

[共同研究：長崎をめぐる異文化交流のトポグラフィー・グローバル・ヒストリーの視点から]

Dual Funeral Services: Compatibility and Consistency in the Dual Religions of Japan's *Kakure Kirishitan*

TOYAMA (KANAMOTO) Itsuko

1 Introduction

Christianity was first introduced into Japan in 1549 and was proscribed by the Tokugawa Bakufu in 1614. After that, many Christians converted to Buddhism, but some 4,000 were martyred. To survive persecution and keep their faith alive, some groups in the Nagasaki region (Nagasaki, Urakami, Sotome, Hirado, Ikitsuki and the Goto Islands) went underground, developing dual religious practices by hiding their Christianity rather than being hidden by other villagers. After the last missionary died a martyr for his faith in 1644, they vernacularised their clandestine Christianity by adding some Buddhist spiritual practices and ancestor worship.

Despite their unwavering faith, this duality of religious practices—hiding their Christianity (i.e. appearing to be Buddhist) while actually retaining it—became compatible with Buddhism and practicable. Just by chanting the *oratio* of *contrição* (contrition), which consists of esoteric words and phrases, hidden Christians were able to revert instantaneously to their faith. Then, they came to be called '*hiding kirishitan*' (Christian).

After the prohibition order was revoked in the early Meiji era, many *hiding kirishitan* revived in their faith to become 'normal' Catholics, Buddhists or Shintoists. Some *hiding kirishitan*, however, maintained their religious faith without the dualism. Later, they came to be called *kakure kirishitan*. Nowadays, their religious practices can be understood as one of Japan's folk religions, but *kakure kirishitan* has been steadily vanishing.

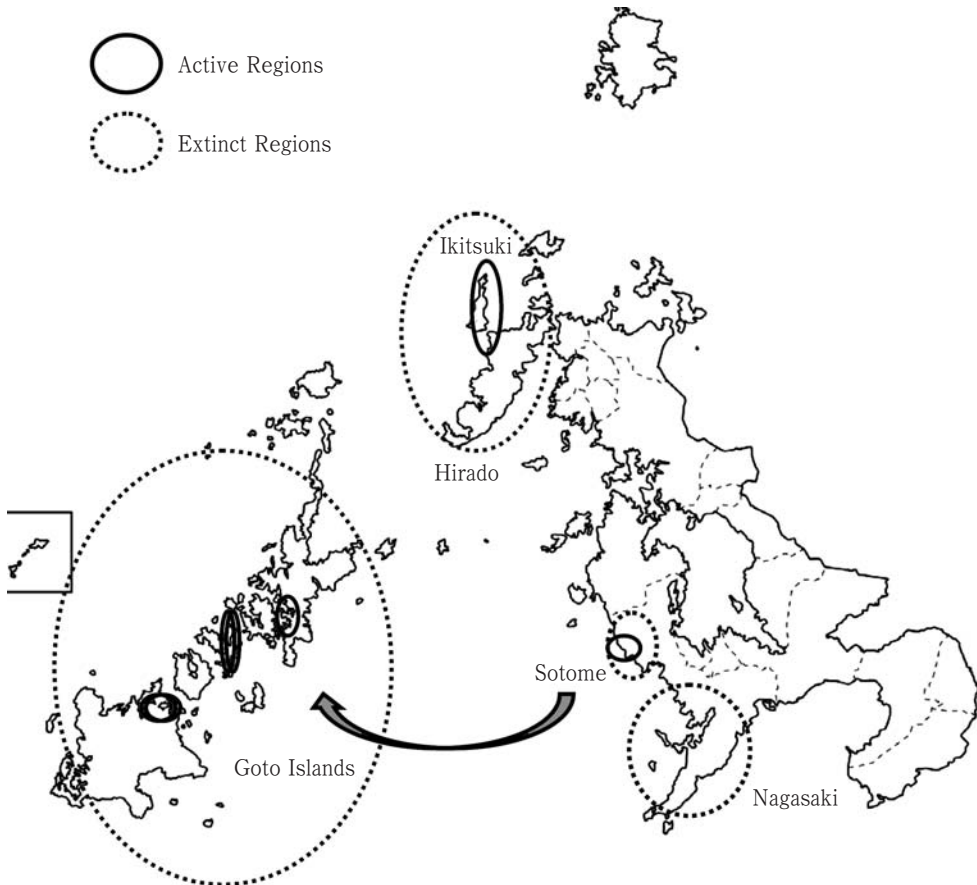
In the remote areas of Nagasaki, how did *hiding kirishitan* vernacularise their Christianity and develop religious dualism? What are the characteristics of the later *kakure kirishitan* in Japanese culture? In this paper, the author focuses on the *kyo keshi* ritual and seeks to answer these questions based on fieldwork intermittently conducted in Nagasaki from 2008 to 2011¹⁾.

