【研究ノート】

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概要

　近代化は日本の仏教にとって衝撃的な始まりである。千年以上の宗教的リーダーシップと政治的影響力にもかからわず新政府は佛教より神道を推進した。王政復古と祭政一致の概念に相応しい神道がさらに愛国心を増やして、厳しい工業化と軍国化を承諾する目的があった。江戸時代の佛教は幕府の重要な反切支丹の道具でもあり、檀家制度の為に人口管理の道具でもあった。明治政府にとって佛教との遮断は徳川幕府の縁切りの象徴でもあった。神仏判然令で仏教の影響と共に財産、収入と支援者を失って明治元年より全国の廃仏毀釈運動が始まった。長崎における廃仏毀釈の結果はこの論文のテーマである。

　　Modernization started with a shock for Japanese Buddhism. After more than a millenium of religious dominance and political influence, the newly established Meiji government chose to favour Shintō, as Japan's indigenous religion was better suited to support the reinstallation of imperial rule and to instill a mood of national enthusiasm, which would help to win greater acceptance for both, the new government and the severities of rapid industrialization and militarization which were to come.

Breaking with Buddhism also signaled the Meiji government's intentions to distance themselves from all institutions associated with the rule of the Tokugawa. As Buddhism had played an important role in the bakufu's anti-Christian politics and had in addition, become an effective administrative tool, diminishing Buddhisms influence and stripping it of property, income and supporters were some of the aims of the "Kami and Buddhas Separation Order" (神仏判然令 Shinbutsu Hanzenrei) of 1868, which eventually led to the large scale destruction of Buddhist property, called Haibutsu kishaku (廃仏毀釈 "abolish Buddhism and destroy Shākyamuni") across the country. This article examines the effects of the Meiji government's anti-Buddhist politics in Nagasaki.

Visitors to Nagasaki's Shōfukuji temple can't help but notice a stone gate (石門), rescued from the destruction of the former Jinguji (神宮寺), a temple founded in the early 16th century.
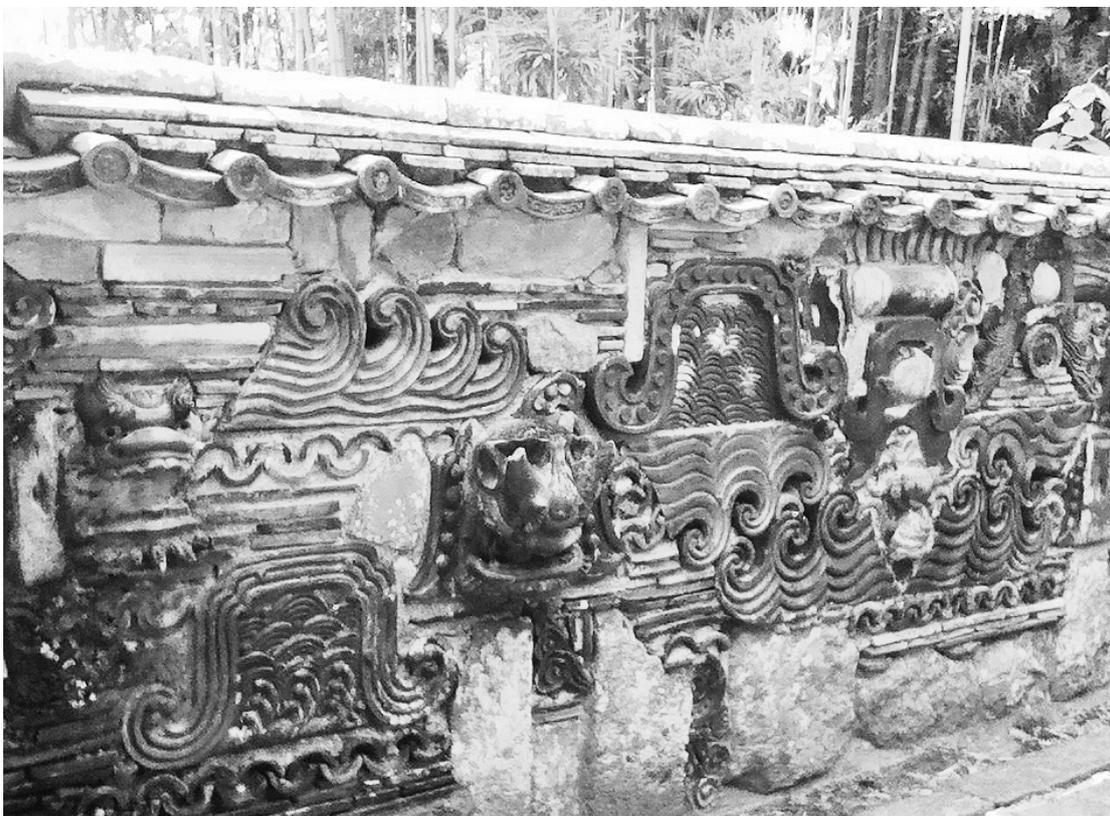
There is also a decorative wall, "onikabe" (鬼壁), behind the founders hall, made entirely with materials from different dismantled Buddhist temples, all of which had fallen prey to the "Haibutsu Kishaku" movement at the beginning of the Meiji period. Pessimistic calculations state that of the estimated total of 460,000 temples in Tokugawa Japan, up to 40,000 were destroyed nationwide between 1868 and 1888[1], and Nagasaki, for its part saw a number of temples destroyed.

