Religious Civilization in Modern Japan : As Revealed through a Focus on Mt. Kōya

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It is usually said that modern Japan began with the Meiji Restoration. The Restoration was indeed a great political change, and even the world of religion experienced its "Meiji Restoration" [YASUMARU 1979]. The forced separation of Shintō and Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri*) and the rejection of Buddhism (*haibutsu kishaku*) that occurred during the Meiji period can be seen as symbolic of that change.

But how much change was there in the religious lives of the people after the "Meiji Restoration of the Gods?" Was the change so great that it could be called a rupture, or was there a strong sense of continuity? In terms of the history of Japanese civilization, what was ruptured and what was continuous? Using the "Meiji Restoration of the Gods" as an entry point, the author will examine religious civilization in modern Japan while taking note of the position and role of religion before and after that time.

Mt. Kōya will be the center of this study for several reasons. It not only has a history and status comparable to that of Mt. Hiei, but it has also shown striking development as a focus of popular Buddhism. In other words, Mt. Kōya has both an elite and a popular character, and as such it provides a powerful key for investigating the position and role of religion in Japan.

But Mt. Kōya will merely provide the starting point for a discussion of Japanese civilization. Although our attention will often come back to Mt. Kōya, it will always return to the issue of civilization. We will attempt a bird's-eye view of Japanese civilization from Mt. Kōya, and we will see the reflection of that civilization on the mountain. In this way, Mt. Kōya will play the role of both projector and screen for this study.

1. MT. KŌYA'S MEIJI RESTORATION

Let us look first at the notable trends on Mt. Kōya immediately after the Meiji Restoration. Just after the change in the reign name from Keiō to Meiji, a government order was handed down to the mountain as a whole abolishing the designations of *gakuryo* (scholar-monk), *gyōnin* (administrator-monk) and *hijiri* (lowest-level monk), which had distinguished the three classes of monks, reviving the old title of Kongōbuji Temple, and ordering all those on the mountain to cooperate in bringing prosperity to the area. As a result of this, Kongōbuji Temple became the head temple for the clergy, the *Kōya hijiri* tradition disappeared completely, and the transformation of the entire priesthood into scholar-monks was set in motion. In January 1871, Mt. Kōya's economic base was seriously undermined when the Meiji government ordered the turnover of temple estate lands totaling 21,300 *koku* for government income. In March 1872, a government proclamation rescinded the rule that forbade women on the mountain, although it appears that for several years they continued to avoid the sacred precincts. The head priest of Kongōbuji assumed the new office of Chief Abbot the same year, and with this the appointment of an individual to the position of highest responsibility in the Kogi Shingon sect was institutionalized. In 1873, an order from the government reclaimed about 4,000 hectares of forest land on the mountain itself. *The Eleven Hundred Year History of Mt. Kōya* calls this "an outrageous order" [KŌYASAN KONGŌBUJI KINEN DAIHŌE JIMUKYOKU 1914: 305].

The essentially symbiotic relationship between the *gakuryo, gyōnin* and *hijiri* on Mt. Kōya goes back to the medieval period, but relations were always tense, and disputes occasionally broke out among them. The *gakuryo* were priests who specialized in scholarly study, the *gyōnin* took care of miscellaneous work such as temple offerings and maintenance of temple buildings, and the *hijiri* were the itinerant *nenbutsu* practitioners known as *Kōya hijiri*. Basically, the *gakuryo* took charge of intellectual matters, the *gyōnin* of administrative affairs, and the *hijiri* of the marketing aspects of the sect. The *Kōya hijiri* propagated belief in a Kōya Pure Land, operated temple inns and established the custom of depositing cremated remains (*nōkotsu*) at the Okunoin Temple on Mt. Kōya. They also raised money for the building of temple halls, supporting themselves with a portion of the monetary offerings.

The *Kōya hijiri*, who reached their peak of prosperity during the medieval period, followed a straight road to ruin from late medieval to early modern Japan. The religious *nenbutsu hijiri* were reduced to being *akinai hijiri* who traveled around selling articles such as cloth, chopsticks, socks, tobacco holders, writing brushes, fans and wrapping cloths. They were scorned as "room-borrowing *hijiri*" (*yadokari hijiri*) and "night monsters," and ridiculed as "wife-snatching *Kōya hijiri*" (*okata toru Kōya hijiri*) [GORAI 1975: 257–9, 271].

