

***Danna ukeai no okite*: Its role in anti-heretical policy of Edo period Japan and implications for present day “funerary Buddhism”**

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Abstract

This study is to characterize *Danna ukeai no okite* (*Terms of the Parishioner Guarantee*) against its historical background and discuss its possible role in the development of temple-parishioner relations of early modern Japan. The origins of today’s Japan parochial affiliation system (*danka seido*, *jidan seido*) with its most visible feature of conducting funerary rites and services to venerate ancestors according to the sectarian ordinances of the parish temple (*danna dera*), date back to the second half of the 17th century, when each household was required to register at a local Buddhist temple as part of anti-heretical policy of the shogunate. Temples, on the other hand, were given a role of guarantors, attesting to the orthodoxy of their parishioners. Such model of religious policy led to Buddhist clergy appropriating of the existing legal framework to expand its authority.

The paper discusses *Danna ukeai no okite*, a counterfeit document exemplifying such an expansion of power over the people. It imposed on families affiliated with Buddhist temples several duties towards their guarantors, which included an obligation to have funeral ceremonies conducted under the sanction of being accused of heretical inclinations. Some of the conditions prescribed by the document, such as receiving a posthumous Buddhist name (*kaimyō*) and installing at homes family Buddhist altars are believed to be manifestations of “funerary Buddhism”.

Keywords: *funerary Buddhism, Danna ukeai no okite, heresy, parochial affiliation system, danka seido*

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1 Introduction

In contemporary Japan, Buddhism has often been referred to as “funerary Buddhism” (*sōshiki bukkyō*). This term of unknown origin, first introduced to the academic world by Tamamuro Taijō in 1963¹, aptly defines the function Buddhism primarily serves for today’s Japanese, that being conducting funerary rites, death-related practices and administering cemeteries. But how did it happen that one particular religion came to dominate in this area of religious life of the Japanese?

The roots of the state of affairs can be traced back to the religious policy of the Edo period², implemented from the 17th up until the 19th century. Policymakers of the time, organized Buddhist temples under anti-heretical campaign, which led, in consequence, to the clergy appropriating the legal framework to expand their authority. This paper aims to examine *Danna ukeai no okite* 檀那請合〔之〕掟 (*Terms of the Parishioner Guarantee*), a document most probably fabricated by Buddhist priests to appear as it were a legal order of the shogun, which vividly exemplifies such an abuse of power. In the following discussion, special interest will be taken in its possible role in the expansion of Buddhist funerary rites among the commoners and formation of what is known today as “funerary Buddhism”.

2 Historical background

To provide some preliminary background to the study, let us review some basic components of the religious policy of Japan during the Edo period. Needless to say, it was designed to eliminate heresy. In the initial stage, it was targeted at Christianity (*kirishitan*), fully banned in 1613, later on, it was expanded to include some prohibited Buddhist sects, (especially two branches of Nichiren school, Fujufuse-ha and Hiden-shū).

Under this policy, each household was obliged to register with a legitimate Buddhist temple as parishioners (*danka* 檀家)³, as part of the guaran-

¹ This pejorative term appeared for the first time in his now classic work by the same title. In the introduction to his book, Tamamuro claims, that for ordinary people, nowadays Buddhism is all about funerals and [memorial] ceremonies (葬祭一本). Tamamuro Taijō, *Sōshiki bukkyō*, p. 1.

² In the history of Japan the period between 1603 and 1868. Also known as the Tokugawa period, taking its name from the clan of hereditary shoguns.

³ A Sino-Japanese term derived from a Sanskrit *dānapati*. Also, *danotsu* 檀越. A lay donor, patron. In Japanese Buddhism “a parishioner”.



tee system (*terauke* 寺請). Buddhist temples were made institutions responsible for verifying and attesting to the orthodoxy of faith of their parishioners⁴. This was confirmed by an official certificate known as *terauke shōmon* 寺請証文 or *terauke jō* 寺請状, they issued periodically. Then, the head of each family submitted the certificate to a local official (*shōya*), who compiled registers of population according to religious denomination for the whole village (*shūmon ninbetsu aratame chō* 宗門人別改帳)⁵. Since 1671, complete registers were to be stored by local governors (*daikan*), while one-page registers (*isshi tegata* 一紙手形) presented to central government (*bakufu*)⁶.

