

Religion in the Formation of the Kamakura Bakufu: As Seen through the *Azuma kagami*

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There are many studies of the politics of Minamoto Yoritomo and the early Kamakura bakufu but few which examine the role of religion in the lives of Yoritomo, his family, and vassals or which analyze the religious ceremonies, images, practices, and institutions adopted in Kamakura as the bakufu was taking shape during Yoritomo's lifetime. In this essay I try to show that Yoritomo was not simply a military strategist and political institution builder but that he had deep religious interests and that these interests were expressed during the conduct of the war against the Taira and in his choice of institutions and ceremonies to incorporate into the newly developing warrior capital of Kamakura. These religious interests included not only devotion to the Minamoto patron Hachiman and the Tsurugaoka Shrine but also to Kannon and the *Lotus sutra*, and to the Bodhisattvas and deities associated with many other temples and shrines in Kamakura, Izu-Hakone, Ise, Kyoto, and Kumano. The essay seeks to organize and give meaning to these seemingly disparate strands of religious interest in the life of Yoritomo and the bakufu as they are revealed in the *Azuma kagami*.

Keywords: MINAMOTO YORITOMO, KAMAKURA BAKUFU, HACHIMAN DEVOTION, *LOTUS SUTRA*, TÔDAIJI, SACRED SPACE, MEDIEVAL HISTORY, KANNON DEVOTION, HÔJŌ-E, MEDIEVAL RELIGION, *AZUMA KAGAMI*

Introduction

The victory of the Minamoto over the Taira in 1185 and the formation of the Kamakura bakufu by Minamoto Yoritomo are normally treated by historians solely as military or political problems. Minamoto Yoritomo himself is usually presented as a cool, calculating political rationalist and administrator whose only concerns were military organization, political institution building, and dynastic survival. There is rarely any suggestion that religion may have had a role in his personal life, in the defeat of the Taira, the victory of the Minamoto, or the concurrent creation of the bakufu and construction of Kamakura.

In this essay I would like to explore some of the religious dimensions of the formation of the Kamakura bakufu. I will not go so far as to argue that Yoritomo's bakufu was a "religious creation" or a "religious regime". I will argue, however, that it is difficult to account for the destruction of the Taira and the victory of the Minamoto without taking religious factors—institutional and spiritual—into account and, further, that religious concerns were very much on Yoritomo's mind as he fought the Taira and built the bakufu and the garrison town of Kamakura. It is my contention that we cannot fully understand the destruction of the Taira, the

victory of Yoritomo, or the nature of the early Kamakura bakufu and Kamakura warrior society without taking religion into account. Moreover, consideration of the role of religion in the formation of the Kamakura bakufu adds to our understanding of the character of religious life in the early Kamakura period, especially in Kantō warrior society.

In an effort to expose some of the more important aspects of the role of religion in the events of the period 1180-85 the paper will develop the following themes.

1. The religious implications of Prince Mochihito's plot to overthrow the Taira in 1180, especially the religious significance of his ill-fated call to arms.

2. Taira patronage of religion and the serious consequences of the burning of Miidera, Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji.

3. The role of religion in the personal life of Minamoto Yoritomo during the war against the Taira.

4. The function and importance of religious institutions built in Kamakura alongside the political institutions of the Bakufu during the period 1180-85.

5. The place of religious ritual and ceremony in Kamakura warrior society. Especially the role of Hachiman devotion as a centralizing force in Minamoto warrior society.

6. Conclusion assessing the place of religion in the formation of the Kamakura bakufu.

1. An ill-fated call to arms

At the opening of Jishō 4 (1180-81) the Taira, under the leadership of Kiyomori, were at the zenith of their power. They had strengthened their power over the court through the Hōgen and Heiji disturbances and the subsequent acquisition of titles, offices, and lands. In the second month of Jishō 4 Emperor Takakura was made senior emperor, *jōkō*, and Kiyomori's grandson Antoku was installed, *sokui*, as *tennō*.¹ In gratitude for the long-desired Taira admission into the imperial line Kiyomori arranged a visit to the Itsukushima shrine for Takakura. In doing so he aroused the opposition of the Kamo and Iwashimizu Hachiman shrines which were traditionally visited on such occasions. Kiyomori ignored these protests. On the return from Itsukushima Kiyomori invited Takakura to his residence at Fukuhara demonstrating once again his power over the court.²

At the opening of the year the Minamoto and other rival warriors in the provinces presented no serious challenge to the Taira in Kyoto. There was dissatisfaction and hostility to the Taira within the court, the religious establishment, and provincial warrior society. There were plots and rumors of plots but no strong, clearly focused military challenge to Taira rule had emerged. Minamoto warriors, who would make the spearhead of any serious resistance, were divided and lacked effective leadership and a unifying cause.

By the close of that year, however, the situation had changed completely and the Taira were on the defensive both in Kyoto and in the eastern provinces. They had

been forced to move the capital briefly to Fukuhara. They had incited a serious uprising in the East and suffered a first military defeat at the hands of the Minamoto.

Many of these difficulties were the direct or indirect results of an unsuccessful plot against the Taira in the fourth month of Jishō 4. Minamoto Yorimasa, an aging Minamoto warrior trusted by the Taira, plotted against them and prevailed upon the second son of Go-Shirakwa, Prince Mochihito, who had been passed over for imperial office by the installation of Antoku, to issue an imperial edict, *ryōji*, calling for Yoritomo and the Minamoto to rise and overthrow the Taira.³ Prince Mochihito, declaring himself a Protector of the Nation, also called himself "Saishō-ō", or "Most Victorious King" from the title of the Buddhist sutra *Konkōmyō Saishō-ō kyō*, a sutra devoted to the protection of the country.

This appeal is the starting point of the *Azuma kagami* account of the Taira-Minamoto struggle and the formation of the Kamakura bakufu, which was taken as an accurate historical account by later shogunal regimes in Japan. The fact that it is used as the opening of the *Azuma kagami* account of the Gempei war is an indication of its importance. The compilers of the *Azuma kagami* clearly viewed this both as the real starting point in the struggle and as the text providing ideological legitimation for the Kamakura regime.

The appeal in the *Azuma kagami* reads as follows:

Ordered: That the Genji and bands of troops in the various provinces of the three circuits of Eastern Seaboard, Eastern Mountains, and North Coast attack and crush the *master of the Buddhist Law, hōshi*, Taira Kiyomori and his rebel supporters.

The foregoing is decreed by Minamoto Nakatsuna the *ason* and former governor of Izu. The pronouncement of The Most Victorious Prince (*saishō-ō*) declares that Master of the Law Kiyomori, Munemori, and others, arrogating the authority and prestige of their office, have risen in rebellion and overthrown the nation. They have caused the officials and the people to suffer, seizing and plundering, the five inner provinces and the seven circuits. They have confined the ex-sovereign, exiled public officials, and inflicted death and banishment, drowning and imprisonment. They have robbed property and seized provinces, usurped and bestowed offices. They have rewarded the unworthy and incriminated the innocent. *They have apprehended and confined the prelates of the various temples and imprisoned student monks. They have requisitioned the silks and rice of Mt. Hiei to be stored as provisions for a rebellion.* They have despoiled the graves of princes and cut off the head of one, betrayed the emperor and *destroyed Buddhist Law* in a manner unprecedented in history. Now the country grieves and the ministers and people alike lament. In consequence thereof, I, as the second son of the ex-sovereign, in pursuit of the ancient principles of Emperor Temmu, declare war against those who would usurp the throne and, following in the footsteps of *Prince Shōtoku*, determine to crush those who would *destroy the Buddhist Law*. If we rely not on man's efforts alone but on the *assistance of providence, tendō*, as well. If the temporal

rulers, the *Three Treasures* and the *native gods* all assist us in our efforts, why should not all the people everywhere likewise wish to assist us immediately. This being so, let those of the Minamoto, the Fujiwara, and the brave warriors now living in the provinces of the three circuits add their efforts to the cause. If there be those who are not of like mind, they should be regarded as partisans of Kiyomori and shall suffer death, exile, or imprisonment. If there be those who perform meritoriously, despatch missions to me and inform me of their names and deeds, and I shall, without fail, following my enthronement, *sokui*, bestow rewards upon them according to their wishes. Proclaim this message in all the provinces and carry out the terms of this pronouncement.

Jishō 4 (1180-81)/4/9) Minamoto Nakatsuna Ason

Former Governor of Izu

Senior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade

If we can trust the *Azuma Kagami*, Mochihito's appeal was phrased in religious as well as military terms.⁴ References to the Buddhist Law, to attacks on Buddhist monks and monasteries, and to irreverence for gods and Buddhas run through the document. That is to say, justification for Yoritomo's challenge to the Taira in the first instance was based not only on the fact that Mochihito criticized them as enemies of the state but that he branded them enemies of the Gods and Buddhas. From the outset, then, the struggle between Minamoto and Taira was phrased in terms of the traditional notion of the inter-penetration or "equivalence of Buddhist Law and Kingly Law" (*obō-buppō sōi ron*).

Clearly there were several motives at work in this appeal. The primary impulse, of course, was to get Yoritomo and eastern *bushi* to overthrow the Taira and install Mochihito as emperor. Allied to this was the plan to win the military and economic support of temples and shrines, many of which had armed bands of *sōhei*, in any struggle against the Taira (or at least to deny that support to the Taira). A third motive was to provide religious, as well as political, justification for overthrowing the Taira. By branding them enemies of the Buddhas and Kami as well as enemies of the state Yoritomo and Mochihito made it easier for those Minamoto wishing to attack the Taira to justify their actions both at the time, and in the light of history.

Yoritomo's immediate reaction to the Prince's appeal also combined political, military, and religious elements. The appeal was carried from Kyoto to Izu by Minamoto Yukiie (Yoshimori) and was handed to Yoritomo on the 27th day of the fourth month.

27th day. Today the appeal, *ryōji*, by Takakura no Miya (Mochihito-ō) was delivered to the Military Protector Shogun (Yoritomo) at the Hōjō residence in Izu Province. It was brought by Minamoto Yukiie. The Military Protector (Yoritomo), wearing ceremonial robes and bowing respectfully towards distant Otokoyama, gave instructions to have the pronouncement opened and read. Meanwhile Yukiie set out for Kai and Shinano provinces to convey the Prince's intentions to Minamoto warriors there.

Otokoyama, near Kyoto, is the site of the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine, patronized by the imperial court since ancient times. Yoritomo was thus ceremonially invoking the power of Hachiman, patron deity of the Minamoto in spiritual support of his cause. Yoritomo asked his father-in-law Hōjō Tokimasa to open the Prince Mochihito's *ryōji*. In his reception of the edict a number of elements essential for victory over the Taira were fused together in a powerful symbolic moment. First was Yoritomo's own determination, spurred and legitimized by Mochihito's call. Second was Yoritomo's own military strength and connections with Kyoto. Third was the military support of Hōjō Tokimasa and other eastern warriors without whose help there was no chance of military victory. Fourth was the appeal for the support of Buddhist temples and shrines contained in the edict, and fifth was the invocation of Hachiman. All of these elements of political, military and religious sanction were to work themselves out in more detail in the coming months and years.