The decline of the *Kōya hijiri* was one aspect symbolizing the demise of the medieval period. The medieval feudal powers who had originally been patrons of

the *Kōya hijiri* were in the process of reorganizing, and the newly-formed warrior groups that were emerging in their place did not welcome the *Kōya hijiri*, suspecting them, instead, of spying [GORAI 1975: 257]. Not only that, but in 1581 Oda Nobunaga had 1,383 *Kōya hijiri* from the Kinai area put to death. This was Nobunaga's revenge on Mt. Kōya *gyōnin* for their killing foot soldiers who were sent to subjugate masterless warriors (*rōnin*) on the mountain. The *Kōya hijiri* barely managed to keep their tradition alive despite this, but in 1606 they were ordered by the *bakufu* to become part of the Shingon sect. This was the last blow to their *nenbutsu* tradition. Although Daitokuin, the Tokugawa family temple on Mt. Kōya, continued to serve as a base for the *hijiri*, they disappeared completely in the early Meiji period.

In this connection, the *gyōnin* acquired by donation a 21,000 *koku* temple estate after the land survey in Toyotomi Hideyoshi's time, and they began to have power surpassing that of the *gakuryo*. In 1601 Tokugawa Ieyasu promulgated regulations concerning the distinction made between *gakuryo* and *gyōnin*, attempting to curb their rivalry, but their antagonism continued. In 1692, 627 *gyōnin* were exiled to Kyūshū and the San'in area by decision of the *bakufu*. The next year, 902 *gyōnin* temples were burned to the ground; only 280 were allowed to continue operating. This decision was called the *Genroku Seidan*, and in this way the *gakuryo* regained leadership of Mt. Kōya.

From the point of view of the history of Japanese civilization, the bakufu's 1692 decision is more important than the authority of the *gakuryo*, however. That decision reveals the *bakufu*'s authority to pass judgement on internal religious disputes; *bakufu* authority also guaranteed Mt.Kōya's estate as a "red-seal area" (*shuinchi*), allowing it to keep taxes it collected from tenants on its land. Before the land survey, Mt. Kōya held 50,000 *koku* of land; at the height of its prosperity, it was a feudal power of more than 170,000 *koku*. Although Ieyasu fixed Mt. Kōya's estate at that size, disputes broke out between the *gakuryo* and *gyōnin* over how the land would be distributed among them.

It will be instructive to compare the estates of powerful temples of the Tendai sect in order to understand the position accorded Mt. Kōya by the *bakufu*. Mt. Hiei, which had been burned by Nobunaga in 1571, was given only 1,573 *koku* by Hideyoshi, later 5,000 by Ieyasu. On the other hand, Tōeizan Kan'eiji in Ueno held 12,000 *koku* and Nikkōsan Rinnōji held 13,000 *koku*. Thus, Mt. Hiei was ignored, and the administrative and economic power of the Tendai sect moved completely to the east. Perhaps it can be said that in comparison with Mt. Hiei, Mt. Kōya managed to retain its own power.

Mt. Kōya performed two roles for the *bakufu*. One was the performance of religious ceremonies for the Tokugawa family shrine and the Tōshōgū, both located at the *hijiri*'s Daitokuin. Construction of Daitokuin's Tōshōgū was begun in 1627 and finished in 1635, and Daitokuin was granted 300 *koku* for its maintenance. There was a Tōshōgu among the temples belonging to the *gakuryo* as well as one among those belonging to the *gyōnin*, but the only one in existence today is the

hijiri Tōshōgū. In comparison, the Tōshōgū on Mt. Hiei was completed in 1634 and granted 200 *koku*.

The second role performed for the *bakufu* by Mt. Kōya was memorial services for the ancestors of the *daimyō* families. Ieyasu encouraged the *daimyō* across the country to build memorial monuments (*kuyōtō*) and to carry out lavish Buddhist ceremonies for their ancestors, forcing the *daimyō* to invest huge amounts of resources, labor and time. Many *daimyō* deepened their ties with the temples on the mountain through these religious activities.

In this way, Mt. Kōya gained the allegiance of the *daimyō* at the same time that it enjoyed the warm protection of the *bakufu*. But with the advent of the Meiji period, the mountain's "red-seal land" was confiscated in the name of "restoring it" to the new government, and even its forest-lands were taken; it was as if Mt. Kōya's economic base had been cut off at the very root. To use an enterprise analogy, Mt. Kōya in the early modern era had served as a public enterprise for investment by the *bakufu* governments. It strongly resembled a public corporation in character. After the Meiji Restoration, Mt. Kōya had to find a new beginning based on fixed assets that had been cut to only the temple buildings, the main complex, and the land within their precincts. Thus the mountain center was totally changed from a public to a private enterprise. For Mt. Kōya, the Meiji Restoration began not with the separation of Shintō and Buddhism or the rejection of Buddhism, but with the government order of 1871.

2. TOKUGAWA RELIGION AS A PUBLIC ENTERPRISE

The original subtitle of Robert Bellah's *Tokugawa Religion* [1957] was "The Values of Pre-industrial Japan," but in the new edition [1985], the subtitle has been changed to "The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan." In examining Ishida Baigan, the founder of *Shingaku*, as someone who justified economic activity in the Tokugawa period and gave it an ethical grounding, Bellah sought to identify the origin of the ethics and religious beliefs that reinforced the modernization of Japan. In this paper, we will look at Tokugawa Religion from the point of view of civilization studies, that is, with regard to systems and organization, rather than linking it to cultural ethics or values as Bellah did.

