fact remains that just from viewing the Honchou's homepage one can tell that Shinto's relationship with Buddhism is very downplayed.

Other than the above mentioned points, very little difference between the two newspapers can be observed. They both present virtually the same amount of Present, Exceptional and Past contexts, but spread across different years. Considering in detail exactly what was reported and what was not has not been one of the analytical aspects of this project, so it is difficult to discuss the significance of the spread. However, the understanding of Shinto-Buddhism syncretism as interpretable from the contextual location remains telling.

Instances speaking positively about syncretism also occur virtually as often in both newspapers. While relatively few in number compared to the overall size of the data, that such statements were given space in both newspapers is relevant. It is clear that while syncretism is not seldom attributed value because of its spiritual significance, it is even more often attributed value due to its historical significance.

It must further be emphasized that the Meiji government's policies to separate the two religions and downplay the role of syncretism has indeed remained successful and influential to this day. Whether syncretism is seen as something of the past and of history, or as an exceptional phenomenon so different from the mainstream religiosity in Japan as to deserve special mention, these understandings reconstruct and enforce the Meiji government's ideology of separation. Comments observed in our data such as those surrounding the television programme that puns syncretism, or the monk that laments how the idea of syncretism as something impure has become common knowledge, further illustrate the strong presence of this ideology, but also that there are

indeed people aware of it and wishing for its change.

Any significant changes in the mainstream discourse still remain distant, however, since *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, Japan's two largest newspapers, still reconstruct the separation ideology in the majority of their reports concerning Shinto-Buddhism syncretism. There is an opening for recognizing the contemporary value of syncretism and the possibility of greater revival of lost practices, as illustrated by a not insignificant portion of our data. However one cannot help to wonder if even positive portrayals and reports concerning syncretism's value can themselves enforce the separation ideology when they are often localized into areas like the Kunisaki Peninsula and limited to World Heritage registration efforts of local residents. A more wide-spread revival of syncretic practices and thought capable of fully challenging the stubborn ideology of the Meiji period is, while certainly not unreachable, still out of Japanese society's grasp.

The next step in understanding the societal discourse in Japan surrounding the vast paradigm that is Shinto-Buddhism syncretism must be taken on a more qualitative scale. For example, publications sponsored by the Reijoukai and the Honchou can be analysed in-depth through the same critical discourse analysis methodology as I have employed, so as to ascertain whether there are any decisive differences between the two organizations' ideologies. It is questionable whether analysing newspapers can yield much more than this project has, since the sporadic tendencies viewed across such a large spectrum is bound to be even more transient when dealing with a smaller data selection. To be sure, case studies surrounding one site coupled with analysis of publications and newspaper articles concerning that site is bound to be rewarding. However, such studies can only tell us so much about the overall state of syncretism within the Japanese societal discourse.

Regardless of what strategy one chooses to pursue research into the subject, it is clear that there is room for much further research. It is my hope that this project has contributed to greater understanding of a contemporary issue that is often neglected, and I look forward to seeing how the academic discourse and the Japanese societal discourse concerning Shinto-Buddhism syncretism develop in the future.

6. References

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Appendix I: List of articles

Asahi Shimbun

- 2008-01-05: (美術評) 「おん祭と春日信仰の美術」展 時代が変える信仰の形 【大阪】
- 2008-01-11: (白はた史朗の甲斐山歌: 246) 苗敷山 山頂一帯に多くの巨木 /山梨県
- 2008-01-20: (子供たちに残したい私のふるさと: 99) 双石山 宮崎市 /宮崎県
- 2008-01-30: 朝日カルチャーセンター 日本人の宗教観 /大阪府
- 2008-02-03: 公慶上人の祈願文紹介 特別陳列「お水取り」 奈良国立博物館 /奈良県
- 2008-02-06: (越後の親鸞 伝説を訪ねて: 48) 「川の民」の大きな支えに /新潟県
- 2008-02-21: (越後の親鸞 伝説を訪ねて: 53) 門徒が守った弥彦の如来 /新潟県
- 2008-03-03-A: 神仏霊場巡り、新ルート 伊勢神宮～延暦寺、計125社寺 【大阪】
- 2008-03-03-B: 「目指せ世界遺産登録」 小浜で市民の会が設立 /福井県
- 2008-03-11: 290年前の「神宮寺」建物、修理し社務所に再生 田原本町・鏡作神社 /奈良県
- 2008-03-21: (単眼複眼) 今谷・千田両教授、日文研を退任 明解に伝えた「学ぶ面白さ」 【大阪】
- 2008-04-12-A: (風知草) 村井康彦さん: 2 藤原氏、したたかな智恵 /京都府
- 2008-04-12-B: 寺子屋カギ、古寺再興 法要・講演、アイデア次々 奈良の南明寺、米田さん /奈良県
- 2008-04-25: (京・見・深・々) 庶民の願い、火伏せ信仰 /京都府
- 2008-04-29: 自然と生きるシンポ、梅原さんが基調講演 小松・那谷寺 /石川県
- 2008-05-15: 無形民俗文化財、新たに2件指定 小浜市 /福井県
- 2008-06-02: (週刊まちぶら 小路上ル下ル) 修学院離宮道かいわい 左京区 山里の風情 /京都府

- 2008-06-13: (週刊まちぶら 小路上ル下ル) 修学院離宮道かいわい 左京区 山里の風情 / 京都府
- 2008-07-04: 「鎮守堂」跡? 遺構発掘 高岡 / 富山県
- 2008-07-08: (国宝 法隆寺金堂展) 四天王立像・広目天 【大阪】
- 2008-07-20: 世界遺産めざし「宇佐神宮・くにさき33霊場写真展」 / 大分県
- 2008-09-08: 重陽薬師会、長寿を祈る 興福寺貫首が法話 奈良・南明寺 / 奈良県
- 2008-09-15: (週刊まちぶら 第166号) 道明寺かいわい 藤井寺市 天神様ゆかりの地 / 大阪府
- 2008-09-27: 白山・小浜、世界遺産暫定リストの選外に 「要大幅見直し」 / 福井県
- 2008-10-03: (ぐるっと秘仏) 西国三十三所 第1番 青岸渡寺 那智の滝望む、剛柔の仏 【大阪】
- 2008-10-05-A: 神と仏の共存、宗教者語る 薬師寺でフォーラム / 奈良県
- 2008-10-05-B: (日曜ナントカ学) 信仰息づく聖地という「軸」
- 2008-10-10: 怨霊から神へ、菅原道真の謎 九博「国宝 天神さま」展でたどる 【西部】
- 2008-10-23: 万葉木簡3例目 記録にない大寺院跡 木津川 【大阪】
- 2008-10-25: プロ野球・ソフトバンクの王前監督をたたえ、愛宕神社で奉告祭 / 福岡県
- 2008-10-27: 福島城跡も安藤氏拠点 福島城跡・山王坊遺跡 十三湖一帯遺跡で発掘説明会 / 青森県
- 2008-10-31: 紅葉めで講演も 来月2日、奈良・円成寺 / 奈良県
- 2008-11-11: 5体の神様、そろってお出まし 平安期作製、貴族を模す 滋賀・塩津港遺跡 【大阪】
- 2008-11-17: 花園神社、勉強会40年 政治や社会、テーマ多岐 著名人ら講師に500回 / 東京都
- 2008-12-06: 「おん祭」に光 春日大社の魅力紹介 奈良博 / 奈良県
- 2008-12-29: (新春ガイド:下) 初もうで・初日の出 国宝間近に、地上100メートル

で / 京都府

- 2009-01-01: 移る、文化とともに 京都御所 新年特集第5部 【大阪】
- 2009-01-05: (熊野・大和幻視行：31) 海山の出会い 神社集まる、信仰のへそ 【大阪】
- 2009-01-14: 最初期の神仏習合？ 京都の遺跡に仏堂跡
- 2009-01-25: (週刊九州) アラフォー美の新風 「工芸のいま」展個性競う 【西部】
- 2009-01-26: 熊野古道PRへ冊子 県作成、25人魅力語る / 三重県
- 2009-02-13: 「文化遺産守れ」 小浜3団体が統合、27日発足 / 福井県
- 2009-02-24: 熊野の古道や信仰、魅力に迫る 宗教人類学者と女優、津のセミナーで対談へ / 三重県
- 2009-03-10: (奈良を学ぶ) 神社 金峯神社 東大寺も一目置く伝承 / 奈良県
- 2009-03-13: 「休日は山伏」都会人 30代会社員ら、山に入り人間関係見つめる
- 2009-03-19: 牛頭天王像を公開中 12年に1度「丑歳大開帳」 飯能・竹寺 / 埼玉県
- 2009-03-28: (ぷらっと沿線紀行：91) 金剛山ロープウェイ 信仰の山、空中散歩 【大阪】
- 2009-04-15: 小浜・若狭神宮寺、「神仏習合」示す 世界遺産登録へ発掘調査 / 福井県
- 2009-04-21: (神になった動物たち キトラ「四神」に迫る：5) 仏教の力で浸透か 【大阪】
- 2009-04-26: (週末指定席) 石川満夫さん 「法華八講」140年ぶり復活 / 福井県
- 2009-05-02: (神仏に出あう おとなの遠足) 熊野の道：5 熊野那智大社 神仏習合 【大阪】
- 2009-05-24: (週刊まちぶら あなたの街から) 荒神山周辺を歩く 健康に一役、信仰の山 / 滋賀県
- 2009-05-25: 映画「地球交響曲第七番」を撮影 元自転車チャンピオン出演 天川村など / 奈良県
- 2009-06-20: (神仏に出あう おとなの遠足) 大和・健康の寺：3 霊山寺 バラ香る湯

【大阪】

- 2009-07-14: (風来望) 奈良県吉野町の金峯山寺を訪ねる 蛙ピョコピョコ「心改めま
す」 【大阪】
- 2008-08-01: (神仏に出あう おとなの遠足) 偉人たちの社：1 談山神社 【大阪】
- 2009-08-09: (書評) 今日の宗教の諸相 チャールズ・テイラー著 神と仏の倫理思想
吉村均著
- 2009-09-05: 最果ての地、集う高僧 知床三堂、住民の心の支えに 北海道 【大阪】
- 2009-09-15: 重文・不動明王像、60メートルお引っ越し 竜王・苗村神社 /滋賀県
- 2009-10-03: 秘仏が抱く、秘密の古米 瀬戸内・餘慶寺の千手観音立像から発見 /岡山
県
- 2009-10-07: (こころ 京を訪ねて) 平岡八幡宮 右京区 薬草の産地、空海と深い縁
/京都府
- 2009-10-09: 秘仏から江戸初期の穀物 岡山・瀬戸内市の餘慶寺 【大阪】
- 2009-10-15: (隣県情報) 秘仏の内部から江戸時代の穀類 岡山・瀬戸内の餘慶寺 /香
川県
- 2009-10-17: 最上稲荷が日蓮宗に戻る 後継者難、55年ぶり 20日奉告式、信仰様式
同じ/岡山県
- 2009-10-21: 中世の豪族安藤氏の権勢示す「豪邸」 五所川原・福島城跡 県教委が発表
/青森県
- 2009-10-23: 安藤氏、守護並み権勢 人工池?の跡も 青森・五所川原の「福島城跡」
/秋田県
- 2009-10-25: (週刊まちぶら あなたの街から) 坂本・穴太積みをあじわう /滋賀県
- 2009-10-29: (隣県情報) 最上稲荷、日蓮宗の傘下に戻る 岡山 /香川県
- 2009-11-07: 熊野古道、じっくり体験 少人数、癒やし満喫 個人向けツアー増加 【名
古屋】
- 2009-11-08: (書評) 神と仏の出逢う国 鎌田東二著 生命界の問題解決に必要な視点
- 2009-11-21: 天武天皇像を復興 吉野山の櫻本坊創建の祖 神仏習合の姿 あすから特別

開帳／奈良県

- 2009-12-19-A: 出土木簡、奈良時代の歌詞カード？ 京都・津川の馬場南遺跡 【大阪】
- 2009-12-19-B: 弘法大師様＋菅原道真公＝最強の合格お札？ 震災の縁、神戸・須磨の2社寺 【大阪】
- 2009-12-25: 邪馬台国、近づいた 09年の考古学を振り返る 【大阪】
- 2010-01-30: 重文12点含む16点を公開 石清水八幡宮で文化財特別展 /京都府
- 2010-02-03: 「御食国」連携を、まちづくり議論 小浜市と若狭町フォーラム /福井県
- 2010-02-12: 含蓄たっぷり 「吉野山の桜は信仰の証し」 奈良で「祈りの回廊」フォーラム/奈良県
- 2010-03-30: あふれる笑い、心も豊か 豊前のお田植祭 /福岡県
- 2010-04-07: 東近江市、2点を文化財指定 /滋賀県
- 2010-04-12: (神仏に出あう もっとおとなの遠足) 日吉大社 魔が去る、守り神 【大阪】
- 2010-04-27: 「誤解招く」番組タイトル変更 神仏集合→神さま仏さま 尼崎のラジオ局 /兵庫県
- 2010-05-01: 平城宮跡で神仏習合 僧や神職ら2000人 9日、平和祈る /奈良県
- 2010-05-10: 平城初、神仏コラボ 僧侶・神職と市民、平和を祈る祭典 【大阪】
- 2010-05-29: 県内ゆかりの130点並ぶ 県立博物館、来月15日まで企画展 /栃木県
- 2010-06-07: (考 修験道はいま) 神仏習合の流れ、宗教心の根底に 【大阪】
- 2010-06-21: (考 修験道はいま) アニミズム的なモノ・生命観健在 【大阪】
- 2010-07-14: 「神仏共存共生、日本人の宝物」 県宗教者ら公開講座 奈良 /奈良県
- 2010-07-26: (神仏に出あう もっとおとなの遠足) 丹生都比売神社 朱の女神が守る異空間 【大阪】
- 2010-08-17: 宇佐神宮登録へ、研究深める決議 世界遺産にする会 /大分県

