Shinto Certification and Religious Differentiation: Domain Shinto in Early Modern Okayama

Stefan KÖCK*

Ikeda Mitsumasa's Shinto-related reforms in Okayama domain in the later 1660s have hitherto been interpreted as measures of local relevance. By applying the Domain Shinto paradigm to this case, however, it becomes clear that the reforms are local manifestations of a much broader appreciation of Shinto among daimyo of Tokugawa kin. Mitsumasa's reforms are best known for the adoption of religious certification via Shinto shrines (*shintō-uke*) instead of Buddhist temples (*terauke*) as part of the practice of sectarian registration (*shūmon aratame*). In Okayama, this brought about a domain-wide separation of Shinto and Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri*), a most radical measure that had to be abandoned under the regime of Mitsumasa's successor Ikeda Tsunamasa. Nevertheless, this article demonstrates that Okayama's Domain Shinto reforms brought about a lasting functional differentiation between Shinto and Buddhist clergy leading to a professional Shinto priesthood even at the level of village shrines. Thus, Okayama became a pioneer region in regard to the development of Shinto autonomy.

Keywords: *shintō-uke, terauke, shūmon aratame, shinbutsu bunri, shinju itchi*, Ikeda Mitsumasa, Ikeda Tsunamasa, Yoshida Shinto, village shrines

The 1660s were a period of administrative consolidation for Tokugawa religious policy. Whereas previously the *bakufu* 幕府 had issued particularized regulations for certain groups, it now turned towards national laws, mandatory for religious institutions in general. Under the aegis of Hoshina Masayuki 保科正之 (1611–1673)—step-uncle, tutor, and advisor (*hosa* 輔佐) of shogun Tokugawa Ietsuna 徳川家綱 (1641–1680), and the *bakufu*'s pivotal political actor until the mid-1660s—groundbreaking laws regulating religious traditions and sectarian inspection (*shūmon aratame* 宗門改) were promulgated. A directive from early 1665 ordered

all domains to appoint an official for sectarian inspection (*shūmon aratame bugyō* 宗門改奉行) and to submit an annual report on the religious affiliation of the domain's populace. The order was related to the *bakufu*'s ban on Christianity, first introduced in 1614 and gradually intensified thereafter. This directive made *terauke* 寺請 (certification of non-Christian religious belief via Buddhist temples) *de facto* mandatory for the entire population of Japan.

The Law for Shrine Priests (Shosha Negi Kannushi Hatto 諸社禰宜神主法度) from Kanbun 寛文 5 (1665).7.11 regulated Shinto. Its most important stipulation confirmed the authority of the Yoshida 吉田 over local Shinto priests, elevating the family's status and influence in Shinto matters.[1] In addition, the Law for Shrine Priests seems to have served as a trigger for religious reforms by the lords of the three domains of Aizu 会津, Mito 水戸, and Okayama 岡山 from 1666 onward, which we subsume under the label "Domain Shinto" here. As explained in the introduction to this Special Section, these three lords were part of a broader trend among the daimyo of Tokugawa kin who envisioned an ideal society based on a reappraisal of Shinto. Confucianists of the Hayashi 林 family and Yoshikawa Koretaru 吉川惟足 (1616–1694) of Yoshida Shinto formulated the theoretical tenets of this trend, based on the understanding of Shinto and Confucianism as being essentially the same (*shinju itchi* 神儒一致). Daimyo starting with Tokugawa Yoshinao 徳川義直 (1600–1650) of Owari 尾張 began to turn these ideas into a new social reality.

Among the lords of Domain Shinto, Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 (1609–1682) introduced the most drastic measures in his Okayama domain, including in particular *shintō-uke* 神道請, the certification of non-Christian beliefs by Shinto shrines. In this article, I focus on the questions of why and how *shintō-uke* replaced *terauke* for a short time in Okayama. I argue that *shintō-uke* led to a thorough separation of Shinto and Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離) in the domain. Even when Mitsumasa's successor Ikeda Tsunamasa 池田綱政 (1638–1714) subsequently reintroduced *terauke*, *shintō-uke* continued to be practiced by shrine families. Okayama priests achieved an unusual degree of autonomy thanks to the Domain Shinto reforms of Mitsumasa. Thus, *shintō-uke* and the Domain Shinto reforms in general made Okayama the first domain in Japanese religious history where the separation of Shinto and Buddhism became thoroughly established, accomplished about two hundred years prior to the Meiji government's religious separation measures.

To examine regional and temporal differences of *shintō-uke* practice within Okayama domain, this article not only looks at local histories and edited documents on the Ikeda, but also at certain villages for which primary manuscripts have survived. Some of these sources are transcribed and analyzed for the first time here. They demonstrate the developmental process that made Okayama a pioneer of Shinto autonomy in Japan.

Previous Research

Until recently, the religious reforms of Okayama have not received much attention in Western scholarship despite being highly relevant for the history of Shinto as well as for the history of religion in Japan. John Whitney Hall, the first to bring developments in Okayama to the attention of a Western audience, mentions the Shinto-related reforms only in passing as part of the third and last phase of Mitsumasa's reforms.[2] Herman Ooms, in his study on Tokugawa

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1 Teeuwen 2021, p. 152; Scheid 2002, pp. 313–314; Inoue 2013, pp. 112–115.
2 Hall 1966, pp. 407–408.

ideology, takes up the topic of *shintō-uke* as a special case of anti-Buddhist politics in the domains Okayama, Mito, and Aizu.[3] Nam-lin Hur, likewise, mentions *shintō-uke* as a variant of the standard form of *terauke* in his study on the *danka* 檀家 (temple parishioner) system.[4] Luke Roberts provides probably the most detailed account of reforms in Okayama, including not only those of Ikeda Mitsumasa but also of his son and successor Ikeda Tsunamasa. Yet, Roberts's analysis is based on conclusions by Tamamuro Fumio 圭室文雄 which have been criticized in more recent Japanese scholarship.[5] In short, a systematic study of *shintō-uke* in Okayama in the light of recent Japanese scholarship is still lacking in Western sources.[6]