There were several reasons for Buddhism's fall from grace:

One was a paradigm shift in Japan's cultural politics, caused by China's political weakness and it's suppression by Western colonial powers. In its wake, Japan gave up the old slogan "wakon - kansai, 和魂漢才", "Japanese spirit combined with Chinese skills" and replaced it with the new "wakon - yōsai, 和魂洋才" "Japanese spirit, combined with Western technology", indicating that the general mood in Japan was rather negative when it came to China, which had until then been the dominant cultural influence in Japan.
Japanese Buddhism, with its strong ties to Chinese culture, suffered a severe blow to its image as a result of these developments. Eventually it came to be labeled as backward, foreign, decadent, unmodern and unfit for modern times. The forced end to Japan's isolation politics had thrown Japan into political and economic turmoil, and anti-foreign mood was at its peak, which made the accusation of Buddhism's foreignness especially poignant.

Another contributing factor[2] was the Edo period's intellectuals' increasing loss of interest in Buddhist thought. Buddhist discourse was perceived as stagnant, esoteric and escapist, centering often on minute differences in ritual and monastic order. At the same time Buddhist clergy were often seen as lethargic, decadent, wasteful, inept and moraly unfit to lead any meaningful debate. Their negative reputation was worsened by the observance of hereditary succession, which was widely customary. A 20th century scholar, Kishimoto Hideo (岸本英夫, 1903-1964) put it like this:

"The priests are all stupid; they confuse the people, waste national resources, and offend morality"[3]

All of this helped to instill a growing anti-Buddhist sentiment: Neo-Confucianists, the thinkers of the Mito-school[4], the nativist scholars of the Kokugaku[5] and its offspring, the influential advocates of Reform Shintō[6], belligerent Samurai[7], as well as supporters of Rangaku (Western Learning) all took turns in pointing out Buddhism's shortcomings.
It also has been pointed out[8] that for the Edo intelligentsia, criticising religion and particularly Buddhism was about the only possible way to express their increasing discontent with Tokugawa rule, as open critisism of the state was stiffled by tight bakufu censoring.

Another important argument for the rejection of Buddhism by the new Meiji government was the role Buddhism had played within the political system of the now ousted shogunate[9].

When Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川 家康, 1543 - 1616) took office, he had the pre-existing temple-registration-system (danka or jidan system 檀家制度 or 寺檀制度) converted into a tool to check on people suspected of being Christian. It became mandatory for all households to register at local temples. Upon regular registration, which was often combined with the ceremony of e-fumi (絵踏, the required stepping on Christian images as proof of not being a Christian), one received a certificate (terauke, 寺請), which was needed in order to get married, travel or start employment.