The obligation to affiliate with a legitimate Buddhist temple was implemented gradually, at the initial stage especially in areas where Christianity had managed to put down deep roots. In 1614, following the shogunate's prohibition of *kirishitan*, adherents in Kaga, Kyoto, Buzen and Bungo were forced to convert back to Buddhism. Temples produced for these ex-Christians (*korobi kirishitan*) certificates of affiliation as proof of religious orthodoxy⁷. One of the oldest extant examples of a certificate of affiliation is the one written in the 7th year of the Kanei era (1630) by a group of peasants, who claimed to be parishioners of Monmyō-ji in Kanazawa-han (Neigun, Yatsuo-machi), the branch temple⁸ of Hongan-ji⁹. In 1638, the authorities sent sample certificates to Buddhist temples around the country; it can therefore be assumed, that, at that point of time, the authorities had launched a systematic religious control based on unified procedures¹⁰.

⁴ As will be discussed later on (see p. 102) temples apparently put an emphasis on orthopraxy over the orthodoxy of their parishioners.

⁵ *Edo bukkyō: Taisei bukkyō to chika shinkō*, p. 39.

⁶ This final regulation was implemented by *Shūmon aratame no gi ni tsuki go daikan he tasshi* 宗門改之儀二付御代官江達 (*Notice to local governors regarding religious investigation*), *Tokugawa kinreikō*, vol. 30, p. 419.

⁷ Tamamuro Fumio, *Sōshiki to danka*, p. 183–184.

⁸ Under the shogunate-enforced temple hierarchy system (*honmatsu seido* 本末制度), each Buddhist sect was required to establish a main temple (*honzan* 本山) and its branch temples (*matsuji* 末寺). The oldest surviving list of branch temples dates back to 1632–33, but it covers only temples of eastern Japan.

⁹ *Toyamaken shi: Shiryō hen. Kinsei*, p. 1127, document no. 872.

¹⁰ The suppression of the Shimabara uprising, deemed as the *kirishitan* rebellion served as a pretext for tightening and unifying the obligation to register in parish temples. The uprising is thought to have reinforced official resentment towards *kirishitan*. *Edo bukkyō: Taisei bukkyō to chika shinkō*, p. 30.



3 *Danna ukeai no okite*: description of the document

Under the shogunate-enforced *danka* membership system, Buddhist temples grew in power, gradually showing symptoms of its abuse. A vivid example of the Buddhist clergy taking advantage of its favorable position is a counterfeit document known as *Danna ukeai no okite* (*Terms of the Parishioner Guarantee*). This legal act was allegedly promulgated by shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu in the 5th month of the 18th year of the Keichō era (1613), approximately six months prior to issuing the edict delegating Christianity. The content of the document, however, provide grounds for dating it towards the end of the 17th century. Mentioned in the document as pernicious denominations (*jashū* 邪宗) it was designed to recognize and eliminate are, along with Christianity, two Nichiren schools, namely Fujufuse-ha (outlawed in 1665) and Hiden-shū (outlawed in 1691). Attributing the document's authorship to Ieyasu, despite apparent inconsistency (he died in 1616), was in all probability meant as a measure to endow it with the highest authority.

Terms of the Parishioner Guarantee were addressed to all temples of all provinces (*shokoku shojiin* 諸国諸寺院)¹¹. These survived in numerous, slightly different copies¹². Some scholars, like Tamamuro Fumio even claimed that at least one copy of the document can be found in almost every temple dating to the Edo period¹³. While this information is hard to verify, Hōzawa Naohide managed to locate over 90 hand-written copies¹⁴. The vast majority of the manuscripts belong to Buddhist temples, but some rare examples in possession of shintō shrines can be given as well (e.g. *Tōshōgū sama jihō jūgokajō* 東照宮様寺法十五か条 in Kawachi jinja, Shigekura, Kōchi pref.)¹⁵. Most of the extant copies were produced from the Kansei (1789–1801) era onwards. The widespread circulation of the document can be further testified by its availability on the antiquarian market. The author herself, has in her collection two hand-written 18th century copies, preowned by Buddhist temples: Chōsen-ji (in Sagami province, see illustration 1) and Kongō-in (in Shinshū province, see illustration 2).

¹¹ *Sendaishi shi: Shiryō hen. Kinsei*, vol. 4, ed. Sendaishi shi hensan iinkai, Sendai 2000, p. 569.

¹² There are several discrepancies in its title as well. Some of the variants include: *Shūmon danna ukeai no okite*, *Tōshō gongen shūhō onokite go jōmoku*, *Tōshōgū go jōmoku*.

¹³ *Edo bukkyō*, op. cit., p. 31.

¹⁴ Hōzawa Naohide, *Kinsei bukkyō no seido to jōhō*, p. 310–335.

