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The Emergence of Medieval Borders in Kamakura

Sacred Space of Tsurugaoka Hachimangū

Using the *Azuma kagami* as my guide, I consider the newly established capital of Kamakura from the vantage point of the border zones around Tsurugaoka Hachimangū at the city center. Tsurugaoka was a ritual space for ceremonies dedicated to the buddhas and kami, and the Hōjōe was the most prominent of these ceremonies. This was also the space where the capital city was constructed. This Tsurugaoka shrine-temple complex was a key center for performing arts dedicated to the native kami, where professional performers would gather. Their social interactions are illustrated in the *Tsurugaoka Hōjōe shokunin utaawase*, a picture scroll depicting a fictive poetry match among the artisans at the Hōjōe. The "Entry into Kamakura" scene in the *Ippen hijiri e* pictorializes the border by showing the itinerant holy man Ippen being turned away by force at the border of Kamakura but later succeeding in transcending the border through a performance. Masks were used in religious performances such as the Mukaekō held at the Tsurugaoka Hachiman, which was Ippen's intended destination. Such masks and the memory of their performances live on today in the popular Menkake Gyōretsu that is held on the city's border and brought to life by performers.

KEYWORDS: *Azuma kagami*—Hōjōe—Tsurugaoka Hachimangū—Mukaekō—picture scrolls—Kamakura

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An exploration of the world-shaping processes that, functioning as a womb-like matrix (*matorikksu* 母胎), gave birth to medieval narratives naturally leads to a consideration of borders. Performance (*geinō* 芸能), which was profoundly religious, played a major role in the creation and dissemination of major works of medieval literature. For instance, the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 employs characters to recount the fate of a clan's fleeting rise and subsequent demise; *Soga monogatari* 曽我物語 utilizes acts of revenge to express the reality of the Buddhist call to "battle to pay off the debt owed to one's parents and fight to show gratitude for their merit";[1] and the *Shintōshū* 神道集 is a collection of tales about the kami who are manifestations of their original Buddhist forms and who wander and suffer due to their attachments in the human world. These tales are all products of such performances. Religious performers, particularly Buddhist preachers (*shōdōsha* 唱導者) who used their eloquence to explicate scriptures and to administer rites and ceremonies for the kami and the buddhas, played a major role in this process, honing their performance skills while producing the narratives that crystalized prayers for salvation.

Borders (*kyōkai* 境界) were more than a concept for these preacher-performers. They were a stark fact of life in the medieval world, shaping both society and culture. Preachers and other performers faced borders and obstacles that needed to be overcome. In this article, I explore the issue of borders in medieval Japan by focusing on the east, or the eastern provinces (*azuma no kuni* 東国), and Kamakura in particular as the capital of the shogun and his warrior followers and as a newly created medieval city. In Kamakura, these borders surround the city's matrix-like center. I first examine the Hōjōe 放生会 (the assembly to free living beings) held at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū 鶴岡八幡宮, the shrine at the city's center, taking the assembly as the axis of worship and performance.

The Beginnings of Worship at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū and the Hōjōe

Minamoto no Yoritomo 源 頼朝 (1147–1199), who was called "The Lord of Kamakura," first rose to power in a revolt at Izu in 1180. After barely escaping from defeat at Ishibashiyama 石橋山, he made an astounding recovery, leading

1. This formulaic phrase, which serves as the subtitle of the *Soga monogatari*, encapsulates its theme and begins each of the ten books of the *mana* version of the *Soga monogatari*. See the National Diet Library online catalog for an explanation: https://crd.ndl.go.jp/reference/modules/d3ndlcrdentry/index.php?page=ref_view&id=1000098669.

the eastern provinces in defeating the government forces led by his Taira 平 enemies at Fujikawa 富士川. He then chose Kamakura as his headquarters, solidifying his base in Kanto. *Azuma kagami*, the annals of the warrior government (*bakufu* 幕府), records the founding of the regime in Kamakura by Yoritomo and especially the festivals and religious rites (*saishi* 祭祀) that were central to the events and organization of the Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji 鶴岡八幡宮寺, the shrine-temple complex at the center of Kamakura.