- 2010-09-22: 悪世に憤怒の姿で現る 金峯山寺・特別開帳合わせ、「蔵王権現」の解説本
／奈良県
- 2010-11-20: 国東のキリスト教史跡巡る 27・28日、ウォーキング大会 大分県
- 2010-12-17: 東塔院の北東角確定 春日大社、L字形の溝発掘 奈良県
- 2011-01-03: (方角石) 渡来仏に世界の「再生」願う 山形県
- 2011-01-31: (時代を生きる 法然・親鸞と今) 東国仏教、激変続いた 平雅行 【大阪】
- 2011-02-16: いざ、お水取り 練行衆の大導師・平岡さん、別火坊入り 東大寺 奈良県
- 2011-02-24: 寺宝を開帳 日田市の龍川寺、あすまで 国東市の文殊仙寺、あすから 大分県
- 2011-03-02: (春聞録 二月堂お水取り) お坊さんが神社参拝 奈良県
- 2011-03-03: 火と水、荘厳に 若狭に春の訪れ「お水送り」 福井県
- 2011-03-19: (新・京築風土記) 求菩提山 修験道の往時しのぶ史跡と案内板 山内公二 福岡県
- 2011-03-26: (新・京築風土記) 求菩提山「お田植祭」 農民の祈り好表現 山内公二 福岡県
- 2011-04-22: (ひととき) やってきた春の女神
- 2011-05-08: (なら夢中人) 奈良女子大准教授・武藤康弘さん 奈良県
- 2011-07-05: 「食と民俗」軸にまちづくり 将来構想まとめる 小浜市・若狭町 福井県
- 2011-08-14: (古都ナビ) 京都五山送り火 首都圏
- 2011-08-23: 「モリ供養」始まる 鶴岡の三森山 山形県
- 2011-09-02: (ゆかりを訪ねて：68) 道鏡 女帝の寵愛、幸か不幸か 【大阪】
- 2011-09-16-A: 140年ぶり、神仏習合の祈り 石清水八幡宮、復興願い祝詞や読経 京都府

- 2011-09-16-B: 神仏習合140余年ぶり、延暦寺の僧侶も読経 京都・石清水八幡宮
放生会 / 滋賀県
- 2011-10-13: (巨木を訪ねて: 5) 御岩山の三本杉 成長続け、横綱の貫禄 / 茨城県
- 2011-11-19: 石清水八幡宮境内、国史跡に 神仏習合の姿、後押し 府内史跡82件目
/ 京都府
- 2011-12-12: (祈りに出あう おとなの遠足) 青岸渡寺 熊野で体感「神仏習合」 【大
阪】
- 2011-12-14: 出羽三山の歴史たどる 古絵図・写真など展覧会 鶴岡 / 山形県
- 2011-12-19: (祈りに出あう おとなの遠足) 清荒神清澄寺 かまどの神に厄よけ祈願
【大阪】
- 2012-01-06: (?ふしぎ探検隊) 武蔵府中熊野神社古墳 府中市 石室に連なるように社
殿 / 東京都
- 2012-01-19: 民間信仰、多彩な祈り 県立歴史館、寺社収蔵品など130点展示 / 茨城
県
- 2012-02-24: 女神像9体、淡路市文化財に 平安～鎌倉期作、伊弉諾神宮で発見 / 兵庫
県
- 2012-03-25: 小浜の民俗遺産、継承本腰 伝統行事を調査・記録 市教委、新年度から
/ 福井県
- 2012-03-27: (週刊まちぶら) 天河神社かいわい 芸も達者な水の神 / 奈良県
- 2012-04-05: 初公開の「仏眼仏母尊像」など12点 石清水八幡宮で春の特別公開展 /
京都府
- 2012-04-17: (探) 仏典のタイムカプセル 北部九州に密集、形・思いも様々 / 西部・
共通
- 2012-06-02: 大日如来ご降臨? 光のリング浮かぶ 鶴岡の湯殿山 / 山形県
- 2012-06-25: (仏典に学ぶ 日本1000年の知恵) 無住「沙石集」 末木文美士 【大
阪】
- 2012-06-27: (東海再発見2012) 津島神社 天王祭、起源は疫病封じ / 東海・共通
- 2012-06-29-A: 神仏習合の証し保護 八幡市、八角堂取得へ 石清水八幡宮 / 京都

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- 2012-06-26-B: 神仏習合の証し保護 八幡市、石清水八幡宮・八角堂取得へ / 京都府
- 2012-07-21: (奈良には古き仏たち) 僧形八幡神 東大寺・八幡殿 華麗な色合いの秘像
- 2012-08-07: (富士山世界遺産への道 25の推薦資産: 3) 浅間神社・人穴富士講遺跡 / 静岡県
- 2012-08-17: (人生あおによし) 仏像写真家・小川光三さん: 20 仏教と古代信仰の融合 / 奈良県
- 2012-09-15: (奈良には古き仏たち) 蔵王権現 金峯山寺・蔵王堂 修験道の聖地で憤怒に震える
- 2012-09-24: 鎌倉は密教の都だった 横浜・金沢文庫で企画展
- 2012-11-10: 泰澄ゆかりの神仏60点 福井の博物館、25日まで企画展 / 北陸・共通
- 2012-12-04: 名前とりもつ縁、世界平和を祈る 石清水八幡宮と清水寺 / 京都府
- 2012-12-12: (視る) 「大正の子」胸打つ理由 【大阪】
- 2012-12-15: 国有形文化財に県内3カ所6件 空徳屋・旧山岸写真館・酒波神社 文化審答申 / 岐阜県

Yomiuri Shimbun

- 2008-01-03: 僧侶、神社で平和祈願 興福寺の貫首ら読経 春日大社などで社参式=奈良
- 2008-01-08: 立命館大講義「日本文化の源流を求めて」 国立民族学博物館教授・中牧弘允さん
- 2008-02-17: お水取り、神仏習合の歴史 奈良博で特別陳列、宝物70点=奈良
- 2008-02-18: 「福祿寿神像」の開眼祭 前衛彫刻家が寄贈 桜井・談山神社=奈良
- 2008-02-19: 東大寺「お水取り」69点陳列 奈良国立博物館で特別展
- 2008-02-21: [ふるさと地慢] 日本一を訪ねる(53) 東京都八王子市(連載) =宮城
- 2008-03-03: 近畿7府県の有名125社寺参拝 「神仏霊場巡拝の道」発表 霊場会が設立総会

- 2008-03-17-A: [ほのぼの] 和歌山・田辺 国際観光推進員トウルさん＝和歌山
- 2008-03-17-B: 「自然と文明」連続シンポ 神道時事問題研が40周年記念で
- 2008-03-25: 日文研を退任する今谷、千田教授が講演会 天皇制、日本地図語る
- 2008-04-05: 英語音声で古道案内 熊野ツーリズム、HPで提供＝和歌山
- 2008-05-05: 新熊野神社 「神仏習合」140年ぶり復活 聖護院の僧侶や山伏招く＝京都
- 2008-05-16: [遺跡・そこでその時] その5 933年 筑前宝塔院建立 (連載)
- 2008-05-25: 春日大社「いのちと心の講座」 原始林、古代から信仰 今井禰宜講演＝奈良
- 2008-05-27: 僧侶と神職、平和願う 清水寺で献花祭＝京都
- 2008-05-30: 小浜市文化財、新たに2件 「西津七年祭」と「山八講行事」＝福井
- 2008-06-08: 春日大社「いのちと心の講座」 神仏習合、映像交え講演＝奈良
- 2008-06-16: 春日大社「いのちと心の講座」 神社と寺院は互いに崇敬の念＝奈良
- 2008-06-19: [札所周辺見て歩記] 五十七番・栄福寺 箱車に願う 健脚の旅＝愛媛
- 2008-07-10: 薬師寺21世紀まほろば塾「奈良」対談 日本人の信仰心＝特集
- 2008-08-17: [記者が選ぶ] 「原日本の精神風土」久保田展弘著
- 2008-08-30: 仏教重鎮ら220人、お伊勢参り 「巡拝の道」の開始に合わせ
- 2008-09-08: 神仏巡拝、新しい道 近畿の有名151社寺結ぶ
- 2008-09-09: 新「巡拝の道」一步 151社寺制定で式典 神仏共に伊勢神宮参拝＝三重
- 2008-09-23: [さざ波] 神仏習合 新巡拝で安らぎを＝滋賀
- 2008-09-27: 世界遺産候補暫定リスト 「白山」「若狭の社寺」外れ落胆、再挑戦へ＝福井
- 2008-09-28: 世界遺産国内候補地リスト 「宇佐・国東」見送り＝大分

- 2008-10-23: 万葉歌木簡、都の外にも 寺院跡? から出土「幅広く流布」実証/京都・木津川
- 2008-10-24: 「歴史街道の魅力」関西講演会参加者募集 (社告)
- 2008-10-30: 神仏習合の講演も 来月 2 日、円成寺で「観楓会」=奈良
- 2008-11-04: [寺社だより] 日吉大社宮司・馬淵直樹さん「教義ない神道は、体験が大切」ほか
- 2008-11-07: 清荒神清澄寺の史料館完成 祭事資料や所蔵絵画展示 9 日開館=阪神
- 2008-11-11: 塩津港遺跡・神像出土 大災害で社殿倒壊? 専門家「神体」堀に放置状態=滋賀
- 2008-12-04: [札所周辺見て歩記] 四十一番・龍光寺 人助けの水、こんこんと=愛媛
- 2008-12-11: 田楽や春日信仰解説 奈良博、20 日から=奈良
- 2008-12-12: 講演会「歴史街道の魅力」 神仏習合は「和の心」から 山折哲雄さん講演
- 2008-12-14: 登録文化財に最上稲荷など 3 か所答申 倉敷教会教会堂、宝福寺=岡山
- 2009-01-03: 興福寺貫首ら春日大社参拝 神仏習合の伝統 雅楽響き、平和祈り読経=奈良
- 2009-01-14: 馬場南遺跡建物跡出土 類例ない構造、深まる謎 神雄寺?=京都
- 2009-02-13: 歴史街道推進協の講演会 都内で 750 人参加
- 2009-02-19: [この冬] 春日大社、学び尽くした 座学と実習 2 泊 3 日=奈良
- 2009-03-16: [記者ノート] 篤胤の思想 近代の源流
- 2009-04-04: 妙高の銅造菩薩立像が国重文に 県内彫刻 10 年ぶり 17 件目=新潟
- 2009-04-27: 執行奉告祭、厳かに 戸隠神社・式年大祭始まる=長野
- 2009-04-30: [風薫る国東路] (1) 両子河原座 名水生かす、ざる蕎麦人気 (連載) =大分
- 2009-05-08: 五味文彦さんが新刊 史料と往復「中世を歩く」
- 2009-05-10: [風薫る国東路] (9) 旧千灯寺跡 仁王像へ続く鳥居の参道 (連載) =大

分

- 2009-05-25: あす日吉大社で山王礼拝講＝滋賀
- 2009-06-28: [歴史に彩られて] 平泉寺 白山信仰、栄華再び＝福井
- 2009-08-10: 神事と法要同時に営む 日吉大社神輿 22年ぶり比叡山延暦寺へ＝滋賀
- 2009-08-12: 木津川・馬場南遺跡 水にかかわる祭祀跡 市教委「神仏習合明確に」＝京都
- 2009-08-17: 行動する哲学者・内山節さん 木と森と文化を語る
- 2009-08-23: 会陽の守護神、守って 牛玉所殿を修復 西大寺観音院、浄財募る＝岡山
- 2009-08-29: [時の余白に] 何のへだたりあらん 編集委員・芥川喜好
- 2009-08-30: 春日大社「いのちと心の講座」 花山院宮司と歴史散策＝奈良
- 2009-09-02: [この人この一言] フォトジャーナリスト 船尾修さん 48
- 2009-10-21: 最上稲荷 55年ぶり日蓮宗に復帰 僧侶育成で教育機関活用＝岡山
- 2009-10-25: [きびナビ] 円城寺 見上げれば極楽浄土＝岡山
- 2009-12-21: 「三徳山を世界遺産に」 倉吉でシンポ＝鳥取
- 2010-01-03: 幸せ、平和願い「社参式」 春日大社＝奈良
- 2010-01-09: 大峰山の護寺院・桜本坊 天武帝「神像」浄財で新調 秋、特別開帳予定＝奈良
- 2010-01-18: 月例まほろば塾 神仏習合の歴史を紹介＝奈良
- 2010-01-30: 八幡神描いた掛け軸 石清水八幡宮初公開 きょう、あす＝京都
- 2010-03-07: [道の駅かいわい] (9) 石仏観光の拠点に 道の駅くにさき (連載)
- 2010-04-01: [旅] 紀の川 (和歌山) 神仏も歴史も共存共栄
- 2010-04-06: 8時だヨ！神仏集合 FMあまがさき きょうスタート 宮司と住職がDJ＝阪神
- 2010-04-15: 神仏習合の古式 日吉大社西本宮「申の神事」 天台座主、神職ら参加＝滋