By the time Yoritomo received Mochihito's *ryōji*, in Izu, the revolt in Kyoto had been discovered and crushed. The leaders were hunted down and killed, or forced to kill themselves. Taira authority seemed to have been reasserted. However, while the Taira could destroy the plot, they could not revoke the Prince's appeal or its effect on eastern warriors. Moreover, in putting down the revolt and trying to secure their grip on the capital they made a series of errors in dealing with the court, warrior society, and temples and shrines that were to cost them dearly in the developing struggle with the Minamoto.

2. The Failure of Taira Religious Policy

There is no evidence that the Taira were intrinsically anti-Buddhist or anti-religious. Kiyomori took the tonsure as a Buddhist layman, *nyūdō*, and the title of *hōshi*, or Master of the Buddhist Dharma. He and many of the Taira leaders were patrons of Buddhist temples in Kyoto and they had a particular devotion for the Itsukushima Shrine, in the Inland Sea. Kiyomori seems to have become a patron of the shrine prior to the Hōgen Uprising (1156) when he was Governor of Aki Province. He visited the shrine regularly from 1160. In many respects Taira power was coastal and Taira wealth derived from sea-borne commerce so it was natural for Kiyomori to think of using the Sea God of Itsukushima as patron and tutelary deity for the clan. In 1164 he presented to the shrine 32 magnificent illustrated scrolls of the *Lotus Sutra* which he had commissioned from Taira chieftains. These scrolls were an expression of Taira wealth and power and an expression of Heian artistic taste. They served to link the Taira even more closely to the shrine and its deity. The shrine established a branch-shrine at Rokuhara in Kyoto. In order to make access between Kyoto and Itsukushima easier and more secure, the Taira confiscated ports in Bizen, Bingo, and Aki provinces. As their power grew around the Inland Sea, provinces including Awaji, Awa, Sanuki, Bizen, Iyo became their political and economic, as well as spiritual, heartland.

Some of the wealth the Taira derived from control of these provinces and com-

merce through the Inland Sea was dedicated to the building of the Rengeō' in Kyoto. This temple, better known perhaps as the Sanjūsangendō, was built in a corner of Hōjūjidono Palace of the cloistered emperor. Kiyomori devoted income from his fief-province Bizen to its construction and spared no expense. He commissioned for the interior one thousand gilt statues of 1,000-armed Kannon. Together with the Heike Scrolls the magnificent statues in the Rengeō' in reflect the glory of Taira culture at its peak and remind us that Kiyomori and the other Taira leaders were deeply devoted to Buddhism as well as Shinto.

However, while Kiyomori was eager to use the divinity of Itsukushima as a unifying family deity and generous in his patronage of certain temples and shrines, the Taira do not seem to have found a religious focus for their clan equivalent to Hachiman for the Minamoto. Moreover, in their rise to power they stood on the toes of many temples and shrines in and around the capital which resented Taira assertion of political power or Taira intrusion into their provincial landholdings.

That the Taira were not popular with some temples in Kyoto and Nara is clear from the fact that a number of temples were willing to give refuge to Mochihito and the plotters against the Taira. Moreover they made the situation worse through a series of blunders in their relations with religious institutions in the year Jishō 4 that were to have long term consequences and were ultimately to contribute to their defeat in the struggle with the Genji. In the final analysis Yoritomo proved more adept than Kiyomori and the Taira at understanding the inter-connection of religious, political and military power in Japan, in cultivating the support of temples and shrines in his military cause, and in using a religious focus, devotion to Hachiman tutelary deity of the Minamoto, to help unify his war band.

Taira religious policy, or the lack of it, began to have adverse effects on their political hegemony when they attacked and burned Buddhist temples that had sheltered Prince Mochihito or later showed sympathy for the Minamoto cause. When Mochihito's plot was discovered he took sanctuary in the monastery of Miidera (Onjōji) overlooking lake Biwa.⁵ When the Taira surrounded Onjōji, Mochihito and his supporters had fled towards Nara where they hoped to find refuge in Tōdaiji or Kōfukuji. They were caught and either killed themselves or were cut down at the Uji River. When Yoritomo launched his attack on the Taira in the eighth month Miidera, Tōdaiji, and Kōfukuji, rallied to his cause. Kiyomori no doubt harbored resentment against these monasteries for their support of Mochihito earlier in the year. This was intensified by his anger at their support for Yoritomo and the Minamoto. Instead of trying to win monastic support by a conciliatory policy Kiyomori decided to take a hard line. In the twelfth month of Jishō 4 Kiyomori sent Taira Shigehira to Ōmi to destroy Onjōji.

11th day. Taira Kiyomori has despatched Shigehira against the monks of Onjōji because of the latter's support during the fifth month with Prince Mochihito's pronouncement. It is also the intention of the Taira to destroy the Southern Capital. The Taira claim they had never contemplated these moves until compelled to do so by the Military Protector, Yoritomo's, orders which

had aroused the monks to warlike acts.⁶

12th day.... Today Onjōji was razed by the Heike. The Golden Hall, the large and small halls, and the stupa, as well as the Mahayana and Hinayana sutras and the sacred writings of esoteric and exoteric Buddhism, have been virtually reduced to ashes.⁷

From the Taira point of view Miidera had harbored rebels and was now supporting Yoritomo with armed force of monk soldiers. It deserved to be punished. While courtiers and even many monks would have admitted that the armed forces of monasteries like Miidera could fairly be attacked and punished, it was a different matter to set fire to religious buildings and sacred texts. In burning Miidera the Taira were serving notice to nobles, temples, shrines, rival warriors and even members of the imperial family that they would brook no opposition and would be as callous in their treatment of any religious institution that stood in their way as they would be of any secular force that threatened their hegemony. This warning was probably not lost on the great monasteries in Kyoto and Nara but it did not lead them to bow to the Taira.

A few days after the attack on Miidera Shigehira led Taira forces to Nara to punish the monk soldiers of Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji. It is not clear whether the Taira intended to burn the monasteries or not, but a fire started and most of Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji were consumed in the flames. Many monks and laypeople who had taken shelter in the monastery buildings were killed in the fires. The *Azuma kagami* account is almost laconic:

28th day.... Today it is said that Taira Shigehira burned the southern capital of Nara. The compounds of Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji, including the halls and stupas did not escape the fires. Likewise, the Buddhist statues and sutras have been consumed by the fire.⁸

A fuller account of the burning is included in the entry for Jishō 5/1/18.

Today, the details of the burning of the halls, pagodas and monks' quarters of Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji in the Southern Capital by the Heike on the 28th of the 12th month reached the Kantō. Only the special warehouses with the imperial and temple seals escaped the fires. When the fire reached the hall of the Great Buddha, three persons, unable to bear the sight, threw themselves into the flames and were burned to death. More than 100 persons of the two temples were burned to death in this unbelievable fire. The report was brought by the monk Inkei, a local lord of Mōri estate in Sagami Province. For the past two or three years he had been living in the southern capital to pursue his studies of Buddhism. Now with the destruction of these temples he has returned to his native province.⁹

Accounts of the burning of Tōdaiji and Kōfukuji in the *Gyokuyō* and other diaries

are more detailed than the *Azuma kagami* and make it clear that there was a strong sense of revulsion in court and monastic circles at the callousness of the Taira. Had they restricted their punishment to armed monks there would have been little criticism. The razing of two of the oldest and most prestigious monasteries in Nara earned them lasting opprobrium, prevented other monasteries from joining their cause, and allowed Yoritomo and others to label them infidels who deserved to be driven from power.

The Taira also lost the support of the monks of Kumano who had one of the most powerful fleets in twelfth century Japan. Within a week of the burning of the Nara temples Kumano monk-soldiers attacked Taira forces in the southern Kii peninsula: Jishō 5/1/5.

5th Day. On the basis of a rumor that the Kantō forces were planning to attack the capital via a sea route round the Kii Peninsula (Nankai Circuit), the Heike alerted their retainers at various points along the coast. One of these warriors, Gō Shirō of Izu, who had been assigned to guard Shima Province, was attacked today on Nakira Island by the monks of Kumano, who inflicted many casualties on Gō's followers and caused them to flee. While fleeing toward Izuoka by way of the sacred mountains of the Great Shrine of Ise, Gō and his followers encountered the pro-Minamoto Hatano Tadatsna... and Hatano Yoshisada and their followers. In the ensuing battle two sons of Gō were killed.¹⁰

3. Minamoto Yoritomo's Religious Interests and Policies

Minamoto Yoritomo's treatment of religion and religious institutions is a complete contrast with that of the Taira. Where the Taira were callous and clumsy in their treatment of religious institutions and thereby lost support, Yoritomo was solicitous and conciliatory and made efforts to win the support of religious institutions. In part this sprang from political calculation—he needed all the support he could get—in part it sprang from his own personal religious interests and, perhaps, from his childhood education in Kyoto. In the following sections we will look more closely at Yoritomo's personal beliefs and the role of religion in the *Gempei* war and the formation of the Kamakura bakufu.

According to the *Azuma kagami*, religious concerns and actions surface at the most critical period of Yoritomo's life: his decision to respond to the appeal, *ryōji*, from Prince Mochihito, issued on the ninth day of the fourth month of Jishō 4 (1180) to rally the Minamoto and other warriors, temples and shrines to overthrow the Taira. As we have seen, the proclamation itself was couched in religious as well as political terms. Mochihito proclaimed war against Kiyomori and the Taira, "who would usurp the throne and destroy the Buddhist Law". He claimed the anti-Taira war was a moral cause that would be vindicated by its spiritual as well as military success. He placed his trust not only in the support of the Minamoto and other warriors but in the gods and Buddhas. Before Yoritomo or any other Minamoto

chieftain could do much to help Mochihito, the Taira discovered the plot. The prince fled to Onjōji (Miidera) and thence via Uji towards Nara. He and his companions were caught by the Taira at Uji¹¹ and either cut down or forced to take their own lives. It is worth noting that the temples of Onjōji and the Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji in Nara which responded to the prince's appeal thereby earned the enmity of the Taira but, to their ultimate advantage, developed good relations with the Minamoto in the Kantō.