Among Japanese secondary literature, the best known studies are those of Taniguchi Sumio 谷口澄夫 on Ikeda Mitsumasa and the works of Tamamuro Fumio.[7] Tamamuro briefly introduces the *shintō-uke* system in his work *Edo bakufu no shūkyō tōsei*.[8] His most comprehensive study on this topic deals with temple and shrine restructuring during Mitsumasa's regime. However, Tamamuro does not give due consideration to the continuation of Shinto policies under Mitsumasa's successor Tsunamasa.[9]

In addition to the works of Taniguchi and Tamamuro, there are quite detailed studies on *shintō-uke* by Kurachi Katsunao 倉地克直 and Beppu Shingo 別府信吾. These have, however, received little attention in either Japanese or Western academic discourse. Kurachi has studied the system of sectarian inspection (*shūmon aratame*) in Okayama from the beginning of the religious control of Christian apostates in the 1650s via the introduction of *shintō-uke* up to the return to mandatory *terauke* for the general populace of Okayama in 1687. Beppu Shingo has analyzed the relations between Okayama and the Yoshida house. Like Kurachi, he also considers the development of *shintō-uke* under Tsunamasa's regime, with a focus on shrine families.[10]

This article is greatly indebted to the research of Kurachi and Beppu. Yet my focus falls on the implications of the development of Okayama's *shintō-uke* system for the emergence of Shinto as a distinct and autonomous religious tradition. Contrary to previous studies, I interpret the reforms in Okayama (and in Aizu and Mito as well) not as isolated phenomena, but as examples of a much more comprehensive historical development of fostering Shinto and separating Shinto and Buddhism, a phenomenon we call Domain Shinto.[11]

Shinto Appreciation among Tokugawa Kin

Ikeda Mitsumasa of Okayama, Hoshina Masayuki of Aizu, and Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川 光圀 (1628–1701) of Mito are regarded as the three main agents of Domain Shinto, but their shared interest in Shinto as well as Confucianism is rooted in a general appreciation of both teachings among members of the inner circle of the Tokugawa house. This intellectual preference was probably fostered by Tokugawa Yoshinao, daimyo of Owari and uncle of both

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3 Ooms 1985, pp. 192–193.
4 Hur 2007, pp. 92–93.
5 Roberts 2012, p. 144.
6 For brief mentions, see also Bodart-Bailey 1993, pp. 310–311; Scheid 2002, p. 301; Scheid 2003, p. 642; Breen and Teeuwen 2010, p. 54; Antoni 2016, pp. 75–76.
7 Taniguchi 1961.
8 Tamamuro 1971, pp. 103–104.
9 Tamamuro 1996.
10 Kurachi 1983, pp. 304–330; Beppu 2013, pp. 141–163.
11 See the introduction to this Special Section.

Hoshina Masayuki and Tokugawa Mitsukuni.[12] His interests in Confucianism and Shinto led to his cooperation with the Confucian teacher Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657), whom he met first in 1629. Yoshinao rejected the *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 theory, which regarded buddhas to be the original form of *kami*, as being a source of disorder, and argued for the removal of all Buddhist elements from shrines. His positions resulted in a rise in appreciation of Shinto in Owari.[13] Thus, Yoshinao can be regarded as the first agent of Domain Shinto in the inner circle of the Tokugawa.

The Ikeda were originally a *tozama* 外様 house that did not belong to the inner circle of the Tokugawa regime. Nevertheless, Mitsumasa was already a companion of Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–1651) in the 1620s, with his formative years spent in Edo. In 1623, when Iemitsu went to Kyoto and was assigned the title of shogun, Mitsumasa was part of his entourage. The year 1623 saw also Mitsumasa's coming-of-age ceremony (*genpuku* 元服), in which he received permission to use the character *mitsu* 光 from the name of Iemitsu, a rare honor. In 1628, Mitsumasa married Katsuko 勝子 (also Katsuhime 勝姫, 1618–1678), the daughter of Iemitsu's older sister Senhime 千姫 (1597–1666), at Edo Castle. These close relations with Iemitsu's family resulted in lifelong devotion and loyalty on Mitsumasa's side; in later years, Mitsumasa was a confidant of and advisor to Iemitsu.[14]

A similarly close relation existed between Iemitsu and Hoshina Masayuki of Aizu. Masayuki was the fourth son of Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (1579–1632) and thus a stepbrother of Iemitsu. In his last will, Iemitsu appointed Masayuki the tutor of his son and successor Ietsuna. Tokugawa Mitsukuni of Mito, on the other hand, was a son of Ieyasu's eleventh son Yorifusa 徳川頼房 (1603–1661). Like Mitsumasa, Mitsukuni had received permission to use the character *mitsu* from Iemitsu's name during his coming-of-age ceremony. Mitsumasa, Mitsukuni, and Masayuki were thus kin. They moreover shared an interest in Confucianism as well as in Shinto.

Although there is no textual evidence for concerted action, most studies on the 1666 religious reforms in Okayama, Mito, and Aizu insinuate that the three lords did not introduce their measures independently of each other. Even as a daimyo, Ikeda Mitsumasa stayed almost every other year in Edo, and Masayuki and Mitsukuni spent most of their lives there, only occasionally visiting their domains. When the *bakufu* promulgated the Law on Temples of All Sects and the Law for Shrine Priests in 1665, all three were in the shogunal capital.[15] It seems most likely that when in 1666 they began their reforms in their respective domains of Okayama, Mito, and Aizu they knew of each other's intentions.

Ikeda Mitsumasa's Reforms in Okayama
Prelude to the Okayama Shinto Reforms

In Okayama, the first steps to promote Shinto had already occurred some years before 1666. Some time in the early 1660s, Mitsumasa invited Matsuoka Ichinosuke 松岡市之助

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12 Owari together with Kii 紀伊 and Mito formed the three cadet houses (*gosanke* 御三家) of the Tokugawa that were eligible to provide a shogunal successor.
13 See Inoue Tomokatsu's contribution to this Special Section.
14 Kurachi 2012, pp. 18–19; Taniguchi 1981, p. 195; Hall 1966, p. 398.
15 Suzuki Eiichi provides a table of the periods that Tokugawa Mitsukuni spent in Mito (*Mitsukuni shūhan ichiran* 光圀就藩一覧) (Suzuki 2006, p. 103). My thanks go to Brigitte Pickl-Kolaczia for having pointed this out to me.