¹⁵ *Kōchiken shi: Kinsei shiryō hen*, Kōchi 1968, p. 408.



Terms usually consist of 15 articles, not necessarily numbered. In terms of content, they can be grouped in two main categories: those designed to assist Buddhist priests in recognizing heretics, and those which impose certain duties on families registered as parishioners. Official certificates of affiliation (*terauke shōmon*) were issued only to those parishioners who were diligent in fulfilling their duties. Under the provisions of the document, temples were allegedly obliged to spy on their parishioners and report any suspicious incidents to the authorities. Consequences for disobedience were severe. The refusal of a temple to grant a certificate resulted in severe restriction of freedom, making it impossible to cross borders between provinces, to change place of residence, to get married, or even contract oneself as a servant.

4 *Kirishitan* incidents and diffusion of the document

Little is known under what circumstances the *Terms* were diffused within temples. One particular factor which could prompt central temples to make sure that branch temples of the sect abide by the *Terms*, was exposure of secret *kirishitan* adherents within registered parishioners. Such was the case of Higashi Hongan-ji in Kyoto. In 1830, it assembled representatives of subordinate temples from Kyoto for a lecture by Igyōin Hōkai 易行院法海, a seminary (*gakuryō*) teacher.

The event was held as a result of the *kirishitan* incident which occurred in areas of Kyoto and Osaka. Following the arrest of Sano in Settsu (Nishinari-gun, Kawasaki-mura) in 1827, a secret group of alleged *kirishitan* was revealed. Within the next three years, sixty five of its members had been sentenced to death, imprisonment, exile or fine. Chief priests of temples, the leading figures of the group were enrolled in as parishioners, were punished by dismissal from office. Interrogation records show, that at least three of the alleged *kirishitan*, its founder Mizuno Gunki and the disciples: Kinu and Keizō were affiliated with subordinate temples of Hongan-ji¹⁶.

A written record (*oboegaki*) of the speech *Shūmon okite: Jūkōgi jashūmon goshokuji* (*Denominational Rules Arising from the Bakufu's Declaration regarding Pernicious Denominations*, 宗門掟 従公儀邪宗門御触示, in the possession of Dōhō University)¹⁷ shows, that the issuing of affiliation certificates

¹⁶ Matsukane Naomi, *Shūmon okite (Jūkōgi jashūmon goshokuji): Keihan «kirishitan» ikken go ni okeru Higashi Honganji gakusō no enzetsu (shiryō shōkai)*, p. 108.

¹⁷ Ibidem.



was taught to be a top priority duty of priests. Igyōin advised to carefully examine parishioners according to provisions of the *Terms* before issuing a certificate and demanded that any suspicious individuals were reported immediately, according to “shogun’s policy to root out pernicious denominations and make their leaves wither”¹⁸.

As testimony to the fact that some copies of the *Terms* were made as the result of the aforementioned incident, *Kirishitan shūmon ikken ni tsuki jūkōgi ōseidasare kakiutsushi Shūmon dera Danna ukeai [no] okite* 切支丹宗門一件ニ付従公儀被仰出書写 宗門寺旦那請合掟 (*Terms of the Parishioner Guarantee by the Temple of Affiliation* declared by bakufu and copied following the *kirishitan* incident) can be given¹⁹.

5 Parishioner’s duties in the context of death-related practices

Next, let us discuss some of the death-related parishioner’s duties, which are believed to have contributed to propagating Buddhist funerary rites among lower classes of society. Article number 10 states the following:

When a man dies, the priest of the temple should shave the head of the corpse and give him a precept name (*kaimyō* 戒名). The priest should confirm that the shadow of death was on his face and after verifying that the person did not follow a subversive faith, he should help the man in his passage to the other world. These matters should be examined carefully²⁰.

死後死骸に頭剃刀を與へ戒名を授ける事是ハ宗門寺之住持死相を見届て邪宗にて無之段槌に受合之上にて可致引導也能々可遂吟味事

The above quotation indicates, that parishioners were under obligation to have the dead members of their families inspected by their priest prior to the burial. As part of the post-mortuary ritual, the deceased parishioner was supposed to receive a Buddhist precept name. In Mahayana Buddhist tradition, *kaimyō*, also known as Dharma names, were bestowed to laypersons who took precepts. In Japan, however, it developed into a unique practice of

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 111.

¹⁹ A 1830-year copy, previously owned by Senpuku-ji, currently in possession of Fukui-ken Monjokan (Archives of Fukui prefecture). See: www.archives.pref.fukui.jp/archive.