賀

- 2010-04-20: 月山神社梵鐘65年ぶり戻る 鐘楼新築し安置 戦時中に供出＝岩手
- 2010-04-21: FMあまがさき「8時だヨ！神仏集合」 宗教関係者「よろしくない」＝阪神
- 2010-04-22: 読売奈良フォーラム 民が育む 文化継ぐ＝特集
- 2010-05-18: 天智天皇の遺徳しのぶ＝滋賀
- 2010-06-15: 奈良の神仏和合考えるフォーラム 来月、県新公会堂＝奈良
- 2010-07-04: 「日本神道史」岡田荘司編
- 2010-07-11: 奈良の神仏習合 歴史や事例紹介 奈良の公開講座に450人＝奈良
- 2010-09-04: 神宮寺770年には存在 越前町・劔神社 須恵器破片出土で裏付け＝福井
- 2010-09-07: [紀行の旅]「筑紫道記」 治世願った連歌師
- 2010-09-19: 鹿島と香取 神宮の関係解説 来月3日 国学院大教授講演＝茨城
- 2010-09-22: 石清水八幡宮 神仏一体 梵字入り石灯籠 庶民が戦乱期に寄進
- 2010-09-24: 熊野那智大社宮曼荼羅 絵解き本出版 室町期の参拝解説＝和歌山
- 2010-10-26: 牛玉所殿 修復 西大寺観音院 来月3日落慶法会 クラシックなどで祝う＝岡山
- 2010-12-02: 石清水八幡宮 密教の法具使った祭祀跡 延暦寺と都を守護か
- 2010-12-20: 横浜能楽堂で来月から公演 中世人の心 能狂言に
- 2011-01-05: 天平びとの華と祈り 神雄寺 謎とロマン満ち＝京都
- 2011-01-06: 神仏習合の歴史知ろう 鳥取で企画展 菩薩像や祭祀道具70点＝鳥取
- 2011-01-13: [神話再発見] (7) 巨岩パワー 地域も活性 (連載)＝島根
- 2011-02-16: [わがまちホームページ] 対馬市厳原町宮谷・棧原地区＝長崎
- 2011-03-03: 神仏習合テーマ 探訪会と講演 12日、石清水八幡宮＝京都

- 2011-03-07: 神仏習合テーマに議論 神戸でシンポ＝兵庫
- 2011-03-09: 神仏習合テーマ シンポに350人 神仏霊場会＝大阪
- 2011-03-21: 重文指定答申 県から4件 長浜・千手院 木造千手観音立像など＝滋賀
- 2011-05-11: [海の細道] (19) こんぴらさん 航海安全の神 長谷川権 (寄稿連載)
- 2011-05-21: [昭和時代] 30年代 (4) 戦争の傷跡＝下 東京巡礼 鎮魂の歌 (連載)
- 2011-05-22: 林業者努力で古道守った 田辺 全国後継者大会に480人＝和歌山
- 2011-06-25: 仙台のNPO 古文書救出に奔走 洗浄、消毒し返却＝宮城
- 2011-07-09: 国東 いい味いい人 そびえる両子山 恵みの海＝特集
- 2011-07-14: 開運 国東 神仏共存の地 奇祭も荒行も＝特集
- 2011-07-20: 明治の混乱で行方不明 神社の仏様戻る 紫波出身者の子孫申し出る＝岩手
- 2011-07-24: 「震災の後守って」 岩手の仏100年ぶり帰郷 中央区の会社員が再奉納＝東京
- 2011-07-29: [百景を歩く] (91) 熊野古道 神々鎮まる 祈りの道 (連載)＝東京
- 2011-08-18: 立命館大講座「日本文化の奔流」 石清水八幡宮宮司 田中恆清さん
- 2011-08-25: 重盛造成? 平安後期の参道 越前町・劔神社 「清盛焼き払い」記述と符合＝福井
- 2011-09-06: [絵図の旅] 松崎天神縁起 防府 道真公への思慕
- 2011-09-08: [寺社まち散歩] 奈良・正暦寺 「清酒発祥の地」室町の味復元
- 2011-09-27: 境内図に見る神仏習合 来月8、9日「春日井シンポ」＝愛知
- 2011-10-19: [観音のまち・金沢] (2) 金沢駅から東山へ (連載)＝石川
- 2011-10-20: [観音のまち・金沢] (3) 卯辰山麓を巡る (連載)＝石川
- 2011-10-26: 大飛鳥展 飛鳥文化 「正倉院」の源流＝特集
- 2011-11-03: 春日信仰の表現たどる

- 2011-11-17: 白山信仰の知識 深めるフォーラム 勝山で26日＝福井
- 2011-11-22-A: 神仏に宿る 美山の信仰 県立歴史博物館で展覧会＝福井
- 2011-11-22-B: [ほっとタウン・おおいた] 11月22日＝大分
- 2011-12-22: 樹齢500年ケヤキ折れる 老齡原因か、住宅壊す＝山形
- 2012-02-09: [寺社まち散歩] 京都・地主神社 恋で再興 婚活の聖地
- 2012-02-27: 春日大社「いのちと心の講座」 宮曼荼羅と春日野語る＝奈良
- 2012-02-28: 小浜市文化財 新たに3件＝福井
- 2012-04-07: 仏と向き合う姿伝わる 特別展「解脱上人貞慶」開会式＝奈良
- 2012-04-15: 越市長、大役ばっちり 山王祭＝滋賀
- 2012-04-21: 国重文 県内3件指定へ 小浜高成寺 千手観音立像など 文化審答申＝福井
- 2012-04-28: [貞慶を訪ねて] (4) 春日大社 数珠を手に、神へ祈念(連載)
- 2012-05-05: [まちかどミュージアム] (5) 山伏文化財室(連載)＝福岡
- 2012-06-10: [京のご近所さん] (35) 貴船神社 水への祈り 古来から(連載)＝京都
- 2012-06-20: 伝統宗教シンポジウム 宗教と環境—自然との共生＝特集
- 2012-06-22: 50社寺120人が平和祈願 滋賀・多賀大社
- 2012-09-09: [わがまちホームページ] 宇佐市宇佐神宮周辺＝大分
- 2012-09-25: 白山信仰拠点 歴史ひもとく 来月6日「探遊館まほろば」開館＝福井
- 2012-10-05: 最後の春日井シンポ 考古学を再検証「東海学」 提唱の森さんら講演＝愛知
- 2012-11-01: [探Q・ふくい] 平泉寺 白山信仰の拠点 僧兵8000人 政治に影響力＝福井
- 2012-11-11-A: [歴史・伝説ハイク] 寺家公園 紅葉の名所に女神の社＝福井

2012-11-11-B: [わがまちホームページ] 綾町 エコパーク登録 PRソング=宮崎

Appendix II: Sentences in which *shinbutsu-shuugou* occurs

Asahi Shimbun

Past instances

2008-02-06: 当時の社会は神仏習合の世界で、いろんな神様がいて、民衆は神罰や仏罰を恐れた。

2008-02-21: 西は阿弥陀仏（あみだぶつ）がいる極楽浄土を指す。中世から弥彦には阿弥陀信仰があり、弥彦神社には神仏習合の時代に神宮寺という寺院もあった。

2008-03-11: 「神宮寺」は神仏習合がふつうだった明治以前は各地の神社で盛んに建立されたが、明治政府の神仏分離の方針で、聞楽院も1872（明治5）年に廃絶。一時期、小学校になっていた。その後、庫裏（くり）と客殿になっていたが、老朽化が進み、氏子から新築を勧める声が出ていた。

2008-09-15: 古代にこの土地一帯を支配していた豪族の土師（はじ）氏が、祖先をまつるために土師神社を設けた。仏教伝来の後、聖徳太子の発願で土師八嶋が自宅を寄進し、土師寺を建立したとされる。同じ敷地内に神社と寺がある神仏習合の時代が長く続いた。

2008-10-03: その滝を眺める高台に、熊野那智大社と青岸渡寺（せいがんとうじ）が隣りあう光景は8、9世紀から明治まで続いた神仏習合の時代を実感させる。

2009-01-01: 明治維新直後、政府は神道の国教化をめざし、日本固有の神と仏教の信仰が融合する「神仏習合」を否定した。

2009-05-02: 丹（に）塗りの社殿群は、かつて如意輪堂（にょいりんどう）と呼ばれた西国三十三所の一番札所の青岸渡寺に隣接し、明治まで続いた神仏習合の時代をしのばせる。

2009-09-15: 神仏習合時代の護摩堂本尊と伝わる同立像はヒノキの一木造りで高さ96・9センチ。

2010-04-07: 「大般若波羅蜜多経」は版本470巻、写本89巻あり、ほとんどが南北朝時代（14世紀）のものとみられる。神社で見つかったのは神仏習合の時代に寺が近くにあり、神社でも資料を保管していたからという。

2010-05-29: また、狩野玉円永信筆の「東照宮祭礼絵巻」（19世紀）では、神主だけでなく山伏や僧侶の姿も見られ、神仏習合時代の祭りの様子がうかがえる。

2012-06-02: 江戸の神仏習合の時代、湯殿山のご本尊は大日如来だった。「除災招福で大日さまが降りてきてくれたのかも」と拝む人もいたという。

Present instances

- 2008-03-03-A: 関西124の神社と寺院が宗教や思想信条の違いを超えて連携し、社会平和を願う「神仏霊場会」の設立総会が2日、大津市の比叡山延暦寺であり、神仏習合の新しい巡礼ルート「神仏霊場巡拝の道」を創設した。古来、神も仏も受け入れてきた寛容な心のありようを現代人に見直してもらおうとの狙い。
- 2008-04-29: 講演で梅原さんは「白山信仰は神仏を習合させたもので、泰澄（たいちょう）の白山信仰が、役行者に始まる神仏習合をはっきりとさせた。日本では生まれたら神、死んだら仏という信仰が今も続いている。
- 2008-05-15: 毎年3月の山八講行事は同市下根来の八幡神社に南北朝時代ごろから伝わる。同区の代表が赤土のまんじゅうをなめ、柱に「山」「八」の字を書き付ける神仏習合の行事。
- 2008-06-02: 境内には福祿寿のほか、方除（よ）け、夫婦和合、縁結び、厄払いなど様々な神仏をまつる祠（ほこら）やお堂が立ち並び、さながら神仏のデパートのよう。「神仏習合の寺です。観光寺院というより、いろいろな願いを持った人たちが日々お参りなされる、生きた信仰の寺なんです」と植野さんは言う。
- 2008-07-08: 四天王立像・広目天（7世紀、国宝）高さ約133センチの四天王像はクスノキ材の一木造り。木目の詰まった堅そうな材を用い、胴体内部をくりぬいていない。クスノキは古来、神が天から舞い降りて宿る神聖な木。その呪力を仏に込めたのでは、という見方もある。つまり、神も仏もあがめる神仏習合だということである。
- 2008-10-05-B: 聖地って何だろう。人はなぜ聖地を目指すのか。この1年で国内の聖地として最も紙面に登場した熊野を訪ねた。神仏習合の地で、熊野古道など紀伊山地の霊場と参拝道は世界遺産だ。
- 2008-10-25: 同神社は神仏習合の色彩が濃く、境内には、七福神をはじめ15体のお地藏さまが置かれている。
- 2009-01-25: 伝統と距離を置き、海外へも雄飛するのが木下栄司（きのしたえいじ）さん（45）だ。大分・国東の雑木林の中に仕事場があった。風と葉音しか聞こえない。神秘的な雰囲気漂う神仏習合の地に来て、約20年になる。
- 2009-02-24: 植島さんの解説で、熊野古道の世界遺産としての価値や、世界の宗教学者らが注目している神仏習合を特徴とする熊野信仰など熊野地域の魅力に迫る。
- 2009-03-10: 金峯神社といえば、東大寺二月堂の修二会（しゅにえ）で読まれる神名帳を思い起こす。この神名帳は毎夜勧請される全国449の神の名を列記したリスト。その筆頭を飾るのが「金峯大菩薩（きんぷだいぼさ）」。神仏習合によって大菩薩（ぼさつ）の称号で読まれるが、明らかに金峯神社を指す。

- 2009-03-13: 修験道は山岳信仰をベースに、仏教や神道的な信仰などを取り込んだ神仏習合の宗教。
- 2009-05-25: 龍村監督が約20年前からのつきあいになるという天川村の天河大弁財天社（柿坂神酒之祐宮司）を訪れたレモンさんは、神仏習合の神事「神前護摩」を体験した。「神仏習合は西洋文化と異質だが、そこに科学的なものを感じた。それは私の体の中の先住民の血のせいかもしれない」と話した
- 2009-07-14: ここは、「紀伊山地の霊場と参詣（さんけい）道」の一部としてユネスコの世界遺産に登録されている金峯山寺（きんぷせんじ）がある奈良県吉野町。山岳で修行する山伏（やまぶし）らの神仏習合的な「修験道」の拠点として知られている。
- 2009-09-05: 毘沙門堂の前には、しめ縄を張った鳥居が立ち、神仏習合を表している。
- 2009-10-25: 半世紀前に湖東から坂本を訪れ、その魅力にとりつかれてそのまま居ついた川合和三（かずみ）さん（81）は言う。「仏教のお地蔵さんと、神社が一緒になっている。神仏習合の粋だ」
- 2009-11-21: 吉野町吉野山の修験道の根本道場、櫻本坊（さくらもとぼう）（巽良仁住職）で、創建の祖とされる天武天皇の神像が復興され、神仏習合の開眼法要が22日、営まれる。
- 2009-11-21: 神仏習合の天武天皇神像について説明する巽良仁住職＝吉野町吉野山の櫻本坊
- 2009-11-21: 天武天皇像を復興 吉野山の櫻本坊創建の祖 神仏習合の姿 あすから特別開帳／奈良県
- 2009-12-19-B: 受験シーズンを前に、神戸市須磨区の寺と神社が“神仏習合”で合格祈願のお札を作った。
- 2010-04-12: 比叡山のふもと、大津市坂本にある日吉大社の創建は約2100年前。全国3800余りの分霊社（日吉神社、日枝神社、山王〈さんのう〉神社）の総本宮だ。延暦寺と縁が深く、神仏習合の象徴的存在である。
- 2010-04-12: 西受付から日吉三橋（国の重要文化財）の一つ、大宮橋を渡ると、変わった形の鳥居が見えた。山王鳥居という。矢頭英征（やずひでゆき）・権禰宜（ごんねぎ）は「神仏習合の信仰を表す独特の形で、合掌鳥居とも呼ばれます」。
- 2010-05-01: 平城宮跡で神仏習合 僧や神職ら2000人 9日、平和祈る /奈良県
- 2010-05-01: 南都聖和会の小林澤應（たくおう）幹事長は「日本に根付く神仏習合を示す