(fl. 1664–1679), a Shinto priest from the famous Atsuta Jinja 熱田神社 in Owari, to the domain.[16] Probably inspired by the abovementioned domain lord of Owari, Tokugawa Yoshinao, Atsuta Shrine priests were already cooperating with the Yoshida adept Yoshikawa Koretaru, resulting in the transmission of the *Jūhachi shintō* 十八神道 rite of Yoshida Shinto 吉田神道 to a priest of Atsuta Shrine.[17] Since Ichinosuke was also from Atsuta Shrine, informal contacts with Yoshida Shinto probably existed before he went to Okayama.

Ichinosuke's first official visit in Kanbun 4 (1664).5.4 to the Yoshida in Kyoto on behalf of Okayama's domain administration is recorded in the *Ohiroma zakki* 御広間雑記, a historiographical account of the Yoshida house. Two days later, on Kanbun 4 (1664).5.6, the record mentions that Matsuoka underwent a *Nakatomi no harae* 中臣祓 purification rite and received a (*Shintō*) *saikyojō* (神道) 裁許状 priestly certificate from the Yoshida. By issuing a *Shintō saikyojō* certificate, the Yoshida basically recognized a priest as part of their network. As in Ichinosuke's case, it was common that issuing this certificate was accompanied by a Nakatomi purification rite, the most common of several purification rites of the Yoshida. Obtaining the *Shintō saikyojō* was also a prerequisite for priests to receive more prestigious transmissions of Yoshida Shinto rites at a later time.[18]

In the following years, Ichinosuke continued to visit the Yoshida in Kyoto on behalf of Okayama. One purpose of these visits can be gathered from a note of Kanbun 5 (1665).6.19 sent from Mitsumasa to his chief vassals, where he mentions that it was necessary to receive an official rank (*kan'i* 官位) for Ichinosuke from the Yoshida.[19] One year later on Kanbun 6 (1666).7.2, around the time when Okayama's shrine reforms started, Ichinosuke received the transmission of the *Jūhachi shintō* rite. Probably on that occasion, the Yoshida also confirmed him as general inspector of Shinto priests of Okayama (*kannushi sōgashira* 神主惣頭).[20] This new office established by Mitsumasa's administration became the central authority for Shinto administration in Okayama domain.[21]

Considering these developments, it is obvious that Mitsumasa's regime used Yoshida Shinto to legitimize their own Shinto-Confucian reforms. However, Yoshida Shinto had no traditional basis in the domain. Rather, the Shinto elite of Okayama maintained relations with the Shirakawa house, the Yoshida's rival at the imperial court. In particular, Okayama's most prestigious shrine, Kibitsunomiya 吉備津宮, was affiliated with the Shirakawa. Other shrines cooperated with the Ise Shrines. It is thus quite probable that Mitsumasa anticipated potential internal resistance to his reforms and enlisted Yoshida-related priests from outside

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16 Atsuta Shrine was well known for safeguarding the sword Kusanagi no tsurugi 草薙剣, one of the three imperial regalia.

17 Koretaru, who had received the highest initiations into Yoshida Shinto without being a member of the family, had cultivated relations with the Tokugawa's inner circle since 1657, the year he met Tokugawa Yorinobu 徳川 頼宣 (1602–1671), daimyo of Kii. In 1661, Koretaru became Hoshina Masayuki's Shinto teacher. On this, see Bernhard Scheid's contribution to this Special Section. On the transmission of the *Jūhachi shintō* rite, see Hatakama 2008, p. 348b.

18 Hatakama 2008, pp. 341b–342a, 349b.

19 Nagayama 1932, vol. 2, pp. 934–935.

20 Köck 2021, p. 165.

21 Other domain administrations (for example, Hirosaki 弘前, Kanazawa 金沢, Tottori 鳥取, and Saga 佐賀) often employed members from domain-internal Shinto priest networks for administrative purposes, choosing the priest who headed the respective network as their liaison. If someone else had been chosen, this could have resulted in opposition of the domain's priests against measures taken by the administration (Inoue 2008a, pp. 370a, 375b–376a).

Okayama to supervise the changes he envisioned.[22] In this way, Matsuoka Ichinosuke, originally merely a provincial Shinto priest, became *kannushi sōgashira* of Okayama and played a major role during the phase of religious reforms under Mitsumasa.

The Retrenchment of Shrines in 1666

Ichinosuke's first administrative task on behalf of Mitsumasa's government was overseeing a survey of shrines in Okayama in the winter of 1665/66.[23] The survey, completed in the spring of 1666, resulted in a comprehensive register of shrines. Similar to religious surveys in Mito and Aizu, it served as a basis for Mitsumasa's retrenchment of Shinto shrines. According to the survey, there were a total number of 11,128 shrines in Okayama. Of these, 601 were *ujigami* 氏神 (village tutelary) shrines. The vast majority, however, were so-called illicit shrines (*inshi* 淫祠), which had been built without official permission. Traveling thaumaturges like *yamabushi* 山伏 or *miko* 神子 met there with clients to perform prayer rites (*kitō* 祈祷) for the sick or for people possessed by foxes or badgers. The fees for such rites were seen as a cause of impoverishment of the populace. Moreover, the domain authorities feared political unrest and thus regarded the fact that people met at these shrines outside the scope of official control with suspicion.[24] Mitsumasa's reforms thus initially targeted the *inshi*.

Measures started in earnest in Kanbun 6 (1666).5.18, when Mitsumasa conferred with Ichinosuke and other heads of his administration about details for measures to reduce the number of shrines.[25] Mitsumasa ordered that only the tutelary shrines and the domain's *taisha* 大社 (grand shrines) mentioned in the tenth-century *Engishiki* 延喜式 should remain. All other shrines were in fact destroyed. The objects of worship (*shintai* 神体) and other devotional objects of the obsolete shrines were stored in so-called *yosemiya* 寄宮, collective shrines, a new category of shrines built at the behest of Mitsumasa's administration specifically for this purpose. Initially, there were seventy-two *yosemiya*, one for each of the administrative areas supervised by a local deputy (*mura daikan* 村代官). Kugunochi Jinja 句々廼馳神社 in the village of Ōdara 大多羅 was designated as the head shrine (*honsha* 本社) of all *yosemiya*.[26]

In total, 10,528 of Okayama's shrines, 94.5 percent, were destroyed in 1666. Roughly one shrine per village remained (0.97 per village).[27] Thus a system was established by Mitsumasa's regime of one shrine per village (*isson issha* 一村一社), as was also envisioned by Tokugawa Mitsukuni in Mito. Already at this stage, the domain administration was urging Buddhist monks to laicize.[28] In particular, monks who had served as *shasō* 社僧 (shrine

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22 In the organization of his domain administration and implementation of reform measures, Ikeda Mitsumasa relied heavily on personnel originally from outside Okayama. For example, about half of the officials who implemented religious reforms in Okayama in 1666/67 were Confucian-minded samurai from outside the domain who had joined the domain's rifle brigade organized by Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619–1691) in the early 1660s and thus been absorbed into Okayama's rural administration. Mitsumasa's Confucian advisors like Banzan or Ichiura Kisai 市浦毅斎 (1642–1712) also came from outside Okayama (McMullen 2021, pp. 119–121).