During the summer months Yoritomo continued to try to raise forces in the east to topple the Taira. He also called upon the efficacy of the *Lotus sutra*.¹² According to the *Azuma kagami* entry for the fifth day of the seventh month (1180) Yoritomo had set himself the task of reciting one thousand passages from the sutra but was having trouble completing the invocations. The Buddhist priest Kakuen of Sōtō-zan, clearly an expert in numerology and the magical powers of the number eight, was able to justify Yoritomo's reduction of the number of recitations to eight hundred:

The sky is clear and wind light. Yesterday summoned Monyō-bō Kakuen, the chief monk of Sōtōzan, by letter. He arrived today at the Hōjō residence. The Military Protector, *buei*, [Yoritomo] addressed the venerable priest: "I have long had a heartfelt wish to gain the merit of reciting a thousand passages of the *Lotus sutra*. As an earnest of my sincerity I have invoked the sutra for several days, but now things have flared up and it will be difficult to fulfil my vow in the coming days. I wish instead to turn over, *tendoku*, eight hundred sections of the sutra for the Buddha.¹³ What do you think?" Kakuen answered: "Although you are not completing one thousand recitations, it shows respect for the Buddha to offer eight hundred. Then, making an offering of incense and flowers before an image of the Buddha, Kakuen explained: "Your lordship is a member of the clan of the Great Bodhisattva Hachiman. Your lordship upholds the eight chapters of the *Lotus sutra*. Your Lordship, as the recipient of the will of Hachiman Tarō (Minamoto Yoshiie), is the leader of the brave warriors of the eight provinces of the east. It is within the palm of your hand to subjugate the eight major crimes of the rebel clan of [Kiyomori] the lay priest of the eighth avenue (Hachijō). This your Lordship can do so by reciting eight hundred passages of this sutra." The Military Protector (Yoritomo) was impressed [by Kakuen] and, upon the conclusion of the meeting, presented him with gifts, which Kunimichi, the secretary, took for him. At nightfall the priest left. He was barely outside the gate when he was recalled. [Yoritomo] said to him, "When the world is returned to peace and order I will give you at Hirugashima those donations, *fuse*, I should have given you today". Kakuen, in great joy, took his departure.¹⁴

In addition to the intervention of Hachiman and the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas active in the *Lotus sutra*, Yoritomo also hoped for the support of the *kami*. He was doubly pleased, then, to recruit two men who could both fight and conduct Shinto

rituals:

There is a person [warrior] called Saeki Masasuke. He is priest of the Sumiyoshi Shrine of Chikuzen Province. Last year on the third day of the fifth month he was banished to Izu Province.... Now Masanga of Sumiyoshi, the younger brother of this Masasuke, has come to pay respects to Yoritomo for the first time. Nagae Yorikane also came to pay respects. He is a descendant of a priest of the Great Shrine of Ise and, in recent years, a retainer of Hatano Yoshitsune. He has now turned against his lord to serve Yoritomo. As these two have secretly indicated their desire to serve the Minamoto cause, and as they are deeply versed in matters of Shinto ritual, it is reported that they have been permitted to join his followers so they can conduct prayer ceremonies, *Kitō*.¹⁵

By the eighth month Yoritomo felt he had sufficient support from eastern *bushi* to openly challenge the Taira. On the sixth day of the eighth month he set the day of attack for the seventeenth of that month. Naturally a propitious day had to be chosen. This was done through divination conducted by his new Shinto ritualists:

6th day. Calling Kunimichi and Sumiyoshi Masanaga before him, [Yoritomo] had them conduct a divination ritual [to determine the best day and hour for the attack]. It has been set for the coming seventeenth between three and five in the morning.¹⁶

On the sixteenth day of the eighth month Yoritomo was forced to postpone the hour of launching the attack. In doing so, however, he was anxious that the postponement not impinge on one of the most important religious and symbolic ceremonies in Kamakura warrior society, a *hōjō-e*, or release of living creatures from captivity, to be held on the eighteenth:

16th day. Raining ceaselessly since yesterday. Prayers were offered for victory in the battle tomorrow. Sumiyoshi Masanaga conducted the ritual, *kitō*, to exorcise the spirits of heavenly and earthly disaster. The Military Protector [Yoritomo] participated and himself handed over the mirror to Masanaga. The secretary Nagae Yorikane performed one thousand purifications, *oharae*. The Sasaki brothers should have arrived today. At dusk they still haven't arrived. Tomorrow at dawn Kanetaka should be killed. Lacking the warriors to attack Kanetaka, who should have died at dawn tomorrow, there is some leeway and [Yoritomo was compelled to postpone the attack]. The eighteenth is the day for the Buddhist ceremony of the liberation of living things from confinement, *hōjōe*, which His Lordship has observed before an image of the Goddess of Mercy, Shō-Kannon, for many years since his boyhood. It is hard to break this.¹⁷

On the seventeenth, the morning he had hoped to launch the attack, Yoritomo was

still awaiting the arrival of the four Sasaki brothers. They did not arrive until the early afternoon. In the meantime he had prayers said at the nearby Mishima Shrine, one of a number of shrines and temples in the Izu area for which the Hōjō clan and Yoritomo had particular veneration:

17th day. Clear. This being a day for worship, *jinji*, of the *kami*, at Mishima Shrine, his lordship sent Adachi Morinaga to worship on his behalf and make an offering at the shrine.¹⁸

Once the Sasaki brothers arrived, Yoritomo decided to attack the compounds of Taira Kanetaka and the vice-governor Tsutsumi Nobutō near Mishima by moonlight that night. This marked the opening thrust in Yoritomo's struggle to overthrow the Taira. By dawn on the eighteenth his warriors have slain Kanetaka and his followers and Yoritomo was able to inspect the decapitated heads.¹⁹

Fearing that military campaigning would prevent him from purifying himself by doing his daily recitations from the Buddhist sutras, on the eighteenth Yoritomo asked the nun Hōon, teacher of his wife Masako, to pray and make purification on his behalf:

18th day. Over the years the Military Protector, *buei*, has been accustomed to performing religious rites, *ongongyō*, every day without fail, whether or not there was need for purification. He is disturbed that he will have to neglect these daily prayers because of the wars. There is a nun called Hōon of Izu-san. She instructs Her Ladyship, *midaidokoro*, [Masako] in the sutras. She has lived a chaste and blameless life. He asked Her Ladyship to request this nun to perform the daily prayers on his behalf. A list of the prayers has been sent to her. The nun has indicated her acceptance.²⁰

As Yoritomo began to assume a more prominent political and military role in Izu and throughout the Kantō, local shrines and temples appealed to him for redress of grievances. In order to gain their support in his military campaigns he listened to their complaints and promised help in the future, if he was successful against the Taira. One Izu temple with which he had especially close ties was Sōtō-zan, whose abbot Kakuen had sanctioned Yoritomo's reduction of the *Lotus sutra* incantations from one thousand to eight hundred. Sōtō-zan was a center of devotion to the syncretic Buddho-Shinto deity Izu Gongen, revered by the Hōjō family and by Yoritomo and other Izu warriors. On the nineteenth day of the eighth month the monks of Sōtō-zan complained that warriors, many of them Yoritomo's followers, had been violating its lands:

Recently warriors coming and going between Doi and Hōjō have been using the lands belonging to Sōtō-zan as a short cut. As a result there have been many conflicts. The monks of Sōtō-zan have complained [to Yoritomo] that the warriors have been committing outrages on their lands. Today the Military

Protector sent them a letter. In it he consoled them. He declared that, when peace and order are restored to the world, he will donate estate holdings, *shōen*, to the temple, one in Izu and another in Sagami. This will surely enhance the glory of the Izu Gongen²¹ in the Kantō. In this way the anger of the monks was quickly appeased.²²

Yoritomo cemented this relationship with Sōtō-zan by having Masako stay there for safety during his campaigns:

At night Her Ladyship, *midaidokoro*, went to Sōtō-zan and called on Monyō-bō Kakuen. She was accompanied by Kunimichi and Masanaga. Her Ladyship will lodge here quietly while the world remains disturbed.²³

The following day, the twentieth, Yoritomo and his followers moved from Izu into Sagami. They established a position at Ishibashi-yama and raised their standard in the first full-scale encounter with Taira forces:

20th.... The Military Protector, *buei*, leading at first only the vassals, *gokenin*, of the two provinces of Izu and Sagami, left Izu province and set out for Doi village in Sagami.²⁴

23rd. Heavy rain fell at night. This morning at 3.00 A. M., the Military Protector, *buei*, accompanied by Hōjō and his sons, [Adachi] Morinaga, [Etō] Shigemori, and Doi Sanehira led three thousand horsemen to Mount Ishibashi in Sagami where they established a camp. Carrying the standard to the top of which was attached Prince Mochihito's pronouncement was [Nakahara] Naka Shirō Koreshige. [Nagae] Yoritaka, holding a pole to which were tied sacred white paper emblems, *hakuhei*, attended his master.²⁵

The gods did not smile on Yoritomo at Ishibashi-yama. He was defeated and forced to flee for his life and go into hiding. Perhaps one good omen for the future was the recovery of a rosary which Yoritomo had lost on the battlefield:

24th.... Later [Sakata] Ieyoshi sought out Yoritomo. He brought with him a rosary, *gonenju*. The Military Protector had dropped it earlier in the day during the course of the battle. It was a rosary familiar to many of his men from Sagami who had hunted with his lordship in the past. Yoritomo had missed it earlier and been greatly upset. Thus he was overjoyed to retrieve it and thanked Ieyoshi repeatedly.²⁶

A rosary was not the only religious icon Yoritomo was accustomed to carry with him. He also carried in his topknot a tiny silver statue of Kannon. This statuette, with its religious ties to the Bodhisattva of compassion, was clearly of the deepest personal meaning to him. Yoritomo was born and spent his childhood in Kyoto. It is said that at the age of three he was taken by his wet nurse to the Kiyomizu temple

in Kyoto where the principal image was a statue of an eleven-headed Kannon, *jūichimen Kannon*. According to the *Azuma kagami* the nurse prayed for Yoritomo's future well being and for fourteen nights had dreams in which the image appeared. She later gave an image of Kannon to Yoritomo who treasured it as a talisman and object of worship. To have it with him at all time and to express his veneration he kept it in his topknot. He was, however, afraid he might be captured with it still on him and ridiculed:

24th.... In the meantime Yoritomo removed from his topknot a statuette of the Goddess of Mercy, (Shō Kannon) and installed it in a cave. When he was asked of the meaning of this by [Doi] Sanehira, Yoritomo replied, "If my head is taken by Kagechika and his men, and they see this image in my hair, I would be ridiculed as commander-in-chief of the Genji". The Military Protector explained that when he was an infant of three his wet nurse had shut herself in Kiyomizu temple to offer prayers for his future welfare, and after twenty-seven days of prayer she received a divine revelation in a dream. Thereupon she obtained this two-inch image of the Goddess of Mercy and presented it to him.²⁷

The statuette obviously meant a lot to him. Later in the year, after his fortunes had begun to turn and he had established a stronger base at Kamakura he retrieved the statuette from the cave.²⁸

In the succeeding month Yoritomo was trying to make a stand in the east and raise troops. He frequently called on the gods to help him. In the ninth month, for instance, he worshipped at the Sunosaki Myōjin Shrine in Awa province. He vowed that if his prayers for the arrival of all the warriors he had summoned were answered, he would present to the shrine a benefice of merit rice lands to promote the glory of its deity.²⁹

The preceding examples should be sufficient to give us an idea of the range of Yoritomo's personal religious interests during one of the most critical periods in his life. As depicted in the pages of the *Azuma kagami* Yoritomo displayed a complex and genuine interest in religion. He was obviously eager to win the support of temples and shrines in the Izu, Hakone, Awa provinces in his struggle to raise forces to take on the Taira. But he wanted more than the financial and military support of shrines and temples, he wanted their intercession with the deities of Shinto and Buddhism including Hachiman, Gongen, and Myōjin. To secure this divine support Yoritomo frequently worshipped and purged himself of pollution.