祭典。遷都1300年の節目に平和を祈る意義は大きい」と話している。

2010-07-14: 「神と仏と日本のこころ」をテーマに、奈良に根付く神仏習合について講演とパネルディスカッションがあった。

2011-03-03: 五穀豊穡（ごこくほうじょう）を願う神仏習合の秘儀で、文字の意味や由来は謎に包まれている。

2011-04-22: 春の風のようなお客様をお見送りしながら、神仏習合の「パワースポット」、地元の私たちが元気にならなくちゃ復興を支えられない、と反省しました。

2011-05-08: 伊勢音頭を口ずさみながら村を練り歩き、般若心経で締めくくる。古来より息づく神仏習合の生々しい姿にはまった。

2011-08-14: はっきり言えるのは、神も仏も隔てず信仰する神仏習合の日本らしい姿がそこにあるということです。

2011-10-13: 神仏習合の伝統行事「回向祭（えこうさい）」が15、16の両日開かれる。

2011-12-12: （祈りに出あう おとなの遠足）青岸渡寺 熊野で体感「神仏習合」 【大阪】

2012-04-17: 「霊山は修行の場でもあり、神仏習合の場でもある。山の神の信仰、海の神の信仰、八幡信仰などがあって、その上に経塚文化が展開していくのではないだろうか」と九州国立博物館の酒井芳司さん。

2012-07-21: 八幡神は八幡大菩薩（ぼさつ）とも呼ばれる神仏習合の先駆的な神である。

History instances

2008-01-05: そんな伝承のほか、榊を神木として依代（よりしろ）にする宗教観、さらには、日本の神々を外来の仏と結びつける本地垂迹（すいじゃく）説に基づく神仏習合の考えも、この図には表現されている。

2008-01-11: 穂見神社は創建後、神仏習合の寺院となり、明治の廃仏毀釈で再び神社に復した。

2008-03-21: 行基図の正式名「大日本国正統図（だいにっぽんこくしょうとうず）」も「大日（だいにち）（如来）の本国（ほんごく）」と読み変えた。さらに、神仏習合で密教の大日如来と神道の天照大神（あまてらすおおみかみ）が同一視されたことが、後に「神国・日本」のイメージ形成に一役買った。

2008-04-12-B: 神仏習合の奈良で、仏教だけでなく、神祇（じんぎ）信仰の影響も色濃い歴史を知ることができそうだ。

2008-04-25: 愛宕神社は、京都市北西に位置する愛宕山（924メートル）の上にある。火伏せ信仰で名高い全国約900社の愛宕神社の総本宮だ。権禰宜の高松利行さん（41）によると、古くは修験道の道場だったが、本地仏「勝軍地藏」の名にあやかり戦国武将らが信仰の対象とした。明治に入るまでは神仏習合で山上に寺院があり、火伏せ信仰は江戸時代に僧がふもとの村に広めたのでは、という。

2008-06-13: 観音堂から、秀吉の御座船を利用した「舟廊下」を渡ると、都久夫須麻（つくぶすま）神社。ここは長らく神仏習合の島だったが、明治維新後の廃仏毀釈（はいぶつきしゃく）で廃寺令が出た。それまで寺の本堂だった建物を神社に明け渡し、危機をまぬがれた。

2008-07-04: 瑞龍寺の鎮守堂は、加賀藩の歴史書「瑞龍閣記」に記述があり、場所などが一致するという。神仏習合が進んだ江戸初期に建てられ、明治期の廃仏毀釈（はいぶつきしゃく）で市内の神社に移されたという。

2008-10-05-A: 青山さんは、神道の祭祀（さいし）が重んじられつつ仏教崇拜も広まった飛鳥時代の天武・持統朝と、その後世への影響に注目。「奈良時代の終わりが天武・持統朝の終わりとみたい。シルクロードと結びつくなど、それ以前や以後とは違う特異な時代だった」と、神仏習合の歴史的背景に言及した。

2008-10-10: 太宰府天満宮は、最初は安楽寺という寺だった。やがて道真の国家の守護神への変容にともなって官寺的性格を帯び、神仏習合に沿って太宰府天満宮に発展。道真は神として都市、太宰府の象徴になった。

2008-10-23: 遺構は出土した墨書土器から、「神雄（かみお）寺」という未知の大寺院跡とみられる。同センター理事長の上田正昭・京都大名譽教授（古代史）は「名称から、初期の神仏習合の寺院らしい。反乱を計画して鎮圧された有力豪族・橘氏の根拠地であり、同寺が記録に残されなかった可能性がある」と話す。

2008-10-27: 一方、市教委が調査している「山王坊遺跡」でも、日吉神社境内入り口付近の西側から礎石を据えた2棟の建物跡が発掘された。そのうちの一つには、仏像を安置した「須弥壇（しゅみだん）」と見られる空間があることから、この建物が仏堂であった可能性が高く、一帯が神仏習合の宗教的施設であったことが分かった。

2008-11-11: 神仏習合の証し

<林博通・滋賀県立大教授（考古学）の話> 遺跡がある塩津港は古代から琵琶湖水運の拠点として栄えた港で知られる。複数の神像が発見されたことから重要な神社だったことがうかがえる。神像は神仏習合の証しで、人の目の届かない神殿の奥でまつられていたのではないかと推測している。

- 2008-12-06: 室町時代に興福寺大乘院の尋尊が造立した、美しい「四方殿舍利厨子（しほうでんしゃりずし）」などに神仏習合の姿を知ることができる。
- 2008-12-29: 右京区梅ヶ畑の平岡八幡宮は来年の創建1200年を記念して、正月三が日にご神体の「僧形八幡神像」を本殿で公開する。僧の姿をした神像は、日本古来の神仏習合の思想を表しているとされる。
- 2009-01-05: 本宮大社の主祭神、家津美御子大神（けつみみこのおおかみ）は阿弥陀如来が仮の姿で現れた垂迹（すいじゃく）神とされている。平安時代に入って神仏習合思想が盛んになり、神はそれぞれ本地仏（ほんちぶつ）をもっているという本地垂迹説がはやった。仏教と神道を両立させようという思想である。
- 2009-01-14: 最初期の神仏習合？ 京都の遺跡に仏堂跡
- 2009-01-14: 同遺跡では「神雄寺（かみおでら）」と書かれた墨書土器が出土した。同市教委は「本尊の仏像が見当たらないことや、『神』の字を使う寺名などから、最も初期の神仏習合の寺院だった可能性もある」とみる。
- 2009-03-28: 7世紀後半に寺を開いたのは、ふもとの奈良県御所市に生まれた修験道の開祖とされる役小角（えんのおづぬ）。16歳から金剛山で修行し、超能力を身につけたという伝説がある。山は神仏習合の霊場になり、大宿坊が立ち並んで栄えた。
- 2009-04-15: 「お水送り」の神事を司（つかさど）ることで知られる若狭神宮寺（小浜市神宮寺）の6次にわたる関連遺跡発掘調査が08年度で終了し、市教委文化遺産活用課が結果をまとめた。同寺正面の「白山（しらやま）」（標高152メートル）山頂付近で中世の社跡とみられる石組み遺構が昨年12月に発掘されたのが大きな成果で、同課は「古い形態の神仏習合を示す（一帯で）初の遺構」としている。
- 2009-04-15: 市教委の担当者は「荒れる山の『カミ』を鎮めるような位置に『ホトケ』の寺院が建立されており、神仏習合の成立を考える上で興味深い」とする。
- 2009-04-21: 鎮護国家の宗教となった仏教と、その守り神の四神は、神も仏もあがめる「神仏習合」によって民間の信仰世界に浸透した。そして、落語のキーワードにさえなったとは、1300年前の古墳の被葬者は知るよしもない。
- 2009-04-26: 京都国立博物館の学芸員を呼び、神仏習合の歴史などについて勉強会を重ね、資料集も編集・作成した。
- 2009-05-02: 神は仏の仮の現れとする本地垂迹（ほんじすいじゃく）思想によって神仏習合が進むと、那智山は観音菩薩（ぼさつ）の補陀落（ふだらく）浄土の東門と見なされた。

2009-05-24: 荒神山は古代から神の山として信仰された。奈良時代以降は多くの寺社が創建され、神仏習合が進んだ。織田信長の焼き打ちにあった歴史もある。

2009-08-01: 談山神社となったのは、神仏分離政策がとられた明治以降。それまでは「妙楽寺」と称した。7世紀後半の鎌足の没後、長男の定慧（じょうえ）和尚と次男の不比等（ふひと）が遺骨の一部をここに埋葬し、十三重塔と講堂を建立したのが始まりとされる。8世紀初めには神殿を築いて、それからは神仏習合の形式をとってきたという。

2009-08-09: 古代と中世に展開した神仏習合は、異質な信仰をいいかげんに混ぜあわせたものでは決してなかった。在来の神の信仰は、人がふだん生きている狭い時空をこえ、すべてを見とおし包みこむような、新しい知を求めていた。

2009-08-09: 二つの要請がたがいに補完しあう、筋道だった体系を、神仏習合はもともと備えていたのである。

2009-10-17: 妙教寺は元々、奈良時代の僧、報恩大師が開いたとされる神仏習合の寺。

2009-10-21: また、同じ十三湊遺跡の関連遺跡であり、神仏習合の宗教施設と見られる「山王坊遺跡」では、僧侶の居住空間などに使った庫裏と考えられる建物跡1棟も新たに見つかった。

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2009-10-29: 妙教寺は元々、奈良時代の僧、報恩大師が開いたとされる神仏習合の寺。

2009-11-21: 巽住職は「天武天皇像は絵画も彫刻もほとんどなく、神像は和歌や伝承をもとにしたオリジナル。天武天皇は役行者（えんのぎょうじゃ）との縁も深く、神像を復興することで、神仏習合という日本人本来の信仰のあり方を目指す」と話す。

2009-12-19-A: 上野教授によると「神雄寺」は神仏習合の初めごろの寺院。

2009-12-25: 京都・馬場南遺跡で、初期の「神雄寺」の説がある神仏習合施設跡とみられる遺構が見つかったのも注目に値する。

2009-12-25: 万葉集歌の木簡が見つかった京都府木津川市の馬場南遺跡から、8世紀前半の神仏習合の「神雄寺」らしい仏堂跡が出土▽岩手県奥州市・道上（どうのうえ）遺跡で、「字垂楊池（あぎたれやなぎいけ）」と10世紀に記された最古の字名の木簡を確認▽兵庫県淡路市（淡路島）の垣内（かいと）遺跡で、2～3世紀に操業した最大規模の鉄器工房跡を検出した。

2010-01-30: 室町時代には八幡宮の境内に僧侶が暮らす坊が48カ所あったが、明治時代に神仏分離が進んでからは坊や神仏習合を示すものは失われていた。同八幡宮研究室長の西中道禰宜は「軸は神仏習合を示す象徴となるもの。親しみやすい神として信仰を集めてきた八幡神の姿が絵によく表れている」と話す。

2010-04-12: 本殿の床下には下殿（げでん）と呼ばれる祭祀（さいし）施設があり、明治時代の神仏分離までは仏像を置き、仏事が営まれたという。これも神仏習合の表れだ。

2010-06-07: （考 修験道はいま）神仏習合の流れ、宗教心の根底に 【大阪】

2010-06-07: 「民衆化した密教」とも呼ばれる修験道は古来の山岳信仰に仏教、道教、儒教などが重なった「神仏習合」の典型とされる。だが、幕藩体制を支えた仏教や儒教の弱体化を狙う明治政府にとって、迷信に満ちた邪魔な宗教だったのだろう。

2010-07-26: 読経と華麗な舞楽を奉納する一切経会など神仏習合の盛大な法会の記録もあり、様々な舞楽面や装束が東京国立博物館に収蔵されている。

2010-08-17: 今年度事業として宇佐神宮を中心とした神仏習合の歴史についての世界史的研究を深めることや地域の運動の取り組みを進めることなどを決めた。

2010-09-22: このほか、1300年以上前に吉野の大峯山・山上ヶ岳で修行し、蔵王権現を感じた開祖の役行者（えんのぎょうじゃ）の行跡や、神仏習合という日本独自の信仰である修験道が明治維新の廃仏毀釈（はいぶつきしゃく）で一時は禁止された苦難の歴史、吉野山のサクラや「蛙（かえる）飛び」などの伝統行事の由来、五條順教前管領の遺訓法話などを載せている。

2010-12-17: 奈文研の井上和人副所長は「春日大社に塔があったこと自体、神仏習合の歴史を知る上で興味深い。東塔院の一部が確定できたことは、両塔跡一帯の保存を進める上で非常に重要な成果」と話した。

2011-01-03: 開山から1400年。神仏習合の山として絶大な信仰を集めた出羽三山には、時の幕府や武将らによる寄進も多かったと伝わる。

2011-01-31: 神奈川県鎌倉市の鶴岡八幡宮。1180年に源頼朝が創建した東国宗教界の中核。中近世では僧侶が管理する神仏習合施設だった＝平雅行さん提供

2011-03-19: しかし、1868（明治元）年の神仏分離令、72年の修験道廃止令によって、求菩提修験道は終わりの時を迎えた。神仏習合の寺院である護国寺は、寺院か神社かの選択を迫られ、国玉神社となった。

2011-09-02: 孝謙天皇は、奈良の大仏を建立し、仏教の理念をもって国家を治めようとした聖武天皇・光明皇后の娘。京都女子大の瀧浪貞子教授（古代史）は、天皇が父から一歩

