

For Faith and Prestige: Daimyo Motivations for Buddhist Patronage

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In an essay on kingship and charisma, Clifford Geertz once likened the use of fêtes, bestowals of gifts, processions, and other public acts associated with royal accession ceremonies to the “spreading of scent” by widely ranging wolves and tigers.¹ While perhaps a crude equation of culturally and religiously inspired human rituals with the socio-biology of animals, Geertz drew upon this juxtaposition to note that claimants to royal power have regularly used public displays of authority and munificence to ceremonially “mark” their presence in newly gained lands, and thereby reinforce their claims to legitimacy. Geertz’s analysis centers on the performative aspects of this ritual marking, but he draws implicit attention to the materiality of these processes as well. Whether in England, India or North Africa, his descriptions of such events as Elizabeth I’s procession through London, or Mulay Hasan’s ill-fated tour of Morocco in 1893, illustrate the role of rituals and the physical objects they produced as vehicles for the symbolic imposition of royal marks of domination.² Furthermore, it is evident that once touched by the ritual context, these material media were transformed into lingering reminders of royal authority and the royal presence that continued to influence local perceptions long after the ruler physically left the scene of enactment.

In this brief essay I will use this notion of ritually-derived physical marks to consider some social implications of patronage in early modern Japanese society. More specifically, I will look at two interrelated set of practices, one of which is concerns warrior reliance upon ceremonies and

objects to express authority and prestige. There were a number of venues for such activities within the Tokugawa warrior status community (daimyo–vassal meetings, marriage rites, and processions, for example), but for my present purposes, I will examine instances of daimyo patronage of Buddhist temples. As we are so often reminded by secondary scholarship on this period, early modern warrior–Buddhist relations were influenced by long-standing undercurrents of tension and mistrust. From the very advent of Tokugawa rule, warriors reacted to such unease by coupling extensive regulation of temple communities with the suppression of clerics whose doctrines and policies denied shogunal and daimyo assertions of authority.³ The growing influence of contending systems of thought (Nativism, neo-Confucianism, Shinto) among elite warriors further strained the relationship. As a result,

³ For lists of these regulations see Shihōshō 司法省, ed., *Tokugawa kinreikō* 徳川禁令考, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1931-1932), 1-119; Date Mitsuyoshi 伊達光美, *Nihon shūkyō seido shiryō ruijū* 日本宗教制度史料類聚考 (Tokyo: Ganshōdō, 1930); Umeda Yoshihiko 梅田秀彦, *Nihon shūkyō seidoshi: Kinsei hen* 日本宗教制度史 – 近世編 (Tokyo: Tōsen Shuppan, 1972); Monbushō Shūkyōkyoku, 文部省宗教局 ed., *Shūkyō seido chōsa shiryō* 宗教制度調査資料, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1977), 1-237. There are also many studies of Tokugawa religious policy. For a representative overview, see Tamamuro Fumio 圭室文雄, *Edo bakufu no shūkyō tōsei* 江戸幕府の宗教統制, *Nihonjin no kōdō to shisō*, vol. 16 (Tokyo: Hyōronsha, 1971); Toyota Takeshi, *Nihon shūkyō seidoshi no kenkyū*, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Daiichi shobō, 1973); and Udaka Yoshiaki 宇高良哲, *Edo bakufu no bukkyō kyōdan tōsei* 江戸幕府の仏教教団統制 (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunka Shuppan, 1987). For a background survey of the violent relationships between warrior houses and religious communities that fostered Tokugawa-era warrior suppression of Buddhist institutions, see Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

¹ Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 125.

² Specifically gifts, clothing that reflected hierarchical relationships, elaborately decorative trappings, food, art, and architecture.

in some domains such as Mitō, Okayama and Aizu, warrior associations with the Buddhist clergy became tenuous, if not hostile.⁴

Such antipathy, however, never fully eradicated a legacy of elite support for Buddhist institutions that dates back to the introduction of Buddhism to Japan.⁵ Set against this cultural backdrop, many warriors, from the Shogun to lower order vassals, continued to patronize temples as one means for honoring the origins and continued identity of their respective houses. Daimyo and other warrior elites with sufficient resources, or an interest in the socio-political value of rituals, also relied upon Buddhist auspices for conspicuous expressions of wealth and stature. The political and cultural capital acquired by such patrons (*danna* 檀那) would then resonate with other members of the broader warrior milieu.

The ritual presence of samurai patronage in Buddhist venues also represented warrior ascendancy over the clergy and other status groups. This expressive value could be heightened by a temple's allure amongst the general populace. In such instances, commoners who came to worship a popular image or enjoy other entertainments on temple grounds might not have full access to warrior graves or donated altar implements, but the

⁴ Tamamuro Fumio has extensively covered the anti-Buddhist policies of these domains in many of his works; for a representative example, see *Nihon bukkyōshi: kinsei* 日本仏教 - 近世 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), 105-166.

⁵ The corpus of scholarly literature on pre-1600 aristocratic, warrior, and commoner patronage of religious institutions is too extensive to list here. For two well known examples, see Joan Piggot, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997) for her analysis of Buddhism's value to the Nara-era Japanese state; and Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzaï Zen Tradition in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981). Gregory Levine also covers warrior sponsorship of Buddhist institutions in "Jukōin: Art, Architecture, and Mortuary Culture at a Japanese Zen Buddhist Temple," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1997).

"known yet partially unseen" existence of these artifacts added an aura of implicit power to both the temple and its warrior patrons. For these reasons, my focus on symbolic expressions via Buddhist means allows me to consider the role of other social communities in early modern warrior marking processes.

The creation of such marks was not without complications — a point I shall examine in the second section with a brief discussion of commoner methods for patronizing the Buddhist clergy. Recent studies such as Herman Ooms's account of village life and Edward Pratt's examination of wealthy peasants have extensively documented the divisive social and economic striations that pervaded commoner communities.⁶ Not surprisingly, within this context commoner elites sought means to create and place marks of authority upon their own spheres of activity — a process that could include efforts to appropriate forms of warrior identity.⁷ In terms of their religious practices, peasants and townsmen were compelled by Tokugawa regulations to patronize Buddhist institutions for certain services. At the same time, this mandated patronage ensured commoner access to the same fundamental ritual formats and derivative marks utilized by warrior houses. Thus while these hierarchically distinct communities shared similar religious objectives (e.g. both daimyo and peasants sponsored funerals and prayers for rain), warrior elites expected commoners to reflect their lower status by modestly scaling their own ritual performances and

⁶ Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Village Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Edward Pratt, *Japan's Protoindustrial Elite* (Cambridge, MA: The Harvard University Asia Center, 1999).