²⁰ *Go jōmoku shūmon danna ukeai no okite* [in:] *Tokugawa kinreikō*, vol. 62, ed. Shihōshō, Tōkyō 1932, p. 138.



acquiring a new name posthumously, as part of a funerary rite. Even today, it has been considered one of the most recognizable and problematic attributes of so called “funerary Buddhism”²¹.

Temples relied heavily on income from the performance of funerals and memorial services. The document (in article 12) goes on to explicitly prohibit affiliated parishioners from turning to other temples for memorial services, which could deprive a family temple of its economic base.

It is strictly prohibited to arrange for memorial services for ancestors to be held at a temple other than one’s family temple, or to perform memorial services at such a temple. However, if the person died in a foreign province, this restriction does not apply. This matter should be closely investigated²².

先祖之佛事他寺へ持参致し法事勤申堅禁制雖然他國にて死去候時ハ
格別之事能々可遂吟味事

According to the next article (number 13), temples required their parishioners to regularly participate in memorial services. As part of diligently fulfilling their duties towards ancestors, every household was required to have a home altar devoted to deceased family members. Priests, on the other hand, were obliged to inspect offerings made on the home altars of their parishioners.

If someone does not attend memorial services for ancestors despite being capable of walking and neglects Buddhist practices, such a person should be closely investigated. Offerings on his home altar (*jibutsudō* 持仏堂) should also be checked closely²³.

先祖之佛事歩行達者成者ニ参詣不仕不沙汰に修行申もの可遂吟味其
者持佛堂備へ物能々可遂吟味事

The *Terms* (in article 3) put parishioners under an obligation to frequent a temple at least six times a year under the sanction of being removed from the register. No exceptions were allowed, even parishioners of a higher status (*kashira danna*) and stronger position in a local community were hard pressed to meet temple requirements.

²¹ Shimada Hiromi, *Kaimyō wa, jibun de kimeru*, p. 85.

²² *Go jōmoku shūmon danna ukeai no okite*, op. cit., p. 138.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 138.



Even if a person is a head of parishioners (*kashira danna*) of the temple, if he does not attend regularly the temple celebrations of the anniversary of a sect founder, the anniversary of Buddha's death, Bon (festival of the dead), Higan (memorial services during the equinoctial week) and the anniversary of ancestors, he should be removed from the temple register of parishioners and reported to the authorities. He should be closely investigated²⁴.

頭檀那成共祖師忌佛忌盆彼岸先祖命日に絶て参詣不仕者ハ判形を引
宗旨役所江断急度可遂吟味事

It should be noted here that temples defined several ritual responsibilities, while their correct performance (orthopraxy) was considered a way to demonstrate that registered parishioners were not heretics. There is only one article (number 8) which relates strictly to the orthodoxy of faith.

Even if one's parents and ancestors were devoted to a family temple, and there is no doubt that he belongs to one of eight or nine [Buddhist] sects, there is a possibility that his children, persuaded in some way, at the bottom of their heart follow a subversive faith. A family temple should look closely into it²⁵.

親代々之宗門に元附八宗九宗之内何之宗旨紛無之共其子如何様なる
勸ニより心底邪宗に組合やも不知宗門時より可遂吟味事

Apart from imposing several duties on parishioners, the document also provides priests with instructions on how to recognize heretics. Here are some criteria related to funerary rites.

The Christians and the Fujufuse-ha (not receiving and not giving alms) followers do not ask a priest to perform annual memorial services for ancestors. On that day, they give usual offerings to their temple, and then secretly hold a service among laymen. If a priest pays them a visit, they do not receive him well and do not use his services. Thus they should be put under investigation²⁶.

切支丹不受不施のもの先祖之年忌僧之弔を不請當日ハ宗門寺へ一ト
通之志を述内證にて俗人打寄弔僧之来時は無興にて不用依而可遂吟
味事

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 137.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 138.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 137.



Essentially, any failure to fulfil religious duties constituted grounds for labelling someone a heretic. Not relying on a priest's services was regarded as a highly suspicious behavior, common to *kirishitan* and a prohibited Buddhist sect, Fujufuse-ha.

The last article repeats the requirement to follow instructions of a priest, when preparing for a burial. It also justifies the necessity to scrutinize parishioners, by stating that priests can be held responsible in case of failure to inspect their parishioners properly.