As mentioned above, Mt. Kōya during the Tokugawa period bore a strong resemblance to a public enterprise. This was also true of Mt. Nikkō and Mt. Hiei. Powerful temples that functioned as public enterprises were distributed all across the country, where they relied upon the *bakufu*'s "red-seal land" and the individual feudal lords' "black-seal land" for their economic base. One of their main responsibilities was memorial activities for the ancestors. In particular, Tōshōgū, which enshrined the spirit of Tokugawa Ieyasu, had more than 500 shrines around the country if one counts subsidiary altars and individual shrines located within temple compounds. When Ieyasu died in 1616, a Shintō funeral was held by the priest Bon-shun, and he was buried at Mt. Kunō. But the following year the title Tōshō

Daigongen was conferred on him at the insistence of Tenkai, the Tendai priest who had been his adivsor, and he was reburied at Nikkō. A Tōshōsha was built at Mt. Kunō the same year. In 1618 Tokugawa Hidetada built a Tōshōsha in Ueno, and from 1619 all of the *gosanke* families constructed Tōshōsha. This number increased to thirty before the end of the Genna era (1615–1624), to thirty-seven during Kan'ei (1624–1644). The present Tōshōgū in Nikkō, build by the third shōgun Iemitsu, was completed in 1636. In 1645 the Tōshōsha shrines were renamed Tōshōgū, and shogunal delegations were sent yearly beginning in 1646 to make offerings.

There was precedent for the granting of the title Tōshō Daigongen and the establishment of Tōshōgū: Hideyoshi's title Toyokuni Daimyōjin and shrine Toyokunisha. Even earlier, we find the example of Nobunaga's Sōkenji. Sōkenji in Azuchi enshined Nobunaga, and he was worshipped as "Nobunaga, the Supreme Deity Who Sees Both Present and Future" [YASUMARU 1979: 23], a deity who answered all types of prayers. It is said that even during his lifetime, "Nobunaga collected images of religious deities from all around the country and worshipped himself through them. He designated his own birthday as a holy day" [YASUMARU 1979: 23]. In this we can see the change from the medieval belief in vengeful spirits (*goryō*) to the early modern celebration of heroes. According to Yasumaru Yoshio,

> In the new idea of enshrining as *kami* powerful individuals of this world and those who served them meritoriously lies the origin of the principle of State Shintō in which only the founder and other members of the Imperial line and those who served them well were worshipped as *kami* [YASUMARU 1979: 24].

The reorganization of temples and shrines that occurred in Mito *han* is interesting in this light. Beginning in 1843, Tōshōgū was declared to belong to Yuii-tsu Shintō, it was put under the control of a Shintō priest, and its traditional attend-ants were dismissed. But this was not all. Every shrine in the *han* was changed to Yuiitsu Shintō, and policy of one shrine per village was adopted. With the creation of lists for recording the membership of individuals in shrine parishes, the spirit of the early Tokugawa parishioner registration system was revived. This activity in Mito had considerable effect on the Meiji government's Shintō policy, although under Meiji policy the Tōshōgū shrines were replaced by the Ise Shrine.

The examples of Mt. Kōya and Tōshōgū show how Tokugawa Religion was already established as a public enterprise religious system. Although Tōshō Daigongen was replaced by Amaterasu Ōmikami, the system was continuous in a structural sense even after the beginning of the Meiji period. Thereafter, the status of both Mt. Kōya and Tōshōgū as public enterprise was overturned by the Meiji redefinition of shrines as non-religious organizations. After shrines were ex-cluded from the category of religion, a new system of classifying religions was establshed: Shintō sects as *kyōha*, Buddhist sects as *shūha*, Christian sects as *kyōkai* and others as *ruiji shūkyō*. As public enterprises for government, it was the

shrines that were saddled with the task of producing a national ideology, supported as they were by the shrine parish system. For Mt. Kōya and Tōshōgū, the Meiji Restoration was indeed a revolution, but from the point of view of the history of civilization, the continuous aspects were stronger than the sense of rupture. This is because religion in its role as a public enterprise in Japan merely exchanged several important elements while becoming increasingly fixed.

3. TOKUGAWA RELIGION AS A PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

During the early part of the Tokugawa period, some temples and shrines established their position as public enterprises controled by the *bakuhan* governments. Parallel with this, other temples and shrines also became stabilized institutionally and organizationally as private enterprises. In the process of the development of public- and private-enterprise types, multi-national religions were decisively excluded. This, of course, was the prohibition of Christianity.