⁷ For example, in the area now defined by Tokigawa village 都幾川村 in Saitama Prefecture, village headmen strove to obtain surnames, the right to bear swords, and to wear the *kamishimo* 袴 combination of *hakama* and shoulder wings. See Tokigawamura's *hensan iinkai* 都幾川村史編さん委員会, *Tokigawamura tsūshihen* 都幾川村史通史編 (Tokigawamura, Saitama Prefecture: Tokigawamura, 2001), 444-445.

marking practices. However, since Buddhist temples activities constituted a nexus of shared warrior and commoner religious interests, codes and regulations did not always forestall commoner efforts to acquire, or mimic, religiously constituted manifestations of warrior prestige in their own modes of social definition.

It is natural to ask whether faith had any value as a motivational force amidst of all this political maneuvering. Patricia Graham's article in this issue offers clear evidence that it did — an assessment that is supported by several other recent studies of early modern commoner patronage for religious institutions.⁸ In comparison, there is far less research on the daimyo and other warriors as people of faith. It is therefore difficult to make generalized claims over the degree of samurai belief in Buddhist ceremonies for the production of merit (*kudoku* 功德) that could improve one's karmic lot in subsequent lives. The example of daimyo patronage by the Kishū Tokugawa collateral house that I give below reveals the levels of warrior adherence might not be as low as Tokugawa period anti-Buddhist polemicists would have us believe. As the art historian Gregory Levine recently observed, written inscriptions on religious art may reflect the inscriber's sense of

⁸ See Alexander Vesey, "The Buddhist Clergy and Village Society in Early Modern Japan," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003), 306-323; Duncan Ryūken Williams, "Representations of Zen: An Institutional and Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Edo Japan," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2000); Nam-lin Hur, *Prayer and Play in Late Tokugawa Japan: Asakusa Sensōji and Edo Society* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2000); Helen Hardacre, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth Century Japan: A Study of the Southern Kantō Region, Using Late Edo and Early Meiji Gazetteers* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002). While not on specifically Buddhist topics, Janine Sawada's recent *Practical Pursuits: Religion, Politics, and Personal Cultivation in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004) offers insights into late Tokugawa lay interest in religious practices.

affiliation with particular objects and the institutions that maintain them.⁹ In the context temple patronage by lay elites, the ritualized marking of Buddhist temples by warriors constituted a similar inscribing process writ large.

That being said, an expanded study of warrior faith is beyond the scope of this article. In keeping with the theme of patronage, I instead will juxtapose several examples from warrior and non-warrior sources to briefly consider how formalized modes for expressing faith and prestige via acts of religious patronage could simultaneously establish and subvert the social boundaries that defined Tokugawa Japan.

The Daimyo as Patron

In the early modern period, the Buddhist clergy's foremost function in samurai ritual systems was the performance of memorial services. For the Tokugawa house, the Tendai cleric Tenkai 天海 played a key role in the apotheosis of Ieyasu into Tōshō daigongen 東照大権現, and both Kan'eiji 寛永寺 in Ueno and the Jōdo temple Zōjōji 増上寺 were caretakers of the cremated remains of other Tokugawa Shoguns, their wives, concubines and children.¹⁰ Several other prominent houses among the "outer" (*tozama* 外様) daimyo also employed a mixture of Buddhist and Shinto motifs to honor their dead. The Shimazu of Satsuma for one had daimyo grave markers inscribed with the deceased's Buddhist posthumous titles on the front, and their Shinto deity names (*shingō* 神号) on the re-

⁹ Gregory Levine, "Switching Sites and Identities: The Founder's Statue at the Buddhist Temple Kōrin'in," *The Art Bulletin* 83.1 (2001): 80.

¹⁰ Herman Ooms discusses the influence of the Tendai cleric Tenkai 天海 in the process to legitimate Tokugawa authority through religious symbolism in *Tokugawa Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), especially 173-186.

verse.¹¹

Other daimyo houses did not replicate such deifications of their own immediate ancestors, but they did avail themselves of opportunities to use funerary rites and memorial services to similar ends. Operating in a world where the household constituted a fundamental social unit, the ancestral memories were integral to the identity of the living.¹² This held true for all social groups, but it was particularly vital to warriors who derived political legitimacy from the legacies of their late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century antecedents.¹³ Under such circumstances, ritual processes for ancestor veneration constituted an important element for maintaining continual links with a revered past. Furthermore, the ancestors of most daimyo families may not have been universal deities like Tōshō daigongen, but they were nevertheless spirits (*rei* 霊) worthy of veneration. Given the close correlation between daimyo family identity and domain integrity, memorial rites for deceased lords accordingly functioned as ritu-

alized settings for daimyo expressions of public authority (*kōgi* 公儀) over vassals, clerics, and subordinate commoners.

Japanese ideals of ancestor veneration derive from a number of sources, and both Shinto and Confucian ritualists were eventually able to offer their own funerary ceremonies, yet Buddhist institutions by and large dominated this area of religious activity. For commoners, Buddhism's near monopoly over mortuary practices derived in part from the Tokugawa Shogunate's utilization of mandated temple registration of the whole population (*terauke seido* 寺請制度) to further its anti-Christian and anti-Fujifuse 不受不施 policies. This stipulation did not directly affect the daimyo as they were not specifically ordered to register. Instead, their patronage of Buddhism generally stemmed from earlier family practices, the tradition of temples being maintained by kinship groups (*ujidera* 氏寺),¹⁴ and the cultural heritage of elite support for religious institutions noted above. Many daimyo thus acknowledged a particular Buddhist institution as their family mortuary temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺), and as patrons they offered fiscal support in exchange for the performance of funerals and memorial services. Therefore, while daimyo did not own their memorial temple precincts, they did use these institutions as both repositories for the spiritual and physical legacy of their house, and as templates for the ritual reaffirmation of their house's identity.

The material legacy of these events was multi-fold. Within the altar areas of temple halls, the clergy would place memorial tables (*ihai* 位牌) that were inscribed with posthumous titles (*hōmyō* 法名 ["Dharma name"] or *kaimyō* 戒名 ["precept name"]) and covered with black lacquer and gold leaf. Warrior titles often consisted of a four character personal name, and a set elaborate

¹¹ *Kagoshima-ken no chimei* 鹿児島県の地名, *Nihon rekishi chimei taikai* 日本歴史地名大系, vol. 47 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1998), 149-150. Other sites such combinatory practices include the Mōri graves at the Ōbaku temple of Tōkōji 東光寺 in Hagi (see Takatori Masao 高取政男, Akai Tatsurō 赤井達郎, and Fujii Manabu 藤井学, eds., *Kokumin bukkyō he no michi* 国民仏教への道, *Zusetsu Nihon bukkyōshi* 図説日本仏教史, vol. 3 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1981), 110~111. The Maeda in Kaga, the Date of Sendai, and the Hoshina in Aizu also incorporated Shinto motifs into their funerary practices. As noted by Ooms, the deification of Ieyasu derived from precedents set by Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, see *Tokugawa Ideology*, 18-62.