When someone dies, every action should be taken according to the instructions of the temple in charge. The enemies of the whole country whom the whole nation despises are the *kirishitan*, the Fujufuse, the Hiden and adherents of *padre*. When one of them dies, the temple should inform the religious authorities and, after investigation, the chief priest of the temple should perform the funeral. If there is no notification to the authorities and he still performs the funeral, let the priest be investigated closely for his failure²⁷.

合果候時ハ一切宗門寺の指圖を蒙り修行事天下の敵萬民の怨ハ切支丹不受不施輩 [田] 宗馬轉連之類を以て相果候節ハ寺社役者へ相斷り檢者を受て宗門寺の住僧弔可申事役所へ不相斷弔申時ハ其僧之越度能々可遂吟味事

Based on the above examples, it can be concluded, that articles referring to funerary practices and memorial services constitute a large portion of the *Terms*, situating them among major means of combating heretics and verifying the orthodoxy of faith.

6 Criticism of the Buddhist clergy in the context of funeral services

Social and financial aspects of Buddhist funerals were extensively criticized by the intellectuals of the time. Many opinions on the decay of the Buddhist world and the moral corruption of its clergy have been voiced, some of them criticizing specifically the financial demands of the temples, especially in the context of funeral services.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 138.



First example comes from *Keizai mondō hiroku* 経済問答秘録 (*Secret Records of Dialogues on Economics*) by Shōji Kōki (around Tempō era, 1831–1845):

If one does not offer money that would satisfy the expectations of the chief priest, in the event of death, he delays [the funeral] for three or even five days, not sending [the dead] to the other world. Keeping this in mind, [people] whether they want to or not, indebt themselves in order to make offerings²⁸.

若し寺主の存念通り出金せずんば、死亡のとき引導を致さず、三日も五日も延ばす故、これを思ひてやむことなく、借財して納むるなり。

Fujimori Kōan (1799–1862) in his *Shin seidan* 新政談 (*New Opinions on Politics*) gives a similar account of the problem:

Monks ask for money for columbaria, or demand offerings. They delay funerals. It causes a lot of trouble to peasants and townsmen. One does not see it in Edo, but in the country, it happens frequently²⁹.

祠堂金をむさぼり、あるひは布施をねだり、葬礼を延引させ、百姓町人迷惑に及ぶこと、江戸にてはあまり聞き及ばず候へども、在方にては度々あることなり。

An equally negative picture of Buddhist priests has also been painted in *Seji kenbun roku* 世事見聞録 (*Matters of the World: An Account of What I Have Seen and Heard*, 1816) by Buyō Inshi. He describes priests as an idle and unproductive class of people, who readily abuse their position:

If someone acts in a way which disobeys a monk's will or goes against his thoughts, not only does he hold a grudge for everything, but also on the occasion of religious inspection, he refuses to stamp a certificate. When someone marries into a family, he postpones the transfer of register to a new parish temple, and in

²⁸ *Keizai mondō hiroku* [in:] *Nihon Keizai sōsho*, vol. 22, ed. Takimoto Seiichi, Nihon Keizai sōsho kankōkai, Tōkyō 1917.

²⁹ *Shin seidan* [in:] *Nihon Keizai sōsho*, vol. 32, ed. Takimoto Seiichi, Nihon Keizai sōsho kankōkai, Tōkyō 1917, p. 240.



case of a tragic event, he brings disgrace by delaying the funeral. This is the source of all hardships and worries³⁰.

もし寺僧の存念にそむき、意に反した行状をとれば、万事に遺恨を残さるるばかりでなく、宗門改の節、証印を拒まれたり、縁組に当りて送り状の作成を、また不幸ありたる時葬送の手間取らせたり恥辱されたりして、万事につけ苦患のたねになるといふ。

Based on these examples, it is clear, that Buddhist priests were criticized for abusing their authority in the context of funerary rites. Even within the official affiliation system, they had enormous power over the life and death of their parishioners, but at the same time they readily secured new rights under the *Terms of the Parishioner Guarantee*.

7 Relation to preexisting laws

As has already been mentioned, *Terms* exemplify an excessive expansion of temple privileges. The next issue which needs to be addressed here is their relation to preexisting, official laws. Buddhist temples were, in fact, employed as a means of enforcing a ban against Christianity. In 1687 bakufu issued to all domains an order to prepare registers of *kirishitan* descendants (*kirishitan ruizoku*). It contained specific instructions of how to monitor the religious life of ex-*kirishitan* lineages (up to five generations for male descendants and up to three generations for female descendants).