23 Beppu 2013, p. 144.

24 Fujii et al. 1967b, pp. 13–14; Inoue 2008b, p. 277.

25 Fujii et al. 1967b, pp. 13–14; Inoue 2008b, p. 277.

26 Kurachi 2012, p. 132. Much later, under Tsunamasa's reign in 1712, the *yosemiya* shrines were all merged into Kugunochi Jinja.

27 Köck 2021, pp. 166–167.

28 Uehara 2012, p. 191.

monks) were defrocked, only to be immediately appointed priests (*shinshoku*) of the respective village shrines.[29]

Shinto Certification as an Attempt to Realize shinju itchi *in Practice*
While the retrenchment of shrines was radical, there is strong evidence that Mitsumasa ultimately wanted to foster Confucianism, or rather, the ideal of a unification of Shinto and Confucianism (*shinju itchi*). In Kanbun 6 (1666).7, after instigating measures to tear down illicit shrines, Mitsumasa toured his domain in order to win over the populace for this teaching. In line with Confucian concepts of benevolent rule, he presented village headmen with garments and granted land to Shinto priests.[30] Persons over ninety years of age received gold and silver.[31] Good moral conduct of members of the populace was also rewarded.

Obviously, Mitsumasa's regime deemed actions like showing benevolence and rewarding good moral conduct important for spreading Confucianism. The populace was advised to adhere to Confucian morality and to conduct funerals and ancestor veneration according to Confucian standards. The rural elite was encouraged to no longer have their sons educated by Buddhist monks at temple schools (*terakoya* 寺子屋), but by Confucian-minded former *rōnin*, who were to be hired as teachers. A total of 123 rural literacy schools (*tenaraisho* 手習所) had been established by 1668.[32]

These measures targeted Buddhism, which until then had had a monopoly on burials and education. To this end, the domain administration planned first to spread Confucianism among the upper strata of the domain's populace, from the *kōri bugyō* 郡奉行 (district officials) and the *mura daikan*, to village officials, laicized shrine monks, and even Buddhist monks.[33] Mitsumasa also tried to enforce his shrine policies in a positive way by granting land to shrine priests to gain their support. Until then most of them had not been serving solely as priests. Granting them land was a way for the domain government to officially recognize their status as professional priests.

However, one year later, in 1667, the headmen of the village of Katakami 片上 in Wake 和気 district told travelling *bakufu* inspectors (*junkenshi* 巡見使) visiting Okayama that many people were disappointed to learn that there was only a one-time award for good moral conduct. He further reported that village leaders had thus lost interest in Confucianism and turned toward Shinto.[34] This shows that Mitsumasa's regime was interested in spreading Confucianism among the populace, and indicates that common people distinguished between Shinto and Confucianism. Theories of Confucian Shinto obviously had not led to the creation of a corresponding syncretic tradition.

Nonetheless, Mitsumasa was elated by his promotional tour through the countryside. Immediately after returning to Okayama, he discussed plans with the heads of his administration to change the mode of anti-Christian certification for those who had expressed an inclination toward Confucianism (Kanbun 6 [1666].8.4). He drafted a certificate of conversion from Buddhism to Confucianism and Shinto to be issued by local

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29 Köck 2021, p. 171.
30 Uehara 2012, p. 191.
31 Nagayama 1932, vol. 1, p. 560.
32 However, Tsunamasa closed all the *tenaraisho* in 1674 due to fiscal troubles.
33 Uehara 2012, p. 191.
34 Nagayama 1932, vol. 1, p. 560.

Shinto priests. An example can be found in an entry for the next day (Kanbun 6 [1666]. 8. 5) in Mitsumasa's journal. The relevant passage for certification by a priest reads:

> Although the signee __ of __ district, __ village has until now been a parishioner of Shingon Buddhism at __ temple in __ village, __ district and requested certification accordingly, he has turned to Confucianism and studies Shinto and expresses faith in the tutelary deity of __ shrine (not required for outsiders). He is not a Christian. If there is anything suspicious, I will seek you out and explain. Accordingly, this is hereafter valid.[35]

In other words, non-Christian certification by Shinto priests was meant for "those who had shown inclinations towards Confucianism."[36] This referred to not only the small group of Confucian-minded officials in the administration, but also to members of the populace he had met during his previous weeks on the road who had responded positively to his request for conversion.

In this draft, Mitsumasa proposed for the first time that Shinto priests participate in the system of sectarian inspection (*shūmon aratame*) by certifying someone as neither Christian nor Buddhist, but instead as a Confucian convert and believer in Shinto. At that time, however, this kind of certification was meant only for converts from Buddhism, not for the entire population. Clearly, in the eighth month of 1666, *shintō-uke* was not intended to become the only or even the predominant form of mandatory religious certification in Okayama domain.

Domain-wide shintō-uke

The event that triggered the development of domain-wide *shintō-uke* was the excessive reduction of Buddhist temples and clergy in late 1666 and early the following year. This measure principally targeted a subgroup of the Buddhist Nichiren 日蓮 sect that the *bakufu* had also declared illegal, the Fujufuse 不受不施. Okayama was one of their strongholds. But other Buddhist sects also became part of this retrenchment. As a result, one-fifth of Okayama's villages no longer had a temple in the spring of 1667. About half of monks were laicized or driven out of the domain.[37] In some extreme cases, such as the district of Tsudaka 津高, over 90 percent of temples were destroyed.[38] In this situation, *shintō-uke* was a practical replacement for sectarian inspection by Buddhist temples.