Initially, the main building of the Wakamiya 若宮 shrine was constructed with a covered corridor at the base of the central mountain in the northern area of what was to become the city. At the shrine-temple, Buddhist services were conducted by an abbot (*bettō* 別当) and the priests stationed at the temple served under him. *Bugaku* 舞楽 (formal dance and music associated with the court) was performed at a special festival in the spring, and a sacred *kagura* 神楽 (song and dance for the kami) was performed in festivals during the autumn and winter. The pinnacle of these annual events was the Hōjōe held on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. The Hōjōe, which began in 1187, was a Buddhist service with a parade of portable shrines (*mikoshi togyo* 神輿渡御) modeled on the rituals observed at the main Hachiman Shrine at Iwashimizu 岩清水 in Kyoto, which was also accompanied by *bugaku*. The direct retainers of the regime (*gokenin* 御家人) participated in this outdoor ceremony, which was held on the horse-riding grounds. Offerings of mounted archery (*yabusame* 流鏑馬), horse races (*kurabe uma* 競馬), ornamental horses (*age uma* 馬長), as well as sumo wrestling were a part of the regular program. The display of great skill with the bow in mounted archery in the presence of the Lord of Kamakura, Yoritomo, was a matter of particular pride and honor for the retainers who represented the warrior bands of the eastern provinces.

The *Azuma kagami* records how on the fifteenth day of the eighth month of 1186, Yoritomo, who had come to worship at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū, spied the monk Saigyō 西行 (1118–1190) wandering in front of the torii gate of the shrine and invited him to his residence where they spent the night discussing the way (*dō* 道) of Japanese poetry as well as archery and horsemanship (SZKT 32: 240). This meeting occurred prior to the initial Hōjōe, but the festive rituals (*saigi* 祭儀) that became the basis of the later event were already taking shape. An entry in the *Azuma kagami* that describes the Hōjōe half a century later notes that it was Saigyō who had, fifty years earlier, conveyed secret lore about the mounted archery, revealing that Saigyō's legacy was preserved among the warriors who performed at the Hōjōe decades later (SZKT 33: 200).[2]

2. Saigyō, as a descendant of Fujiwara no Hidesato 藤原秀郷 (d.u.) who had slain Taira no Masakado 平 将門 (ca. 903–940), was familiar with the performance of martial arts. His knowledge of these martial arts is referenced in his collection of Japanese poetry, the *Sankashū* 山家集.

Bugaku, which was the core of the performance held at Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji, had initially been performed at two sacred sites that were the religious centers of the eastern provinces, Izu Sōtōsan 伊豆走湯山 (the shrine in Izu known as Sōtōsan) and Hakonesan 箱根山 (the popular name of the shrine at Hakone), where young acolytes (*chigo* 児) served as dancers for the main youth dance (*dōbu* 童舞).[3] Records show that warriors rewarded them for providing dances to entertain the gods. Later, youthful disciples of the abbot as well as children of the retainers began to perform these dances as well. Eventually, an ensemble of professional musicians (*reijin shūdan* 伶人集団) attached to Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji was formed (Watanabe 2018, 132–135).