¹² For the importance of the household as the fundamental social unit, see Mizubayashi Takeshi 水林竹彪, *Hōkensei no saihen to Nihonteki shakai no kakuritsu* 封建制の再編と日本社会の確立 (Tokyo: Yamagawa Shuppan, 1987), 255. Also see Mark Ravina, *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 37-40.

¹³ Ravina, *Land and Lordship*, 2.

¹⁴ Takeda Chōshū 竹田聰洲 discusses transformation in temple patronage practices from the Heian to the Tokugawa era in *Sosen sūhai* 祖先崇拜 (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1987), 147-199. Kenneth Marcure has a brief discussion of pre-Tokugawa practices in "The *Danka* System," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40, no. 1: 39-42.

prefixes and suffixes that indicated the individual's stature. The "cloister" (*ingō* 院号) prefix and "great layman" / "great sister" (*daikoji/daishi* 大居士/大姉) suffixes (*igō* 位号) in particular conferred the greatest status.¹⁵ In the case of domain lords and their family members, even the cloister prefix was modified with the addition of the character for "lord" (*dono* 殿). The longer and more elaborate names were intended to reflect the merit acquired by the deceased through their faith, but they also symbolized the honor conferred upon the departed by the remaining family. In addition to the tablets, temples might have altar implements and decorative hangings with a patron's house crest (*mon* 紋), and a registry of the dead (*kakochō* 過去帳) in which abbots noted posthumous names, dates of death, and family relations. These records, in turn, became the basis for monthly and annual memorial services. In effect, the display and production of such items constituted a Buddhist equivalent for the lineage charts (*keizu* 系図 or *kafu* 家譜) and other proofs of origins (*yuisho* 由緒) that a family might deploy to establish its social standing.

To cite an illustrative example of such daimyo-temple interaction, in 1767 the head of the Echizen Matsudaira 越前松平 house, Tomonori 朝知, became the daimyo of the Kawagoe 川越 domain. However, he soon after died in the fifth month of 1768,¹⁶ and due to previous transfers

between holdings, the family did not have a set mortuary temple. Accordingly, domain administrators working on behalf Naotsune 直恒 (Tomonori's six year old son and heir) established a funerary relationship with Kita'in 喜多院, a prominent Tendai temple in Kawagoe with connections to the main Tokugawa house.¹⁷ The abbot bestowed upon Tomonori the posthumous name of Ryōjuindono 靈鷲院殿 [cloister name prefix] Nenge Bishō 拈華微笑 [personal name] Daikoji 大居士 [rank-name suffix]. In the years following the main funeral, Naotsune paid for monthly services memorial services, and made periodic visits to the temple to pray for his father.¹⁸

Outside the main buildings, yet still within the temple precincts, the Kita'in community maintained the actual gravesites. While few daimyo could, or would, aspire to the elaborate mausolea erected for the main Tokugawa house at Zōjōji or Kan'eiji, their burial grounds (*reibyō* 霊廟) were decidedly a cut above those of their vassals and commoners.¹⁹ The Matsudaira patronage of Kita'in resulted in the placement of Tomonori's and other daimyo graves immediately behind the main hall, with each individual's site containing large stone markers, walls and gates that defined

¹⁷ The Tokugawa religious advisor Tenkai was the abbot of Kita'in in the early 1600s.

¹⁸ Data on Naotsune's activities are listed in Shioiri Ryōzen 塩入亮善 and Udaka Yoshiaki 宇高良哲, eds., *Kita'in nikkān* 喜多院日鑑, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Bunka shoin, 1986); for example, see pp. 167-169; 188; 241-242 (thirteenth year memorial service, 1780); 309-312 (donation of votive sutra copies and services for the seventeenth memorial anniversary); 340-341 (monthly service); 429 (twenty-third year memorial rites); 483 (a private visit to the grave by Naotsune), and 492 (a letter of appreciation from domain officials for the abbot's offering of prayers at Tomonori's tomb).

¹⁹ William Coaldrake offers an extensive analysis of Tokugawa Iemitsu's construction of the Nikkō complex and the Taitokuin 台徳院 mausoleum in *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), 163-192.

¹⁵ As "rank names," suffixes are intended to reflect the degree of the deceased person's faith. For explanations of posthumous names, see Tamamuro Fumio, *Sōshiki to dankā* 葬式と檀家 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1999), 191-192, and Williams, "Representations of Zen," 232-237.

¹⁶ The Echizen Matsudaira were classified as a collateral house (*shinpan* 親藩) within the overall Tokugawa political system. Data on their tenure in Kawagoe is from Kimura Motoi 木村磯, Fujino Tamotsu 藤野保, and Murakami Tadashi 村上直, eds., *Hanshi daijiten* 藩史大辞典, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1989), 657; Information pertaining to other Echizen Matsudaira burial sites is in *ibid.*, vol. 1, 240-241, 464, 467.

the perimeters of the grave. In front were a host of votive stone lanterns (*ishidōrō* 石灯籠) on which vassals inscribed their own family names. This set up was not inherently unique, and a somewhat similar arrangement exists at the Ōkawachi Matsudaira 大河内松平 graves at Heirinji 平林寺 in Nobidome 野火止 (modern Niiza City 新座市, Saitama Prefecture). The only real divergence between the Kita'in and Heirinji sites is their overall layout: in contrast to the incorporation of the Echizen graves into the former's central precincts, the Ōkawachi mausolea are set back from the main temple area, and lanterns line the approaches.²⁰ Although the Japanese did not entomb servants along with the dead lords, these grave-lantern arrangements do evoke in ash and stone the image of a daimyo seated above the serried ranks of his loyal retainers, and thereby marked the temples with the latent aura of daimyo authority.²¹

²⁰ See Tamamura Takeji 玉村竹二 and Hanuki Masai 葉貫磨哉, *Heirinjishi* 平林寺史 (Tokyo: Shunshūsha 春秋社, 1988), 116-136; Kawagoeshi Shomuka Shishi Hensanshitsu 川越史庶務課市史編纂室, *Kawagoe shishi* 川越市史, vol. 3 (kinsei hen 近世編) (Kawagoe, Saitama Pref.: Kawagoeshi, 1983), 369-374.