Mitsumasa only returned to Okayama domain in the fifth month of 1668 and thus did not directly supervise the implementation of *shintō-uke* in 1667. Rather, this was the task of the heads of the domain administration, probably guided by his son and later successor Ikeda Tsunamasa 池田綱政 (1638−1714), who stayed in Okayama for most of 1667, returning only in Kanbun 7 (1667).11 to Edo.

To create a functioning system of certification via Shinto shrines, the local infrastructure for certification had to be modified. The few documents remaining from this period give

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35 Fujii et al. 1967a, p. 569a, b. See the *Biyō kokushi nichiroku* 備陽国史日録 of 1666 (Kanbun 6), OKM Microfilm TAA-003-572−573. The translation of this passage from Mitsumasa's template is from Köck 2021, p. 167.
36 Fujii et al. 1967a, pp. 568b−569a.
37 Köck 2021, pp. 170, 174.
38 Kurachi 1983, p. 318.

a rough outline of events.[39] As a first step, the domain administration had to discover who had dissolved their temple affiliation and converted from Buddhism to Shinto. These people would henceforth have their religious affiliation certified by their village's Shinto priest. Thus, early in 1667 village officials were tasked with compiling registers of members of their respective *ujiko* parishes. An example is the register of the Hachiman parish (*Hachiman ujiko chō* 八幡氏子帳) of Onoue 尾上, completed in Kanbun 7 (1667).4.7.[40] It lists the members of individual households by name, age, and degree of kinship, starting with the head of the household, his wife, and children. Keeping track of this kind of information was important to ensure a continuous record of sectarian inspection over the years.

The procedure for becoming a Shinto adherent remains unclear. According to Mitsumasa's original plan from the eighth month of 1666, each convert was to submit a certificate of conversion from Buddhism to Confucianism and Shinto. However, no actual document of this kind is known. Considering that Mitsumasa intended *shintō-uke* originally only for a rather small proportion of the domain's populace, it seems plausible that this step was then skipped in 1667, when Shinto certification was applied to large parts of the populace. The former practice of certification via *terauke* that persisted in certain cases was now the exception rather than the rule.

An archetypal case for comprehensive conversion is the village of Kitakata 北方. There were originally two temples in this village, one Shingon 真言 and one Nichiren.[41] Both temples were destroyed during the reforms of 1666–1667. The Shingon temple's monk was laicized and became a Shinto priest for the Hachiman Shrine in Kurayoshi. Subsequently, the religious affiliation of his entire former temple parish (*danka*) was transformed into his *ujiko* parish. Thus, in this case, the changes seem to have been merely to satisfy the regulation.[42]

For the years 1667 and 1668, no actual summary of figures of religious affiliation for the entire Okayama domain or even a register (*shūmon aratame chō* 宗門改帳) of a single village remains. However, Onoue's *Hachiman ujiko chō* register shows that, from its outset, the actual practice of *shintō-uke* did not differ from the former certification via Buddhist temples. There was obviously a well-established procedure for the administrative process of certification that remained the same, regardless of whether the village residents had to submit individual certificates of conversion, or whether they were declared *ujiko* members simply by entering their names in the *ujiko* register.

Exact figures of sectarian registration in Okayama are known for 1669 from a document that is quoted in the *History of Biyō* (*Biyō kokushi ruihen* 備陽国史類編).[43] According to this document, 97.5 percent of the population were certified via *shintō-uke* in 1669. This would mean that *shintō-uke* had already become firmly established by that time. However, Uehara

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39 These documents are preserved in the archives of three village headmen families: the Hagino family, the Maruyama family, and the Noritake family.

40 This is the only extant register of this kind. The document lacks a colophon and is probably only partially preserved. *Hachiman ujiko chō* 八幡氏子帳, NKM 40.

41 The Shingon temple was a sub-temple of Manganji 万願寺 of the neighboring village of Kurayoshi 倉吉. The Nichiren temple was a sub-temple belonging to Renkyūji 蓮久寺 of the village of Tsuzura 葛籠.

42 Kurachi 1983, p. 313.

43 OKM Microfilm TAA-008-114. The *Biyō kokushi ruihen* is a history of Okayama domain covering the years 1654 to 1673. Its date of compilation and author are not known. The volumes of the *Biyō kokushi ruihen* are organized by topic (Hall 1966, p. 167). There is also a draft version of the figures preserved in the Ikeda family archive, see OKM Microfilms YPC-001-284 to YPC-001-288.

Kenzen considers these numbers suspiciously high, pointing out that they were compiled by *kōri bugyō* 郡奉行 and *mura daikan*, that is, officials in the service of Mitsumasa's regime.[44] Thus, these numbers may have been manipulated to depict the desired result rather than reality. Nevertheless, the numbers given in the *Biyō kokushi* hint at a relationship between *shintō-uke* and the number of temples destroyed in 1666–1667.

According to the *Biyō kokushi*, a minority of 2.5 percent of the population, in total 7,676 people, were not certified via *shintō-uke* in 1669.[45] These people were, however, not distributed equally throughout the domain, but concentrated in the district of Kojima 児島. In 1669, a total of 6,592 inhabitants—over 20 percent of the total of 38,945—were certified by *terauke* as Buddhists.[46] In the register for Nagahama 長浜 in Kojima district, all 176 households are actually classified as Buddhist. Only three women who held positions at Shinto shrines (designated as *miko*) are separately registered as adhering to Shinto.[47] This is the first known example from Okayama to single out certain individuals according to their role in Shinto. The reasons for the strong presence of *terauke* in Nagahama, in particular, and in Kojima district at large may be—at least in part—due to the specificities of temple retrenchment in Okayama. The Shingon sect had a strong presence in Kojima. A relatively small number of its temples, only 39.7 percent, were closed due to Mitsumasa's reforms. The number of surviving temples was therefore 60 percent while the domain average was under half.[48]

A counterexample to the case of Nagahama is again Onoue in Tsudaka, which is documented in a Register of Religious Affiliation dating to Kanbun 12 (1672).1.20.[49] The colophon of this document opens with the village headman's declaration that all registered villagers, in total 552, revere the tutelary shrine of the village (*uji no miya* 氏宮), in other words, adhere to Shinto. None of them was a Christian or follower of the Fujufuse branch of the Nichiren sect.[50] The village headman's declaration is followed by a similar statement by Hachiman Shrine's priest confirming this.