Performances by lay artists were also given before the shrine buildings at Tsurugaoka. The *Azuma kagami* gives a lengthy account of how the dancer Shizuka 静 (d.u.), the lover of Yoritomo's younger brother Kurō Yoshitsune 九郎義経 (1159–1189), was captured at Yoshino 吉野 by Yoritomo's forces and sent to Kamakura in the fourth month of 1186. It tells that Yoritomo—who was hunting down Yoshitsune—not only interrogated her about Yoshitsune's whereabouts but also had her dance for him at Tsurugaoka. With the covered corridor of the shrine as her stage, she sang with passion and danced songs of love for Yoshitsune. Yoritomo was enraged by her failure to realize her subservient position and for daring to do such a performance in his presence, but Yoritomo's wife, the powerful Masako 政子 (1157–1225), was also in attendance and thought it was only natural for Shizuka to express her love for Yoshitsune and remembered her own feelings when Yoritomo had risen in revolt. She admonished her husband, saying that Shizuka should be rewarded as a faithful woman. Masako assuaged Yoritomo's anger, and Shizuka was given a present (*kazukemono* 纏頭) for her performance (szkt 32: 218). This incident, which became a famous episode in the *Gikeiki* 義経記 (McCullough 1966, 220–235), indicates that the area in front of the main shrine buildings of Tsurugaoka was not only a site for performances accompanying rites for buddhas and kami to elicit a favorable response (*kannō* 感応); it was also dedicated to secular performances, and thus stood on the border separating the sacred and profane.

Tsurugaoka was destroyed by fire in 1191: the main shrine building, which had initially been the core of Wakamiya Shrine, and the five-story pagoda, which had symbolized the shrine-temple complex, were burned to the ground (szkt 32: 436). But a large-scale rebuilding project immediately began, placing Hachimangū on the top of the mountain and Wakamiya Shrine and the shrine-temple at the base of the mountain. A picture scroll titled the *Tsurugaoka Hōjōe*

3. These dances were performed as offerings to the principal deities of shrines and temples at dharma assemblies (*hōe* 法会). They were frequently performed before the shrine of the guardian kami (Tsuchiya 2001, 239–256).

shokunin utaawase 鶴岡放生会職人歌合 depicts people from various trades and occupations playing leading roles in the Hōjōe ritual performance under the aegis of the Kamakura shogun at Tsurugaoka Hachimangūji, and this picture scroll is thought to have been produced to commemorate the Hōjōe of 1261 sponsored by the prince-shogun (*miya shogun* 宮将軍) Munetaka 宗尊 (Shinnō 親王, 1242–1274), a son of Emperor Go Saga 後嵯峨 (1220–1272) (Mori 1979, 37–44; Iwasaki 1987, 40–45; Yamamoto 1985). Dancers, musicians, sumo wrestlers, as well as *sarugaku* 猿楽 and *dengaku* 田楽 performers are depicted together with the poetry and scenes of the performances. These images also included sutra-reciters (*jisha* 持者), who worked as physiognomists (*sōnin* 相人), and courtesans (*asobime*/*yūjo* 遊女), who were also *shirabyōshi* 白拍子 dancers who dressed as men. This festival and its performances, which included displays of military skills, was premised on those held at the principal shrine of a province and at the joint shrine found in provincial capitals where government officials from the provincial military headquarters, together with local warriors attached to provincial offices and performers of various "ways," offered their performances to the gods.

The classical form of medieval festival worship on a provincial scale was the Onmatsuri 御祭 at Wakamiya of Kasuga in Yamato Province, which was begun during the early twelfth century. The god of Wakamiya at Kasuga was worshiped by the people of Yamato in addition to the four gods of the main shrine, who were the ancestral gods (*ujigami* 氏神) of the Fujiwara 藤原 clan. Obstreperous and often-armed monks (*shuto* 衆徒) from Kōfukuji 興福寺, musicians (*reijin* 伶人) from the music bureau (*gakusho* 楽所), and the *miko* 巫女 from the worship hall also participated. Also involved were sacred dancers known as *seinoo* 細男, *hitotsumono* 一ツ物, or *umaosa* 馬長, as well as *dengaku* and *sarugaku* performers. Warrior bands from Yamato, who assembled for mounted archery and marched in an imposing parade to counter any disruption by armed monks, also displayed their performance skills before the god enshrined at its temporary lodging near Wakamiya. The Hōjōe assembly with its festival and performance at Tsurugaoka far surpassed the scale of the Onmatsuri in that warrior bands from every part of the east assembled for the shogun, the Lord of Kamakura, in a celebration that could be called groundbreaking and revolutionary. The energy that was concentrated in the Hōjōe was linked directly to the warfare that destroyed the Fujiwara clan in Ōshū 奥州 in 1189.