踏み込んで仏教界の頂点として道鏡を用い、神仏習合政治を実現しようとしたことが、貴族たちの反発を買った、と考えている。

2011-09-16-A: 放生会は、平安時代から神仏習合の形で続けられてきたという。

2011-09-16-B: 放生会は鳥や魚を放ち、生き物の命を慈しむ儀式で、平安時代から神仏習合の形で続けられてきたという。

2011-10-13: 創建の時期は不明だが、江戸時代、神仏習合の山として信仰を集めた出羽三山を水戸藩が勧請（かんじょう）（請い迎えてまつること）し、栄えた。

2011-11-19: 石清水八幡宮境内、国史跡に 神仏習合の姿、後押し 府内史跡 8 2 件目 / 京都府

2011-11-19: 日本三大八幡宮の一つとされる歴史上の重要性に加え、5年に及ぶ市教委の調査でかつての神仏習合の姿がはっきりしたことも後押しした。

2011-11-19: 石清水八幡宮は平安時代前期に創建された神社。かつては伊勢神宮に次ぐ「国家第二の宗廟（そうびょう）」といわれ、江戸時代までは神仏習合の形で仏教施設も40以上あった。

2011-12-12: 寺と神社の同居を不思議がる参拝客も多いが、開祖の裸形上人（らぎょうしょうにん）は、仏教が伝わる前の仁徳天皇のころインドから熊野に漂着したという伝承もあり、那智大滝を核にした「神仏習合」の歴史は長い。

2011-12-14: 古絵図などは信仰の山の姿を伝えるよすがとして、神仏習合だった出羽三山の寺や宿坊などがつくって頒布し、参拝者が郷里に持ち帰ったものという。

2011-12-19: 当時は阪神間一帯を一望できる山の尾根に清澄寺、その西の谷に仏法守護のための荒神社が設けられ、神仏習合の寺として信仰を集めてきた。

2012-01-06: ただ、境内の石碑に〈創建は江戸初期と伝えられ、当時境内に別当寺である弥勒寺が勧請（かんじょう）されており、当地にも熊野信仰伝播（でんぱ）の様が見られ、神仏習合の信仰形態が調（ととの）っていた〉と神社の由緒が記されている。

2012-01-19: 筑西市にある羽黒神社の羽黒山神輿（みこし）神体鏡は祭礼の際、神社の本殿からおみこしに移すご神体の鏡で直径約20センチ。表面に羽黒神社の神「羽黒様」を仏教に置き換えた「正観音（聖観音）」が刻まれている。歴史館の首席研究員大関武さんによると、神仏習合の表れという。

2012-03-25: また、市は2月、「複合遺産」として3件を指定した。1件は同市上田の熊野那智神社の神仏習合遺産（歴史資料）で、木造十一面千手観音坐像（ざぞう）や木造

狛犬（こまいぬ）、拝殿銅製灯籠（とうろう）の計11点。

2012-03-27: 天河神社と道路を挟んで向かいにある来迎院（らいこういん）。かつては神社の境内にあり、神仏習合思想に基づく神宮寺だったという。

2012-04-05: 八幡宮が進めてきた「平成の大修造」の過程で2007年、撰社からみつかった。権禰宜（ごんねぎ）の浄見僚さんは「神道と仏教を調和させる『神仏習合』を感じられる貴重な資料だ」と話す。

2012-06-27: 古来の神々は渡来の仏の化身とみる神仏習合によって、スサノオはインドの牛頭天王（ごずてんのう）に重なる。

2012-06-29-A: 市文化財保護課の担当者は「神仏習合の歴史を伝える貴重な史跡をどう保護していくかは長年の懸案だったが、ようやく足がかりがついた。観光事業への活用などを考えていきたい」と話している。

2012-06-29-A: 28日、一部土地の取得費5千万円を盛り込んだ補正予算案が市議会で可決された。神仏習合の地だった八幡宮の中で、明治時代の廃仏毀釈（はいぶつきしゃく）による破壊を免れた数少ない施設を守るねらいだ。

2012-06-29-B: 28日、一部土地の取得費5千万円を盛り込んだ補正予算案が市議会で可決された。神仏習合の地だった八幡宮の中で、明治時代の廃仏毀釈（はいぶつきしゃく）による破壊を免れた数少ない施設を守るねらいだ。

2012-08-07: 1868年の神仏分離令までは、神仏習合の宗教施設として、「富士山興法寺」「村山興法寺」と呼ばれていた。

2012-08-17: それは奈良時代に神仏習合の思想が生まれる以前からで、「日本書紀」には仏教伝来の翌年に、海から引き上げた神の宿る不思議なクスノキの大木で二体の仏像を造ったとあり、こうした神の木で造られた仏像は飛鳥時代以来、多く見られます。

2012-09-15: 蔵王権現は日本の仏教が生んだ神仏習合の独自の尊格で平安以降に広がったが、吉野山の蔵王堂は山上蔵王堂とともに修験道の聖地だった。

2012-09-24: 源頼朝は、鎮護国家の祈禱（きとう）を密教で行った朝廷にならって幕府に密教を採り入れた。初期は人材難もあり、祈禱などは神仏習合だった鶴岡八幡宮に集中した。

2012-11-10: ほかの仏像や神像も写実的なもの、身近にあった神像を泰澄像や如来像などに改造するなど神仏習合の影響が色濃い像が多い。

2012-12-04: 八幡宮は江戸時代までは境内に仏教施設もある「神仏習合」の形態だったと

知られていたが、近年の調査でその実態がより明らかになり、これまでは清水寺で原則開いていた合同の祭典を、今年から八幡宮でも実施すると決めたという。

2012-12-12: そういえば「みんなちがって、みんないい」という言葉は、つかの間の大正民主主義が描いた理想であり、同時に古来、日本的な神仏習合を育んだ多神教的世界観の理想にも思える。

Exceptional instances

2008-01-20: きよたけ歴史館館長の前田博仁さんは「明治期の廃仏毀釈（はいぶつきしゃく）が激しかった宮崎県で、神仏習合の神社は珍しい」と話す。

2008-02-03: 修二会に集う11人の練行衆（こもりの僧）は、2月下旬に約1週間の前行、3月1～14日の本行に取り組む。期間中はけがれを払う作法がさまざまあり、その多くは神道的な色合いが濃く、神仏習合の姿を今に伝える。

2008-03-03-B: 昨年12月、寺院に神棚があるなど神仏習合を形として残す特徴を軸にした再提案書を同庁に提出した。

2008-03-03-B: そして明治政府は神仏を分離したが、「小浜には神仏習合が日本でも多く残る貴重な地域」だとし、「お水送り」で知られる若狭神宮寺もその一例だと指摘した。

2009-03-19: 同寺[竹寺]は千年余りの歴史を持ち、明治時代の神仏分離をくぐり抜け、今なお、東日本で唯一、神仏習合の遺構があることで知られる。

2009-04-15: 本堂では今も、前面に注連縄（しめなわ）が掛けられ、内陣に仏像と山岳信仰の神棚が共存。市内では、本堂と三重塔が国宝の明通寺など五つの古寺にも神体山や社殿があり、神仏習合の名残となっている。

2009-04-15: 市教委は09年度、調査報告書を作成し、寺域一帯を国史跡として指定するよう文化庁へ申請する準備を進める。併せて、市内の民俗行事に多く残された神仏習合の痕跡も調べ、「世界遺産的価値」の証明を急ぐことにしている。

2009-05-02: 神仏習合は、神棚と仏壇を苦もなく併存させている我々の暮らしにも残っている。熊野の道は日本人の心の謎にもつながるのだ。

2009-06-20: 青々と森が広がる境内の正面に、赤い鳥居がでんと構える。神社と思いきや、神仏習合を今に伝える寺だ。

2009-10-03: 餘慶寺は749年に開山したと伝えられる天台宗の寺で、神仏習合の形式を残す。

2009-10-09: 餘慶寺は749年に開山したと伝えられる。天台宗の寺で、神仏習合の形式を残す。

2009-10-15: 餘慶寺は749年に開山したと伝えられる天台宗の寺で、神仏習合の形式を残す。

2010-02-12: 奈良に豊かな文化財が残った理由については、興福寺の森谷英俊執事長が「人々が大事なものを伝えようと協力し、その時々政権も応援した。また、(神仏習合のように)異質なものを溶け合わせていく日本文化の特質が残っているのも奈良だ」と言及。

2010-03-30: 同山や英彦山(添田町)などの修験道の山でかつて行われた神仏習合の祭り「松会」の一部が、今に伝えられている。

2010-05-10: 大極殿地区では、奈良時代から僧と神官が同時に集まった例はないといい、21世紀に「初の神仏習合」が実現した。

2011-02-16: そして、神仏習合を色濃く残す修二会独特の作法、中臣祓(なかとみのはらえ)。小さな御幣を手にして祓詞(はらえことば)を声を出さずに唱えた。

2011-02-24: 「神仏習合の歴史が残る境内の荘厳さや、地域と一体となった文化が残っていることも多くの人に見てもらいたい」と寺宝も公開することにした

2011-03-02: 昼の行が終わって夕刻。夜の法要を前に、堂舎を囲む遠敷、飯道、興成の鎮守三社に参った。「惣神所(そうのじんじょ)」と呼ばれる儀式だ。無事、満行を神に祈る姿には、神仏習合の影が色濃い。

2011-03-26: 豊前市役所の栗焼憲児さん(51)は「旧豊前の国では、英彦山や等覚寺、松尾山などの修験の山で行われていた神仏習合の祭り『松会(まつえ)』の一部が今も伝えられています。

2011-07-05: 保存・活用する資源に、御食国を示す製塩遺跡群と大和朝廷との関連が深い首長墓群▽小浜市・若狭町から京につながる鯖(さば)街道4エリア▽小浜西組と熊川宿の重要伝統的建造物群保存地区▽全国的にも貴重な神仏習合の社寺と中世の名残をとどめる周辺の農村景観——などを挙げた。

2011-08-23: 盆で送り出された霊はいったん里に近い山にとどまり、供養されてはじめて月山や鳥海山などの高い山に帰っていくという、庄内地方に伝わる祖霊信仰で、神仏習合の形態もとどめている。

2011-09-16-A: 140年ぶり、神仏習合の祈り 石清水八幡宮、復興願い祝詞や読経／京都府

2011-09-16-B: 神仏習合 140 余年ぶり、延暦寺の僧侶も読経 京都・石清水八幡宮
放生会 / 滋賀県

2012-02-24: 市教委の担当者は「神像は奈良時代の神仏習合思想に基づき、信仰の対象として造られたと考えられる。幕末の神仏分離令で神社から姿を消したものが多いとされるだけに、9 体がまとまって残っていたこと自体が珍しい」と話す。

2012-12-15: 神社にもうけられた鐘楼が、江戸中期の神仏習合の様子を伝えている。

Unclear instances

2008-01-30: 自然を敬い、神仏習合の 知恵を生んだ日本人の多神教の宗教観はどこからきているのか。講座「日本人と信仰～世界遺産登録から考える」は紀伊山地の霊場と参詣（さんけい）道の世界遺産登録にかかわった講師がその活動を通して感じたことを話し、修験道という最も日本的な宗教の立場から日本人の宗教観について試論する。

2008-03-03-B: 神仏習合を基調とした社寺建造物群と中世的な文化景観をテーマに、世界文化遺産の暫定リストへの登載を目指す小浜市の市民による推進組織が 2 日、小浜市大手町の中央公民館で設立総会を開いた。

2008-03-03-B: 総会の後、民俗学者で市世界遺産推進専門委員会委員長の神崎宣武さんが「日本人の心に根差す神仏習合」と題し記念講演した。

2008-04-12-A: 神仏習合、本地垂迹（ほんじすいじゃく）説に基づく都合のよい言説とはいえ、ここまで来ればお見事という他はない。

2008-07-20: 世界遺産に向けては、県が 2 年前、「宇佐・国東八幡文化」として暫定リスト入りの提案書を文化庁に出したが、継続審議となった。昨年 12 月には神仏習合の地を強調した追加提案書を出し、現在、審議中になっている。

2008-09-08: 仏教伝来から続いた神仏習合が 明治初頭の神仏分離によって打撃を受けたことや、明治期の日本が富国強兵・殖産興業を重視したことに触れて「以来約 140 年間、日本は経済・効率を重視し、非効率なものを捨ててきた」と指摘。

2008-09-27: 結果を受けて勝山市の山岸正裕市長は「提案エリアの中で抜きこんでいる国史跡の平泉寺を核とするよう、県にもバックアップを求めたい」と意欲を見せた。小浜市は「若狭の社寺建造物群と文化的景観—神仏習合を基調とした中世景観」を提案していた。審議会は霊峰・多田ヶ岳（標高 712 メートル）周辺に立地する社寺群と信仰を守る周辺集落とが一体となって神仏習合の形態を残している、と提案の趣旨を評価。その上で「世界的な観点からはそれらの証明が不十分」と主題の再整理を求めた。

2008-10-31: 柳生街道の名刹（めいさつ）、奈良市忍辱山町の円成寺（0742・93・

0353)で11月2日、紅葉の一日を楽しむ恒例の「観楓会(かんぷうえ)」が催される。雅楽奉納の後、同寺の鎮守である春日大社の岡本彰夫権宮司が「奈良の神仏習合」と題して講演する。

2008-11-17: 今年は「自然と生きる環境生命文明—神仏習合」。講師には、哲学者の梅原猛さんや作家の玄侑宗久さん、俳優の菅原文太さん、生物学者の福岡伸一さんら多彩な顔ぶれが並ぶ。

2009-01-05: 本宮大社の祭神の本地が阿弥陀如来とされることに、格別の興味を覚える。07年春、奈良国立博物館で開催された「神仏習合」展で国宝の山越阿弥陀図(やまごしあみだず)を見たからだ。

2009-01-26: 日本の世界遺産登録に携わる稲葉信子・筑波大教授(世界遺産学)は「(熊野の)神仏習合の考えは、他人の文化を受け入れることの象徴であり、言い換えればそれは『平和』であり、世界平和に貢献できる世界遺産といってもよいのではないか」と記した。

2009-02-13: 統合するのは、幕末に活躍した小浜藩士の梅田雲浜らをたたえる「郷土の偉人顕彰会」(01年設立、会員120人)、小浜藩主・酒井忠勝が築いた城の一部再現をめざす「小浜城復元市民の会」(04年、240人)、神仏習合の寺社など中世的文化景観の独自性について市民にPRする「世界遺産登録をめざす市民の会」(08年、320人)。