The temples collected the data of their parishioners in registers (宗門人別改帳, shūmon ninbetsu aratamechō), which were then used by the bakufu to monitor and control the population as a whole. Needless to say, that parishioners had to pay for the registration process, the upkeep of the temple, the salaries of the clergy, as well as temple-services like memorial services or funerals, thus putting an immense financial burden on them.

Generous government funding, extensive land ownership, tax exemptions and the drastically increased income of Japan's Buddhist sects are usually blamed for the oft-lamented decadence of Edo period Buddhism and its decline into "Funeral-Buddhism"[10]

In order to prevent Buddhism from becoming too powerful, the Tokugawa shogunate had opted to boost sectarianism. The bakufu decreed the organization of all temples along strict sectarian lines, creating a hierarchical system of main temples and branch temples (本末制度, honmatsu system), while at the same time closely monitoring the main temples (本山, honzan).[11] In order to assure the major temples' compliance, the shogunate also granted individual temples land (朱印状, shuinjō) and asked certain "famous temples" (名刹, meisatsu) to perform protective prayers and ceremonies for the Tokugawa-house or the country, which further increased some of these temples' income to more than 10000 koku[12], an enormous sum, considering that 1 koku rice was supposed to be enough, to feed one person for one year!

Regarding these financial aspects, it should be kept in mind that Japan during the Bakumatsu and early Meiji period encountered immense economic difficulties:　After the signing of the unfair "Unequal Treaties" with the US, Britain and other Western powers,　Japan suffered intense pressure through inflation, cheap imports and insufficient exports, further worsened by the effects of the Bōshin wars, crop failures and other calamities. Considering that about 100 to 150 parishioner households were needed to ensure the livelihood of a single priest[13], and based on the assumption, that at least 36 households were needed to support the upkeep of a temple, focussing on Shintō only, was seen also a means used by the Meiji government to save some money, as only a minimum of 49 households were required to ensure the upkeep of a shrine and its staff[14]. Getting rid of costly temples with priests who didn't pay taxes, couldn't be drafted into military service, and didn't contribute to the country's workforce offered at least some financial relief. Also, while Shintō shrines tend to be situated at the periphery between inhabitable and uninhabitable land, many temples were erected within city limits, thus blocking modern city planning and using up land, needed in the escalating process of industrialization and urbanization.

The Shintō etablishment was also unhappy with Buddhism's prominent role[15], and they criticised the century-old assimilation of Shintō and Buddhism (神仏習合, Shinbutsu-shūgō). Since its introduction in the 6th century, Buddhism had tried to get rid of its "foreign" image by downplaying the religious differences with the indigenous Shintō. It became customary for shrines and temples to hold one another's statuary or incorporate one another's architectural structures.

During the Edo period, most shrines were staffed and administered by the adjacent Buddhist temples.[16] But, while both harmoniously coexisted for a long time, Shintō was usually seen as inferior, which was not acceptable to the new nationalistic Shintō elite.

In syncretistic interpretation, Shintō deities, (神, kami) were either perceived as lost beings in need of liberation through the power of Buddha, singled out as protectors of the Dharma, or even seen as emanations of the Buddha with the task to guiding humans on their path to salvation. As the newly re-instated Emperor was seen as divine being through his lineage which went back to Sun-Godess Amaterasu Ōmikami, having him occupy an inferior position to "foreign" Buddhism was out of question.

Since the new Meiji government was eager to proof it's legitimicy and also wished to emphasize the supremacy of the Tennō, they turned to the ancient theocratic concept of unity of government and religion (祭政一致 saisei itchi), and to support this, they started to install Shintō as new State religion.[17] Considering the timing of the issuing of the formal edict to declare the restauration of imperial rule (王政復古の大号令, ousei fukko no daigourei) in December 1867, the subsequently issued Shinbutsu Hanzenrei thus served as a corrective measure to ensure the Emperors spiritual superiority.