Article 4. Former *kirishitan* adherents, after apostasy, should be registered with a temple. What sect does the temple belong to? Do they attend it regularly? Do they bring offerings to the temple? Do they have prayer beads (*juzu*) and do they visit the temple on their parents' death anniversaries? Do they house a Buddhist altar (*jibutsu*) and do they always offer incense and flowers? The temple of registration should accurately monitor the above. If they have servants, they should be monitored with the same attention as the family.

前々切支丹ころひ候以後檀那寺可有之候何宗旨ニ成候而常々寺へ参詣仕候哉其寺江付居常躰ニ仕候哉数珠等をも持父母之忌日に寺江も参又ハ持佛などをもかまへ香花をも備候哉其趣檀那寺槌遂検議又ハ下人等召仕候者有之候ハ、其下々迄念を入可被致穿鑿事

³⁰ Buyō Inshi, *Seji kenbun roku*, p. 150.



Article 7. If a person who was formerly a *kirishitan* dies, the corpse has to be preserved with salt. The instructions of a *Kirishitan* inquisitor (*Kirishitan Bugyō*) should be followed. If a descendant of *kirishitan* dies, unless something out of ordinary happened, a temple of registration should carry out an inspection [of the corpse] and prepare a report on its results. [The results] should be presented to *Kirishitan* inquisitor twice a year, in the 7th and 12th month. [The deceased] should be removed from the register of [living] descendants of *kirishitan*³¹.

前々切支丹宗門之者果候ハ、死骸は塩詰ニ仕差置切支丹奉行指圖次第ニ可仕事類族之者果候ハ、死骸等遂吟味別条於無之ハ檀那寺にて取置其趣を帳面にしるし毎年七月十二月両度に切支丹奉行江差出帳面除かせ可被申事

In the light of the above, in the bakufu official order, temples were obliged to keep a close watch on religious activities of former *kirishitan* and their descendants. It should be noted, that death-related rites, such as burial of the body and ancestor worship were placed at the center of its attention and bore close resemblance to provisions of *Danna ukeai no okite*.

Even prior to the aforementioned 1687-year order, inquisitors carefully inspected suspicious corpses. *Kirishitoki* 契利斯督記 (*A Record of Christianity*), an inquisitor manual by Inoue Masashige (the first inquisitor), later on compiled by his successor Hōjō Ujinaga, provide the following instructions:

Inspection by a temple of registration should be made carefully. Priests also fall prey to deception. Up until now, corpses of *kirishitan* were not cremated. They [*kirishitan*] put a dead body in a coffin in their own homes. They made a cross (*kurusu*) on a board inside the coffin, tied the coffin up firmly at the top and buried in the ground. (...) Even thou inhumation is being practiced among Buddhist as well, in such cases, one needs to be suspicious. Excavate the corpse and examine the inside of the coffin. Often, it will reveal signs of religious denomination³².

切々と旦那寺ノ改可念入也、出家モ亦ダマサレル事、只今迄ハ吉利支丹ハ死骸火葬スルコト無之候、尸ヲ己ガ宿ニテ桶ニ入、桶ノ内ニ

³¹ Tokugawa kinreikō, op. cit., p. 411.

³² *Kirishitoki*, p. 637.



板ニテクルスヲ作入、桶ノ上ヲヨクカラゲツカハシ土葬ニイタシ候
 事有ヨシ、 (...) 釈氏ニモ土葬ニスルヲアレドモ、カヤウノ所ニモ
 不審ヲ可立事也、死骸ヲ掘出シ、桶ノ内ヲ穿鑿イタシ、宗門アラハ
 レタル義モ度々有之候由

Inquisitors took measures to assure that nobody was given a non-Buddhist funeral. Even Buddhists, who inhumed the dead, faced the threat of having it exhumed and checked for proofs of heresy (such as religious symbols). Such extreme measures possibly encouraged a trend from inhumation to cremation. Even though in the legal framework of the 2nd half of the 17th century only descendants of *kirishitan* were put under a strict surveillance system, Buddhist clergy applied it to the entire population by issuing *Terms* and giving rise to funerary patronage over parishioners.

8 Attributes of subversive denominations (*jashūmon*)

Danna ukeai no okite explicitly states that *kirishitan* and a Buddhist sect of Fujufuse-ha are variants of one denomination³³. But what features led them to be included within the common term of *jashūmon* (subversive religion)? In my opinion, what presented the biggest challenge to the dominant orthodoxy of the Buddhist church, and was common to both of these religious groups, was the attitude towards alms-giving and alms-receiving.