1) This research is supported by Kyodo Kenkyu Project at Momoyama Gakuin University (St. Andrew's
Key words: *Kakure Kirishitan*, hiding Christian, folk religion, *Kyo Keshi* ritual, religious duality

2 Regional Distributions and Historical Migration of *Kakure Kirishitan*

Based on a survey conducted by the Prefectural Board of Education in Nagasaki (1999), some communities of *kakure kirishitan* religious groups still keep their practices active. Picture 1 shows regions including some active communities (solid-line circles), and many extinct communities (dotted-line circles).

Most of the *kakure kirishitan* groups have been dispersed due to the decreasing numbers of members. Although the *kakure kirishitan* religious practices are individually practised and preserved, *kakure kirishitan* is now vanishing (Miyazaki 1996, 2014; The Prefectural Board of Education in Nagasaki 1999).



Picture 1: Regional Distributions of *Kakure Kirishitan*

University) during the period 2011–2013. The title of the project is ‘Topography of Nagasaki in the Japanese History of Intercultural Adaptation and Exchange: From a New Perspective of Global History’. This paper is reversed based on the presentation at the Asian Studies Conference Japan, in 2014, with the title ‘Hiding and Reverting Christianity in the Dual Religious Practices of Japan’s *Kakure Kirishitan*: Vanishing Religious Minority in the Nagasaki Region and Japanese Cultural Traits’.

3 Historical and Regional Appellation of *Kakure Kirishitan*

From historical perspectives, many scholars have categorised *kakure kirishitan* as follows: (1) *kirishitan* - from 1549 to 1644; (2) *hiding kirishitan* - from 1644 to 1873, Japanese were required to be Buddhists and belong to a Buddhist temple; (3) *revived kirishitan* - after 1873, many *hiding kirishitan* converted to Catholicism and (4) *kakure kirishitan* - after 1873, others maintained the religious faith of *hiding kirishitan* (Table 2) (Kataoka 1967; Miyazaki 1996).

In this paper, *kakure kirishitan* is broadly defined as people who historically tried to preserve the religious practices of *hiding kirishitan*, although their religious beliefs were acculturated and vernacularised in Nagasaki after the last missionary Mancio Konishi died a martyr in 1644. Finally, *kakure kirishitan* have transformed with the times into one of the Japanese folk religions (Miyazaki 2014).

1549	Christianity was first introduced (Diffusion of Christianity)	}	Kirishitan (Christian) ↓
1612	The ban on Christianity		
1644	The last missionary died a martyr for his faith (Vernacularisation of Christianity)	}	Hiding kirishitan ↓
1873	The removal of the ban on Christianity (Both Vernacularisation and Normalisation of Christianity)		
			<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> ↓ <i>Kakure kirishitan</i> ↓ ↓ </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> ↓ <i>Revived kirishitan</i> (Normal Catholic) ↓ Many Catholic churches were built in Nagasaki. (A candidate for the World Heritage) </div> </div>

Table 1: Historical Appellation of *kakure kirishitan*

Today, in 2014, there are two types of *kakure kirishitan* communities, depending on the central focus of their religious lives (Tagita 1954): (1) *nando-gami*-centred communities in the Ikitsuki/Hirado regions, emphasising the preservation and use of certain holy objects, traditionally known as *nando gami* (the gods of the storeroom) and (2) church-calendar-centred communities,

showing their commitment to the church calendar called *moto cho* or *furu cho* in the Sotome/Goto regions. Since the 1800s, many poor Christian farmers in the Sotome region have migrated to the Goto Islands to seek religious freedom and a better life. Despite some differences, the religious practices in the two areas are observed to be very similar (Kataoka 1967; Turnbull 1998)²⁾.