Early in the eighth century, Hachimanjin 八幡神, the god of ancient Kyushu centered at Usa 宇佐 Hachiman no Miya, set out with the military forces from the Yamato court to quell the revolt of the Hayato 隼人 people of southern Kyushu and ended up slaughtering the Hayato in countless numbers. The dharma assembly (*hōe*) was designed to atone for the sin of such massive killing and involved freeing sentient beings. This marked the beginning of the Hōjōe at

Hachimangū.[4] In the process of state-building in ancient Japan, the Yamato clan, with the support of the Hachiman god, subdued and decimated other clans. Hachiman, which was born of this bloody warfare, was a hybrid deity, combining Buddhism and kami worship. The central objective of the Hōjōe ritual was to bury the memory of this violence, which might be termed "the original sin" of kingship. This ritual and the related performances became key aspects of the medieval worship of Hachiman as a god of war (*ikusagami* 軍神) and as a peripatetic deity (*hashirigami* 流行神) as is recounted in the *Kōra Tamadare no Miya shinpi sho* 高良玉垂宮神秘書 (Araki 1972). As early as the *Shōmonki* 将門記, which describes Taira no Masakado's 将門 (ca. 903–940) revolt in the eastern provinces in 939, we see reference to the "dreadful power" of the Hachiman god. In the *Shōmonki*, Masakado declared himself the "new emperor" on the basis of an oracle by Hachiman (Rabinovitch 1986, 111–112). Later, in the fighting of the Zen Kunen no Eki 前九年の役 (Former Nine Years War) and the Go Sannen no Eki 後三年の役 (Later Three Years Wars), Minamoto no Yoshiie 頼家 (d.u.) became known as Hachiman Tarō 八幡太郎 (First Son of Hachiman).

If we turn our sights back to Kamakura where the source of Yoshiie's faith in Wakamiya was centered, we see that as early as 1182 a raised stone roadway that would form the central axis of the city of Kamakura had been constructed and became the main road to Tsurugaoka where the Wakamiya deity resided (Kawano 1995, 26–45). This became a highly symbolic route as seen in the parade of warriors mobilized to publicly display the authority of the shogun whenever the shogun made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hachiman.

The terminus of the road was the great torii gate of the shrine which looked out over a vast landscape spreading east and west. This was the site for drinking banquets and other entertainment hosted by successive shoguns from Yoritomo onward. Boats carrying musicians filled the air with music, and various forms of mounted archery, such as *kokasagake* 小笠懸 or *inuoumono* 犬追物 (shooting dogs for sport), were displayed on the strand (szkt 33: 2). Here, outside the sacred grounds of temple and shrine and freed from the restrictions of Buddhist precepts and kami abstinence, entertainment that involved the Buddhist sin of killing was permitted. This was even more so the case in the more distant hunting grounds in Izu or Nasu 那須, where these warriors displayed their martial

4. An entry dated the second month of 720 in the *Shoku Nihongi* contains records of the historic pacification and slaughter of the Hayato, and on the seventh day of the seventh month of the following year is found the entry on the return of the commander and the edict to free living beings (*Shoku Nihongi* 2: 67, 101). These events appear in the legends of the founding of Ōsumi Shō Hachiman 大隅正八幡 (present-day Kagoshima Jingū 鹿児島神宮) and are quoted in the *Hachiman Usagū go takusenshū* 八幡宇佐宮御託宣集, where they are seen as the origins of the Hōjōe at Usa. The origin of the Hōjōe is found in the ritual freeing of animals devised to expiate for the mass slaughter of the Hayato in quelling their rebellion (Sakurai 1981, 113–145).

skills. As seen in the ancient Misayama 御射山 rite at Suwa 諏訪, the ritual offering to the gods of game obtained in a hunt was part of a warrior-rooted festival.[5] The shogun and his chief retainers likewise found it necessary to serve as the chief sponsor of ceremonies in which offerings of slaughtered beasts, once themselves lords of the wilderness, were made to the gods.