At an institutional level, religion formerly had been under strict control of Tokugawa magistrates responsible for overseeing religious affairs. Now religious matters came under the jurisdiction of the predominantly pro-Shintō Department of Rites (神祇事務科, Jingijimuka). After just one month, this department was elevated to the Secretary of Rites (神祇事務局, Jingijimukyoku), a department of the State Council, and after another three months it was turned into the Bureau of Rites (神祇官, Jingikan). Within the Meiji political system, the apparatus dealing with religious administration climbed several other ranks until in 1871, it finally reached ministry level as the Ministry of Rites (神祇省, Jingishō).

In the period between 1868 and 1872, when Japan tried to get the "Unfair Treaties" reversed, several diplomatic missions were negotiating with the signatory Western nations. In these negotiations, the issue of religious freedom kept appearing on the agenda. For the Western nations, this meant above all toleration for Christianity, which the Japanese side had grudgingly accepted for expatriate communities, but had still prohibited for its own population.

Announcements like: "The ban on Christianity will be strictly observed as in the past. Evil religions are strictly forbidden",[18] were still on display all over the country, causing indignation among the Westerners. The Japanese were worried that by lifting the long-standing ban on Christianity foreign influence would get out of control. With this in mind, the Meiji government began to recall Buddhism's usefullness in combating Christianity. However, many Japanese were dissatisfied with this extreme anti-Buddhist stance, and so the government finally had to ease it's suppressive politics: In 1872, the control of Shintō and Buddhism was united in the Ministry of Sects (教部省, Kyōbushō) bringing the demotion of Buddhism to an end.

The legal foundation of the separation of Shintō and Buddhism, which lasted until 1873, was layed by the issuance of the "Kami and Buddhas Separation Order" (神仏判然令 Shinbutsu Hanzenrei) in 1868, which was followed by a number of memoranda and other legislation demanding the separation of Shintō and Buddhism.[19] These decreed the following:

a. the defrocking of Buddhist priests serving at Shintō-shrines, with the option to "change vestments", that is to become shrine priests (kannushi) or return to lay status[20]

b. the removal of Buddhist statuary from all shrines, and the Shintōist renaming of deities

c. the reversal of all syncretistic Buddhist terms

d. the abolishment of the danka-system, in favour of a voluntary shrine registration and a mandatory civilian registration system

e. the promotion of "Shintō funerals"

f. the abolition of certain Buddhist ranks and titles

g. the closing of "abandoned" temples

h. the confiscation of temple lands in 1871 and

i. governmental permission for monks and nuns to grow their hair, eat meat, return to lay life and to marry.[21]

This last order marked the endpoint of the state's demotion of Buddhism as it is essentially a demonstration of the state's disinterest in Buddhist matters.

In sum, the anti-Buddhist politics of the Meiji government and the resulting violent excesses were the results of a wide array of complex political circumstances:

"By its own claims, the new government did not seek to eradicate Buddhism, haibutsu kishaku. Its declared policy was rather one of separating Shinto from Buddhism, shinbutsu bunri."[22] However, in "domain bureaucracies, and under local officials of the Meiji government in villages, shrines, and temples in many parts of the country, the line between bunri and haibutsu was quickly crossed. While government ordinances repeatedly deplored acts of destruction, the government did little to contain them or to punish the perpetrators."[23]

This was especially true in domains wich had witnessed earlier anti-Buddhist outbursts, such as Okayama, Mito, Aizu, Tsuwano, Satsuma, Osumi, Hyūga and to a lesser extent, Chōshū.[24] Compared to those areas, the religious situation of Nagasaki had been different since the arrival of the first Catholic missionaries in the 16 th century. Missionary-friendly lord Ōmura Sumitada (大村 純忠, 1533-1587), under whose control Nagasaki stood at that time, converted to Christianity and, in 1570, had the port of Nagasaki opened to the Portuguese. To show his gratitude for Portuguese support in battle, Ōmura ceded Nagasaki "in perpetuity" to the Society of Jesus in 1580. Within the city limits several churches were built and the majority of the town's population received Baptism.

However, Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Kyushu campaign ended the the Jesuit's control of the city in 1587, shortly after Ōmura Sumitada's death. Christianity was prohibited and Nagasaki was placed under the direct control (chokkatsu-ryo, 直轄) of the central government in Edo. After the failed Shimabara rebellion, remaining Christians were either persecuted or went into hiding, senpuku (潜伏). The Buddhist temples in Nagasaki

played an important role in the enforcement of anti-Christian policies.

As Nagasaki was home to the Dutch factory Dejima, which was established after the Portuguese had been expelled, it was valuable to the country's finances and became one of the Gokasho (五箇所), the "5 cities". Together with Edo, Osaka, Kyoto and Sakai, Nagasaki was particularly important to the shogunate, which usually appointed two trusted senior officials to the prominent post of Nagasaki magistrate.

At the time the shogunate came to an end, partly through the pressure of Western gunboat-diplomacy which had started with the appearance of Commodore Perry in 1853, Nagasaki had an estimated population of 31,000.[25] It was home to a small Dutch community on Dejima and to a larger Chinese community within the Chinese quarter, the Tojinyashiki (唐人屋敷). During the period of national seclusion, Nagasaki was the only place in Japan where Western science and medicine (蘭学, rangaku) could be studied at first hand, as well as the only place Japanese (scholars) could get a glimpse of the outside world. Even after Perry's arrival, the Netherlands continued to have a key role in transmitting Western learning to Japan.

After the forced opening of Japan, both pro- and anti-Western intellectuals flocked into the city, which had by that time become a free port, in order to study all things Western. Scholars of Rangaku played a key role in the modernization of Japan, with prominent figures such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, Ōtori Keisuke, Yoshida Shōin, Katsu Kaishū, and Sakamoto Ryōma building on the knowledge acquired during Japan's isolation. The result of their studies helped to bring about the modernization of the military, the education system, science, transportation, industrialization and so forth.

Both the crumbling shogunate as well as Japan's up-and-coming new leaders feared that Western nations might eventually try to colonialize Japan, like they had with China. The Bakufu therefore established the Nagasaki Naval Training Center in 1855 next to Dejima, in order to acquire knowledge about modern Western shipping methods. From 1855 to 1859, education was directed by Dutch naval officers, before the transfer of the school to Edo, where English educators became prominent. In 1857, the first screw-driven steam warship, the Kanrin Maru arrived in Nagasaki from the Netherlands and a modern, Western-style foundry and shipyard what is now a part of the Mitsubishi shipyard, began work. The town was bustling with both foreigners and Japanese. In 1864, 313 foreigners lived in Nagasaki, and by 1869 their number had increased to 831.[26]

By 1867, the foreign community had already established two churches, 30 trading companies, 11 hotels and 7 restaurants,[27] not to mention several companies founded jointly with Japanese business partners. These foreigners were allowed to practice their religion, but were prohibited from engaging in any missionary activities which targeted the Japanese. It came as an embarassment to the Japanese government, when in 1865 a number of "hidden Christians" revealed themselves in Nagasaki's Urakami village to French Padre Bernard Petitjean from the Sociéte des Missions Étrangères in the so called "miracle of the Orient". As the ban on Christianity had not been lifted, officials reacted by arresting and brutally torturing roughly 3,500 Christians, who were exiled to different parts of Japan. Of these about 20% eventually died, before the long prohibition on Christianity was finally lifted in 1873, after sustained pressure from the foreign powers. Anti-Christian sentiment nevertheless lingered.