	Regions	etic denominations	emic denominations
Nando-gami-centred Community	Ikitsuki	<i>Furu kirishitan</i> (old Christian) <i>Kyu kirishitan</i> (old Christian) <i>Nando gami</i> (Gods of the storeroom) <i>Kakure kirishitan</i> (Hiding Christian)	<i>Kyu kirishitan</i> (old Christian) <i>Gossha</i> (group) <i>Konpanya</i> (group)
	Hirado	<i>Nando gami</i> (Gods of the storeroom) <i>Tsuji no kami sama</i> (gods on street)	<i>Tsuji kata</i> (people who deal with gods on street)
Church-calendar-centred Community	Nagasaki/Sotome	<i>Kakure</i> (hiding) <i>Kagodoru</i> (hiding) <i>Hanare</i> (apart from Catholicism) <i>Mukashi kirishitan</i> (old Christian) <i>Shinobi shu</i> (secret religion)	<i>Atchi/Kotchi</i> (there/here)
	Goto	<i>Moto cho</i> (original church calendar) <i>Furu cho</i> (old church calendar)	<i>Kuruwa</i> (an area)
		<i>Kuro</i> (implying Cross) (black)	

Table 2: Regional Denominations of *kakure kirishitan*

2) The following song used to be sung among the immigrants from Sotome (Sotome Town 1974):

Goto e Goto e to mina yukitagaru
Goto wa yasashi ya tochi mademo
Goto e Goto e to mina yukitagaru
Goto wa gokuraku itte mite jigoku
Goto e Goto e to mina yukitagaru
Goto wa inaka no eri wo miru

People want to go to Goto Islands.

People say that the soil of Goto Islands is easy and fertile.

People want to go to Goto Islands.

People say that Goto is Paradise (*paraiso*), but it is Hell in reality.

People want to go to Goto Islands

People in Goto Islands, look at your neckbands (because people from Sotome wear outer clothing with black neckbands).

Table 1 shows subjectively (emic) or objectively (etic) categorised names of *kakure kirishitan* in each community. People in these communities draw a clear line between *kakure kirishitan* in affiliation with Buddhism and others (Buddhists and Shintoists). The regional varieties of names (Table 2) indicate that there has been no interaction or communication between the communities and reveals the strong cohesion within each regional group. In some communities that historically suffered the most severe persecution, such as the Sotome region, the indirectly and inexplicitly discriminated names are allocated to *kakure kirishitan* (Kataoka 1967; Miyazaki 1996, 2014).

4 The *Kyo Keshi* Ritual

During the *hiding kirishitan* period (1644–1873), because of the lack of missionaries, some vernacularised religious practices were practically innovated by *hiding kirishitan* obligated to show certification from temples, as being Buddhist parishioners (*terauke seido*) or from shrines, as being Shintoist parishioners. When they conducted a funeral service, to prove that they were *not Christian*, they were forced to conduct Buddhist funerals.

The worlds after death of the two religions differ. The funeral service in the *kakure kirishitan* style is believed to return the dead to *paraiso* (paradise). In contrast, the Buddhist funeral ritual is believed to send the dead to *ten-goku* (heaven). Under these circumstances, *kyo keshi*, a ritual for making all Buddhist funeral services impractical, was pragmatically inserted and preserved without religious contradictions. In other words, *hiding kirishitan* had accepted and involved the religious powers of Buddhism rather than excluding or denying them. Therefore, the subsumptive compatibility of the dual funeral services³⁾ have been espoused and practised to the present time.

Although there are many regional variations of *kyo keshi* rituals, the order of the *kyo keshi* ritual can be understood as follows (Kataoka 1967; Miyazaki 1996; Hirayama 1989; The Prefectural Board of Education in Nagasaki 1999):

1. A *hiding kirishitan*, as a patron of a Buddhist temple, calls a Buddhist priest for a Buddhist funeral.
2. The Buddhist priest performs a Buddhist funeral by chanting the Buddhist sutra.
3. Before (during or after) the funeral service, *hiding kirishitan* pray, chant the *oratio* of *konchirisan* (*contrição*: contrition) and other *oratio* in a separate room (or even in the same room)

3) The author reported the dual funeral services among present-day Japanese Christians. My husband's mother was Christian, but her family religion was Buddhism. When she passed away, her religious friends conducted her funeral in the Christian style, and her family conducted it in the Buddhist style. When individual and family religions differ, many Japanese still try to have dual funerals.