2009-04-15: 小浜・若狭神宮寺、「神仏習合」示す 世界遺産登録へ発掘調査 /福井県

2009-04-26: 紙の神様を祭る越前市大滝町の岡太神社・大瀧神社は、33年ごとの「御開帳」の年にあたる今年、140年ぶりに神仏習合の古式「法華八講」を復活させる。

2009-05-02: (神仏に出あう おとなの遠足)熊野の道:5 熊野那智大社 神仏習合
【大阪】

2009-10-07: 約900年前の神護寺絵図には、神護寺とともに社殿が描かれ、寺と共に繁栄した様子がしのばれる。佐々木俊輔宮司(53)は「明治維新以降、神社と寺は別々にされてきたが、いま再び神仏習合が注目されている。日本の寺や神社が原点に戻ろうとしていることを感じる」。

2009-11-07: 三重県が主催し、東京や大阪などのカルチャーセンターで05年から60回以上開いてきた熊野地域の自然や神仏習合の歴史をテーマにした講座も、いつも満員だ。

2009-11-08: 「神道ソングライター」としても知られ、霊性、宗教、聖地などについて数多くの書物を公にしてきた著者による、新たな神仏習合論である。(…) こうした興味深

い事例に言及しながら、著者は日本の歴史の全体を（原型としての「神仏習合」から出発しつつ）神仏習合を軸にして再構成していく。その上で、現在の世界が新たなる「武者の世」になりつつあることに強い懸念を示す一方、これからの時代を「新神仏習合」ないし新神仏共働の時代として提起する。

2010-02-03: 西村さんは、小浜市が世界遺産暫定リスト入りを目指した提案にふれ、寺社や古墳、集落ごとに残る民俗行事、良好な自然を、全体として「神仏習合の里」ととらえた視点を評価。

2010-04-27: 日本古来の神々と仏教が融合した「神仏習合」という言葉があり、「適切でない」との指摘を受けたという。

2010-05-01: 奈良時代の大極殿エリアに僧と神官が同席した例はないと見られ、神仏習合が古都の中心で初めて具体化する。

2010-06-07: 神棚や狐（きつね）などを拝む人々が仏壇も拝み、キリスト生誕まで祝う風習は一神教的原則からは奇妙だが、そんな非分化と混沌（こんとん）が日本人の宗教心の特徴なのは確かだ。それはなぜなのか。明らかに、近代教育や西欧思想のせいではない。とすれば、古代から祖父母の世代あたりまで連綿と続いてきた神仏習合や修験道が、人々の暮らしや考え方にもたらしたものではないのか。

2010-06-21: 西欧型文明の行く末を案じていた人類学者レビストロースも、ある来日講演で、神仏習合にみられる「国津神（くにつかみ）への忠誠と『客人（まれびと）神』への忠誠を両立させる日本の驚くべき能力」に期待を表明したことがある。

2010-07-14: 「日本の神仏習合をアピールして」と話す正木晃さん＝奈良市の県新公会堂

2010-08-17: 県は06年11月、文化庁に暫定リストへの登録を申請したが「継続」となり、翌07年12月にコンセプトを練り直して再度申請。08年9月に「神仏習合の代表例として普遍的価値を持つことの証明が不十分」などとして、暫定リスト登録は見送られる一方で、「暫定候補のカテゴリー2」にランクされた。

2010-11-20: 国東半島は神仏習合の六郷満山文化が知られるが、キリシタンの歴史もあった。

2012-06-25: 無住はまた、神仏習合も積極的に認めている。「沙石集」の冒頭は、伊勢神宮の成立に関わる神話的な物語で始まり、神仏関係に関する話が続いている。だが、決して神仏をいい加減にまぜこぜにするのではなく、仏教の立場からきちんと筋を通して見ている。神仏習合というと何か不純のように考える近代の常識は、反省されなければならない。無住の著作には、多様な価値観を認めつつも芯は揺るがない、成熟した智慧（ちえ）を見ることが出来る。

- 2012-06-29-A: 神仏習合の証し保護 八幡市、八角堂取得へ 石清水八幡宮 /京都府
- 2012-06-29-B: 神仏習合の証し保護 八幡市、石清水八幡宮・八角堂取得へ /京都府

Yomiuri Shimbun

Past instances

- 2008-01-08: 日本の宗教は、「カミ」と「ホトケ」をお祀（まつ）りします。神仏習合という形態はありますが、基本的に、特に明治以降は、カミとホトケを分離します。
- 2009-08-17: 日本の神社仏閣は、背後に森があることを見せた神仏習合の世界。しかし、明治の神仏分離令で神様領域の森が取り上げられ、後ろに自然の神々がいるという世界を壊した。
- 2009-08-17: もう一度、神仏習合の世界を取り戻し、森の世界が見えるようにすべきでしょう。
- 2010-04-20: 月山神社は約800年前、奥州藤原氏の三代秀衡が建立したとされており、梵鐘は1828年（文政11年）、当時は神仏習合だったため、老朽化した社殿を再建した時に造った。
- 2010-09-07: 赤い欄干（らんかん）が鮮やかな心字池の神橋は、かつての神仏習合時代の名残だという。
- 2011-06-25: 神仏習合の当時は仏教色が濃かったことなど、神楽の変化がわかる貴重な資料だ」と評価する。
- 2011-08-18: それから明治の廃仏毀釈（きしゃく）まで約1300年間、神仏習合という神道と仏教が仲良く共存するというおおらかな信仰を培ってきました。
- 2011-09-06: 写真＝（上）「松崎天神縁起」巻6より第3段（部分）。鎌倉時代後期の社頭のにぎわいを描く。寺院ならではの瓦ぶきの屋根や三重塔、鐘楼、そして僧侶の姿が神仏習合の時代を物語る（紙本着色、34.1センチ×369.5センチ、防府天満宮蔵）
- 2011-11-22-A: 同博物館学芸員の河村健史さん（46）によると、神社では仏像が盛んに作られたが、室町時代の一向一揆や明治維新後の廃仏毀釈（はいぶつきしゃく）運動で、その多くが壊されたという。河村さんは「今も神仏習合の時代の仏像が残っているのは、地元の人々が土着の信仰を大切に守ってきた証し。」

2012-04-28: 当時は神仏習合がごく自然に受け入れられていて、僧侶と神との関係は近かった。

2012-05-05: 明治政府による廃仏毀釈（はいぶつきしゃく）の嵐は英彦山にも吹き荒れた。神仏習合は否定され、多くの仏像や仏具類が散逸した。

2012-06-10: この物語には、明治政府が神仏分離を命じる前まで日本では一般的な価値観としてなじんでいた神仏習合の思想が色濃くにじんんでいますね。

Present instances

2008-02-17: 展示は毎年、お水取りに合わせて行われており、今回で12回目。本行が始まる前日に、練行衆が僧から神官に変わり、おはらいを受ける「大中臣祓（おおなかとみのはらい）」などお水取りにみられる神仏習合の性格を強調した。

2008-02-19: 12回目の今年は、お水取りにみられる「神仏習合」に焦点をあてた。

2008-02-21: ハイキングガイドは自然観察や登山の経験が豊かなボランティアたちが務めている。山頂まで同行しながら「東京に豊かな自然が残る歴史的な経緯」や、「薬王院は神仏習合でお参りの仕方は自由」といった話を解説してくれる。

2008-03-03: 近畿7府県の有名社寺でつくる「神仏霊場会」が2日、比叡山延暦寺（大津市）で設立総会を開き、宗教・宗派を超えて伊勢神宮（三重県）から同寺まで125社寺を巡る神仏習合の新巡礼ルート「神仏霊場巡拝の道」を発表した。

2008-05-05: 尾竹慶久宮司（57）が聖護院の宮城泰年門主（76）に協力を依頼し、「神仏習合」の催しが実現。

2008-05-27: 水にゆかりのある寺院と神社が神仏習合の形式で2003年から毎年開いている。

2008-08-30: 近畿7府県の有名社寺を結ぶ神仏習合の新巡礼ルート「神仏霊場巡拝の道」で9月8日に巡礼がスタートするのに合わせ、半田孝淳・天台座主や森清範・清水寺貫主ら約220人が伊勢神宮（三重県伊勢市）を参拝すると、主催の「神仏霊場会」（会長＝森本公誠・東大寺長老）が29日、発表した。仏教界の重鎮ら一同がお伊勢参りをするのは初めてという。

2008-09-08: 各社寺の神職と僧侶計約220人が出席。祝詞や表白（ひょうびやく）が読み上げられるなど神仏習合の形式で営まれた後、全員で伊勢神宮の参道を歩いて参拝した。

2008-09-09: 式典は祝詞と表白（ひょうびやく）が読み上げられるなど、神仏習合の形式で営まれ、参拝に向かったが、神職と僧侶の同時参拝に加え、仏教界の重鎮らが一堂に伊

勢神宮を参拝するのは初めてという。

2008-09-23: [さざ波] 神仏習合 新巡拝で安らぎを=滋賀

2008-11-04: 日吉大社は比叡山延暦寺（大津市）と縁が深く、神仏習合の祭典も多い。

2008-11-07: 清荒神清澄寺は宇多天皇の勅願寺として896年に創建。現在は神仏習合の古刹（こさつ）として親しまれており、年間約350万人が訪れるという。

2009-01-03: 興福寺貫首ら春日大社参拝 神仏習合の伝統 雅楽響き、平和祈り読経=奈良

2009-02-19: 岡本彰夫権宮司が、奈良での神仏習合のあり方などについて熱弁をふるう。

2009-04-30: 神仏習合の地として、寺社、石仏が点在し、奇祭や仏教芸術が伝承されている国東半島。

2009-08-10: 関係者は「神仏習合の日本古来の信仰のあり方を表現したい」と話している。

2009-10-21: 妙教寺は、奈良時代に報恩大師が開いたとされる神仏習合の寺。

2009-08-23: 牛玉所殿は守護神が安置されている本殿や拝殿などで構成され、修復前に調査をした桜井敏雄・元近畿大教授（建築史）は、「入り母屋造りの本殿と拝殿が並び、日光東照宮などの神社に多い権現造りに似た神仏習合の複合社殿」などと指摘し、「国重要文化財級の価値がある」と評価している。

2009-08-29: あっけにとられてその光景を見ていました。日本が神仏習合の国であることは知られていますが、これはいわば神道とキリスト教の混交です。

2010-04-01: 神仏習合の象徴が、本堂の裏手に立つ粉河産土（うぶすな）神社である。

2010-03-07: 神仏習合の地として知られ、寺院や石仏が点在する大分県の国東半島。

2010-04-15: 神仏習合の古式 日吉大社西本宮「申の神事」 天台座主、神職ら参加=滋賀

2010-05-18: 天智天皇が祭神の同神宮と、天皇や天皇の子・大友皇子を弔う三井寺は、舍利発見50年にあたる89年から神仏習合の形式で供養祭を塔跡で営んでいる。

2010-10-26: 同観音院によると、牛玉所殿は、守護神「牛玉所大権現」を安置した神仏習合の複合社殿で、会陽で宝木が投下される本殿の北東にある。

2011-03-07: 西山厚・奈良国立博物館学芸部長、岡本彰夫・春日大社権宮司らのパネルディスカッションもあり、西山氏は「東大寺二月堂の修二会（しゅにえ）（お水取り）では日本中の神様を招いており、奈良では今でも神仏習合が息づいている」と紹介した。

2011-03-09: 西山厚・奈良国立博物館学芸部長、岡本彰夫・春日大社権宮司らのパネルディスカッションもあり、西山氏は「東大寺二月堂の修二会（しゅにえ）（お水取り）では日本中の神様を招いており、奈良では今でも神仏習合が息づいている」と紹介した。

2011-05-21: 戦前の家庭には、神棚と仏壇があり、さらに天皇、皇后両陛下のご真影が掲げられていた。「宮城、靖国神社、観音様と巡る東京巡礼歌は、日本人の信仰心をそれとなく象徴的に表している。神仏習合の世界が天皇制と重なっている」と山折は言う。

2011-07-09: 息づく神仏習合文化

2011-08-18: 私が宮司を務める石清水八幡宮は神仏習合の代表格ともいえる神社です。

2012-04-15: 氏子らでつくる山王祭実行委の山口清明委員長（53）は「天台座主のお供をして、神仏習合の祭りを体現できたことは誇らしかった。

2012-06-20: 天台、真言両宗は神仏習合と いう形で日本の自然の神を拝み、神社は自然を神とし、山川草木（さんせんそうもく）の全てに尊厳を認めています。

2012-11-01: 日本では、神様と仏様を一緒にまつる「神仏習合（しんぶつしゅうごう）」という習慣が古くからあり、平泉寺の敷地内にも白山神社が建てられました。

2012-11-11-A: 神社と隣接した帝龍寺（たいりゅうじ）は、かつては姉倉比売神社と一体であった。今も寺と神社とで神仏習合の行事が行われている。

History instances

2008-02-17: お水取り、神仏習合の歴史 奈良博で特別陳列、宝物70点＝奈良

2008-02-18: 七福神はインドや中国、日本の神仏が入り交じる神仏習合の信仰から生まれた。福祿寿は中国・道教の神とされ、祭典は神道で営まれたが、僧の読経も行われ、開眼を祝った。

2008-03-25: 古来の簡単で素朴なタイプの日本地図は中世、神仏習合の文化の下、「大日（如来）」の「本国」を意味する『大日本国図』の名で呼ばれたことから、「神の国、仏の国だという国土観だ」と解説。

2008-05-16: 福岡県太宰府市の北東、山歩きで人気の宝満山（ほうまんざん）（竈門山（かまどやま））（標高830メートル）はかつて神仏習合の修験の山として栄えた。