²¹ The differences in grave-precinct proximity should not be taken as either an indication of differing degrees of patron interest, or of temple estimations for the two daimyo houses. In contrast to the Echizen Matsudaira tendency to establish new temple ties with every domain transfer, the Ōkawachi branch maintained their relationship with Heirinji throughout the early modern period. See Kimura, et al., *Hanshi daijiten*, vol. 1, 605 and 655; vol. 2, 393, vol. 4, 238-239. This did not apply, however, to other family members, and the Ōkawachi also patronized Jōdo and Sōtō temples for the burial of deceased wives and children. See Tamamura and Hanuki, *Heirinjishi*, 133-135. Takatori, et al., also comments on the hierarchical ordering of votive stone lanterns before the Mōri house graves at Tōgenji in Hagi; *Kokumin bukkyō no michi*, 111.

The ritualized placement of the dead was a certainly a source of marking, but Buddhist practices for the living could also offer similar opportunities. *Genze riyaku* 現世利益 is generic nomenclature for a spectrum of ceremonies for gaining "worldly benefits." In Tokugawa Japan, this genus of ritual activity included prayers for rain (*amagoi* 雨乞), good harvests, and the prevention of disease. Unlike the mortuary trade, Buddhists did not exercise a monopoly over apotropaic services (*kitō* 祈祷), but from time to time warrior patrons did rely upon clerics, especially those in the Shingon and Tendai schools, to offer these prayers. The Tokugawa Shogunate for one acknowledged this function when it called upon all Buddhists to pray for the peace of the nation in its 1687 "Codes for all Temples" 諸宗寺院法度,²² and daimyo as well invoked Buddhist services at selected prayer temples (*kitōji* 祈祷寺) for the benefit of the domain, and their families.

One instance of daimyo votive patronage was the Kishū Tokugawa 紀州徳川 collateral house's support for Yakuōin 薬王院, a Shingi Shingon 新義真言 temple located in the western Musashi region of Takao 高尾. The provenance of the relationship remains unclear, but records detailing Kishū sponsorship of ritual releases of hawks for Buddhist merit production (*hōjōe* 放生会) in the Kyōhō era indicate some form of liaison by the tenure of the seventh daimyo Munenao 宗直 ca. 1718.²³ The apex of

²² Date, *Nihon shūkyō seidoshi*, 380.

²³ Yasuda Hiroko 安田寛子, "Takaosan Yakuōin to Kishūhan: Yakuōin monjo no shokan to yuishosho wo chūshin ni" 高尾山薬王院と紀州藩 - 薬王院文書の書簡と由緒書を中心に, in Murakami Motoi, ed., *Kinsei Takosanshi no kenkyū* 近世高尾山史の研究 (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1998), 261. Yakuōin archives contain an 1857 document that claims Kishū patronage began with Tokugawa Yorinobu, the domain's founder. However, for reasons noted below, Yasuda suspects this ascription reflects the efforts of late Edo abbots to reinforce their ties to the Kishū domain, *ibid.*, 262.

Kishū support occurred during the reign of the eighth daimyo Shigenori 重倫. Acting through his vassal Asai Shōzaemon, between 1772 and 1775, Shigenori made a number of requests for the “Eight thousand stick fire ceremony” (*has-senmai goma kuyō* 八千枚護摩供養) and other prayer rites to be performed before the image of Izuna Gongen 飯繩権現, Yakuōin’s primary deity for votive services. Shigenori’s concerns centered on the physical health of himself and his family. We thus see petitions for prayers and amulets (*omamori* 御守) to ward off illness, and to ensure the safe birth of his children.²⁴ In compensation for these services, Shigenori usually offered the temple ten to thirty pieces of silver. In 1773 he gave the temple a further 200 *ryō* in gold to support the abbot’s trip to Kyoto along with a request that the prelate offer prayers for the daimyo at various religious sites on the way.²⁵

Domain records indicate Shigenori may have been prone to periods of mental instability that were marked by sudden outbursts of violence, and the stigma of his personality may have adversely affected the domain’s attitude towards the Kishū support for the temple. Following Shigenori’s abdication in 1775, the volume of correspondence declines to at most one or two letters per year. Then in 1786, the domain claimed fiscal difficulties necessitated the termination of its patronage.²⁶ This hiatus in the Yakuōin - Kishū relationship continued until 1797 when the abbot Shūjin 秀神 strove to revive Tokugawa support with an earnest correspondence campaign. Drawing upon examples of past munificence, Shūjin’s efforts convinced the domain to once again request votive services. These renewed connections continued until the end of the early modern era, but there is little indication of the personal fervor

that marked Shigenori’s support. It may very well be that subsequent daimyo patronage stemmed as much from a sense of tradition as from individual faith on the part of the daimyo and his family.²⁷

For the temple’s part, the reaffirmation of its connections with this collateral Tokugawa house enhanced its own prestige. It also offered a degree of elite samurai support in the face of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century warrior efforts to impose increasingly stringent social controls. From another perspective, the Kishū revival of its patronage can be read as a desire to “re-mark” the temple by reaffirming the house’s legacy of munificence, but this chronology reveals an interesting reversal relational dynamics. Whereas the daimyo once relied upon Yakuōin to pray for their well-being, by the end of the era the temple sought similar benefits from the domain.

The temple’s concern for the material legacy of its Kishū patronage reveals its desires for continued support. In contrast to the more durable stone monuments at Heirinji and Kita’in, this Tokugawa house expressed its identity through gifts of cloth and paper goods bearing the hollyhock (*aoi* 葵) crest. The most frequently mentioned gifts in late Edo temple records are three sets of altar curtains and ornaments (*tochō* 戸帳 and *mizuhiki* 水引) of red and gold brocade and dark blue damask that were bestowed on the temple prior to 1711.²⁸ In response to Yakuōin’s requests, the house subsequently replaced them in the Shōtoku period (1711 - 1716), in 1752, and even in 1791 (i.e., during the interval when the daimyo was not requesting services). Other donations included an image of Fudōmyōō 不動明王 painted by Tokugawa Munemasa 宗将; two white curtains 白幕; sets of paper lanterns (1824) 挑燈; additional altar hangings from one Take-hime 竹姫 (1862); two crest-bearing robes (*kesa* 袈裟) for ritual use; a Fudō *mandala* 不動尊曼陀羅; handwritten scriptures; and a Fudōmyōō statue in a crested shrine that came paired with an altar for

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 246-256. Transcriptions of Shigenori’s petitions are in Hōsei daigaku Tama toshokan chihō shiryōshitsu iinkai 法政大学多摩図書館地方資料室委員会, ed., *Takaosan Yakuōin monjo* 高尾山薬王院, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Hōsei daigaku, 1989), 1: 465-487 (hereafter *TSM*).