- In Nagasaki region, during the Buddhist funerals, *kakure kirishitan* (females) gather in a house next door, if possible in a higher position, and pray the *oratio* of *kyo keshi*. The phrases of '*kaki yori soto*' (keep outside) are chanted to prevent Buddhist chants from getting into the coffin.
- In Ikitsuki, while the Buddhist priest chants a sutra in a reception room, a *kakure kirishitan* simultaneously chants the *oratio* in another room.
- On the Goto Islands, *kakure kirishitan* chant some *oratio* of *konchirisan* (*contrição*: contrition) and other *oratio* for about 30 minutes as follows:
 - Offering sacred sake
 - Serving food on an individual tray
 - Serving an offering and clothing while requesting, '*Santo meia posutoro-sama no o-hakarai wo motte*, (the dead's name) *he o-atae kudasare masu yo ni o-tanomi age matsuru*' (St. Mary-*sama* and the Apostles-*sama*, please forgive the sin of the dead)
 - Chanting an *oratio* of '*Saigo*' (final) once, requesting forgiveness of St. Michael-*sama* and St. Luke-*sama*
 - Chanting an *oratio* of '*Tasukari-michi*' (road for salvation)⁴⁾ once, requesting forgiveness of St. Peter-*sama*
 - Chanting an *oratio* of '*Kerendo*' (credo)⁵⁾ once, requesting forgiveness of St. Paul-*sama*
 - Chanting an *oratio* of '*Konchirisan*' (*contrição*/contrition)⁶⁾ once, requesting forgiveness of St. John-*sama*
 - Chanting an *oratio* of '*Abe maria*' (Ave Maria) thirty-three times, requesting forgiveness of Jesus and the Apostles-*sama*
 - Chanting an *oratio* of '*Basuteru no osuteru*' once, requesting forgiveness of St. Mary-*sama*

4) The following is the opening of '*Tasukari-michi*' in Fukue Island:

Tasukari-michi ha hototu nari
Suberin sanna fune ni noru
Susuten sanna sao wo sasuru
Koobe sanna tsuna wo toru
Paraizo no minato ni tsuku. ...

5) The following is the opening of '*Kerendo*' (credo) in Fukue Island:

Banji kanai tamou
Ten chi mo yo-
Tsukurase tamai
Ten no on-oya Zezusu-sama
Sono on hitori goma shimasu. ...

6) The following is the opening of '*Konchirisan*' (*contrição*/contrition) in Fukue Island:

Dai yon tenshu ni matsuri tate ki-zai-nin kore moushi age kaki konchirisan orasho
Banji kanai tamou, hajime owari mashimasanu deusu no mimae ni,
Zainin ni teizu beku kurikinashito iedomo. ...

- Chanting an *oratio* of 'Michibiki' (divine guidance)⁷⁾ once, requesting forgiveness of the Apostles-sama
 - Praying the phrase, '*Aposutoro-sama no o-chikara wo motte paraizo ni machigai naku o-tasuke kudasare masu yo ni o-tanomi age matsuru. A-men. Zezusu shitau zonji age matsuru* (Apostles-sama, please help the dead go to *Paraiso* (Christian paradise). Amen! With Jesus.)
 - Clearing the sacred sake and food on the individual tray
 - Chanting an *oratio* of '*Gasara*' twelve times
 - Finally praying the phrase, '*Ten no mi-oya tenshu-sama ni banji o-tanomi age matsuru*' (invoking the support and blessing of Almighty God)
4. Since the Buddhist priest implicitly accepts the fact that the funeral service in *kakure kirishitan* style will continue, he slips away from the Buddhist funeral and leave.
 5. The mourners open the coffin, remove some Buddhist objects (i.e. a bag and six one-mon coins, the fee for a boat to cross the Sanzu-no-kawa or the Styx), and put some Christian items (i.e. the dead's rosary and cross) into the coffin instead.
 6. The mourners bury the coffin in their own graveyard. (Picture 2 shows some gravestones of *kakure kirishitan* in the Goto region.)
 7. In the Goto Islands, *kakure kirishitan* chant *oratio* for the funeral procession.



Picture 2: Gravestones in Goto islands
(photographed by the author in 2011)

7) The following is the opening of '*Michibiki*' (divine guidance) in Fukue Island:
Arumayuku michi itatta madage itotsushiki miko no sekai. . .
San pedoro-sama, san paburo-sama ni tanomi age tate matsuru.
48 kase wo on-aruji sama, 48 kase no on-miresbigata no on-chikara wo motte man
no paraizo ni.