At a deeper personal level Yoritomo, if we can trust the *Azuma kagami*, also felt strong and enduring devotion to Kannon and to the *Lotus sutra*. We may detect some diminution of devotion in his excuses to cut the recitation of the *Lotus* from 1,000 to 800 and to have a nun offer daily prayers on his behalf. The other side of the coin is that the *Azuma kagami* makes it clear that he did perform 800 incantations and that he took the pains to have the Nun replace him when war prevented him from offering daily prayers. He also recited the *Lotus sutra* daily for the repose of his father, Yoshitomo, who had been killed in Kyoto and whose remains

Yoritomo would later reinter in the mortuary temple of the Shōchōjuin in Kamakura.³⁰ A later incident mentioned in the *Azuma kagami* underlines both the possibility of acts of compassion towards enemies and Yoritomo's devotion to the *Lotus sutra*. He pardoned an enemy warrior when he learned of that warrior's own devotion to the *Lotus sutra*:

Yōwa 1 (1181). Seventh Month. Fifth Day. Nagao Shinroku Sadakage has been pardoned [by Yoritomo]. At the battle of Ishibashi last year, when he killed Sanada Yoichi Yoshitada, the Military Protector, *buei*, had punished him for his insolence and placed him in the custody of Okazaki Shirō Yoshizane the father of the man whom he had killed. Yoshizane is by nature a compassionate man. He did not ask for Sadakage's head but merely had him pass the days as a prisoner and gave him a copy of the *Lotus sutra*, which he has been reading unflinching every day. Last night Yoshizane received a message in a dream which he related to the Military Protector. "As Sadakage is my son's enemy, it is hard for me to rest until we kill him. However, as a believer in the teachings of the *Lotus*, hearing him intoning the sutra my resentment *onnen*, has at last subsided. If we kill him would it not adversely affect the spirit of Yoshitada [my dead son]?" The Military Protector, wanting to ease his feelings, said: "To relieve your feelings I'll issue a pardon. I too am a devotee of the *Lotus sutra*. Your request will be fulfilled immediately." Thus Sadakage was pardoned.³¹

In these respects Yoritomo's devotional life was probably not very different from that of other eastern warriors: a blend of devotion to Shinto and Buddhism, with considerable trust in divination as a guide in critical moments. Where Yoritomo seems to have differed from many other warriors was in the strength of his personal devotion to Kannon and the *Lotus sutra* and in his consciousness of Hachiman as the protective deity of his ancestors and the Minamoto warrior clan. In the next section we will look at Yoritomo's religious concerns as they are expressed in the building of his new warrior capital in Kamakura and the shrines and temples built to satisfy his, and his family's, spiritual needs and provide a spiritual buttress for his regime.

4. Religious Life in Kamakura: the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine and related Temples

Historians tend to discuss Yoritomo's garrison town of Kamakura as an exclusively political creation. They hasten to describe the institutions and councils of the bakufu or the novelty of appointments of *jitō* and *shugo*. Most say little, if anything, about religious and ritual activities there. Political institution building was, of course, a major concern of Yoritomo. He was creating his bakufu to regulate a growing military regime while at the same time waging a war against the Taira. But just as religious concerns shaped his personal life, so too religious and ritual interests

were never far from his thoughts in his political affairs. For him the religious and ritual dimensions of rule were at least as important as the political and institutional. He did not conceive of Kamakura solely in political terms. The building of religious sites there went hand-in-hand with the building of political institutions during and after the military struggle with the Taira. For Yoritomo, victory over the Taira called for the harnessing of spiritual, as well as political and military energies. And even when it became clear that the Taira could be defeated, the intervention of gods and buddhas was needed to protect his family, satisfy personal spiritual needs, sustain the bakufu and provide a focus for vassal loyalties and unity. In fact religious and political aspects were so intertwined that it hard to separate them.³²

We see this interaction of religion and politics—the ancient Japanese term *matsurigoto*, implying ritual and well as government, seems appropriate to describe it—from the moment Yoritomo set foot in Kamakura in the tenth month of 1180. Even as he was drumming up for support against the Taira and planning institutions of warrior rule in the east, he moved immediately to provide a religious heart for his new garrison town by first moving, then enlarging, the Minamoto tutelary shrine to Hachiman. And very shortly after that he ordered the building of several other Buddhist temples including the Shōchōjuin, Yōfukuji and Jibutsudō. This section will briefly examine the role of these shrines and temples in the life of Yoritomo and his family, and in Kamakura warrior society.³³

The Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine (Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū)

The Tsurugaoka shrine-temple (Tsurugaoka Hachimangū-ji) as it was also known, was the shrine dedicated to the Minamoto clan *ujigami*. At first a family shrine, it later became the principal site for the conduct of Bakufu prayer services, *kitō*. With the Usa Hachiman in Ōita and the Iwashimizu Hachiman in Kyoto, it became one of the great national shrines to Hachiman. The Great God Hachiman (Hachiman Ookami/Buddhist: Hachiman Daibosatsu) was revered as a protector of the nation.³⁴ The fact that Yoritomo provided such an elaborate setting for worship of Hachiman in Kamakura indicates both Yoritomo's personal devotion and his determination to make Hachiman a unifying force for the Kamakura bushi class. The shrine eventually became a center for devotion by ordinary people as well.

Even before his entry, Kamakura had a spiritual character, one that he was at pains to foster as he enlarged the town and made it the site of his bakufu.³⁵ One reason for Yoritomo's choice Kamakura as a garrison was its strong spiritual connection with his Minamoto ancestors.

The origin of the Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū is said to date from the eighth month of 1063 (Kōhei 6) when Minamoto Yoriyoshi, in gratitude for his victories in the Former Nine Years' War, welcomed the *kami* of the Kyoto Iwashimizu Shrine to the Yūhi district on the coast of Kamakura. The shrine later fell into disuse but was rebuilt by Yoritomo's ancestor, Yoshiie. It became a center of devotion for Kantō *bushi*, especially for the Minamoto clan. According to the *Azuma kagami*:

This shrine was established in the eighth month of Kōhei 6 [1063] during the reign of the ex-emperor Go-Reizei. Minamoto Ason Yoriyoshi, the governor of Iyo, secretly welcomed the spirits of the Iwashimizu Shrine so that he might offer prayers to the ancestral gods for his subjugation, in response to imperial decree, of Abe Sadatō. Originally built in the Yūhi district of this province, the shrine, now known as the lower sub-shrine (*wakamiya*), was repaired during the second month of Eihō 1 (1081) by Minamoto Ason Yoshiie, governor of Mutsu.³⁶

Yoritomo entered Kamakura on the sixth day of the tenth month. After spending the night in a peasant's house, his first acts on the following day were to visit the Wakamiya Hachiman shrine and view the remains of his father's, Yoshitomo's, former residence:

Yoritomo first visited the Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū to worship. Then he viewed the remains of the residence of deceased Councillor of the Left [Yoshitomo] at Kamegayatsu. Yoritomo had planned, after inspecting the site, to build his own residence there but the terrain was not wide enough. Moreover, Okazaki Taira Shirō Yoshizane had built a temple there to perform memorial services [for Yoshitomo]. He therefore said he would abandon the plan.³⁷

A few days later, 10/11, Masako and the Buddhist priest Senkō-bō of Sōtō-zan arrived.³⁸ By the following day Yoritomo had decided to move the existing Hachiman Wakamiya shrine. Although it is not clear from the records, it is quite likely, that Yoritomo discussed this decision with Masako and Senkō-bō.³⁹ On the occasion Yoritomo purified himself and acted as his own priest, having selected the site in consultation with the gods by drawing a lot:

12th day. Weather clear. At 3:00 A. M. in order to venerate his ancestors, he [Yoritomo] went to Kitayama in the Kobayashi district where he designated a place for the construction of a shrine and ordered the Tsurugaoka Shrine to be transferred to this site. Senkō-bō has been named temporary Intendant, *bettō-shiki*, while [Ooba] Kageyoshi has been appointed to administer the affairs of the Shrine-temple, *gūji*. Meanwhile, in order to purify himself, the Military Protector has been observing abstinence from animal food. With regard to the location of the shrine, since there was still some question as to the wisdom of abandoning the old for the new site, the matter was put to divine decision. The Military Protector himself, drawing a lot before the altar, decided on the location. Although the building has not yet been decorated, the roof has been thatched.⁴⁰

This is the origin of what came to be known as the 'Wakamiya' (young shrine). It is from the Wakamiya that the better known Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū developed. At first the shrine was quite simple. The first building was only a temporary structure. It was rebuilt the following year.⁴¹ The pillars were of pine with a reed-

thatched (*kaya*) roof. In addition to the sanctuary for the *kami* (*shinden*), there were cloister corridors and a five-story pagoda. A lake was built at the approach the shrine.⁴² In *Yōwa* 2 (1182), at the time of Masako's pregnancy with Yoriie, Yoritomo ordered that the road to the shrine be straightened:

For the convenience of worshipers the winding road between Tsurugaoka shrine and Yui bay has been straightened. Yoritomo had long planned to do this, but had done nothing so far. However, his concern that Her Ladyship, now with child, might make pilgrimages to the shrine has prompted him to initiate the project.⁴³

5. Devotion to Hachiman and the Place of Religious Ritual in Kamakura Warrior Society

Devotion to Hachiman was the most important religious activity at Tsurugaoka shrine.⁴⁴ The Minamoto house developed strong devotion to Hachiman from the time of Yorinobu, 968-1048, his son Yoriyoshi, 998-1075, and his grandson Yoshiie, 1041-1106. They founded branch shrines of the Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū in the Kantō and Tōhoku regions in step with their conquests there. They probably became attached to the Iwashimizu Hachiman through their guard duties and other service in the imperial court. Members of the Seiwa-Genji were sent as messengers by the imperial court to Iwashimizu. Moreover, they believed that Hachiman was a defender of the nation and an expert in military affairs.⁴⁵ From that time on the Hachiman cult spread quickly in *bushi* society, where it was linked to the Seiwa-Genji's military tradition in the eastern provinces.