The "Kami and Buddhas Separation Order" was issued amid an atmosphere of religious strife, three years after the discovery of the hidden Christians. In many parts of the country the order escalated into the destructive haibutsu kishaku movement. However, in Nagasaki only 23 temples, a comparatively low number, were destroyed or turned into Shintō shrines.

These are the temples dismantled in Nagasaki:

Temple name	Location	Shintō shrine which replaced it
如意輪寺 Nyoirindera	本石灰町 Motoshikkuimachi	Inari Jinja (Oosaki Jinja)
大覚寺 Daikakuji	八幡町 Yahatamachi	Yahataj Jinja
願成寺 Ganseiji	高野平郷（愛宕一丁目） Kouyahiragou, (Atago 1-Chome)	Atago Jinja
威福寺 Ifukuji	馬場郷（桜馬場一丁目） Babagou (Sakurababa 1-Chome)	Tenmangu
興禅院 Kouzenin	炉粕町 Rokasumachi	Kagojinja (Rou Jinja)
大徳寺 Daitokuji	十善寺郷（西小島一丁目） Juuzennjigou (Nishikoshima 1-Chome)	Umegasaki Tenman Jinja
松本院 Matsumotoin	高野平郷 Kouyahiragou	none
神宮寺 Jinguji	浦上村山里掛（西山一丁目）Urakamimura Yamazatokakari (Nishiyama 1-Chome)	Konpira Jinja
玉泉院 Gyokusenin	寄合町 Yoriaimachi	Inari (Gyokusen) Jinja
泉良院 Senryouin	今龍町 Imakagomachi	none
琢正院 Shouseiin	小島郷 Koshimagou	Kusonoki Inari Jinja
大教院 Daikyouin	伊勢町 Isemachi	Yahata Jinja (later merged with Isegu)
現應寺 Genouji	高野平郷（鍛冶屋町） Kouyahiragou (Kajiyamachi)	Yahata Jinja
本覚寺 Honkakuji	炉粕町 Rokasumachi	Hikosan Jinja (later merged with Iimori Jinja)
納受院 Noujuin	丸山町 Maruyamamachi	Inari Jinja (later merged with Umezono Jinja)
大覚院 Daikakuin	八幡町 Yahatamachi	Tenman Jinja (destroyed)
大行寺 Daigyouji	今博多町 Imahakatamachi	Tenman Jinja
南光寺 Nankouji	今龍町 Imakagomachi	Tenmangu
楞巌院 Ryouganin	銅座跡（銅座町） Douzaato (Douzamachi)	Inari Jinja (destroyed)
萬福寺 Mampukuji	浦上村淵掛（淵町） Urakamimura fuchikake (Fuchimachi)	Fuchi Jinja
圓福寺 Empukuji	浦上村山里掛（坂本2丁目） Urakamimura Yamazatokakari (Sakamoto 2-Chome)	Hiyoshi Jinja
神通寺 Jintsuuji	浦上北村（虹が丘町） Urakamikitamura (Nijigaokamachi)	Iwaya Jinja
遍照院 Henshouin	浦上北村（住吉町） Urakamikitamura (Sumiyoshi)	Sumiyoshi Jinja

Were only a relatively low number of temples destroyed in Nagasaki because people were true followers of the Dharma? Were secretely Christian believers afraid that showing too much enthusiasm for the destruction of behated Buddhist temples would look suspicious? Or perhaps some hidden Christians hesitated to storm temples, since some had helped them to survive in hiding? Was the rather limited show of anti-Buddhist temple storming, which elsewhere had lead to complete destruction,[28] due to the presence of so many foreigners, who might misinterpret anti-Buddhist rage as an encouragement to increase Christian missionary activities?

The moderate level of destruction shows the need for further research in order to uncover the reasons behind Nagasaki's restraint during the haibutsu kishaku movement.

1　See: Tamamuro Fumio, Shimbutsu bunri to haibutsu kishaku no jittai" quoted by J.E.Ketelaar: Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan. Princeton 1990, p. 7

2　See M. Collcutt: Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication. In: Janssen: Japan in Transition. Princeton 1986, p. 144 ff.