Picture 3: *Kyo Keshi no tsubo*
(offered by the Amakusa Rozario Kan in 2014)

In the Amakusa Rozario Kan (Christian Museum) in Kumamoto Prefecture, there is a jar called a *kyo keshi no tsubo* (sutra extinguishing jar). It was believed that the religious leader could erase the effect of the Buddhist sutras by chanting into the jar (Picture 3), which is much more practical and convenient than the *kyo keshi* ritual for *hiding kirishitan*.

5 Discussion: Meanings of Performing *Oratio*

Although *oratio* play an important role in conducting the *kyo keshi* ritual, they consist of esoteric words and phrases because they are verbally transmitted from one generation to the next⁸⁾. *Hiding kirishitan* have stressed on performing *oratio* rather than understanding the meanings.

For example, the most popular of the shorter *oratio*, '*Abe Maria*' (Ave Maria), in Fukue Island of the Goto region is as follows (The Prefectural Board of Education in Nagasaki 1999). This is almost an incantation summoned by the *kakure kirishitan*.

Abemariya, Kashabenaya, Domendayako, Pirattotsuuyoikerenare, Zuraguronsu,

Renkereshitsu, Renzuusu.

Santamaria.

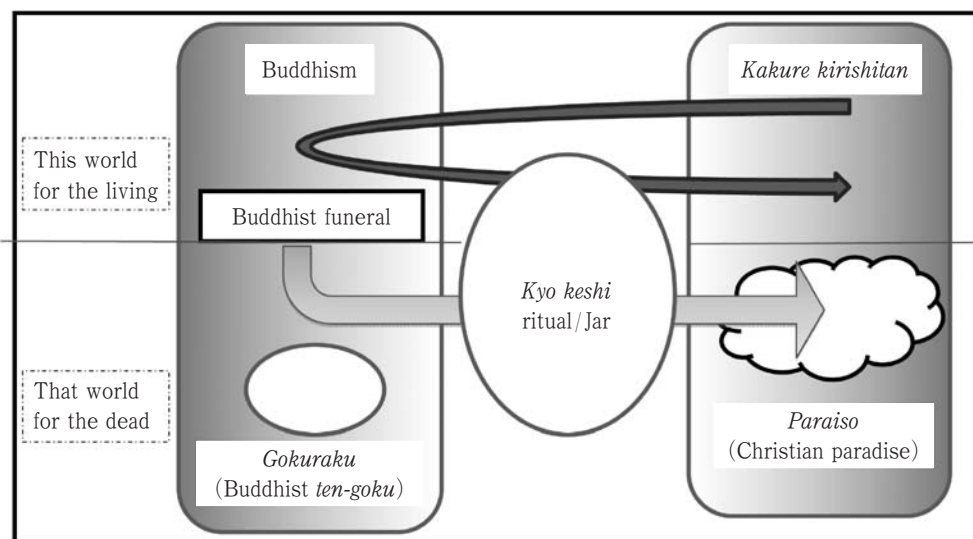
Birugowomariya, Gengentorariya, Nonki-mannono-turanmenjowosu.

Amen.

Therefore, asking easy forgiveness of the Twelve Apostles, *kakure kirishitan* have been seeking Christ's salvation assuming that they will return to Buddhism after chanting *oratio*. The ritual enhances people's religious compatibility, guaranteeing not only *kakure kirishitan*'s profits (or merit) when they act as performing Buddhists in this world, but also the dead's salvation in

8) These characteristics are also observed in some rituals of Japanese folk religions, e.g. *kami yose* performed by the *itako* in Aomori Prefecture (Kanamoto 1994).

the next. They feel no inconsistency of going back and forth between the two religions (Picture 4) and no sin as Christians in conducting this practice.



Picture 4: Structure of the *Kyo Keshi* ritual

Kakure kirishitan synthesised two religious worlds by performing the *kyo keshi* ritual. For them, these two religions are complementary. Therefore, after the ban on Christianity was lifted in 1873, the contemporary *kakure kirishitan* preserved this ritual until recent years. The esoteric words and phrases of *oratio* strengthen the religious power to enhance the compatibility of the two religious worlds.

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After the ban on Christianity was lifted in 1873, many *hiding kirishitan* revived in their faith to become 'normal' Catholics, Buddhists or Shintoists. Some *hiding kirishitan*, however, maintained their religious faith and reserved this ritual until recent years.

In this paper, the author focuses on the *kyo keshi* ritual of dual funeral services, and shows how *kakure kirishitan* synthesised two religious world by performing the *kyo keshi* ritual. This research is based on fieldwork intermittently conducted in Nagasaki from 2008 to 2011.