Yoritomo respected and maintained the relationship with the Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū but he also wanted the Kamakura Hachiman-gū to be more than an eastern satellite of Iwashimizu which had very strong connections with the court and the Buddhist temples of the capital. By moving and refurbishing the old Yūhi Shrine, Yoritomo tightened the relationship between Hachiman and his house, the main lineage of the Seiwa-Genji, by making the deity his *ujigami*.⁴⁶ He exercised direct authority over the foundation and regarded it as his house's family shrine (*ujisha*). Through this arrangement Yoritomo asserted his position as the successor of Yoriyoshi and Yoshiie, and warrior entitled to lead the Seiwa-Genji and to perform the rituals to the protective *kami*.⁴⁷

Yoritomo quickly brought the Wakamiya shrine into spiritual action in his campaign against the Taira. Four days after the relocation, on the sixteenth of the month, Yoritomo ordered that religious services to be held "for the protection of the nation": *chingo kokka*. He also began to provide for the economic support of the new shrine:

At the Lord Protector's request religious services, *gongyō*, lasting throughout the day were begun at the Tsurugaoka Wakamiya. The three venerable Buddhist sutras dedicated to the protection of the nation, namely the Hokke-kyō,

Nin'ō-kyō, and Saishō-ō-kyō were chanted, together with the Dai-Hannya-kyō, Kanzeon-kyō, Yakushi-kyō, Jumyō-kyō, etc. They were offered by shrine monks, *gusō*. [Yoritomo] granted Kuwabara village, *gō*, as shrine domain land, *mikuryō-shō*.⁴⁸

It is difficult to know exactly how often Yoritomo visited the Wakamiya for worship but he certainly made frequent use of it when he was in Kamakura and set the first day of each month as a special day for worship there.⁴⁹ The ritual seems to have been a combination of Shinto and Buddhist elements—the offering of a sacred horse to the gods followed by prayers and offerings for deceased spirits combined with chanting of Buddhist sutras—conducted under the supervision of a Buddhist priest. Religious rituals were followed by entertainments and contests, sometimes in the grounds of the shrine, and by banquets:

Jishō 5 (1181).⁵⁰ First Month. First Day. At 5:00 A. M. The Military Protector, *buei*, went to Tsurugaoka Wakamiya to worship. Suspending all the usual activities for the day, he has ordered that the morning of the first day of each lunar month be a day of worship, *hōhei*, at this shrine.⁵¹... He set out on horseback. He arrived at the worship hall, *raiden*. Senkō-bō Ryōzen was waiting here to attend His Lordship. First a sacred horse was led to the altar. Usami Sukemochi and Nitta Tadatsune presented it. Then he listened to a reading of the *Lotus sutra* as offerings of food, *kuyō*, were made to the spirits of the dead. After the service Chiba Tsunetane gave a feast [in His Lordship's honor] at his residence. A three-foot carp and an abundance of fruits and wine were served.⁵²

Several more first-of-the-month visits are recorded so it seems fair to say that when Yoritomo was in Kamakura, and free of urgent business, he did observe the monthly visits. But he also visited the shrine on other occasions. In Jishō 5 (1181), intercalary second month, for instance, Yoritomo vowed to visit the shrine for seven days in succession to pray for victory and peace:

From today, and for the next seven days, [Yoritomo] has vowed that he will worship at the Tsurugaoka Wakamiya for the return of peace and tranquility. This is for the pacification of the outbreak of insurrections in the east and the west. He visited the shrine before dawn [today]. A sacred dance, *mikagura*, was performed.⁵³

In the beginning the Wakamiya was a small, private, family shrine, *ujisha*. In step with the institutional development of the bakufu from the mid-1180's to the 1190's, the Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū came to be recognized not only as the *ujisha* of Yoritomo's house but also as the shrine of the bakufu guardian deity—in other words an official government institution.

The above accounts suggest that in the early days, although some individual

gokenin were called upon to accompany Yoritomo to the shrine, they seldom participated in either Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū's management or ceremonials. In time, however, *gokenin* took a more active part in religious ceremonies organized by Yoritomo or the bakufu. Several factors were probably at work here. Kantō-*bushi* families had their own family divinities. However, they were increasingly drawn to worship Hachiman too. As Yoritomo's power increased *bushi* naturally wanted to associate their fortunes, and their houses, with his. One obvious way to do this was to share in the ritual activities devoted to Hachiman. From Yoritomo's point of view, persuading, or allowing, other *bushi* to worship his family divinity was one way of extending his power over them and attaching them to his house and his goals. It is noticeable that as his influence grew from 1181 he made *gokenin* contribute to the support and main tenance of the Tsurugaoka Shrine as well as join in its ceremonies. Yoritomo ordered Kumagai Naozane to participate in the Hōjō-e at Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū. Naozane's son, Naoie frequently attended shrine ceremonies and many other eastern *gokenin* took part in these rites.⁵⁴ Even high ranking vassals were expected to provide materials and labor for reconstruction projects and even to perform personally such menial jobs as carrying stones and leading carpenter's horses. In this way Yoritomo obliged the *gokenin* to acknowledge that they belonged to his house and were subject to his authority.⁵⁵ As Miyazaki states: 'This development of the shrine provided Yoritomo with a firmer theoretical basis for making the *gokenin* render service to its deity, and many of them increasingly came to take part in religious ceremonies in Hachiman-gū. They also performed various other tasks necessary for maintaining the shrine, such as repairing buildings, cleaning the sacred enclosure, guarding the precincts and providing lamp oil'⁵⁶.

Hachiman was indeed a very fitting patron for the bakufu as well as the Minamoto house. He ranked among the most powerful divinities in the indigenous pantheon and enjoyed as much respect as even the deity of Ise, the ancestral deity of the imperial house and major guardian of the imperial court. Hachiman had a powerful military aspect and at Usa and Iwashimizu had been revered for centuries as a protector of the state.

But the Tsurugaoka Shrine did not only have religious and ritual functions. It increasingly took on quasi-official functions. As Miyazaki points out, Yoritomo also stressed the shrine's significance as a symbol of unity among the eastern *bushi* rallying around the bakufu vis-à-vis outsiders, particularly the imperial court. Clerical officials coming from Kyoto to serve in Kamakura were required to pledge their loyalty to the bakufu at the shrine. Official messengers from the court and documents issued by the emperor were formally received at the Shrine. When he made Shizuka, the captured lover of his estranged half-brother Yoshitsune, dance at the shrine, he told her that those who dedicated any arts to its deity must pray for blessings on the eastern provinces and, above all, on the bakufu.⁵⁷

In Kenkyū 2 (1191)/3/4 the shrine was badly damaged by fire. In the 11th month of that year Yoritomo welcomed the kami of the Iwashimizu Hachiman to a new site higher in the hills above the Wakamiya. This was the origin of the main shrine,

Hongū and laid the basic pattern of the Hachiman-gū as a combination of Wakamiya and Hongū. This layout persists today. It should be remembered, however, that the medieval Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū was very different from the Shinto shrine that millions of tourists now visit on their rounds of the Kamakura sights each year.

The present shrine is a product of the government-enforced separation of Buddhism and Shinto, *shinbutsu bunri*, movement in early Meiji. Until Meiji, Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū had Buddhist well as Shinto buildings, images, and clergy. In the separation all the Buddhist buildings in the Hachiman-gū were destroyed, Buddhist images, ritual implements, and texts scattered, Buddhist monks excluded, and most traces of Buddhism removed from the Shrine. Visiting the Hachiman-gū today it is easy to overlook its Buddhist past but it is clear from the records that from early in its history a variety of Buddhist buildings existed within its precincts and that Buddhist as well as Shinto priests lived and performed rituals within the precincts. The chief priest of the Hachiman-gū was a Buddhist monk. Its character was that of a *jingū-ji* (shrine-temple complex) dedicated to Hachiman and in many early documents it was actually referred to as Hachiman-gūji, the Hachiman shrine-temple.

There is no Kamakura period map of the shrine. The closest we can get to a visualization of the early medieval Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū is a plan of the shrine drawn in the late sixteenth century, Tenshō 19 (1591), when Hideyoshi ordered Tokugawa Ieyasu to rebuild the Shrine. This is a ground-plan, *sekkeizu*, showing the walls and buildings in the interior of the shrine precincts. By comparing this plan with older written records it is possible to establish an impression of the medieval character of Tsurugaoka. The sixteenth century map shows the Wakamiya shrine below and to the south-east of the Hongū, main shrine, with the two shrines joined by pathways and steps.⁵⁸

The Hongū, main shrine, was located in the hills to the north, the highest point in the complex. This was opened in Kenkyū 2 (1191)/11/21 when the sacred body, *shintai*, of Hachiman from Iwashimizu was invited to enter.⁵⁹ The main buildings of the Hongū were a Prayer Hall, *haiden*, and the Sanctuary, *shinden*. These were surrounded by a cloister with a two-story gate to the south. The Hongū, as the center for devotion to Hachiman, became the focal point of the whole complex. Here, after 1221, lectures, *kō*, on the *Saishō Sutra*, *Saishō-kyō*, and *Lotus sutra*, were held. Especially lavish were the great Ninnō-e, the most important official ceremonies of the bakufu held at Hachiman-gū, in which one hundred invited monks prayed for peace in the Kantō and the realm at large. We can gauge the importance of this ceremony by the fact that it was first held to pray for bakufu victory on the day following the departure of warriors from Kamakura to fight in what is known as the Jōkyū war.⁶⁰

The Wakamiya, on a lower level than the Hongū, looms as large on the plan as the Hongū, suggesting that it was equally important in the medieval period. Wakamiya had its own Sanctuary, *shinden*, and five sub-halls. These sub-halls were built after Yoritomo's death, between 1206-17. Eleven monks were attached to them and offered daily prayers for bakufu intentions. The residence for monks was to the northwest of the shrine precinct.⁶¹ As at many other temples and shrines throughout

Japan, Buddhist monks offered prayers and offerings to Shinto kami in an easy blending of Shinto and Buddhist ritual.

The Wakamiya, too, was surrounded by a roofed cloister. It was, in fact like the cloister of a Buddhist temple. The cloister was used for the ritual of "turning the pages", *tendoku*, of the *Saishō-ō sutra*. Dances and musical performances, *bugaku*, were also offered here in honor of Hachiman and as prayers for peace in the Kantō. During *hōjō-e* young women danced here. It was in this cloister in 1186 that Shizuka Gozen, the lover of Yoshitsune, danced in lament for Yoshitsune, before Yoritomo and Masako. Yoritomo admonished her that dances in the cloister were in honor of Hachiman and to pray for the intentions and success of the bakufu.⁶² Sumō wrestling offerings were also made here. The cloister also served to mark off the shrine precincts, the area sacred to the *kami*, from the Buddhist buildings elsewhere in the compound.

Just to the south of the Southern Great Gate of the Wakamiya, but still within the lower precincts of the shrine, was an open area used for mounted archery, *yabusame*, and other festive activities performed before the gods and buddhas. It was in this sector, approached across a "red bridge" and through a Shinto gate, *torii*, that the festivals for the release of living creatures, *hōjō-e*, were conducted.

Ceremonies at the Hachiman-gū

In addition to the religious ceremonies and the regular expressions of devotion to Hachiman and the *kami* mentioned above, the two great annual events held at the Hachiman-gū were the *hōjō-e* and, after 1221, great Ninnō-e.