The proselytizing of Christianity in Japan began in 1549 when the Jesuit Father Francisco Xavier landed in Kagoshima. Receiving the permission of *daimyō* across western Japan, Christianity spread its proselytizing activities from bases such as Hirado, Yamaguchi and Kyōto. In particular, Nobunaga supported Christianity in order to play it against the powerful established temples and shrines. But beginning in 1585, Hideyoshi began to enforce a series of prohibitions, destroying "Christian temples," expelling Jesuit missionaries, and executing Christian believers. In 1612, Ieyasu issued decrees prohibiting Christianity and began its suppression through the destruction of churches, expulsion and arrest. In 1616 and 1618, foreign ships were restricted to landing at Hirado and Nagasaki, and Christian proselytizing was forbidden. The office of Commissioner of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō*) was established in 1635. The Shimabara Uprising occurred in 1637 but was subdued the following year. In 1649, the Office of the Inquisitor (*shūmon aratame*) was established, and lists verifying individual's membership in a temple parish (*terauke* and *shūmon ninbetsuchō*) began to be kept.

Christianity landed on the shores of Japan as a truly multi-national religion, with the power of trade-hungry Portugal and Spain lurking behind it. In order to restrain an alliance of the *daimyō* of western Japan with foreign powers, the Tokugawa government established a monopoly on foreign trade with Holland and China, prohibited Christian proselytizing, and expelled Portugal and Spain. This isolationism was an internal policy designed to protect the Tokugawa family [UMESAO 1976: 39; UMESAO 1980: 98–9].

The prohibition of multi-national Christianity hit bottom; *fumie* and brutal punishment were both utilized. The armed rebellion at Shimabara was suppressed, and Christianity had to go underground like the "hidden *nenbutsu*" groups in order to survive; on the surface, "hidden" Christians became regular parishioner families (*danka*) of local Buddhist temples. Using the prohibition of Christianity as a fulcrum, the *bakufu* pushed forward a parishioner registration system (*danka*

terauke seido).

   Danka (parishoner household) can be defined as

> An entity based on the *ie* or household unit, an entity which is dependent on a
> specific temple for funeral services and which holds responsibility for the
> upkeep of the temple,..a small family configuration made up of the head of the
> household and his direct relatives [ŌKUWA 1979: 38].

The existence of temple *danka* illustrates the change from the land-dependent
temple economies of the medieval period to a parishioner-dependent form based on
the establishment of small farming household. The *bakufu* and feudal lords of the
Edo period relied mainly on small-scale farming household rather than large
landholders for their financial resources. In this sense, the *ie* or household was the
basic unit for productive life and for property in the period, and this formed the
root of the temple-parishioner relationship. The greatest responsibility of the
parish temple was to cement its association with its parishioner households. The
bakufu established the temple registration system using the unmasking of Chris-
tians as a fulcrum for its true purpose, which was to gain control over the *ie*. Of
course, there were regional differences in the temple-parishioner household relation-
ship. A form distinguished by either individual or associations of *dōzoku* groups
was widespread in the Kinki region. A form that was absorbed by large temples was
prominent in both Kyūshū and Tōhoku, while these forms existed together in the
Hokuriku and other areas [ŌKUWA 1979: 77–84].

   We can look at the parish temples as enterprises whose primary business was
the performance of funeral services and the issuing of registration certificates and at
the parishioner households as stockholder with a responsibility to the business.
But although parish temples can be spoken of as private enterprises from the point
of view of their funeral-related activities, they aslo retained the character of public
enterprises in their issuing of registration certificates. Thus, rather than being com-
pletely private, parish temples were half-public, half-private enterprises. Suzuki
Shōsan thought of priests as public officials responsible for proselytizing.

   Family ancestral altars (*butsudan*) began to be set up in parishioner homes in
the late medieval period. These home altars are said to have developed from the
Heian period tradition of constructing a Buddhist hall for family use in the homes
of the nobility, but there is no question that their use become widespread following
the establishment of the parish system. Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and memorial
tablets (*ihai*) were worshipped in home altars. Although there were religious groups
such as the Jōdo Shinshū which did not approve of the worship of memorial tablets,
in general the home altar functioned as the ceremonial altar for spirits of the dead,
including the ancestors. This practice fixed the perception in Japanese society that
the spirits of the dead were the family *hotoke* (used to mean both Buddhas and the
dead) memorialized through Buddhist practice.

   Parish temples based on the unit of the single household were tied together in a
"main temple-branch temple" (*honmatsu*) relationship. This is an organizational

structure parallel to a "main office-branch office" corporate structure. Buddhist sects such as Jōdo shinshū and Sōtō Zen expanded like large corporations with many branches. Their corporate activity, namely their proselytizing, was severely restricted during the Edo period, but after the beginning of Meiji they became active, especially in Hokkaidō. Rites for the household *hotoke* became the focus of their activity. In other words, there was no change in the fact that the household unit had been the primary market for Buddhism since early in the Tokugawa period.