Generally speaking, in the Buddhist tradition, lay followers and monks exchange alms (*fuse* 布施)³⁴ with each other. The burden of material support of the clergy by means of providing “material alms” (*zaise* 財施) rests upon lay followers. The Buddhist clergy, in return, provides “spiritual alms” (*hōse* 法施) to lay devotees, by means of preaching Dharma.

Fujufuse-ha developed as a branch of the Nichiren sect, as a result of rejecting this pattern of alms exchange, which led to a schism within the sect. This began with an incident at “Thousand-priest Adoration” (Senzō kuyō 千僧供養) for the dedication of the Great Buddha at Hōkō-ji in 1595, held by Toyotomi Hideyoshi³⁵. Nichiō, the chief priest of Myōkaku-ji in Kyoto, refused to attend, standing on a firm ground of a Fujufuse doctrine (Fujufuse-gi), which prohibits the giving and receiving offerings from non-exclusive

³³ *Go jōmoku shūmon danna ukeai no okite*, op. cit., p. 137.

³⁴ A Sino-Japanese term for *dāna*. One of six perfections. A virtue of generosity, alms-giving.

³⁵ Tamamuro Fumio [et al.], *Kinsei no chika shinkō*, p. 117.



believers in the *Lotus sutra*³⁶. In subsequent years the conflict deepened. In 1669, the sect was officially delegalized as *jashūmon* and prohibited from registering parishioners³⁷.

Kirishitan, who were placed in the same legal category, also deviated from the traditional pattern of alms-exchange. Not accepting offerings from their followers and practicing charity instead, were gravely misunderstood by the Japanese of the time. *Terms of the Parishioner Guarantee* (article 2) explicitly accuse Jesuit missionaries of bribing the Japanese into sect:

Those who act according to *kirishitan* teachings [missionaries], every month give away 7 gold *rin* from Tartaria (Tattan) to make people *kirishitan*. Thus, their teaching is an evil one, which profanes the Land of the Gods (*Shinkoku*). Its followers do not respect the teachings of Buddha, so they hinder the duties of parishioners towards the family temple and despise the spread of Buddhism. Thus they should be put under investigation³⁸.

切支丹二元附ものハ關單國より毎月金七厘與へ切支丹になし神國を妨くる事邪法也此宗旨に元附ものハ釈迦之法を不用故ニ檀那寺へ檀役を妨佛法の建立を嫌ふ依而可遂吟味事

The above quotation highlights the problem of financing missionary activities by a foreign state. Missionaries are being accused here of distributing gold, to encourage people to become their followers.

Similar accusations of bribing people into the church by foreign missionaries can be further supported by numerous anti-Christian narratives, widely read throughout the Edo period. One of the earliest accounts can be found in *Kirishitan monogatari* (*History of Kirishitan*, 1639):

It is not by a miracle, that the Kirishitans are not covetous and refrain from fawning on their parishioners. For the King of South Barbary each year dispatches a Black Ship or a *galliot*, to eliminate any want in all their temples; and everyone gets his share –

³⁶ Nichiō justified his position in the *Treatise in Defense of the Doctrine* (*Shūgi seihō ron*). *Kinsei bukkuyō no shisō*, *Nihon shisō taikai*, vol. 57, Iwanami shoten, Tōkyō 1973.

³⁷ *Fujufuse no Nichiren-shū terauke ni toru koto bekarazu* 不受不施之日蓮宗寺請ニ不可取事 [in:] *Tokugawa kinreikō*, vol. 62, op. cit., p. 141.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 137.



including simple parishioners, if their faith be deep. So it is no wonder that they appear to be uncovetous and prudent³⁹.

又きりしたんのものもが、むよくにしてだんなをへつらはざる事、きどくにあらず。なんばん國わうより、毎年くろふね、がりうたにおほせつけ、寺々へはぶきあてられ、すでに心ざしふかきしうていどもまで、糧をあておこなわるゝ時は、むよくけん人にみゆる事きどくにあらず。

In *Kirishitan monogatari*, the above account justifies the greed of Buddhist priests by pointing out, that as opposed to foreign missionaries, they have no source of income, other than offerings from their parishioners. Another telling example can be found in *Nanbanji kōhai ki* (*The History of how a Temple of Southern Barbarians Flourished and Declined*, 18th century):

As opposed to other [Buddhist] sects, they [*kirishitan*] do not receive any offerings from their followers. They admit [to the temple] the gravely ill from the capital and neighboring provinces, and even though they practice charity by applying a lot of medicine, they still do not receive any compensations. What is more, they support the poor and even their families, by distributing rice and gold on daily basis among their followers⁴⁰.