According to the *Azuma kagami* entry for Jishō 4 (1180)/7/16 Yoritomo was concerned lest battle plans interfere with a *hōjō-e*, a Buddhist ceremony in which captured creatures were set free, to be held on the eighteenth of the month. Apparently Yoritomo had observed this ceremony before an image of Kannon since his childhood.⁶³ In Bunji 3 (1187) he instituted the *hōjō-e* as a large scale ceremony to be held at the Hachiman-gū annually on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. As part of the festivities a mounted archery contest, *yabusame*, was also held at the shrine.

The *hōjō-e* became the biggest festival in Kamakura, for commoners as well as *bushi*. It was a combination of Buddhist memorial service, *kuyō*, and martial festival. At first it was held on one day, the fifteenth of the month. From Kenkyū 1 (1190) it was carried over onto the sixteenth as well. On the fifteenth the shrine was first blessed by the sacred palanquin bearing the divinity. The shogun descended from his horse at the southern entrance, walked across the red bridge into the compound, and visited Wakamiya and Hongū shrines. Gifts of horses were presented to the gods, and the ceremony of releasing birds and fish into the pond, accompanied by the chanting of the *Lotus sutra*, was held. The Buddhist part of the ceremony was probably borrowed from the Iwashimizu Hachiman-gū. But whereas at Iwashimizu the *Saishō-ō-kyō*, advocating the efficacy of saving life, was chanted. In Kamakura the *Lotus sutra*, favored by Yoritomo, was used.⁶⁴ There was also a performance of dance in the cloister of the Wakamiya.

The following day saw the equestrian events, including the riding of horses given to the shrine by the shogun, mounted archery, and horse racing. The highlight was the mounted archery. At first five mounted bowmen shot at the targets. Later as many as sixteen competed. Temporary seats were set up for the spectators. Because horsemen and spectators vied in lavish dress for the occasion the bakufu in 1261 had to issue a prohibition against ostentation (Kōchō 1 (1261)/2/20 *Tsuika hō*).

Yoritomo's motives in emphasizing and formalizing the *hōjō-e* can only be guessed at. From childhood he had had some interest in the Buddhist practice of releasing living creatures from captivity. It is also possible that he thought of it as a fitting memorial service for warriors, Taira as well as Minamoto, who had died in the wars. In this sense it provided some relief from the sense of guilt he undoubtedly carried. He may also have seen it as a means of strengthening vassal loyalties and asserting order and hierarchy in Kamakura warrior society. Participation in the *hōjō-e*, the procession, and the equestrian events was both an obligation, *gokenin-yaku*, and an honor for *gokenin* who lived in the eastern provinces. And those who lived in more distant regions were required to participate in ceremonies at their principal provincial shrines.⁶⁵ Warriors vied in the quality of gifts they presented and were especially proud to show off their riding and archery skills in the *yabusame* included in the *hōjō-e*.⁶⁶ The bakufu was thus able to use access to the *hōjō-e* as one means of demonstrating favor and strengthening loyalty and hierarchy among its vassals. Wounded pride and status consciousness no doubt sparked the quarrel between Yoritomo and his leading vassal, *gokenin*, Kumagai Naozane, who objected to being asked to set up archery targets when his fellow *gokenin* were allowed to ride on horseback in the 1187 ceremonies.⁶⁷

Yoritomo and the Minamoto family did not have a monopoly of devotion to Hachiman. Hachiman was a powerful and well-regarded *kami*, venerated for centuries at the Usa, Iwashimizu and other shrines. Many warriors, however, were probably first encouraged to worship the deity through their participation in bakufu-sponsored *hōjō-e*.⁶⁸ Yoritomo restricted them from freely holding ceremonies at Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū and praying for their own benefit there but this did not prevent them from taking Hachiman as their *ujigami* and establishing shrines in their own domains.⁶⁹ The spreading Hachiman cult, with its focus in the lavish ceremonies of the Tsurugaoka *hōjō-e*, thus served as a means of enhancing vassal loyalty and unity.

Other Religious Sites: Shōchōjuin, Yōfukuji, and Jibutsudō

The Hachiman-gū remained the central official religious site of the Kamakura bakufu. But several other religious sites were built by Yoritomo to cater to his ritual and religious needs. These included the Shōchōjuin, Yōfukuji, and the Jibutsudō. They were built to satisfy strongly felt needs. The Shōchōjuin (South Hall) was an expression of Yoritomo's strong filial and ancestral devotion to his father, Yoshitomo. The Yōfukuji was built as a memorial for Yoshitsune and the many warriors on both sides who had died in the Gempei wars. Once the temples were built, they were integrated into the pattern of warrior life and government in

Kamakura.

The Shōchōjuin was the family mortuary temple (*bodaiji*) for Yoritomo's father, Yoshitomo, and the Minamoto clan. Yoritomo had long wanted to build a mortuary temple for his father. He selected a site and held the ground breaking ceremony for what was then called the "South Chapel" late in 1184.⁷⁰ Yoritomo commissioned the Buddhist sculptor Seichō from Nara to make the images. Seichō arrived in the following year and began to fashion a large *jōroku* statue of Amida for the new building.⁷¹ Yoritomo's father had been killed in Kyoto by the Taira. Yoritomo was naturally eager to have the remains brought to Kamakura and re-buried in the mortuary temple. With the destruction of the Taira, he was able to achieve this in the autumn of 1185:

Eighth month. Thirtieth day. The Second Rank [Yoritomo] has always made filial devotion to his ancestors his main concern, but he not yet been fully able to achieve his aim. Since the cruel and premature death of his father [in the Heiji Disturbance], Yoritomo has read the *Lotus sutra* daily and prayed for the salvation of the departed spirit. To demonstrate his respect and reverence for his father, Yoritomo has planned to build a temple in his honor. Desiring to place his father's remains at rest there, he has secretly sought the ex-sovereign's sanction to have his father's remains transferred to this temple. On the twelfth of this month the ex-sovereign, in recognition of [Yoritomo's] great services, ordered an official to exhume Yoshitomo's head from its burial place near the east prison in Kyoto and, together with the head of [Kamada Jirō] Masakiyo, to be delivered to Kamakura. Ōe Kintomo was appointed to bear the heads. He arrived from the capital today. The Second Rank [Yoritomo] went out to the banks of the Katase river to meet him. The remains were carried by disciples of Mongaku, monks from Jingo-ji, in containers hung from their necks. The Second Rank received them personally and carried them back to Kamakura. On this occasion, instead of his usual ceremonial robe of colored silk he wore a plain white robe.⁷²

Three days later, with appropriate ceremony, the remains of Yoshitomo and Kamada Masakiyo were reinterred in the grounds of the South Chapel (10/3).⁷³ The monk Kōgen of Onjōji, officiating priest for the dedication ceremonies, arrived in Kamakura on the twentieth.⁷⁴ Seichō's gilt *jōroku* statue of Amida was installed on the following day when a copy of the prayer to be read at the chapel dedication was also received in Kamakura.⁷⁵ The dedication, a lavish affair, attended by *gokenin* and their wives as well as Yoritomo and Masako, was held on the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month. The temple was renamed Shōchōjuin.⁷⁶ Later, as the Shōchōjuin was extended, Lotus Halls, Hokkedō, for Masako and Sanetomo were added. It remained a center of ancestral worship of Yoshitomo and devotion to Amida and the *Lotus sutra* throughout the Kamakura period. The importance of Shōchōjuin in the Kamakura religious world is shown by the fact that it—not the Hachiman-gū—was chosen as the site for the forty-ninth day memorial service

for former emperor Go-Shirakawa 1192.⁷⁷ Up until 1225 it was not uncommon to have memorial services involving one hundred monks at Shōchōjuin. The Hachiman-gū did not monopolize public religious functions in the early period. However, after 1225, all such large scale public functions tended to be held at the Hachiman-gū. This shift in the religious world probably paralleled a shift in the location of the bakufu in 1225 from Ōkura to a site nearer Tsurugaoka. The Shōchōjuin was allowed to go to ruin in the Muromachi period.⁷⁸

Yoritomo built the Yōfukuji in 1189 immediately after his conquest of the northern Fujiwara to offer prayers for the spirits of Yoshitsune, Fujiwara Yasuhira and the many other warriors who had died in the Gempei wars or in the north-eastern campaign. In Bunji 5 (1189) Yoritomo had gone to Hiraizumi in his northern campaign to capture Yoshitsune and punish the Fujiwara there for shielding him. Yoshitsune eluded him by taking his own life. He did, however, destroy the northern Fujiwara family before returning to Kamakura. He was reportedly astonished by the splendor of the great two-story hall of Chūsonji, in Hiraizumi, known as the Daichōjuin and determined to build a similar one in Kamakura. It was also known as the 'Two Story Hall, *nikaidō*, and the Temple of the Three Halls (Amida and Yakushi Halls were later built to the right and left of *Nikaidō*), and must have been a large and imposing temple complex.

Construction work began late in 1189.⁷⁹ However, because of a fire in Kamakura work was delayed until the autumn of 1192, when they began digging the pond.⁸⁰ The paintings on the doors and the wall behind the Buddha image were completed late in the tenth month.⁸¹ They are thought to have been based on those in the Golden Hall of Mōtsuji in Hiraizumi. The memorial service, *kuyō*, dedicating the new building was held on the twenty-fifth of the eleventh month, with Kōken, the monk from Miidera who had given the *kuyō* for Shōchōjuin, officiating.⁸² Later on other buildings were added. These included a Yakushi Hall for veneration of the Buddha of Healing, an Amida Hall, and a three story Pagoda. In the following year (Kenkyū 4/1193) a great memorial service, *kuyō*, was held in the Amida Hall. The intention was to recreate the ninefold Pure Land (*kubon jōdo*) of Amida in this present world. This form of Amida devotion was similar to that practiced by the Heian nobility hoping for rebirth in the Pure Land. It did not necessarily presage the ready acceptance of Hōnen's simplified version of Pure Land Buddhism by the Yoritomo or senior members of the Kamakura bakufu. The Yōfukuji maintained its character as a center of traditional Pure Land belief throughout the Kamakura period. The Yōfukuji seems to have burned down in the early fifteenth century and not been rebuilt.

The Jibutsudō, or Hall Containing Buddhas, was also built not far from the Hachiman-gū. This building later served as a Lotus Hall, Hokkedō, and became both a center for devotion to the *Lotus sutra* and the mortuary temple for Yoritomo. In the late summer of 1194, for instance, Masako returned from Izu in time to perform the seven days of Autumn equinox ceremonies, *higan*, in the Jibutsudō. This involved chanting of the *Lotus sutra* before statues of Sakyamuni Buddha, Amida, Maitreya, Kannon, Manjusri, and Fudō.⁸³ A few days later she held a large scale

memorial service, *tsuizen kuyō*, for Kiso Yoshitaka, the betrothed husband of her eldest daughter who had been killed in childhood on Yoritomo's orders. After Yoritomo's death it was designated his mausoleum and naturally it became the center of veneration of his spirit. On the anniversary of Yoritomo's death (1200/1/13) Masako, who had taken the tonsure, held the first year memorial service for him at the Jibutsudō. Hōjō Tokimasa and a large number of warriors attended. The Zen monk Eisai officiated. Masako presented a Sakyamuni triad and a mandala made from her own hair in the form of the sanskrit letter "A".⁸⁴

The above provides a sketch of the main religious buildings constructed in Kamakura during Yoritomo's lifetime. Through the religious, ritual, and festive activities conducted in them we can get some idea of the range of religious interests of Yoritomo and his close family and warrior advisors. It is clear that great importance was attached to religious activities on a personal level and as part of the operation of the bakufu and warrior society. Many of these activities, perhaps the majority, were prayer services, known as *kitō*, for some kind of intention or another. The clergy who dominated the new religious establishment in Kamakura until well into the thirteenth century were monks whose function was to lead such prayer services.