Thus, the entire population of Onoue seems to have converted to Shinto, as no case of *terauke* is mentioned. This is in fact plausible, considering that the district of Tsudaka had been a stronghold of the heterodox Fujufuse in the province of Bizen 備前. In contrast to Kojima district, 91 percent of Tsudaka's temples were destroyed.[51] It was thus virtually impossible to conduct *terauke*, leaving *shintō-uke* as the sole option.

When introducing reform measures in 1666, Mitsumasa repeatedly stressed that the populace should not be pressured to convert. Instead, people should choose their sectarian affiliation based on their own discretion. Nonetheless, Mitsumasa's administration completed measures to weaken Buddhism and strengthen Confucianism and Shinto, including *shintō-uke*, within just two years. This suggests that violence and repression were applied.[52] In

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44 Uehara 2012, p. 223.
45 OKM Microfilm TAA-008-114. The draft in the Ikeda family archive differs only slightly, giving 7,672 people.
46 OKM Microfilm TAA-008-113. The draft gives identical figures; see also Kurachi 1983, p. 310.
47 The preserved copy dates to Genroku 元禄 2 (1689).3.26; see the *Kanbun kunen hito aratame shūmon kakiwake chō* 寛文九年人改宗門書分帳, Hagino-ke monjo 萩野家文書 821, Okayama University Libraries.
48 Köck 2021, p. 170.
49 *Shūshi o-aratame chō* 宗旨御改帳, NKM 44.
50 NKM 44, p. 32 (sheet 798).
51 Kurachi 1983, p. 310.
52 Uehara 2012, pp. 201–202.

tandem with repressive measures, Matsuoka Ichinosuke, the newly appointed general inspector of Shinto priests of Okayama (*kannushi sōgashira*), engaged in the education of shrine priests at least until Kanbun 10 (1670).2.[53] That year, Noda Michinao 野田道直, a disciple of Yoshikawa Koretaru, was enlisted to support Ichinosuke. In Kanbun 11 (1671).11, Michinao started to instruct priests in the Yoshikawa Shintō 吉川神道 tradition, probably along the lines of Koretaru's *shinju itchi* thinking, which assumed the congruency of Shinto and Confucianism.[54]

Despite these efforts, the domain's populace at large did not subscribe wholeheartedly to Mitsumasa's course. Confidential reports from the administration after 1666 state that the orders of the domain government were usually observed only superficially. While *shintō-uke* had become the predominant form of sectarian certification, it was regularly noted that, in private, most people continued to adhere to and practice Buddhism, regardless of whether they were townsfolk or peasants, *bushi* or craftsmen.[55]

Reactions of the bakufu

The year 1666 seems to be simultaneously the apex and end point of official enthusiasm for Shinto backed by Hoshina Masayuki. The Law for Shrine Priests of 1665 obviously inspired the Shinto-related reforms of 1666 not only in Okayama, but also in Mito, Aizu, and elsewhere. On the other hand, the power structure had started to shift. Shogun Ietsuna involved himself more and more in the politics of the *bakufu*, while shogunal officials appointed under Iemitsu retired. The office of Great Councilor (*tairō* 大老), vacant since 1662, was filled by Sakai Tadakiyo 酒井忠清 (1624–1681) in 1666. Unlike Iemitsu, these new *bakufu* leaders did not hold Masayuki in such high esteem. They set out to restore governance through the hereditary Tokugawa vassals (*fudai* 譜代), who from that point on dominated *bakufu* bureaucracy for the remainder of the Edo period.[56]

It was in this situation that word of the extreme reforms in Okayama reached Edo. In particular, Okayama's retrenchment of Buddhist temples met with opposition in influential Buddhist circles. Monks of the eminent temples Zōjōji 増上寺 and Kan'eiji 寛永寺 spread rumors that Buddhist monks had been driven out of Okayama domain completely.[57] The new *bakufu* regime was clearly worried that unrest might arise if other domains decided to introduce similar measures. Thus, shortly after his arrival in Edo the following year (Kanbun 7 [1667].4.2), Mitsumasa met with *tairō* Tadakiyo on Kanbun 7 (1667).4.16 to explain the situation.[58] Tadakiyo requested a report on events, which Mitsumasa submitted at the end of the same month. In this report, Mitsumasa states that his measures had been designed to weaken Buddhism and strengthen Shinto and Confucianism in Okayama. The domain's population was turning from Buddhism towards Shinto and Confucianism. All in all, eight hundred and forty monks laicized or left the domain. Defrocked monks who chose to remain

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53 Hirota and Kurachi 1988, pp. 77–78.

54 Hirota and Kurachi 1988, p. 78; Kurachi 2012, p. 143.

55 Uehara 2012, pp. 223–225; Okayamaken-shi 1984, pp. 720–721.

56 Totman 1967, p. 210; Asao 1975, p. 41.

57 In particular, Kan'eiji's Okayama branch temple Kinzanji 金山寺 as well as the latter's sub-temples in Okayama had suffered gravely through Mitsumasa's measures of reduction. Thus relations between both sides was strained.

58 Fujii et al. 1967a, pp. 576b–577a.

in Okayama became either peasants (*hyakushō* 百姓), merchants (*shōnin* 商人), or Shinto priests. The religious certification for adherents of Shinto and Confucianism was carried out via *shintō-uke* throughout the domain.[59]

Mitsumasa's report was circulated among the council of elders (*rōjū* 老中) and met no criticism. Nor did the chief inspectors (*ō-metsuke* 大目付) of the *bakufu* raise any objections against the measures outlined in the report. In his study of Mitsumasa's way of rule and its consequences for the society of Okayama, Uehara Kenzen has concluded that the report was resoundingly successful and thus that the *bakufu* acknowledged and approved of the *shintō-uke* practice of Okayama domain, as well as the reform measures regarding Buddhism.[60]

Earlier studies assumed that Tadakiyo and the new *bakufu* regime opposed Mitsumasa's measures from the outset.[61] A closer look at the chain of events shows, however, that although *bakufu* leaders initially expressed concern, there was no dispute between them and Mitsumasa at this stage. After receiving detailed information about Mitsumasa's measures and goals, the *bakufu* clearly signaled its toleration for them.