²⁵ *TSM*, 1: 474.

²⁶ *TSM*, 1: 488.

²⁷ Yasuda, “Takaosan to Kishūhan,” 255.

²⁸ Temple inventories for hollyhock marked items are in *TSM* 1: 127-131, 502-506, 511-512; *TSM* 3: 537-539.

ritual performances (see Table One). The clerics used the white curtains specifically for house requested services, but the item lists note that the abbots did not apply such limitations to other articles in the temple's possession. The temple accordingly displayed some crested items to visitors at the Main Hall on a daily basis, and the abbots appropriated certain paper lanterns for their own personal use at non-Kishū related events. At least in one instance, the temple also strove to maximize the visual value of these Tokugawa holdings beyond its precinct boundaries when it sought daimyo permission to include them among its treasures in an 1861 public exhibition of the usually hidden Izuna Gongen statue at Edo's Ekōin 回向院.²⁹ It is not clear, however, whether the Tokugawa acceded to the request.

Beyond Control? The Problematic Aspects of Commoner Access to Buddhist Marking Processes

These deployments reflect Yakuōin's esteem for its Kishū-related objects, but the petition to display crested items during a public exhibition draw attention the potentially problematic aspects of material marking. Every symbol system for the creation of distinction contains the seeds of its own dilution or subversion. The codification of exclusion, for example, creates boundaries to be overcome or adopted, and markers for imposing or representing elevated prestige — whether they are political, cultural, or religious in origin — can become objects desired by those who might not otherwise have access to such cultural capital. When this occurs, ritually produced items can be taken out of context, and used in ways unintended by their makers. The Tokugawa and other domains were certainly cognizant of this trend, and officials strove to prevent or restrain inappropriate commoner access to silk clothing and other markers of warrior status prerogatives with sumptuary laws. Nevertheless, peasants, townsmen, and even clerics themselves were on the prowl for elite objects and materials to enhance their

²⁹ *TSM* 1: 511. Such events were known as *kaichō* 開帳 (“opening the curtain”).

own stature.³⁰

Unlike their medieval predecessors, early modern Buddhist institutions did not foment anti-warrior sentiments or movements. Indeed, to the contrary, the clergy appropriated the vestiges of warrior affluence to their own ends. Yakuōin's display of temple treasures in 1861 afforded one such opportunity: if successful with the petition, the temple could have reaped profits from the fee-paying visitors attracted to the Tokugawa artifacts among its treasures. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Shogunate was increasingly willing to allow temple treasure displays and other fundraising drives to ease from its early policy of financially supporting prominent Buddhist and Shinto institutions.³¹ But there were limits, and senior officials were certainly wary of any situation in which symbols of the Tokugawa house might be cast into the raucous world popular entertainment. Upon occasion Tokugawa officials moved to restrict questionable usage, and one 1768 mandate to the inspectors (*ōmetsuke* 大目付) stated:

1. women in the household [*gojochū* 御女中] should not carelessly give crested items to shrines and temples for public displays [*kaichō*] and other daily uses;
2. members of the three Tokugawa houses [*gosanke* 御三家] and other daimyo should not grant these items except to their house mortuary temple;
3. altar decorations and other items should not be used for an individual's religious services.³²

³⁰ For one survey of these regulations and their effects, see Donald Shively, “Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964-1965): 123-164.

³¹ Hiruma Hisashi 比留間尚, *Edo no kaichō* 江戸の開帳 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1980), 23-26.

³² Date, *Nihon shūkyō seidoshi*, p. 462.

Both this order and another ruling the following year required temples and shrines to register their crested objects with warrior officials.³³

These efforts, however, did not necessarily result in the denial of crested items to clerical holders. In 1836, for example, Yakuōin received verification of the paper lanterns from the Tokugawa Shogunate's own Temple and Shrine Magistracy, even though the temple itself admitted that its abbots used these lanterns for non-Tokugawa related events.³⁴ This play between actual and intended usage indicates the ambiguous nature of hollyhock gifts for the Shogunate: they reflected the presence of the Tokugawa houses and their munificence, but once beyond the direct control of Tokugawa officials, they could become problematic objects.³⁵

The profusion of mortuary rites and artifacts in the early modern period posed similar problems for warrior regulators, but for different reasons. Like their warrior contemporaries, commoners developed their own forms of patronage for Buddhist funerary services during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — a trend that helped to fuel the continual construction of small temples in villages and towns.³⁶ As a result, the late Sen-

goku period erosion of Buddhist institutional independence at the hands of increasingly powerful warrior suzerains was partially offset by the dramatic expansion of institutional Buddhism's presence in commoner venues. The Tokugawa Shogunate's usage of temple registration (*terakuke* 寺請) to both control non-warrior populations and to stamp out heterodox religious movements thus in one sense represents a practical adoption of already established patterns of lay religious patronage. The main difference between medieval and early modern modes of lay support was, of course, the fact that the Tokugawa mandates transformed every commoner household into temple parishioners (*danka* 檀家) regardless of their social status, economic conditions, or religious preferences. What is more, it was nearly impossible for lay families to cut these parishioner ties. Disgruntled commoners therefore lived under conditions of coerced patronage.³⁷

The net result of such policies towards the commoner and religious regulation was the creation of a multi-layered legal structure in which the Shogunate and domains strove to limit Buddhist institutional growth with one body of codes and prohibitions while simultaneously appointing clerics to oversee commoner compliance with other strictures.³⁸ For most peasants and towns-

³³ *Ibid.*, 464.

³⁴ *TSM*, 1: 500.

³⁵ This concern over the public display of crested items went beyond temple usage. Judging from ordinances issued in 1819 and 1824 to the inspectorate, townsmen on official business were given inappropriate access to crested paper lanterns, and were using them without due respect. Eventually the Shogunate ordered all bearers of hollyhock articles to register their holdings with authorities. See Shihōshō 法省, ed., *Tokugawa kinreikō kōshū* 徳川禁令考後集, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1931), 266-270.