Jōdo Shinshū was the sect that persisted most stubbornly and strongly from the beginning of the separation of temples and shrines and the rejection of Buddhism in early Meiji to the dispersement of the *Daikyōin* in 1875. Because it was already based solely on parishioner households rather than on income from temple land, the sect sustained little economic damage from these programs, and perhaps this is the reason it was able to persist. Thus, for Shinshū, the policy to establish Shintō as the state religion must have seemed merely a surface event. It was the sects that had to re-form as private enterprises that felt the weight of the "Meiji Restoration of the Gods."

4. THE PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE RELIGION AND THE LIBERALIZATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE RELIGION

Corporate rivalries within Tokugawa Religion had been settled for the most part by the beginning of the period. Continuous conflict, such as Nobunaga's burning of Mt. Hiei, attack on Mt. Kōya and battle with Ishiyama Honganji Temple had dealt a great blow to established religious power. Umesao suggests that the burning of Mt. Hiei in 1571 was the beginning of the modern age in Japan, and it could be said that this era saw the greatest revolution in the history of Japanese religion. Also at this time, multi-national Catholicism entered the chaotic Japanese marketplace. Nobunaga used this multi-national religion to restrain the power of the established religions and used guns, a new weapon in Japan, to subdue the realm. But from Hideyoshi's time, policy shifted to the expulsion of multi-national religion, established public enterprise religions like Mt. Kōya were preserved at a reduced level of activity, and new public enterprise religions such as Tōshōgū were cultivated. Also on another side, the parishioner registration system was established, organized as a half-public, half-private enterprise operated by *ie* shareholders, and re-formed into several large corporations through the "main temple-branch temple" relationship. In contrast to this, the free activity of small private religious enterprises such as *hijiri* and ascetics was strikingly limited. Problems within and among enterprises were regulated by *bakufu*-promulgated temple and shrine regulations, and the Commissioner of Temples and Shrines held the authority to arbitrate. Thus Tokugawa Religion was highly stable, with infrequent discord and confrontations.

But from the middle of the period on, newly arisen religious power began to

appear in the form of voluntary associations (*kō*). A great variety of associations were formed, some based on age or sex groups with a priest-like leader as the central figure, others stretching across sex and age boundaries. Fuji-kō, Ontake-kō and Ishizuchi-kō are examples of associations emerging at this time from mountain-centered religion in Japan. Pilgrimages such as the Ise-kō to Ise Shrine and the Daishi-kō to Shikoku also became popular. This is because pilgrimage in conjunction with recreation became much easier due to the improvement of travel facilities.

Another type of new religious energy to appear was religions begun by a founder-figure, such as Kurozumikyō, Tenrikyō, and Konkōkyō. These groups emerged from associations that have been called "communities of shared suffering" [YANAGAWA 1982: 52–3]. With their organization based on voluntary participation, they did not pose much of a threat to the established religious powers. On top of all this, unorganized visits to temples and shrines by individuals to pray for success in business and long life also became popular. For the most part, these new private enterprise religions did not infringe upon the position and role of the established, public, and semi-public enterprise religions, and the new groups began to grow steadily.

But the political revolution named Meiji Restoration was successful, and the gods had to adjust to the changes as well. The Restoration brought about the privatization of the temples and the publicization of the shrines. The major change that this entailed was the exchange of public enterprise religious elements. The Inner Shrine of the Ise Shrine complex came to play the leading role in place of Tōshōgū. Shrines were assigned a position as public enterprise in accordance with the contemporary explanation that they were not religious places, and the shrines throughout the country were ranked in a hierarchy. Privatized religions, formely of the public enterprise type, were forced to reestablish their organization based on the households and voluntary associations. Mt. Kōya relied heavily on the Daishi-kō, later to become the Daishi Kyōkai. When private enterprises had developed extensively and confronted or conflicted with the public variety, measures taken by public authority to suppress them grew harsher. The Ōmoto Incident and the Hito no Michi Incident are examples of this.

Another major change that occurred as part of Mt. Kōya's "Meiji Restoration" was the lifting of the ban on women, which represented the liberation of women from the workplace. Until that time, with the exception of the Women's Hall (*nyonindō*), the mountain had been a completely male world. But although women were now permitted into the religious complex on the mountain, it was not until 1905 that they were allowed to stay overnight there. In contrast to this, women's participation in private enterprise religions increased dramatically. Foundresses such as Tenrikyō's Nakayama Miki had already appeared in the late Tokugawa period, and they were not exceptions, as was Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, the foundress of Christian Science in the United States. It was usual for the membership of New Religions to be more than half women. From this we can see that, from the point of view of the history of civilization, one of the roles of private enterprise religion in

Japan was to promote women's participation in society.