諸宗と反して門徒より施入の物少も受けず、洛中洛外の難病大病を引取て、大分の施薬を費すと雖共、嘗て報謝を取らず。剩貧窮の者は其家内の人迄も助力を與へ、大分の門徒に日々米金を施す。

The obligation of parishioners to support their temple is distorted here by the Christian missionaries who perform charitable acts. It is portrayed as a reversed version of alms-giving, with the motivation to attract people (especially the poor) to join the church.

Based on the aforementioned sources it can be concluded, that the rejection of the traditional pattern of alms-giving and alms-receiving, which posed a threat to the temple affiliation system, was a common ground for labelling both Fujufuse-ha and *kirishitan* as subversive denominations.

³⁹ *Kirishitan monogatari* [in:] *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, tran. George Elison, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1991, p. 337.

⁴⁰ *Nanbanji kōhai ki* [in:] *Nihon shisō tōsō shiryō*, vol. 10, ed. Washio Junkyō, Meicho kankōkai, Tōkyō 1969, p. 292.



In conclusion, *Danna ukeai no okite*, burdened parishioners with several duties concerning funerary rites and services to venerate ancestors. Strict obligation to fulfil them and sanctions for disobedience lead the author to believe, that the document played a significant role in spreading Buddhist funerary practices among the commoners.

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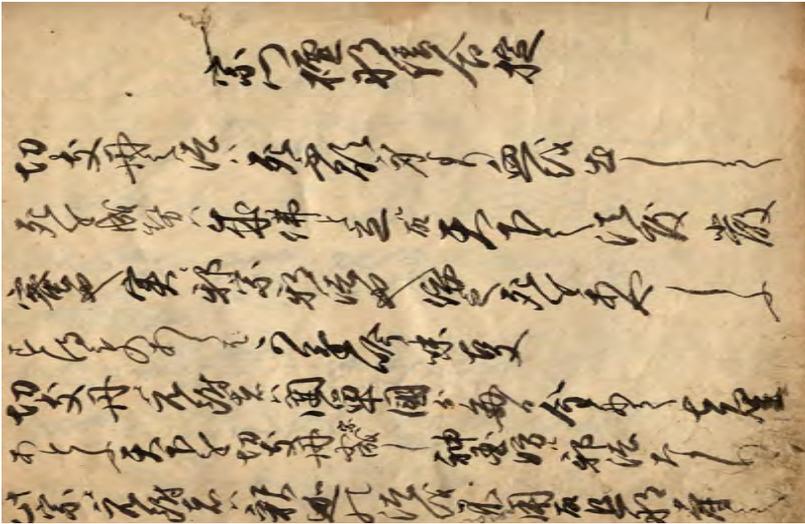


Figure 1: Front page of Shūmon danna ukeai [no] okite, previously owned by Chōsen-ji

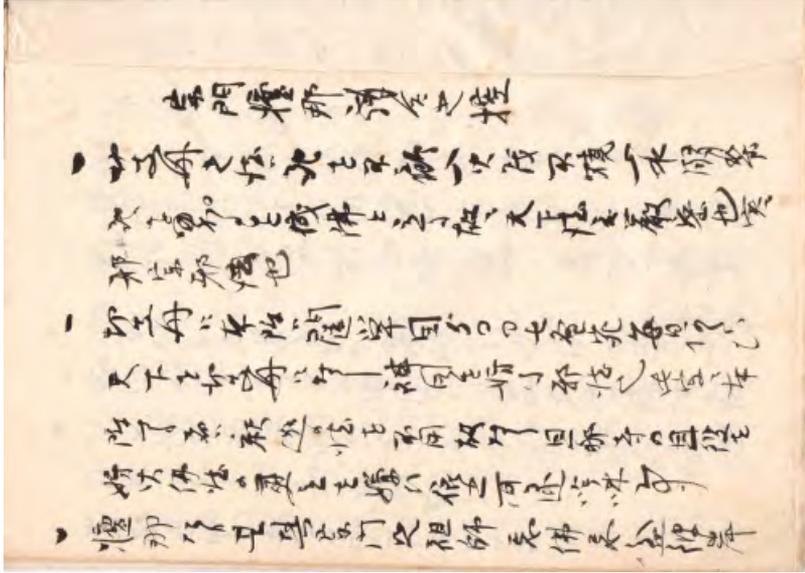


Figure 2: Front page of Shūmon danna ukeai no okite, previously owned by Kongō-in