2008-06-16: 講演後には、学芸員が、春日大社と、その上空に釈迦如来などを描いた「春日宮曼荼羅（まんだら）」など神仏習合を示す宝物を紹介。

2008-06-19: 859年、京都の男山に向かって渡航中だった九州の僧が暴風雨に遭い、付近に漂着。この山が男山とよく似ているのに驚き、寺の境内に社殿を建立して神仏習合の勝岡八幡宮を創建した。

2008-08-17: 社会が成立し始めた縄文時代のアニミズム、水稻文化が主流になった弥生時代の指導者出現にかかわる天孫降臨神話、大和王権成立以降の神仏習合などを、山川草木とのかかわりで解説する。

2008-10-23: 神雄寺の『神』の文字から考えると、神仏習合の寺が存在した可能性がある」

2008-11-11: 帝塚山大の関根俊一教授（日本工芸史）は「中世以前の華鬘自体が少なく、貴重な発見。小型で、神輿（みこし）に取り付けられた可能性もある」と話し、同志社大の井上一稔教授（彫刻史）は「神像とともに、本来は仏具の華鬘も出土し、神像の祀（まつ）られ方など平安後期の神仏習合の姿がうかがえる」と評価する。

2008-12-12: 写真＝神仏習合の歴史などについて語り合うパネリスト（左から山折さん、加藤さん、矢野さん、山口さん）

2008-12-12: 葛飾北斎が浮世絵「富嶽三十六景」で、遠くの富士山を大きく、近くの旅人を小さく描いたことを例に挙げ、「山の存在感は日本人にとって大きいもの、という伝統、信仰があったからこそ」と語り、山への信仰が仏教の浄土思想と結びつき、神仏習合の原点になったと自説を述べた。

2009-01-14: 山や川の地形を生かした山寺で、本堂の北側にある山を神聖視した神仏習合の寺院だった可能性が高い」と想像する。

2009-04-04: 像は、神仏習合の下で「関山権現」と呼ばれていた関山神社で、ご神体として扱われていた。

2009-04-27: 戸隠神社は江戸時代までは神仏習合だったが、明治時代の廃仏毀（き）釈で、仏像は各地に離散した。

2009-05-08: さらに、巖島神社の風景を謡（うた）った梁塵秘抄の今様（いまよう）にある歌詞「巫女（きね）が集ひは中の宮」について調べたところ、「巖島神社文書」などから、中の宮が仏教の十一面観音を示すことがわかった。のちに天照大神を大日如来とみなすなど、神仏習合の本地垂迹（ほんちすいじゃく）説の出現を、巖島神社に見いだすという成果につながった。

- 2009-06-28: 神仏習合の宗教観のもとに、神社として、寺院として、独自の発展を遂げていく。
- 2009-08-12: 木津川・馬場南遺跡 水にかかわる祭祀跡 市教委「神仏習合明確に」＝京都
- 2009-08-12: 同市教委は「水や山を信仰する神仏習合の寺院だったことが明確になり、水の祭祀を知る上でも貴重な資料」としている。
- 2009-08-30: その後、若宮神社で神楽を鑑賞し、花山院宮司が周辺を案内した。三十八所神社では「修験道と関係のある由緒のある神社」、宗像神社を「吉野から弁財天を招いたもの」と紹介し、神仏習合で一体化していた春日大社と興福寺の影響が吉野まで及んでいたことを説明。
- 2009-09-02: 国東半島は「陸の孤島」とも呼ばれる。八幡神信仰と天台密教が結びつき、神仏習合の六郷満山文化が形成された地だ。「万物に神を見る日本人の祈りの原形が、この半島に封印されているに違いないと確信した」
- 2009-12-21: 「仏教伝来まで、日本では人々の信仰の対象は山で、その後に神仏の融合が進んだ。投入堂は自然と一体化して『神仏習合』を象徴しており、その点で貴重な存在だ」などと説明した。
- 2010-01-09: 神仏習合の像らしく、神官の衣装の上に僧衣をまとい、右手に「笏（しゃく）」、左手に「数珠」を持っている。
- 2010-01-18: 月例まほろば塾 神仏習合の歴史を紹介＝奈良
- 2010-01-18: 春日大社の神々の霊験を描いた「春日権現験記（ごんげんげんき）絵」にも神仏習合の場面が数多く描かれていることなどを紹介した＝写真＝。
- 2010-07-04: 4世紀頃、奈良の三輪山麓（ろく）や、沖ノ島に神祭りの場が成立して以降、律令制下で国家祭祀（さいし）が行われ、神仏習合や近代化時の国家管理を経て、現在に至った道筋をたどる。
- 2010-07-11: 奈良の神仏習合 歴史や事例紹介 奈良の公開講座に450人＝奈良
- 2010-09-04: 発掘調査ではこのほか、境内を東西に流れる水路の遺構も見つかった。神社が所蔵している室町時代の劔神社の絵図には、神社と寺を区切る水路が描かれており、遺構と絵図が一致することも確認した。町教委の堀大介学芸員は「中世の神仏習合や、神社と寺が共存した様子が見える」と説明する。
- 2010-09-19: 鹿島神宮（鹿嶋市）と香取神宮（千葉県香取市）の関係を、奈良時代に仏教

と神道を融和した「神仏習合」に基づいて解説する講演会「鹿嶋神宮寺と香取神宮寺-鹿嶋の古代信仰-」が10月3日午後2時から、鹿嶋市宮中の鹿嶋勤労文化会館で開かれる。

2010-09-19: 国学院大の笹生衛教授（宗教学）を講師に招き、古代からの鹿嶋神宮への人々の信仰心を説明。鹿嶋神宮の歴史を知った上で、香取神宮とのかかわりや、「神仏習合」によって創建された「神宮寺」について解説する。

2010-09-22: 調査の成果は、龍谷大文化財学実習講座の報告書『石清水八幡宮 石燈籠（いしどうろう）の調査研究』としてまとめられた。同大教授（日本仏教史）の赤松徹真（てっしん）さんは「様式分類を試みるなど本格的で画期的な調査。梵字や仏教語『安楽』『諸願成就』は八幡宮の神仏習合を示し、民衆の宗教意識を物語っている」と評価する。

2010-09-24: 曼荼羅は、もともとは仏教で仏や菩薩（ぼさつ）の悟りの世界を描くもの。宮曼荼羅は神仏習合の影響を受け、熊野信仰を広めるために描かれ、熊野比丘尼と呼ばれた尼僧や山伏らが持ち歩いた。

現在、大社宝物殿に展示されているが、参拝者らから「解説がないか」という問い合わせが寄せられており、昨年12月から編集作業をスタート。

2010-12-02: 護国寺は、859年頃に創建された石清水八幡宮と一体化、明治時代の廃仏毀釈により建物が失われるまでは「神仏習合の宮寺」として皇室の崇拝を受け、延暦寺や京都の寺院とのつながりも強かった。

2010-12-20: 「能・狂言に潜む中世人（ちゅうせいびと）の精神」と題した企画公演の主題は四つ。1回目（1月8日）は和歌などの「歌」、2回目（同29日）は神仏習合が進んだ背景から「神道」、3回目（2月12日）は「仏教」、4回目（3月6日）は華道から「花」。能と狂言を一番ずつ上演する。

2011-01-05: 3部は上田正昭・京都大名誉教授が神仏習合の寺として検討し、渡辺晃宏・奈良文化財研究所室長は、権力者・橘諸兄の別邸だった可能性を示している。

2011-01-06: 神仏習合の歴史知ろう 鳥取で企画展 菩薩像や祭祀道具70点＝鳥取

2011-01-06: 明治政府が神仏分離を進めるまで1000年以上、人々が神も仏も敬い続けてきた「神仏習合」の歴史を知ってもらおうと、やまびこ館が企画した。

2011-03-21: このほか、愛荘町岩倉の仏心寺の木造聖（しょう）観音立像（鎌倉時代）の胎内から見つかった「銅造菩薩（ぼさつ）立像」（高さ7・8センチ、平安時代）と、神仏習合や仏の遺骨（舍利（しゃり））への信仰の様子がわかる大津市比叡辻の聖衆来迎（しょうじゅらいごう）寺の「山王曼荼羅（まんだら）舍利厨子」（南北朝～室町時代）が新たに重文となる。

2011-05-11: かつてはここにお寺と神社があった。いわゆる神仏習合である。ところが明治政府の神仏分離策によって切り離され、神社だけがのこった。現在の金刀比羅宮である。

2011-05-22: 記念講演では、熊野本宮語り部の会の坂本勲生会長が「世界遺産と熊野の森」と題し、神仏習合の歴史や熊野詣の巡礼ルートなどについて説明。

2011-07-20: 鋳銅や木などの円板に仏像の姿を浮き彫りで表現したもの。神仏習合の信仰から生まれ、平安から鎌倉初期にかけて、鏡に仏像を彫り込んで神社に奉納されたのが始まりとされる。鎌倉、室町時代に盛行した。御正体（みしょうたい）とも呼ばれる。

2011-07-24: 鋳銅や木などの円板に仏像の姿を浮き彫りで表現したもの。神仏習合の信仰から生まれ、平安末期から鎌倉初期にかけて、鏡に仏像を彫り込んで神社に奉納されたのが始まりとされる。鎌倉、室町時代に盛行した。御正体（みしょうたい）とも呼ばれる。

2011-07-29: 紀伊半島の南部、3600峰の山々が連なる熊野は古代から「神々の鎮まる所」とされた。仏教伝来後、浄土信仰が広がり、神仏習合の浄土とみなされた。

2011-08-25: 調査は、神社が日本最古級の神仏習合の「神宮寺」であった可能性を探るのが目的で、昨年が続いて2回目。

2011-08-25: 境内2か所で7月13日～8月3日に実施し、遺構のほか、仏具の「須恵器鉄鉢」（9世紀）と神社の儀礼用の「土師器」（10～12世紀）が同じ地層から掘り出され、改めて神仏習合が裏付けられた。

2011-09-08: 仏教は飲酒を戒めるが、寺での酒造りは珍しくない。神仏習合で寺内にまつられた神のため神酒（みき）を造ったことに始まる。

2011-09-27: 森名誉教授は地域ごとの歴史に目を向けることを提唱し、毎年、東海地方の視点で考古学を研究する春日井シンポジウムを開催している。19回目となる今年のシンポジウムは10月8、9日に開かれ、「この国の歴史と形」をテーマに、奈良時代に神道と仏教を調和させようと広まった神仏習合などを取り上げる。

2011-09-27: 境内図に見る神仏習合 来月8、9日「春日井シンポ」＝愛知

2011-10-20: 全国3000以上の白山神社の本宮、白山比メ（ひめ）神社は、明治時代に神仏分離令が出る前までは神仏習合で、十一面観音菩薩像が安置されていた。

2011-10-26: 木造の仏 神仏習合の礎（...）これらの材料はすべてクスノキ。神が宿る霊木・クスノキを使うことに意味があり、これが神仏習合の始まりだ。その出発点は飛鳥にあるのではないか。

2011-11-03: 神仏習合を受けて春日社を画面上、興福寺を画面下に配置する曼荼羅も生ま

れた。

2011-11-22-A: 地区では平安時代から白山信仰の影響で神仏習合が進み、展示品の大半が平安時代以降に神社で作られた仏像という。

2012-02-09: 8世紀、清水寺が隣に開創され、神仏習合のなかで共に栄えた。

2012-02-27: 松村主任学芸員は、12世紀末頃が起源とされ、春日山、神仏習合を反映した本地仏など、同大社の境内の風景を俯瞰（ふかん）的に描いた「春日宮曼荼羅」について解説。

2012-02-28: 熊野那智神社は古来、巨岩信仰とともに、中世以降は修験道信仰とも密接にかかわっている神社だが、本尊は木造十一面千手観音菩薩坐像（平安時代中期作）。江戸時代に作られた木造女神像もあり、神仏習合を顕著に示す特徴があるとして計20点を一括指定した。

2012-04-07: 「貞慶が春日大社境内の若宮に頭を下げる姿が描かれているのが興味深い。神仏習合や南都仏教の復興の系譜がよくわかる」と話した。

2012-04-21: 「若狭郡県誌」の記述から、若狭姫神社（小浜市遠敷）の神宮寺の本尊であったと推測され、神仏習合に関わる造像の可能性があるという。2009年に県指定文化財となっていた。

2012-09-09: 鳥居や本殿について、テンポのいい口調で説明する。「神棚と仏壇がある家庭は多い。神宮境内には弥勒（みろく）寺跡がある。ここは神仏習合が始まった場所」と、歴史の秘話を口にする。

2012-09-25: 一部は再興されたものの、明治初期の廃仏毀釈で、神仏習合だった白山神社だけが残り、寺の実像は長く謎に包まれていた。

Exceptional instances

2008-01-03: 社参式は戦後に始まったといい、神仏習合時代の神前読経は「現在では珍しい行事」という。

2008-02-17: お水取りに色濃く残る神仏習合の姿に触れ、練行衆（れんぎょうしゅう）の清めに使用された道具や、行法中に使用された宝物など重文17件を含む約70件を展示している。

2008-02-18: 七福神の一人の福祿寿を祭る境内の末社「総社」が、神仏習合の名残で「大和七福神霊場」となっている縁で、同じ霊場の植田俊應・安倍文殊院貫主ら僧侶も祭典に出席した。