State Shintō was dismantled in conjunction with the conclusion of the Second World War, and the privatization of shrines, the last seat of public religion, was effected in General Headquarters' "Shintō Directive." Since that time, all the religions in Japan have fought furiously in the private enterprise world they share. This open competition in the religious world has brought about a leveling of differences such as class and sex as well as a diversification of values. With the exception of the United States, there is no other country with as many different religions as Japan. And it should be noted that Japanese religions are becoming multi-national, moving to countries around the world [NAKAMAKI 1985: 57–98; NAKAMAKI 1986: 142–167]. The "multi-nationalization" of Japanese religion is a phenomenon contemporary with the overseas movement of Japanese multi-national corporations.

As we have seen, the religious civilization of Japan maintained its double structure of both public and private enterprise with little change from the early Edo period until the end of World War II. Public temples were privatized and shrines made public with the Meiji Restration, but there was no change in the two-layered structure in which public enterprise religion was dominant over private. Throughout that time, however, privatization continued steadily. With the end of the war, it was complete, and Japanese society was plunged into an age of open competition among private enterprise religions. In other words, we might say that religious civilization in modern Japan is the history of the privatization of public enterprise religion and the liberaliation of private enterprise religion.

5. *DAIMYŌ* AND COMPANY MEMORIAL MONUMENTS (*KUYŌTŌ*) ON MT. KŌYA

The privatization of public enterprise in the world of religion is not merely an analogy; there is an interpretation which suggests that the model for large companies in Japan was the Edo period *han* rather than European companies. According to Umesao Tadao, the qualities necessary in managing a business organization, such as responsibility, leadership, strategic thinking and compromise, were originally present among the samurai. The lord-minister-retainer structure of the domain corresponds to the president-director-employee order of Japanese companies, and many specialized terms such as *jūyaku* (director), *torishimari* (supervisor), *tōdori* (head director), *kanjō* (account), *kabu* (stock) and *tegata* (bill of exchange) have been carried over directly from the Edo period to corporate organization. Furthermore, the corporate lifetime employment system carries on the relationship between the *han* and its retainers, and the feelings of loyalty to one's *han* that were strong among Edo period retainers appear as employees' loyalty to the company in today's business world [UMESAO 1980: 224–6].

During the Edo period, the *han* began to develop industry and to establish an economic base under their own management that continued from the Meiji period

on in the form of corporate organization.   As in the private disposal of government enterprise that occurred during Meiji, public enterprise became a driving force, and not a few businesses were privatized during the early part of the period.   It was not only individuals from the townsperson (*chōnin*) class who were responsible for this vigorous economic activity.   Despite the common view that the samurai lacked business sense, many individuals from the samurai class contributed greatly.

This change from *han* to big business is evidenced symbolically on Mt. Kōya, the "collective graveyard for all Japan," in the *daimyō* and company memorial monuments erected there.   The cemetaries on Mt. Kōya serve as a screen reflecting that change.

Tokugawa shōguns did not simply enshrine the ancestors of the Tokugawa family on Mt. Kōya.   They also enouraged *daimyō* all across the country to construct memorial stones for their ancestors on the mountain and to hold lavish memorial services for them there.   Competing with each other, *daimyō* floated granite stones weighing tens of tons each across the seas by tying them to empty barrels and then, in a process that took weeks to complete, hauled the stones up the mountain roads on rollers.   In this way, magnificent five-story memorial stupas were built at an exhorbitant cost in resources and time.   In this connection, the shape of the monuments was restricted by class during the Edo period: the *daimyō* built five-story stupas, oval-shaped stones were erected for memebers of the clergy, and commoners built roofless rectangular memorials.   In order to avoid uncontroled competiton, in 1664 the *bakufu* limited the size of the plots used by *han*-holding *daimyō* to four sqare *ken* (1 *ken*=6 feet), and in 1831 the height of peasant and merchant monuments was restricted to approximately four feet including the base [TAMAMURO 1974: 154].

In August 1987 there were about sixty company memorial monuments in the Okunoin cemetary (including those in the cemetary park) and about twenty-five in the Kōyasan Daireien.   This total of some eighty "corporate monuments" includes those erected by banks, departmentstores, associations and groups like the Lions Club, but no schools, *iemoto* (heads of artistic family lineages) or citizens clubs. The term *kuyōtō*, literally memorial tower, has been used in this paper, but there are many other names for such markers: *kuyōbyō, ireitō, ireihi, senjin no hi, nōkotsutō, bosho* and *haka*.   And company memorial monuments (*kaisha kuyōto*) are also called corporate graves (*kigyō baka*).