The Hachiman-gū eventually became the most important center and combined private and public, Shinto and Buddhist, and ritual and festive functions. The Shōchōjuin was built as a mortuary temple for Yoritomo's father and combined a strong Buddhist character with aspects of ancestor devotion. The Yōfukuji, with its Pure Land emphasis, commemorated the spirits of warriors who had fallen in battle and may be thought of a site for the pacification of restless spirits. The Jibutsudō reflected the very powerful current of devotion to the *Lotus sutra* running through the religious life of the age as well as the personal devotions of Yoritomo and Masako. It also served a site for veneration of Sakyamuni, Kannon, Fudō, Maitreya, and Manjusri, all of whom were important devotional figures in warrior society.

These shrines and temples were headed by monks of the older schools of Buddhism, especially monks from Nara and Onjōji who served as chief priest or Intendant, *bettō*. In the lifetime of Yoritomo the Shinto-Buddhist establishment in Kamakura was dominated by Buddhist monks of the older schools who had undergone ordination at either the Tōdaiji Kaidan'in or the Enryakuji platform. These were official monks, *kansō*, whose function was to pray for the intentions of the shogun, bakufu and nation just as in Kyoto or Nara they would have offered similar prayer services for the imperial family, the court, and the nation. It is important to remember that until the mid-Kamakura period it was the monks of the Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū, Shōchōjuin, and Yōfukuji who played the leading role in Kamakura religious life as the officiating monks, *kitōsō*, for the bakufu. It was not until the mid-thirteenth century that Zen and Ritsu monks came to play leading roles in the Bakufu structure of ceremonial prayers for worldly blessings.

Even the Hachiman-gū, which had Shinto priests was under the supervision of a Buddhist cleric. The Hachiman-gū comprised both shrines and temples. From the

layout of the buildings it might seem that the shrines had primacy. The office of Shinto priest, *kannushi*, at the shrine was entrusted hereditarily to the Ōtomo family in 1191. But the Buddhist monk who supervised the administration quickly assumed considerable influence. Yoritomo appointed Buddhist monks whom he respected as Intendants, *bettō*, for the Hachiman-gū. Senkō-bō Ryōzen of Sōtō-zan was first given temporary appointment. A more permanent Intendant was installed in 1182 when the venerable abbot Engyō came from Miidera (Onjōji) came to Kamakura.⁸⁵ These religious institutions were very much under the direction of Yoritomo and the bakufu and it is clear from the records that they shared information and were subjected to the same rules of conduct. The *bettō* and monks of the three temples consulted each other and were in close touch with the bakufu in matters affecting any of their institutions. Edicts affecting one temple were also addressed to the others.⁸⁶

Warrior Interest in the Pure Land and Zen

Before closing it is important to say a word or two about the acceptance of Pure Land and Zen in Kamakura society. What progress had been made by the time of Yoritomo's death in 1199?

In the case of Pure Land Buddhism there is no doubt that Yoritomo and Masako had a strong devotion to the traditional Pure Land teaching of the kind prevalent in late Heian period Tendai monasteries and widely accepted by the court nobility and the northern Fujiwara. Buildings, statues, texts, and practices all demonstrated an interest in Amida and the Pure Land. This interest was shared by Yoritomo's in-laws, the Hōjō and by other Kamakura *bushi*. The fact that Yoritomo built temples symbolizing the realization of the Pure Land in Kamakura seems to have had an impact on *bushi* around him. His father-in-law, Hōjō Tokimasa, for instance, built the Ganjōjuin in Izu in 1189 in honor of Yoritomo's conquest of the Fujiwara in the north. He installed Amida Nyorai as the principal image, *honzon*, giving birth to the Pure Land in this world. He also installed statues of Fudō and Bishamonten made several years earlier by Unkei in Nara. Wada Yoshimura, another leading warrior chieftain serving Yoritomo, also commissioned an Amida triad from Unkei as well as images of Fudō and Bishamon for his Jōrakuji at Ashina (Yokosuka).⁸⁷ This Pure Land devotion was traditional, aristocratic, Pure Land Buddhism derived from the court and capital, or from Nara or the northern Fujiwara. Moreover it was not exclusive. In Kamakura warrior society it was mixed with strains of devotion to the tantric deities Fudō Myōō and Bishamonten as well as the *Lotus sutra*, Yakushi, Kannon, Jizō and many other deities.

During Yoritomo's lifetime Hōnen (1133-1212), in Kyoto, was forging a more radical Pure Land teaching. He started advocating the exclusive practice of the *nembutsu* in 1175 and wrote the *Senchaku hongan nembutsu shū* for Kujō Kan'ezane in 1198 a few months before Yoritomo's death. There is no record of Yoritomo being in touch with, or influenced by, Hōnen, though it is quite likely that he had heard of him and of his emphasis on the *nembutsu*. The first full-fledged Pure Land preacher to spread Hōnen's teaching in Kamakura seems to have been

Ryūkan who arrived in 1227. Well before this however, Hōnen's advocacy of the *nembutsu* as the easy path to the Pure Land in an age of decline had found ready acceptance among *bushi* in Kyoto and Kamakura. A number of Kanto *bushi* accepted Hōnen as a teacher and took Pure Land names. These included the bakufu houseman Utsunomiya Yoritsuna (Renshō) and his younger brother Akinari (Shinjō), as well as Kumagai Naozane and his son.⁸⁸ Yoritomo's leading vassal Hatakeyama Shigetada is said to have asked Hōnen about the Pure Land *nembutsu* and the preparations for becoming a monk. These examples and other references found in such sources as the *Hōnen shōnin gyōjō gazu* show that many Kamakura *bushi* were interested in the single practice Pure Land teaching being advocated by Hōnen during the lifetime of Yoritomo. Several of them associated with Hōnen and his disciples while on guard duty in Kyoto and brought news of the new religious movements in the capital back to Kamakura.

However, the Pure Land teaching that Hōnen taught in Yoritomo's lifetime still had a very strong Tendai and aristocratic flavor. Hōnen was still viewed as a Tendai monk with strong Pure Land interests rather than the founder of a new Pure Land school. As the example of Kumagai Naozane shows, even those *bushi* who were most attracted to Hōnen's teaching did not abandon their involvement in bakufu-sponsored religious activities in Kamakura. Nor did they abandon their traditional family *kami*, *ujigami*. There is no record of an officially sanctioned exclusive *nembutsu* practice in Kamakura during Yoritomo's lifetime, or for some years thereafter.

A similar situation prevailed in the case of Zen. Although Eisai brought Ch'an practices back from his second journey to China well before Yoritomo's death, he was at first mainly active in Kyushu and Kyoto, and even there seems to have advocated not exclusive meditation but a mixed practice involving scholastic (Tendai) and Tantric (Shingon) elements as well as *zazen*. Eisai did not go to Kamakura until after Yoritomo's death. He served as the officiating monk at the first memorial service for Yoritomo and won the patronage of Masako, Yoriie, and Sanetomo. Masako granted him land for the building of Jufukuji which, later, became a Zen temple. The *Azuma kagami* records more than a dozen meetings between Masako and Eisai. It is clear that she respected and trusted him and that he gave her spiritual solace at a very difficult time in her life—she had just lost her second daughter as well as Yoritomo. It is quite likely that he talked to her of Zen. He may even have introduced her to *zazen*. But there is no record of this. All the *Azuma kagami* entries present him as traditional Tendai monk leading prayer services, *kitō*, for bakufu intentions. Nor is there any indication in the *Azuma kagami* that Masako or Kamakura *bushi* associated with Eisai as a Zen priest or were at all interested in Zen practice. The acceptance of Zen in Kamakura, like that of Hōnen's Pure Land teaching, comes well after Yoritomo's death.

6. Conclusion

In this essay I have tried to contrast Taira and Minamoto attitudes to religion largely through the figures of Taira Kiyomori and Minamoto Yoritomo. While Kiyomori and the Taira leaders were not intrinsically hostile to Buddhism and Shinto, as shown by their patronage of Itsukushima and Rengeō'in, by attacking and burning Onjōji, Tōdaiji, and Kōfukuji they lost the support of Shrines and temples and allowed themselves to be labeled enemies of religion. In the five years of war with the Minamoto they never succeeded in developing a religious policy that would recover the support of temples and shrines or overcome the evil reputation gained through the burning of the Nara temples.

Yoritomo, in contrast, not only had a deep personal devotion to Hachiman, Kannon and the *Lotus Sutra*, he was also extremely skillful in winning the support of temples and shrines in his struggle against the Taira and in incorporating religion into the structure of his regime in Kamakura. In this sense we can say that Yoritomo not only felt the religious impulses of many *bushi* of his day but he also developed a religious policy which helped unify Kanto *bushi* in support of his regime and provided a means of paying respect to those restless spirits, *onryō*, of warriors—Heike, Minamoto Yoshitsune, Northern Fujiwara—who had died in the Gempei wars.