³⁶ Tamamuro Taijō 圭室諦成 discusses the various facets of this expansion in his *Sōshiki bukkyō* 葬式仏教 (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1967), pp. 210-242. Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀 also discusses this growth in *Nihon bukkyōshi*, Vol. II *chūseihen* 日本仏教史中世編 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), pp. 382-385. For numeric examples of this growth, see Tamamuro Fumio's table of Mitō domain temples in his *Nihon*

bukkyōshi: kinsei 日本仏教史-近世 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987), p. 210-113. According to his analysis, of the 2,377 Buddhist temples registered in 1663, 1219 (51%) were built after 1500. Takeda Chōshū's survey of 6008 Jōdo temples reflects an even more dramatic boom: 90% were established after 1501, with 63% appearing between 1573 and 1643. Takeda Chōshū 竹田聴洲, "Kinsei shakai to bukkyō" 近世社会と仏教, in *Kinsei shakai to shūkyō* 近世社会と宗教, Ronshū bakuhan taiseishi 論集幕藩体制史, ed. Fujino Tamotsu, vol. 9 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1995), 97-98.

³⁷ Tamamuro Fumio, *Sōshiki to danka*, 200-207.

³⁸ The Tokugawa reliance upon non-warrior auspices in governing processes was common in early modern Japan. Mizubayashi describes the early modern system as one of "indirect" control

men, the material effects of such religious patronage reflected their general position within the status hierarchy. Aside from the orders pertaining to temple registration, and the general prohibitions against excessive expenditures found in codes at every regulatory level, the Tokugawa did not issue detailed restrictions against lay patronage practices until the nineteenth-century.³⁹ Nonetheless, there was a body of accumulated daily practices and implicit understandings that generally defined appropriate levels of commoner marking.⁴⁰ In contrast to the ornate reminders of daimyo patronage, the average peasant family usually received simpler names for its deceased relatives that it would display on far less imposing tablets and stones.⁴¹ Even so, the costs for such patronage were not cheap, and there is ample evidence that even less imposing names might still amount to several pieces of silver. For members of outcast groups like the *kawata* (皮多) who were engaged in leather production and other reviled occupations, the degradation they suffered in life followed them to their graves, because the characters in their posthumous names made direct reference to their lowly social position.⁴²

in which the Tokugawa claimed ultimate authority, but often left the daily practice of governance to intermediates (daimyo, peasant elites and the Buddhist clergy, for example). See his *Hōkensei no saihei*, 279-280. I discuss the implications of this system on Buddhist institutional practices in Vesey, "The Buddhist Clergy and Village Society."

³⁹ Examples of sumptuary regulations for religious rituals are in Kurushima Hiroshi 久留島浩 and Yoshida Nobuyuki 吉田伸之, eds., *Kinsei no shakai shūdan* 近世の社会集団 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1995), 359-366.

⁴⁰ Tamamuro Fumio, *Sōshiki to danka*, p. 193-194.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, 191-192, and Williams, "Representations of Zen," 235-236.

⁴² The posthumous names for members of this social group including explicitly degrading characters such as "leather" (革), "beast" (畜), or *sendara* 旃陀羅 (a Sino-Japanese transliteration of a Sanskrit word for "outcaste"). See Kobayashi

Many observers have noted the deleterious impact of access to easy money on clerical morals, and there is no denying the potential for Buddhist institutional abuse of hapless lay families who were forced to register.⁴³ That being said, a singular emphasis on clerical malevolence yields a simplistic interpretation of temple patronage that ignores the pervasive influence of commoner agency in clerical-lay relations. As in the case of warrior motives, the degree of commoner belief in the doctrinal underpinnings of Buddhist methods for producing memorial markers is not always clear, but throughout the early modern period, temple auspices did offer a viable means for expressions of loss, respect, and hopes for a better future. Both Yakuōin and Kitain effectively tapped into these sentiments to become popular votive sites. In Yakuōin's case, the temple expanded its support based beyond warrior patronage with the public treasure exhibitions noted above, and through a network of lay believers in the southern Kantō plains.⁴⁴ Kita'in as well used special events to foster lay votive support, with the most generous expression being an impres-

Daiji 小林大二, *Sabetsu kaimyō no rekishi* 差別戒名の歴史 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1987), 249-356. William Bodiford also discusses this topic in "Zen and the Art of Religious Prejudice: Efforts to Reform a Tradition of Social Discrimination," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21, no. 1 (1996): 1-27.

⁴³ See Tamamuro Taijō, *Sōshiki bukkyō*, 262-291. The locus classicus for many modern perceptions of Tokugawa clerical decline is in Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon bukkyōshi* 日本仏教史, vol. 10 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1955). Tamamuro Fumio offers a particularly striking example of such abuse in his account of a 1786 incident of a Sōtō school cleric named Tetsumei who sexually forced himself upon the wife of one parishioner; see his *Sōshiki to danka*, 208-218.

⁴⁴ See Vesey, "The Buddhist Clergy and Village Society," 307-313; Toyama Tōru 外山徹, "Kinsei ni okeru Takasan shinkō: shinkō keitai no gaikan to shinkōken" 近世における高雄山信仰 - 信仰形体の外観と信仰圏, in *Kinsei Takaosanshi no kenkyū*, ed. Murakami Tadashi (Tokyo: Meichosha, 1998), 31-61.

sive donation of stone statues representing the Buddha's disciples (*rakan* 羅漢) by a peasant named Takezaemon in the 1820s.⁴⁵ Therefore, while temple-commoner affiliations were not always the result of lay desires, we should posit at least a degree of willing patronage on the part of many peasant and urban communities regardless of the potential inequities inherent to mandated patronage. This is a point made by Patricia Graham as well in her study of Naritasan.

On a more socio-political level, if some Buddhists were rapacious purveyors of funerary markers, then they were matched by equally rapacious customers among emerging entrepreneurial peasants (*gōnō* 豪農) and wealthy townsmen who desired their own cultural capital and enhanced familial legitimacy through displays of ritual excess.⁴⁶ Such appropriations of mortuary and memorial forms were not on the scale seen at Kita'in or Heirinji, but ambitious individuals did exploit regulatory loopholes to utilize the same basic ritual forms employed by warrior families, and thereby set themselves apart from other commoners. In concrete terms, these elites often tried to purchase expensive cloister titles for the death names of family members. They also strove to reflect their social prominence by inviting many clerics to officiate at their funerals and subsequent memorial rites, and by providing large meals to attendees. Depending on the burial traditions in their villages and wards, wealthy commoners might also purchase relatively larger grave markers, and place them in close proximity to important buildings at their mortuary temples.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Details pertaining to one public event at Kata'in managed shrine are in Udaka and Shioiri, *Kita'in nikkān* vol. 2, 170-249. The statue donation is in *ibid.*, vol. 5, 363, 429, and 434.