One of the oldest company memorial monuments was built in 1938 by the Matsushita Electric Corporation.   A grave built in 1927 by a small newspaper distributor for its deceased employees seems to be the oldest company grave on the mountain at this time.   Maruzen Petroleum's memorial built in 1941 and Kubota Steel's in 1943 were among the others established before the end of the war.   After the war, Ōsaka Gas established sites in 1950 and 1953, with Izumi Spinning and Nankai Electric Railway also erecting memorials before 1955. From 1955–64, thirteen memorials were built by such companies as the Association of Photography Shops, Nissan Automotive, Ezaki Glicco, Sharp, Yakult and Chiyoda Life In-

surance.   A total of twenty-six memorials were built between 1965–74, sixteen in
the Okunoin and ten in the Daireien.   Twenty-seven were established from 1975–
84, fifteen in the Okunoin and twelve in the Daireien, thus matching the pace of the
preceding decade.   From 1985–87, five company memorials were built in the Oku-
noin and three in the Daireien, for a total of eight.

The five-story stupa is the most common style of company memorial monu-
ment found on Mt. Kōya, and together with pagoda-type stupas, another tradi-
tional form, it makes up the majority of the memorials found on the mountain.
There are also a number of horizontal rectangular memorials; others, such as the
one shaped like the Apollo 11 spacecraft, use sculpture and design to display the
company's uniqueness.

Daimyō memorial monuments were originally erected as if in competiton with
each other, but today company memorials stand side by side with those erected by
individual worshippers.   Originally the *daimyō* erected five-story stupas so as to care
for their ancestors and pray for the prosperity of the family or the *han*, but today
companies and their members pray for the continuance and prosperity of the com-
pany through memorial services for the spirits of former company presidents and
employees who died while serving the company.

It is business that supports Japan's economic prosperity today.   Human rela-
tions within business are so important that Yoneyama Toshinao [1981: 111–37] has
proposed the concept of "association ties" (*sha'en*) to be placed alongside "blood
ties" (*ketsuen*) and "land ties" (*chi'en*) as central to Japanese society.   Japan is
often called "Japan, Incorporated" by people in other countries, but Umesao
Tadao's interpretation suggests that "Japan, Incorporated" emerged from domain
organization in the Edo period rather than from Europe.   It is not necessarily off
the mark to see the memorial monuments on Mt. Kōya as symbolizing the changes
from *han* to company, from *daimyō* to company president and from public to
private enterprise.

6.   USING THE ENTERPRISE ANALOGY TO COMPARE CIVILIZATIONS: JAPAN AND EUROPE

Related to the view that big business in Japan is modeled on Tokugawa period
domain organization is the view that joint-stock corporations in Europe are model-
ed on the religions Orders of Knighthood from the Middle Ages [Shinoda 1976:
176–9].   In this view, joint-stock corporations developed in Prussia during the early
nineteenth century.   Industrialists created a type of organization which dispersed in-
vestment risk by having participants invest equal amounts, and using this new
organization, they were able to construct railroads, in which the government had
refused to invest.   From that organization came the idea of stocks and the board of
directors system.   The board of directors is divided into two parts, a board of
auditors, which serves as the regulating organ, and an executive committee, serving
as the executive organ.   There is a striking resemblence between the top manage-

ment organization of the executive committee and the General Council of the Knights Templars in Europe. And Germany after World War I was dependent on the model of the Templars for their knowledge in establishing joint steel manufacturing facilities as *Konzern*. Moreover, the Teutonic Knights had ruled Prussia as an empire. The knights' administrative skills were used to run the country, and they helped establish the base from which Prussia became the leading nation of its time.

If we look further for the origins of joint-stock corporations, they can be found in the Dutch East India Company and the British East India Company, although neither was yet complete in terms of system or organization. But capital became centralized in the early nineteenth century, monopolistic forms of enterprise such as cartels, trusts and *Konzern* appeared, and the era of the true joint-stock corporation began. In Prussia, if nowhere else, the model for joint-stock corporations was sought in the organization of the Teutonic Knights.

An early Order of Knighthood, the Knights Templars were a military and religious order that emerged in the early twelfth century from the Christian rivalry with Islam dating back before the time of the Crusades. From its base in Jerusalem, the Templars introduced a district system and controled land from Scotland and Portugal to Greece and Syria through centralized management of an international organization. The order was composed of Knights (officers), chaplains, sargents and men-at-arms. The highest decision-making organ was the General Council, and its head, the Grand Magister, was elected without regard to social class. Departments of financial and administrative affairs were maintained independent of each other. By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, local bishops and abbots functioned as independent feudal lords who were not overseen by the Vatican in Rome; the "state" was still simply the private land of the local lord. But the Knights Templars had already become the precursors of the modern age [SHINODA 1976: 84].