- 2008-05-05: 新熊野神社 「神仏習合」 140年ぶり復活 聖護院の僧侶や山伏招く＝京都
- 2008-05-05: 神と仏を一緒に信仰してきた日本古来の宗教心を取り戻そうと、明治元年（1868年）の神仏分離令まで続いた「神仏習合」の姿を140年ぶりによみがえらせる。
- 2008-05-30: 五穀豊穰（ほうじょう）を願う行事とされ、寺の住職が行事の前に祈とうするなど、神仏習合の伝統を色濃く残している。
- 2008-09-27: 写真＝神仏習合の影響を色濃く残す神宮寺の「お水送り」の神事（3月2日、小浜市で）
- 2008-12-04: 創建は807年。地元では「三間のお稲荷さん」として親しまれており、かつての神仏習合の面影を色濃く残す。
- 2008-12-04: 写真＝神仏習合の面影を残す龍光寺境内
- 2008-12-14: 「最上稲荷」と親しまれている妙教寺は、日蓮宗から1954年に独立した最上稲荷教の総本山。神仏習合の建造物が多く残り、貴重な景観となっている
- 2009-01-03: 初詣でに訪れた多くの参拝者らは、神仏習合の伝統が残る行事を珍しそうにカメラで撮るなどしていた。
- 2009-05-25: 平安時代から始められ、今では珍しい神仏習合の思想に基づく伝統行事「山王礼拝（さんのうらいはい）講」が26日午前9時から、大津市坂本の日吉大社（馬淵直樹宮司）で営まれる。
- 2009-09-02: 神や仏、修験道、陰陽道などが入り混じった祭りや習俗が多く残っており、「写真で祈りを表現したい」と、4か月後には移り住んだ。
- 2009-10-25: 境内には、隣接するように弁財天を祭る提婆宮（だいばぐう）があり、神仏習合の姿を残す。
- 2010-01-03: 両寺社は古代以来、貴族・藤原氏の氏寺、氏神としてゆかりが深く、社参式は神仏習合の名残を今に伝えている。
- 2010-01-30: 明治初期の廃仏毀釈（はいぶつきしゃく）で、神社からは多くの神仏習合を伝える文化財が失われており、同八幡宮のように残っているのは珍しいという。
- 2010-04-15: 例祭は「申（さる）の神事」とも呼ばれ、全国的にも数少ない神仏習合の古

式を伝える祭事で知られる。

2010-04-22: 形ある文化財だけではない。伊勢神宮（三重県）と近畿の社寺あわせて151でつくる「神仏霊場会」では、神仏を共に崇拝する「神仏習合」の信仰を復興させ、人々の心の平穏につなげようと、伊勢神宮から金剛峯寺（和歌山県）や住吉大社（大阪市）をたどり、延暦寺（滋賀県）につながる「巡拝の道」を設けている。

2010-06-15: 県内に数多く残る神仏習合の作法の紹介を通じて、神も仏も敬い、信仰を続けてきた精神を現代人に伝えようと、平城遷都1300年を記念して初めて企画した。

2011-01-13: 高橋さんは韓竈神社だけで終わらせるつもりはない。「自然も史跡もあり、神仏習合など古いものがこれほど残る地域は少ない。

2011-02-16: 神仏習合 名残とどめる

江戸時代、旧対馬藩・宗家十万石の城下町として栄えた対馬市厳原町の中心部・宮谷と棧原両地区。官公庁や事業所などが並ぶ街並みには、武家屋敷跡や石塀など往時の面影も色濃く残る。歴史の息づかいが聞こえる地区を歩いた。（島居義人）

宮谷に神仏習合の名残をとどめる鳥居が建っている。

2011-07-14: 奈良、平安時代から、全国の八幡宮の総本社「宇佐八幡宮」の影響もあり、神仏習合の信仰が形成された国東半島には、約500基にのぼる宝塔「国東塔」、石造りの仁王像や岩壁に彫られた磨崖（まがい）仏などが残されています。

2011-10-19: 「元々、ここは前田家ゆかりのお稲荷様をまつる場所としてできたので、鳥居があります。神仏習合の名残です」と日下部（くさかべ）哲也住職（43）が説明する。

2011-11-22-B: 船尾さんは神戸市出身。国東半島を訪れて神仏習合文化や自然に魅せられ、2001年、東京から合併前の国見町に移住。

2011-12-22: 寺院は地元住民らで管理し、敷地内には、神仏習合の名残で鳥居があり、ケヤキは、“ご神木”として親しまれてきたという。

Unclear instances

2008-03-17-B: 片山代表は「原理主義が広がる中で、神仏習合のように“多様性”を認める日本的なものの考え方が広がっていかないと世界の未来は危ない」と、その意義を説明している。

2008-03-17-A: 「神仏習合、修験道といった熊野の文化を表現するのは難しい。正しく翻訳するには、どうしてもネイティブが必要」。

2008-04-05: 滝尻や近露など主要な王子、熊野詣での歴史や神仏習合、山伏の山岳修行などを解説。

2008-05-25: 次回は6月15日に「神と仏と奈良～奈良の神仏習合」をテーマに開かれる。問い合わせは同大社（0742・22・7788）へ。

2008-06-08: 春日大社「いのちと心の講座」 神仏習合、映像交え講演＝奈良

2008-06-08: 講座は「神と仏と奈良～奈良の神仏習合」と題し、仏教を厚く信仰した聖徳太子も神々を敬うように呼びかけていたこと、東大寺のお水取りや薬師寺の花会式にも神道の影響が色濃く反映されていることなどを指摘。

2008-06-16: 写真＝神仏習合をテーマに講演する岡本権宮司（奈良市の春日大社で）

2008-06-16: 岡本権宮司が神仏習合講演

日本古来の文化について理解を深める春日大社（奈良市）の「いのちと心の講座」（読売新聞大阪本社後援）が15日、境内の「感謝・共生の館」で開かれた。岡本彰夫権宮司が「神と仏と奈良」をテーマに、神仏習合について講演し、約150人が聞き入った。

2008-06-16: 参加した県職員の山崎伸幸さん（46）は「神仏習合について、神社と寺院両側からのかかわりを説明しており、わかりやすかった」と感心していた。

2008-07-10: 自然と人、共生が根本／素晴らしい神仏習合

安田 今日、高田管主（高田好胤（こういん）・元薬師寺管主）の命日です。加藤宮司は、甲南大の学生時代から古美術研究会などを通じ、高田管主と親交を深めていただいております。

私は神道と仏教には、いろいろ共通点があると思っています。日本特有の神仏習合は素晴らしい信仰の形態です。

2008-09-23: 江戸時代のお伊勢参りに倣い、明治時代に否定された「神仏習合」の精神を復活させる試み。廣川さん自身はキリスト教徒だが、「神仏“共存”は日本の伝統的な感性。本来の『祈り』の姿を取り戻したい」とも。

2008-09-27: 「若狭の社寺建造物群と文化的景観」は、小浜市の多田ヶ岳周辺の社寺群が、仏教と我が国固有の信仰が独特のかたちで融合した「神仏習合」のあり方を表していると評価されたものの、「神仏習合の代表例としての証明が不十分」とされ、構成遺産の文化

財の保護もさらに進めるべきだとの指摘もあった。

2008-09-28: 2006年11月に初めて提案したが、「他地域にも似たような文化がある」との理由で継続審査とされた。このため、07年12月には神仏習合文化が人々の生活の中に今も息づいてことを強調しようと、宇佐神宮の荘園だった田染荘（たしぶのしょう）（豊後高田市）といったの景観や例祭など158件をリスト化して再提案していた。

2008-09-28: 県と宇佐市など県北5市が、世界遺産の国内候補地となる「暫定リスト」入りを目指していた「宇佐・国東一『神仏習合』の原風景」について、同庁は26日、リスト入りを見送ったと発表した。

2008-09-28: 神、仏教の信仰を融合調和した「神仏習合文化」が発達した地域の特性を強調したが、「普遍的な価値を持つことの証明が不十分」とされた。宇佐・国東半島では、かつては境内に寺が置かれていた宇佐神宮（宇佐市）を中心に神と仏がともに信仰されてきた。

2008-10-24: 山折哲雄・元国際日本文化研究センター所長の講演会「神仏習合と日本の文化」や神崎宣武・旅の文化研究所所長、加藤隆久・生田神社宮司、矢野憲一・五十鈴塾塾長らによるパネル討論を行います。

2008-10-30: 神仏習合の講演も 来月2日、円成寺で「観楓会」＝奈良

2008-10-30: 本堂舞台で奈良大雅楽研究会が雅楽「迦陵頻（かりょうぴん） 胡蝶（こちょう）」を奉納した後、本堂で同寺の鎮守でもある春日大社の岡本彰夫権宮司が「奈良の神仏習合」のテーマで講演する。

2008-12-11: おん祭で奉納される田楽や神仏習合など、展覧会に関連したテーマで市教委職員や同館研究員が解説する。

2008-12-12: 続く討論では「神仏習合は 寛容の心の表れ」（山口会長）、「伊勢神宮の『おかげ参り』のように、すべてのおかげというのが日本の信仰」（矢野憲一・元伊勢神宮禰宜（ねぎ））などと、信仰の背景に「和の心」があるとの意見が相次いだ。

2008-12-12: 神戸・生田神社の加藤隆久宮司は「祖先が生きてきた神仏和合の道をたどることで、人と人、自然と人 のきずなが生まれる」と話し、コーディネーターの民俗学者、

神崎宣武さんが「神仏習合のような日本のバックボーン（精神的支柱）を世界に発信する時代が来ている」と締めくくった。

2008-12-12: 講演会「歴史街道の魅力」 神仏習合は「和の心」から 山折哲雄さん講演

2008-12-12: 神仏習合をテーマに、まず宗教学者の山折哲雄さんが講演。

2009-02-13: 約750人に宗教学者の山折哲雄氏が神仏習合について講演。

2009-03-16: 現在はもちろん廃仏毀釈はないが、「篤胤は神と仏が相いれないと思う感覚を、現代の日本人に強く残している」と吉田さんは指摘する。その結果、「神仏習合によって培われた日本の宗教世界が、近代以降の神仏分離によって『やせた』といえるのではないか」。

2009-05-10: 面白い発見もあった。旧千灯寺跡に限らず、半島の寺の参道には、神社にあるはずの鳥居がたっている。神仏習合の影響と聞いた。

2010-01-18: 春日大社の花山院弘匡（かさんのいんひろただ）宮司が「春日の信仰」と題して神仏習合について講演、塾長の安田暎胤（えいいん）・同寺長老も法話を行い約310人が聞き入った。

2010-04-06: 番組名は「神仏習合」と、ザ・ドリフターズの人気番組「8時だヨ！全員集合」にちなんでおり、2人は「堅いイメージのある神社や寺に親しみを持ってもらう番組にしたい」と話している。

2010-04-21: 番組のパーソナリティーを務める貴布禰（きふね）神社の江田政亮宮司によると、1回目の放送前にインターネットで紹介された内容を見た宗教関係者から「『神仏習合』を思わせ、よろしくない」と指摘されたという。2回目からは、番組内で流すタイトルコールを変更した。

2010-07-11: 奈良の社寺などでつくる「県宗教者フォーラム実行委」（委員長＝岡本彰夫・春日大社権（ごん）宮司）は10日、神仏習合についての公開講座「神と仏と日本のこころ-奈良の伝統にみる神仏和合」を、奈良市の県新公会堂で開き、約450人が聞き入った＝写真＝。

2011-03-03: 神仏習合テーマ 探訪会と講演 12日、石清水八幡宮＝京都

2011-03-03: 境内から、江戸時代の「空中茶室」の遺構や珍しい祭祀（さいし）跡が見つかった護国寺跡などが発掘された、八幡市の石清水八幡宮で12日、神仏習合をテーマに

した探訪会と講演会が行われる。

2011-03-03: 同 2 時半から、境内にある八幡宮研修センターで、同八幡宮の西中道禰宜（ねぎ）が、同八幡宮と神仏習合とのかかわりについて講演する。

2011-03-07: 神仏習合テーマに議論 神戸でシンポ＝兵庫

2011-03-07: 伊勢神宮と近畿の 150 社寺でつくる「神仏霊場会」のシンポジウム「日本の原風景一誘（いざな）う神仏たち」が 6 日、神戸市中央区の生田神社会館で開かれた。神仏を一緒に崇拝する「神仏習合」をテーマに活発な議論が交わされた。

2011-03-09: 神仏習合テーマ シンポに 350 人 神仏霊場会＝大阪

2011-03-09: 伊勢神宮と近畿の 150 社寺でつくる「神仏霊場会」のシンポジウム「日本の原風景一誘（いざな）う神仏たち」が、神戸市中央区の生田神社会館で開かれた。神仏を一緒に崇拝する「神仏習合」をテーマに活発な議論が交わされた。

2011-07-09: 平安の昔、国東半島一帯では、神を仏として、仏を神とする神仏習合文化が華を咲かせました。異なる文化を認め合い共存するという文化はグローバル社会の先駆けと言えるかもしれません。世界に誇れる文化を次世代に残すため、国東の地では世界遺産認定を目指す活動が行われています。

2011-09-27: 版画展の会期は 10 月 30 日まで。シンポジウムは、8 日午後 1 時から「神仏習合」、9 日午前 10 時から「古代日本人と渡来人」、同午後 1 時から「日本の地域文化と食」をテーマに、市民会館で開かれる。定員 1100 人。参加費は 2 日間で 3000 円。

2011-11-17: 第 2 部の市民フォーラムは午後 1 時 30 分から、同市元町の市教育会館で開かれる。神仏習合研究の第一人者の達（つじ）日出典・岐阜聖徳学園大名誉教授が講演。

2012-02-28: 木造薬師如来坐像 熊野那智神社・神仏習合遺産 お盆の精霊船送り

小浜市教委は、飯盛寺（小浜市法海）の「木造薬師如来坐像」、熊野那智神社（同市上田）の神仏習合遺産、市内 3 か所に伝わる「お盆の精霊船送り」の 3 件を市文化財に指定した。市指定文化財は計 106 件になる。

2012-06-22: 同会は 08 年、神と仏を一緒に拝んだ明治時代以前の「神仏習合」の精神を取り戻そうと設立。参拝者向けの巡礼ルートを設け、これまで 400 人以上が全社寺参拝を達成している。

2012-10-05: 今回のシンポでは、森さんが「この国の歴史と形への足馴（な）らし」をテーマに講演するほか、神と仏の共存などを取り上げた「神仏習合」に焦点を当てる。

2012-11-11-B: 森林セラピーのコースに神仏習合の神社「川中神社」がある＝写真＝。
明治の廃仏棄釈より前には西光寺があり、718年（養老2年）に獵師が開いたと伝えられている。