⁴⁶ The popularization of funerary ritual among commoner elites is surveyed in Ōtō Osamu 大藤修, *Kinsei nōmin to ie-mura-kokka* 近世農民と家・村・国家 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1996), 293-397.

⁴⁷ Shintani Takanori's 新谷尚紀 analysis of a "dual grave" (*ryōbo* 両墓) system at the Shingon temple of Fukōmyōji 普光明寺 in Niiza 新

As in the case of the daimyo patronage, such ritual performances offered prominent commoners a venue for engaging in the cultural politics inherent to the production and display of items for reflecting a house's heritage.⁴⁸ The extent to which commoners were willing to pursue Buddhist-derived markings is evident in a brief case study of one peasant's effort to acquire a religiously based expression of elevated social stature.⁴⁹ In 1738, the father of the headman of Nakatome village 中留村 in the Kawagoe domain, one Heiemon 平右衛門, petitioned the abbot of his house's mortuary temple of Takufuji 多福寺 to use a cloister title in his eventual posthumous name. To reinforce his request, he produced a mortuary tablet bearing the honorary prefix "Ryōkōin" 了光院 — a name which Heiemon had purchased from a Shugendō cleric in Kawagoe. The temple community was not opposed to granting certain rank-names to esteemed peasants, but the abbot Tōgen 東原 denied the peti-

座 (Saitama Prefecture) is indicative of this point. In this burial format, the site for memorial rites differs from the actual grave. Most scholars ascribe this bifurcation to lay desires for honoring the spirit of dead without the potential of coming into contact with the impurities of the dead. According to Shintani's analysis of practices in Niiza, this facet of the dual grave system was overlaid with an increasing desire on the part of commoner patrons to heighten their social standing by locating family memorial markers near Fukōmyōji's main hall. See his *Ryōbosei to takaikan* 両墓制と他界観 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1991), 125-199.

⁴⁸ Kurushima Hiroshi discusses the value of *yuisho* in village affairs in Kurushima and Yoshida *Kinsei no shakai shūdan*, 3-38.

⁴⁹ The following account appears in Miyoshimachishi kenkyūkai 三芳町史研究会, ed., *Miyoshimachishi shiryōhen II Tafukuji oshō kiroku* 三芳町資料編 II 多福寺和尚記録 (Miyoshimachi, Saitama Pref.: Miyoshimachi, 1987), 56-61. I examine this event in greater detail in Vesey, "The Buddhist Clergy and Village Society," 376-383. Tafukuji was a Rinzaï Zen institution.

tion by stating that temple policy denied elite prefixes to non-samurai.⁵⁰ To bolster his stance, Tōgen claimed Heiemon's paltry support for the temple did not merit such recognition from Tafukuji. Furthermore, as a Buddhist abbot, he was not inclined to acknowledge any title pandered by a cleric from a different religious community.⁵¹ Momentarily deflected, but not firmly dissuaded, in 1739 Heiemon attempted a negotiated settlement: in exchange for not displaying the tablet in public, would Tōgen keep it within Takufuji's altar area? The abbot refused once again, and in a fit of pique, Heiemon cast aside the tablet as he departed.

At this juncture Tōgen relented and accepted the proposal. Although it is not clear why he did so, I suspect his reversal reflects a degree of unease with his position in the village. He was not native to the region, and was only in his third year as Tafukuji's abbot. Therefore, while he technically was operating within his rights as the mortuary temple abbot in denying the title, he may have wished to avoid antagonizing Heiemon's prominent family. This would particularly apply to Heiemon's son who by virtue of his position as village headmen maintained his own form of legal authority within the domain's administrative apparatus.

While Tōgen's response apparently appeased Heiemon, it also established a new precedent that

⁵⁰ The abbots bestowed the "layman" and "great sister" titles upon prominent parishioners who had manifested their faith generous support, and whose families were willing to pay six to ten *ryō* in gold. Lower down on the scale, the "believer" (*shinja* 信者 for men and *shinnyo* 信女 for women) titles could be had for two to four *ryō*. For most peasants, the usual suffixes were "entrant to meditation" (*zenjōmon* 禪定門) and "meditating nun" (*zenjōni* 禪定尼).

⁵¹ Although both Buddhist and Shugendō temples offered names to their patrons in recognition of lay support, the Buddhist monopoly over mortuary practices extended to the titles on posthumous markers such as tablets, graves, and registries of the dead. In this case, Tōgen was under no obligation to accept Heiemon's Shugendō derived *ingō*.

at least one other family exploited to garner a cloister title for a deceased relative. Responding to this gradual degradation of its prerogatives, Tafukuji used Heiemon's death in 1759 as an opportunity to regain temple control over its own posthumous marking traditions, and reassert its position over its patrons. By this date, another cleric named Ryōgaku 亮嶽 occupied the abbacy, while the daily affairs were handled by a subordinate, Kōzan 湖山. With the formal abbot's support, on the eve of Heiemon's funeral Kōzan once again reiterated temple policy to demand the erasure of the cloister title from Heiemon's memorial tablet. The family responded both with a point of honor (to scar the tablet would in effect scar their good name), and a petition by the Kawagoe Shugen cleric. Ultimately, other parishioners weighed in to negotiate a final settlement: in exchange for displaying the cloister marked tablet on the altar during the rites, Kōzan would not chant out loud the offending sections of posthumous name, and the other lay families would never again press the temple to accept cloister titles derived from non-Buddhist sources.

The value of Heiemon's story lies in the ironies it reveals. In this case, neither the peasants nor the clerics denied the fundamental nature or structure of early modern temple-commoner patronage, but the vectors of coercive power went in both directions. Ultimately the Tafukuji abbots prevailed, yet clearly peasant desires to generate elitist markings could be quite strong. Secondly, the Shogunate and domain administrators often relied upon peasants such as Heiemon's son to maintain order in village affairs, and to ensure the overall stability of status based identities. Yet, as the events at Tafukuji reveal, these same peasant elites were often in the best position to garner for themselves religiously derived appurtenances that mirrored samurai practices. What is more, they did so under the auspices of a warrior mandated system. Eventually the Shogunate did try to limit such excesses in 1831 by restricting grave heights to 4 *shaku* 尺 (approximately 132 cm.); by denying commoners the use of cloister prefixes and certain suffixes; and by limiting the number of clerics attending rites for commoners to no more

than ten.⁵² Yet despite such stipulations, wealthy commoner patronage of death and family related rituals for elite residual marks continued to the end of the Tokugawa regime.