Developments under Ikeda Tsunamasa's Reign
Liberalization of Religious Certification

In contrast to its initial leniency, the *bakufu* began to voice concerns as conversions from Buddhism to Shinto continued in Okayama. Mitsumasa's resignation as domain lord in Kanbun 12 (1672).6.11 is often related to this criticism. Soon thereafter, in Enpō 延宝 2 (1674).11.9, Mitsumasa's son and successor Tsunamasa ordered a liberalization of sectarian certification. In doing so, he referred to earlier statements by Mitsumasa that people were free to choose their religious affiliation. This meant that after a period of eight years, those who had leaned toward Buddhism could openly practice their faith again and be certified accordingly. Soon, a large share of the populace reverted to *terauke* certification.[62]

The practical results of Tsunamasa's order can be gathered from the Register of Sectarian Inspection of Onoue on Enpō 8 (1680).4.28.[63] Compared to 1672, sectarian affiliation had become much more heterogenous. The residents of Onoue were now scattered between three temples and one shrine parish. The largest group, 466 in total, were parishioners of Myōdenji 妙伝寺, a temple of the Hiden-Fujufuseha 悲田不受不施派, a subgroup of the Fujufuse that was tolerated by the *bakufu* until 1691.[64] Other residents belonged to temples of neighboring villages. Thus, the majority of the village's residents had shifted their allegiance back to Buddhism, although 154 were still certified as the *ujiko* of the village's Hachiman Shrine.[65] An interesting detail is the fact that these Shinto adherents were also called the "*danna* 旦那 of Nakayama Shōbei," the head priest (*kannushi*) of the Hachiman Shrine.[66] The term *danna*, however, usually signified a member of a Buddhist parish. It is therefore likely that this *ujiko* parish originally belonged to Tokujuin 徳寿院, a

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59 Uehara 2012, pp. 205–206.
60 Fujii et al. 1967a, pp. 577b–578a; Uehara 2012, pp. 205–208; Kurachi 2012, pp. 138–140.
61 See for example Taniguchi 1961, p. 65; Taniguchi 1981, pp. 121, 195–196; Bodart-Bailey 1993, pp. 310, 313–314; Roberts 2012, p. 144.
62 Kurachi 2012, p. 314; Uehara 2012, p. 226.
63 *Shūshi o-aratame chō* 宗旨御改帳, NKM 45.
64 NKM 45, pp. 66–67 (sheets 861–862); Stone 2021, pp. 69–70.
65 NKM 45, p. 89 (sheet 884).
66 NKM 45, p. 90 (sheet 885).

Tendai 天台 temple-shrine complex whose parish had converted completely to the Hachiman Shrine in the 1660s.[67] All in all, the 1680 register of sectarian affiliation in Onoue indicates that *terauke* and *shintō-uke* were equally valid as a means of sectarian certification in the years after 1674.

Terauke *for the Populace,* shintō-uke *for Shinto Clerics*

Okayama's peculiar dual sectarian certification lasted until 1687, when the *bakufu*—led by Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (1646–1709)—tightened religious control again. From Jōkyō 貞享 5 (1687). 6. 22, it demanded the nationwide compilation of registers of kinship of (former) Christian families and codified *terauke* as the only acceptable form of sectarian certification.[68]

This order also put an end to *shintō-uke* in Okayama. Whether this was done under pressure is controversial. Tsunamasa, at the time on sojourn in Edo, was informed of the order directly by the *rōjū* Toda Tadazane 戸田忠真 (1651–1729). Although it has been generally assumed that Tsunamasa yielded to pressure from the *bakufu*, recent studies point in a different direction. Regarding religion, Tsunamasa generally agreed with the views of his peers in the *bakufu*. The decision to revert exclusively to *terauke* in Okayama was thus not made under pressure but was mutually agreed upon between him and Tadazane.[69] His father's death five years earlier in 1682 also spared him from discussions at home. The abolition of *shintō-uke* was no longer regarded as an impious act.[70]

Unfortunately, no registers for the years 1687 or 1688 remain that might reveal how this decision was implemented in Okayama. However, the register of 1689 for Onoue has been preserved. It lists the population as belonging to the parishes of six temples situated in Onoue and neighboring villages.[71] The register shows that the members of the *ujiko* parish of the Hachiman Shrine who had been certified via *shintō-uke* only seven years earlier were incorporated into the parishes of four temples in the village. Clearly, *terauke* had become the only form of sectarian certification and Buddhist temples had regained their position as a pivotal part of domain rule in Okayama.[72]

Despite this evidence, the order of 1687 did not lead to a complete abolition of *shintō-uke*. Documents of sectarian inspection in subsequent years reveal that it continued. As for other matters, only isolated evidence has been preserved, but owing to the systematic nature of administrative practices, information regarding sectarian certification can be taken as *pars pro toto*.

A register of sectarian inspection from the village of Yamada 山田 in Kojima district for the year 1691 confirms that all its residents now belonged to temple parishes. However, the following remark reveals a certain lack of homogeneity:

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67 Kurachi 1983, p. 314.
68 Kurachi 1983, p. 316; Okayamaken-shi 1984, p. 706.
69 Roberts 2012, p. 144; Hur 2021, p. 30; Kurachi 2019, p. 111; Köck 2020, pp. 233–234.
70 Uehara 2012, p. 226; Taniguchi 1981, p. 597.
71 *Kirishitan shūmon o-aratame getsuji hangata meisai chō* 切支丹宗門御改月次判形名歳帳, NKM 18, pp. 17–18 (sheets 216–217).
72 Kurachi 1983, p. 316.

The households amount in total to 118. One household among these is that of a *kannushi* and has a *shinshoku* register (*shinshoku-chō* 神職帳).[73]

This note points to a separate register of sectarian inspection for the household of a Shinto priest, that is, a form of *shintō-uke*. The Noritake 則武 family archive of Onoue includes a document dated 1702 entitled "Monthly sealed register of residents and horses and of Christian sectarian inspection (Shrine personnel)."[74] It seems likely that the "*shinshoku* register" noted above refers to a document such as this, meaning a separate register of non-Christians solely for the households of Shinto priests.