Notes

- 1 *Gyokuyō*, Jishō 4 (1180-81)/2/21.
- 2 See *Takakura-in Itsukushima gokō-ki*.
- 3 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180-81)/4/9. The *Azuma kagami* presents some problems as a source. It was compiled late in the thirteenth century, long after the death of Yoritomo, and is regarded as a very pro-Yoritomo, pro-Hōjō work. Having said this, it is also important to point out that it was compiled from earlier materials and, while there may be some slanting of political events, there was probably less of an impulse to distort, or add to, the entries relating to religion. It is used here because it is the best available source on this subject. It may well be an authentic record. But readers should bear in mind that this is the *Azuma kagami* account, that it is less than comprehensive, and that it may embellish the record in places. The accounts of religious ceremonies generally ring true for the late twelfth century and could, or would, hardly have been invented at a later period. For a recent discussion of the validity of the *Azuma kagami* as an historical source see Gomi Fumihiko, *Azuma kagami no hōhō*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1990.
- 4 The *ryōji*, appeal, is mentioned in the *Gyokuyō* and other contemporary sources but is only recorded in full in the *Azuma kagami*. The style of the *ryōji* suggests that it is a reconstruction of an original document which may have been lost by the time of the compilation of the *Azuma kagami*. The document was carried to the Kantō by Yukiie. The proclamation was not signed by the Prince but by Nakatsuna who was probably ordered to despatch the Prince's instructions. Nakatsuna is clearly quoting the Prince's appeal. Thus, it is impossible to be sure if the *Azuma kagami* entry reports the original wording accurately. However, it is clear that Mochihito issued an appeal and that this appeal was transmitted via Nakatsuna to Yoritomo. It is likely that any appeal would have sought to impose every possible sanction, religious as well as political, on the Taira. Even if, the appeal as recorded in the *Azuma kagami* is a total fabrication by the eventual compilers of the *Azuma kagami*, it is still significant that those compilers should have felt it important to justify Yoritomo's actions in terms of religious as well as political sanctions. Some accounts suggest that the priest Mongaku was instrumen-

- tal in getting Yoritomo to challenge the Taira. His role is not mentioned in the *Azuma kagami* at this point.
- 5 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180-81)/5/15.
 - 6 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/12/11.
 - 7 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/12/12.
 - 8 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/12/28.
 - 9 *Azuma Kagami*, Jishō 5 (1181-82)/1/18.
 - 10 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 5/1/5.
 - 11 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/5/26.
 - 12 On the role of the *Lotus sutra* in Japanese culture see George and Willa Tanabe, eds., *The Lotus sutra in Japanese culture*, University of Hawaii Press 1989.
 - 13 *tendoku* is rapid "reading" of a sutra done by fanning its pages.
 - 14 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/7/5.
 - 15 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/7/23.
 - 16 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/8/6.
 - 17 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/8/16.
 - 18 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/8/17.
 - 19 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/8/17.
 - 20 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/8/18.
 - 21 *Gongen*. The term used for a Shinto deity who appears as the earthly manifestation of a Buddha. Worshipped at both shrines and temples. The amalgamation of Buddhist and Shinto beliefs and cults was a characteristic feature of the religion of this period in samurai society as elsewhere.
 - 22 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/8/19.
 - 23 *Azuma Kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/8/9.
 - 24 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/8/20.
 - 25 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/8/23.
 - 26 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/8/24.
 - 27 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/8/24.
 - 28 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/12/25.
 - 29 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/9/5. Myōjin, like Gongen, refers to a Buddha manifest in the form of the Shinto deity. On Jishō 4/9/12 Yoritomo granted a rice field to this shrine. On the previous day he visited an estate, *mikuri*, belonging to the Ise shrine and vowed to make further grants of *mikuri*, sacred lands, as offering to the gods. (*Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/9/11.)
 - 30 *Azuma kagami*, Bunji 1 (1185)/8/30. See below.
 - 31 *Azuma kagami*, Yōwa 1 (1181)/7/5.
 - 32 Yoritomo, of course, was not unusual in his concern for the religious aspects of rule. All medieval warrior families worshipped family deities, sponsored priests and nuns, shrines and family temples, *bodaiji*. They called on their spiritual and economic support in time of war.
 - 33 There were other early Kamakura period Buddhist temples such as the Daijiji built by Sanetomo or the Jufukuji, of which Eisai was the founder. These, however, were built after Yoritomo's death and fall outside the scope of this chapter.
 - 34 On the history of the Hachiman cult see Nakano, *Hachiman shinkō shi no kenkyū*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2 vols., 1976.
 - 35 In addition to a small Hachiman shrine, there had been several other temples in the area prior to Yoritomo's entry. These included the Sugimoto-dera and a cave temple. Recent archaeological research suggests that there may have been other temples in the area of Imakōji, although there are no written records of their existence. Fragments of temple roof tiles from one temple that is thought to date from the Nara period have been found in substantial quantities. There is evidence, too, of a temple site that may have been a provincial-temple, *kokubunji*, in the Nara period. With the exception of Sugimoto-dera, however, these temples do not seem to have been active in 1180.
 - 36 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/10/12. Note: a *wakamiya*, literally "young shrine", is a sub-shrine or small shrine, usually built within the precincts of a principal shrine. The term also meaning "young

- prince' was sometimes applied to shrines built especially for imperial princes.
- 37 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/10/7.
- 38 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4/10/11.
- 39 On the Hachiman-gū's place in Kamakura/bakufu see Matsuo Kenji "Buke no 'shuto' Kamakura no seiritsu" in Ishii Susumu, ed, *Miyako to hina no chūseiishi*.
- 40 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/10/12.
- 41 See *Azuma kagami* entries for Jishō 5 (1181)/5/13; Jishō 5/6/27; Jishō 5/7/8. This last entry states, "The carpenters from Asakusa have arrived and they have begun work on the sub-shrine, Wakamiya. First the sacred body, *shintai*, was removed to a temporary hall. The Military Protector, *buei*, paid his respects.... On the fifteenth of the coming month it is planned to return the sacred objects to the main hall Construction of the shrine should be completed by then".
- 42 *Azuma kagami*, Yōwa 2 (1182)/3/24.
- 43 *Azuma kagami*, Yōwa 2/3/15.
- 44 On the cult of Hachiman in Kamakura bushi society see Miyazaki, "Religious Life of the Kamakura bushi", pp. 453-456.
- 45 Toyoda Takeshi, *Shūkyō seido shi*, p. 518. Hagiwara Tatsuo, *Chūsei saishi soshiki no kenkyū*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962, p. 99. Ebe Yōkō, "Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū hatten no sandankai to Minamoto Yoritomo no shinkō", *Shintōgaku*, 63, (October 1969), p. 18.
- 46 Hagiwara, pp. 99-100, 112-113.
- 47 Ebe, pp. 19-20.
- 48 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 4 (1180)/10/16.
- 49 The *Azuma kagami* does not provide entries for the first day of every month. Where entries are made for the first day, some record visits to the shrine by Yoritomo; others do not. We can assume he made the visits attributed to him (if the *AK* is reliable). He may also have gone on first days for which there are no entries or the entries deal with other subjects. All we can say is that, judging by *AK* he went on a number of first days.
- 50 The era name was changed from Jishō 5 to Yōwa 1 on the fourteenth day of the seventh month.
- 51 "As the day for offering *hei* (*nusa*) to the shrine." *Nusa*, originally cloth offerings, were symbols of divinity made of cloth or paper and hung on a pole.
- 52 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 5 (1181)/1/1.
- 53 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 5 intercalary 2/21. The record for the 27th day of the month states that "Yoritomo worshiped at the Wakamiya for the seventh day, thus fulfilling his vow". (Jishō 5, Intercalary 2/27).
- 54 Miyazaki, "Religious life of the Kamakura bushi". 453-456. According to Itō Seirō the members of fifty-three gokenin houses from the eastern provinces, including all the major ones, participated in religious ceremonies at Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū from 1185-98. "Kamakura bakufu no gokenin tōsei to Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū", *Kokushi danwakai zasshi*, Feb. 1973, 20-21.
- 55 *Azuma kagami*, Jishō 5 (1181)/7/20 and Yōwa 2 (1182)/3/15).
- 56 Miyazaki, "Religious life of the Kamakura bushi", 455. She cites Ebe Yōkō, "Minamoto Yoritomo to Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū: shūkyō seisaku no ichirei toshite" in *Shintōgaku* 54 (August 1967), 56-57.
- 57 Itō Seirō, "Kamakura bakufu no gokenin tōsei", 24-25; *Azuma kagami* Genryaku 1 (1184)/4/15; Kenkyū 3 (1192)/7/26; and Bunji 2 (1186)/4/8.
- 58 See *Kamakura shi shi shaji hen*, pp. 66-67. For amended plans of the Hachiman-gū in Kyōhō 17 (1732) and 1591 see Matsuo "Buke no shuto Kamakura no seiritsu", in Ishii Susumu, ed., *Miyako to hina no chūsei shi*, 112-113. Matsuo analyzes the two ground-plans and provides a helpful description of the shrine in the late medieval period.
- 59 An elaborate ceremony was held with gifts of horses to the new shrine. *Azuma kagami*, Kenkyū 2 (1191)/11/21.
- 60 Since it was not introduced into Kamakura until well after Yoritomo's death, the Ninnō-e falls outside the scope of this paper. See Matsuo, "Buke no shuto Kamakura no seiritsu", pp. 124-129.
- 61 The residence of the shrine monks was called the Nijugōbō. It lay behind the Hachiman-gū in Kita-

- no-dani.
- 62 *Azuma kagami*, Bunji 2 (1186)/4/8.
- 63 See above.
- 64 Matsuo Kenji, "Chūsei toshi Kamakura", in Gomi Fumihiko, ed., *toshi no chūsei*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1992.
- 65 See Ishii Susumu, "Chūsei seiritsuki gunsei kenkyū no ichi shiten" in *Shigaku zasshi*, 78. 12 (December 1969), 16-17.
- 66 Ebe, "Tsurugaoka hachiman-gū hatten", p. 29.
- 67 Miyazaki Fumiko, "Religious life of the Kamakura bushi : Kumagai Naozane and his descendents", *Monumenta Nipponica*, 1992, 47, (4), 435-467.
- 68 Ebe, "Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gū hatten" p. 30.
- 69 Toyoda, *Shukyō seidō shi*, 522-525.
- 70 *Azuma kagami*, Genryaku 1 (1184)/11/26.
- 71 *Azuma kagami*, Genryaku 2 (1185)/5/21.
- 72 *Azuma kagami*, Bunji 1 (1185)/8/30.
- 73 *Azuma kagami*, Bunji 1/9/3.
- 74 *Azuma kagami*, Bunji 1/10/20.
- 75 AK, Bunji 1/10/21.
- 76 See *Azuma Kagami*, Bunji 1/10/24 for a detailed account.
- 77 *Azuma kagami*, Kenkyū 3 (1192)/5/8. This was a so-called 100-monk memorial service, *kuyō*. AK provides details of numbers of monks and gifts to them.
- 78 The site has not been excavated, so the scale and layout of the original Shōchōjuin are not known.
- 79 *Azuma kagami*, Bunji 5 (1189)/12/9.
- 80 *Azuma kagami*, Kenkyū 3 (1192)/8/24. On 27th of the same month a disciple of the Ajari Jōkū, the monk Shōgen was called in and asked about garden design for the pond before the main hall.
- 81 *Azuma kagami*, Kenkyū 3/10/29.
- 82 *Azuma kagami*, Kenkyū 3/11/25.
- 83 *Azuma kagami*, Kenkyū 5 (1194)/intercalary 8/2.
- 84 *Azuma kagami*, Shōji 2 (1200)/1/13.
- 85 *Azuma kagami*, Juei 1 (1182)/9/23.
- 86 Matsuo, "Buke no shuto Kamakura no seiritsu", pp. 118-119, cites a law issued in 1242 to the *bettō* of the three temples forbidding priests' attendants to wear swords. This sprang from violence in the monks' quarters at Shōchōjuin.
- 87 Miura Katsuo, "chūsei bushi-tachi no inori" in Miyama Susumu ed., *Zusetsu Kamakura bukkyō*, Shinchōsha, 1988, 244-245. (see photo on page 244)
- 88 Miyazaki, "Religious life of the Kamakura bushi", provides an excellent description of Naozane's Pure Land belief in the context of his other religious interests.

鎌倉幕府形成における宗教
東鏡を通して

マーティン・コルカット

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