Conclusion

In sum, the strength of the physical markers of daimyo authority derived from the multi-leveled meanings inherent to the ritual processes that produced them. In one sense daimyo used Buddhist auspices for merit production and ancestor veneration to foster order and propriety by symbolically representing their acceptance of the household as a social ideal. In doing so, they asserted their legitimacy by situating their individual houses within a larger system of social practice.⁵³ Concurrently, through the same medium (i.e. the Buddhist temple), the daimyo consumption of Buddhist services allowed warrior houses to ritually produce artifacts of distinctive authority. And yet, warrior efforts to maintain the status quo could be undermined to a certain extent by normative practices they espoused, and by the markers they so prominently displayed.

While Buddhist dominance over mortuary practices remained strong throughout this period, temple abbots were faced with increasing competition from Shugendō clerics, Shinto shrine priests, and *onmyōdō* 陰陽道 diviners who offered patrons other venues for expressions of faith and prestige.⁵⁴ For example, Yoshida Shinto clerics garnered peasant and townsmen support

by issuing “decrees of foundations and origins” (*sōgen senji* 宗源宣旨) to lay groups who sought documented ranks for the deities within their village shrines.⁵⁵ Buddhist shrine administrators (*bettō* 別当) also keenly petitioned for such recognition from the Yoshida organization. This resulted in an interesting twist where hindsight reveals yet another irony, because Buddhist clerics as patrons furthered the expansion of another religious organization that eventually became a major contender for lay faith and lay funds. The increasing influence of Neo-Confucian thinkers, Nativists, Shingaku practitioners, and new religions further sapped the evocative power of Buddhist rituals and their material effects at all levels of society. Coupled with popularized visions of Buddhist moral decline and the socio-political fracturing that occurred during the last decades of the early modern period, these myriad shifts in the religious dynamics of the nineteenth-century fed into the attacks on temples after 1870. Buddhists in the end thus paid a heavy price for their place and function in Tokugawa society.

In post-Tokugawa Japan, the end of daimyo political authority, and the Meiji government’s decision to rescind obligatory temple registration created the potential for widespread lay rejection of temple practices. While some communities took this opportunity to switch their religious affiliations, the elimination of mandated support did not result in the immediate eradication of temple patronage as a whole. At sites such as Yakuōin and Kita’in, early modern efforts to attract lay patronage through votive activities established a support base that helped both temples weather the loss of warrior munificence. Along similar lines, the continued existence of Tafukuji and its extensive parishioner base in modern Miyoshimachi reveals certain continuities in lay recognition of Buddhism’s cultural and religious value that traversed other disruptions in late nineteenth-century Japanese society. In fact, according to

⁵² Date, *Nihon shūkyō seidoshi*, 494. Since most temples had at most one abbot and two or three disciples, large funerals often required invitations to clerics from several temples.

⁵³ I am working here from Catherine Bell’s summary of political rituals in *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 128-135.

⁵⁴ Helen Hardacre details the potential for conflict between organizations struggling to define their ritual prerogatives in “Conflict Between Shugendō and the New Religions of Bakumatsu Japan,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21, nos. 2-3 (1994): 137-166.

⁵⁵ Hiromi Maeda details the rise of Shinto oriented modes of patronage in “Imperial Authority and Local Shrines: The Yoshida House and the Creation of a Countrywide Shinto Institution in Early Modern Japan,” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2003), 119-133.

Stephen Covell's recent study of modern Tendai temples, parishioner families who maintained the early modern patronage model were crucial to temple fiscal stability from 1868 onwards.⁵⁶

Over the last several decades, there has been increasing lay alienation from such from such modes of support, and a number of clerics and scholars believe Japan is now witnessing the gradual "death" of its early modern parishioner legacy. Nevertheless, the present existence of daimyo-sponsored gravesites and altar trappings, and the post-Tokugawa continuity of Buddhist temple rites for both funerary and votive purposes into the twentieth-century serve as a reminder that Tokugawa era modes for patronizing Buddhist temples fostered a system of symbolic production that ultimately outlived early modern period.

⁵⁶ Stephen Covell, "Living Temple Buddhism in Contemporary Japan: The Tendai Sect Today," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2001), 39-73. Also see the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 31.2 (2004) for a series of articles on the topic of "Traditional Buddhism in Contemporary Japan."

Table One

Registry of Kii Tokugawa House Gifts of Hollyhock Crest Items 葵紋附品 to Yakuōin
Takaosan Yakuōin monjo 高尾山薬王院文書, vol. 3, item 713, dated 1856/3

| Item | Dates | Comments |
|--|---|--|
| 1. Gojōmoku 御条目 | 1613/ 8 | Has black seal from Taitokuin 台徳院 |
| Holding box with aoi mon | | |
| 2. Fudōmyō mandara | Unknown | Said to be gift of 2 nd Kishū dai- myō Yorinobu For daily use 平常用 |
| 3. Dark blue and gold brocade tochō 紺 地金襴戸帳 One set | Unknown | From Kishū Replaced in: a. Shōtoku era (1711- 1716) b. 1755/2 c. 1791/3 |
| 4. Dark blue damask tochō 紺染緞子戸帳 One set | | |
| 5. Red brocade tochō 赤地錦戸帳 One set | | |
| 6. Dk. blue and gold brocade mizuhiki 紺 地金襴水引 One set | Same as above | Same as above |
| 7. Dark blue damask mizuhiki 紺染緞子水引 One set | | |
| 8. Red brocade mizuhiki 赤地錦水引 One set | | |
| 9. White curtain, 2 items 白幕 | | Used during <i>kitō</i> rites for Kishū house, and shrine ceremonies |
| 10. Takahari chōchin: 8 高張挑燈 | Original date unknown | 1836: following Jisha bugyō or- der, Kishū confirmation for two |
| 11. Yumihari chōchin 2 弓張挑燈 | Same as above | For Kishū events, and abbatal use |
| 12. Fudōmyō in crested shrine 不動尊一体葵御紋附厨子入 | 1718 | Given with <i>goma</i> platform 護摩壇 |
| 13. damask mizuhiki 緞子水引 one set | 1862/5 [Note: later addition to registry] | From Takehime of Kishū For daily use |
| 14. White saiwaibishi tochō 白幸菱戸張 one set | 1740/12 | For daily use |
| 15. Shichijō kesa 七条袈裟 | Unknown | For Kishū house <i>kitō</i> ; repaired during Shigenori's tenure |
| 16. Fudō image by Munemasa | 1748 | In crest box For daily use |
| 17. Scroll of prayers 大般若理趣分陀羅尼救咒光明真言一卷 | | |
| 18. White gojō kesa | Date unknown | Used for Kishū prayer rituals |