The Onoue document is a completely preserved register; its preface points out the relevance of sectarian inspection and it contains a colophon. These features allow us to deduce how and to what end *shintō-uke* certification continued in Okayama domain after 1687. The preface mentions mandatory monthly checks of whether Christians, Fujufuse or Hiden-Fujufuse believers, or Christian apostates (*korobi* ころひ) lived in shrine households.[75] It also states that individuals holding positions at shrines, such as *kannushi*, *shinkan* 神官, *shajin* 社人, or *miko*, should adhere solely to Shinto and were not to join (*torimōsazu* 取不申) a parish temple (*danna dera* 旦那寺).[76] These provisions echo the 1669 case from Nagahama in Kojima district, which listed three *miko* separately as Shinto adherents in an all-Buddhist community. The preface also proves that in Okayama, shrine families were not allowed to join a Buddhist temple parish. The administrative processes of sectarian inspection distinguished clearly between Buddhism and Shinto.

Onoue's *shinshoku* register of 1702 lists four households, starting with the Nakayama household of the Hachiman Shrine. From the data, we know that the head of the household, Nakayama Mitsushige 中山光重, aged thirty-six, served at the Hachiman Shrine of Onoue and at Bizen's first shrine Kibitsunomiya, which had administrative control over the Hachiman Shrine. In addition, the register mentions six persons; Mitsushige's mother, sister-in-law, nephew, and nieces.[77] The former priest Nakayama Shōbei was probably Mitsushige's already deceased father, making this an example of priestly succession within the same family. This was clearly in line with Mitsumasa's intention that shrines in Okayama be controlled by permanent professional priests instead of Buddhist shrine monks.[78] The three additional *shinshoku* households in the register were also designated as families supervised by Kibitsunomiya. In the colophon of the document, the head of Kibitsunomiya, Ōmori Chikugo no kami 大守筑後守, confirmed that the households were adherents of Shinto and had no Christian, Fujufuse, or Hiden-Fujufuse adherents among them.[79]

Onoue's 1702 register of sectarian registration for shrine families is therefore a prime example of how far the recognition of Shinto as a separate, distinct religious tradition had developed in Okayama despite mandatory *terauke* for Japan's populace since 1687. Priestly

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73 *Kirishitan shūmon o-aratame getsuji hangata chō, Genroku yonen shōgatsu jūgonichi, Kojima-gun, Yamada-mura* 切支丹宗門御改月次判形帳・元禄四年正月十五日・児島郡・山田村, Okayama Prefectural Archives.

74 *Kirishitan shūmon o-aratame getsuji hangata jinba chō* (*shakata*) 切支丹宗門御改月次判形人馬帳 (社方), NKM 19.

75 NKM 19, p. 2 (sheet 221).

76 NKM 19, pp. 2–3 (sheets 221–222).

77 NKM 19, pp. 5–6 (sheets 224–225).

78 Beppu 2013, p. 225.

79 NKM 19, p. 9 (sheet 228).

succession inside the same family shows that at local shrines, the office of priest had become professionalized and hereditary in the same family, a development that appeared in other regions of Japan only in the course of the eighteenth century.[80] Members of the Shinto clergy and their households were not only exempt from *terauke*, but were instead obligated by the domain administration to perform religious certification in separate documents, documents certified by a fellow Shinto priest. This is but one example showing that this part of Mitsumasa's reforms took root in practice. The *shinshoku* register of Onoue is evidence that Okayama was a pioneer in developing Shinto autonomy.

Conclusion

In this article I have analyzed the development of *shintō-uke*, sectarian certification via Shinto shrines, which was a major aspect of the Domain Shinto reforms in Okayama. As a first step toward these reforms, the daimyo Ikeda Mitsumasa invited to Okayama Matsuoka Ichinosuke, a priest from Atsuta Shrine in Owari. Ichinosuke had no previous ties to Okayama domain or its Shinto circles but was nevertheless appointed by Mitsumasa as supervisor of the entire Shinto clergy of his domain. This was due to Atsuta Shrine's relations to the Yoshida house. Ichinosuke was responsible for the implementation of Domain Shinto reforms, including reductions in the number of illicit shrines by merging them into collective shrines (*yosemiya*), introducing a system of one shrine per village, and *shintō-uke* certification.

In contrast to previous studies, I emphasize that when initiated in 1666, *shintō-uke* was only intended for that section of the domain's population that had turned its back on Buddhism and followed Confucian morality, burials, and ancestor cults, as favored by Mitsumasa. The domain administration regarded these residents no longer as Buddhists and therefore did not oblige them to undergo *terauke* certification. In order to prove their non-Christian affiliation, they had to resort to *shintō-uke*.

The *shintō-uke* that was created by Mitsumasa as an alternative means of sectarian certification prevailed only after the purge of the Fujufuse Nichiren sect, which had a stronghold in Okayama. After the purge, which also affected other Buddhist sects, temples and monks became virtually nonexistent in large parts of Mitsumasa's domain. Consequently, there was no longer a reliable basis for religious certification via *terauke*. *Shintō-uke* prevailed between 1667 and 1674, when Mitsumasa's son and successor Ikeda Tsunamasa declared the domain's populace free to choose between *shintō-uke* and *terauke* certification. But even under Mitsumasa's rule, exceptions from *shintō-uke* existed.

Another important finding is that contrary to common scholarly opinion, the *bakufu* did not oppose Mitsumasa's reforms from the outset. In 1667, Mitsumasa was able to remove initial reservations about his reforms in meetings with *bakufu* leaders, who afterwards tolerated his measures. Even under Tsunamasa's administration, when *bakufu* law made a return to *terauke* unavoidable, Okayama's shrine families and personnel were still obligated to practice sectarian certification via *shintō-uke*. In this sense, the status of *shintō-uke* as a key component of Shinto autonomy was confirmed in 1687 and continued in Okayama throughout the Edo period.

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80 Endō 2003, p. 123.

All in all, religious reforms under the two Ikeda daimyo resulted in one of the first major examples in Japan of *shinbutsu bunri*, the separation of Shinto and Buddhism. This implied a separate Shinto clergy, with separate sanctuaries and a separate way of sectarian certification via *shintō-uke*. Domain Shinto in Okayama also had other aspects, such as Confucian ancestor worship being combined with daimyo deification at shrines, and these remain as a topic for research in the future.

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