3　Kishimoto Hideo: "Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era." Tokyo 1956, quoted after Notto Thelle: Buddhism and Christianity in Japan. Honolulu 1987, p. 19

4　For details on the Neo-Confucianists and Mito-scholars criticism of Buddhism see K. Kracht: Antimodernismus als Wegbereiter der Moderne. in BJOAF, Bd.1, 1978, p. 285 ff.

5　For details on the arguments of the Kokugaku, see J. Breen, M. Teeuwen: Shinto in History. Surrey 2000

6　See H. Hardacre: Religion and Society in 19th Century Japan. Ann Arbor 2002, p. 54 ff, and F. Rambelli: Sada Kaiseki: An Alternative Discourse on Buddhism, Modernity and Nationalism in the Early Meiji Period. in: R. Starrs: Politics and Religion in Modern Japan. Palgrave 2011, p. 104 ff.

7　Especially members of the Sonnō jōi -movement (尊皇攘夷 revere the emperor, expel the barbarians), criticised Buddhism for its pacifism

8　See M. B. Janssen: Cambridge History of Japan. Vol. 5, Cambridge 1989, p. 217 f.

9　For a detailed discussion see: Nam-lin Hur: Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan. London 2007 or H. Hardacre: Religion and Society in 19th Century Japan. Ann Arbor 2002

10　See Notto Thelle: Buddhism and Christianity in Japan. Honolulu 1987, p.18 ff.

11　See: W.T. De Barry: Sources of Japanese Tradition. Vol. 2, New York 1958, p. 521 ff.

12　See H. Hardacre: Religion and Society in 19th Century Japan. Ann Arbor 2002, p. 72 ff.

13　See H. Hardacre: Religion and Society in 19th Century Japan. Ann Arbor 2002, p. 42

14　See H. Hardacre: Religion and Society in 19th Century Japan. Ann Arbor 2002, p. 71 ff.

15　See M. Collcutt: Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication. In: Janssen: Japan in Transition. Princeton 1986, p. 143 ff.

16　See H. Hardacre: Religion and Society in 19th Century Japan. Ann Arbor 2002, p. 47 ff.

17　Some researchers expressed the belief, that the government's aim from the beginning, was the eventual split of state and religion. The elevation of Shintō was only used as a means to an end. "Viewed from the perspective of the state, the regime's "religions policy" (shūkyō seisaku) evolved through three distinct stages between 1868 and the 1920's: the assertion of an exclusive national creed, followed by passive toleration of existing religions, and finally the incorporation of the established religions into the ruling structure." see S. Garon: Molding Japanese Minds. Princeton 1997, p. 63. For details about the concept of saisei itchi see Lokowandt: Shinto. München 2001, p. 79 ff.

18　See Thelle: Buddhism and Christianity in Japan. Honolulu 1987, p. 14

19　See also A. Grapard: Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution. In: History of Religions, Vol. 23., 240-265

20　See Hardacre: Religion and Society in 19th Century Japan. Ann Arbor 2002, p. 150 ff.

21　See Collcutt: Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication. In: Janssen: Japan in Transition. Princeton 1986, p. 152 f.

22　See Collcutt: Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication. In: Janssen: Japan in Transition. Princeton 1986, p. 151

23　See Collcutt: Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication. In: Janssen: Japan in Transition. Princeton 1986, p. 151

24　See Collcutt: Buddhism: The Threat of Eradication. In: Janssen: Japan in Transition. Princeton 1986, p. 146 ff. or J.E.Ketelaar: Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan. Princeton 1990, p. 56

25　See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic_history_of_Japan_before_Meiji_Restoration

26　See 新長崎市市、長崎 2014. p. 97

27　See 新長崎市市、長崎 2014. p. 79

28　See J.E.Ketelaar: Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan. Princeton 1990: "Until 1876 (Meiji 9) in Satsuma, Osumi, and Hyūga there was not one temple or a single priest that remained", p. 56

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