Both the *han* retainers of Japan and the knights of medieval Europe were military groups with considerable administrative ability, a fact that is interesting in relation to the idea of the parallel development of civilizations. In both cases, the existence of such groups facilitated a smooth process of modernization. Rather than trying to explain modernization in Japan using religious or merchant ethics, I think the image of a "warrior ethic" is more appropriate. The Japanese expression *kigyō-senshi* ("company warriors") is but one indication of the way in which business, which was the driving force behind modernization, is supported by the ethos of the soldier. The sacred vows of the Knights Templars were chastity, obedience, poverty and military service, and according to Saint Bernard, their lives were what we would call modern: "There were no distinctions made between knights. Appraisal of their actions was impartial, based on results, and there was no favorable treatment with respect to lineage" [SHINODA 1976: 601]. In a later century, the Society of Jesus, flag-bearer for the Counter-Reformation, greatly resembled the Templars. The Jesuits were an organization that vowed poverty, chastity

and obedience, that strove to be a "holy army" and to "obey the orders of the Pope, to bravely go to the far corners of the world to work for the glory of God and salvation" [NAKAMAURA 1969; 452-3, 458].   The Knights Templars and the Society of Jesus may have been the forerunners of multi-national religions.

What role in the history of civilization did the Reformation play in Europe? The Reformation in Germany, which began with Luther, gave birth to a State Church.   After the defeat of Münzer in the peasant wars, the religious war between Luther and the Catholics intensified.   Through this process, Luther's side functioned as a religious reinforcement of local governing authority, and the State Church system was fixed throughout Germany.   Churches were included in the administrative structure, and the Church organization, as represented by the Consistorial Councils, came to hold the authority to supervise, punish and, finally, to police its parishioners [ARIGA 1969: 371].   In other words, Lutheranism became a public enterprise religion.   Although the particulars were completely different, England also shed the religious role of the Pope in Rome and created a State Church.   As a public enterprise religion, the Anglican Church did much to strengthen the monarchy and unify the nation.

On the other hand, private enterprise religion prospered in conjunction with the appearance of an urban class.   This is the stream of austere Protestantism that began with Calvinism.   Having begun in Geneva, Calvinism was to collapse in France but go on to success in Holland and Scotland.

When we compare modernization in Japan and Western Europe through the process of the commercial development of religion, several conclusions can be drawn for the time being.   Both Japan and Western Europe attained a high level of modernization, but the structures and processes involved were very different. Japan's modernization was established on top of the maturation of a society with centralized authority.   In the process, status differences were equalized and "multi-nationalization" was begun.   Public enterprise religion did much to centralize authority, private enterprise religion contributed to the equlization of differences, and multi-national religion appeared along with the broadening of international ties.   In contrast to this, European modernization developed with decentralized authority, amidst confrontations between nations and between classes, and based on a premise of multi-nationalization.   There was not a simple differentiation of Catholic and Protestant.   Rather, there were public enterprise, private enterprise and multi-national religions, and they functioned to strengthen or decentralize authority during the process of modernization.

As we have seen, it is possible to explain modernization without resorting to the Protestant ethic or the Shingaku merchant ethic as Weber and Bellah did.   It seems that the enterprise analogy is a very fruitful approach to the comparison of Japanese and European civilization.

Translated by Elizabeth HARRISON

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GLOSSARY

Bakufu

    The Tokugawa shogunate government centered in the city of Edo. The bakufu was the
    strongest of all the domainal governments and held some measure of power over most of
    the others across Japan.

Bakuhan

    Designates the shognate (bakufu) together with the domains (han).

Daimyō

    The landholding lord who held the highest authority in a domain.

Dōzoku

    A group of households related to each other through real or fictive kinship ties.

Fumie

    Metal plaques picturing Christian images. People were forced to step on these pictures
    to prove that they were not Christians.

Gosanke

    The three collateral Tokugawa families from which the next shogun was always chosen.

Han

    Domain.

Hokuriku

    The area of Japan that stretches along the Japan Sea from present-day Niigata Prefec-
    ture in the north to Fukui Prefecture in the south.

Kinai

    Old name for the areas surrounding the old capitals of Nara and Kyōto in the central
    part of Japan. Refers to parts of present-day Osaka, Kyoto and Hyogo prefectures.

Kinki

    A newer name for the west central part of Japan. In addition to the Kinai prefectures,
    the Kinki region also includes present-day Shiga, Nara, Wakayama, and Mie prefectures
    as well.

Koku

    One koku was approximately 180 liters of rice.

Kyūshū

    The southern-most of the four main inslands of Japan.

Nenbutsu

    A chant hailing the Buddha Amitabha: "Namu Amida Butsu."

San'in

    Those areas of present-day Kyōto, Hyōgo, Tottori, and Shimane Prefectures bordering
    on the Japan Sea.

Tōhoku

    The northern tip of the main island of Honshū, comprising the present-day prefectures
    of Aomori, Iwate, Akita, Yamagata, Miyagi, and Fukushima.