An historic turning point occurred at the enclosed hunting grounds near Mt. Fuji in 1193 (SZKT 32: 488–492). In anticipation of a festival at which all of Yoritomo's retainers were to assemble, the Soga brothers—the remaining offspring of the Itō 伊東 family that had been destroyed by Yoritomo—attacked Kudō Suketsune 工藤祐経 (ca. 1147–1193), a favorite retainer of Yoritomo and the enemy of their father (COGAN 1987, 230–237). They also aimed to strike Yoritomo himself, who had just been named Seii Taishōgun 征夷大将軍 earlier that year. This planned "regicide," not carried out at the time, was ultimately achieved through a chain of vendetta-style slayings that began after Yoritomo's death. The first was the killing of Yoritomo's first son, Yoriie 頼家 (1182–1204), who had been exiled to Shuzenji 修善寺 (in Shizuoka Prefecture). This was followed by the killing of his youngest son, Sanetomo 実朝 (1192–1219), who was paying a celebratory visit as Minister of the Right (Udaijin 右大臣) to Tsurugaoka when he was murdered at the entryway by the abbot Kugyō 公暁 (1200–1219), a son of Yoriie. The tragic fate of the Minamoto shogunal house (Yoritomo and his descendants) became inseparable from the destiny of those who worshiped Hachiman.

Visualizing the Borders of the Medieval City of Kamakura

The medieval city of Kamakura was created especially for the shogun. It was surrounded by multilayered borders that formed an enclosed, sacred space (*kekkai* 結界). These borders were established after the death of Sanetomo and during the term of the shogun Yoritsune 頼経 (1218–1256), who was the son of the regent Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193–1252). These borders, which emerged as a result of negotiations between the court and the warrior regime, were set by yin-yang masters (*onmyōji* 陰陽師), who had accompanied Yoritsune from the capital to Kamakura and followed the precedent set in the Nanaseharae 七瀬祓 (Seven River Purification) and Shiku Shikyōsai 四角四境祭 (Festival of the Four Directions). These border zones were made up of shores and inlets such as Yui 由比, Kotsubo 小坪, Morito 杜戸, Katase 固瀬, and Mutsura 六浦, as well as hills and passages cut through the slopes such as Kobukuro 小袋, Gokurakuji 極楽寺, Kewai 化粧, Asahina 朝比奈, and Nagoshi 名越. The city formed a cul-de-sac, surrounded by the sea and mountains, with limited access provided by excavated passages and tunnels.

5. For a record of the medieval Misayama rite held at Suwa Taisha 諏訪大社, see the section on the rite in *Suwa Daimyōjin engi e kotoba* 諏訪大明神縁起絵詞, compiled by Enchū 円忠 in 1356.

These border zones, such Tatsunokuchi 龍口 at Katasenohama 固瀬浜 and Kobukurozaka 小袋坂, were places where people were executed or buried. Stained with the pollution of death, they had the character of a Buddhist hell and were associated with the otherworld. Halls dedicated to the bodhisattva Jizō 地蔵 or King Enma 閻魔 were built at these places to pray for the spirits of the dead. In the valleys below the mountain ridges, or on the mountain sides, one finds a vast number of tombs called *yagura* やぐら cut into the cliffsides. This constituted a necropolis (a space for the dead) built and operated by a shogunal government that needed to restrict a large number of people in the small area. In this border zone, great religious centers such as Kenchōji 建長寺 and Gokurakuji 極楽寺 belonging to the newly formed Zen 禅 and Ritsu 律 schools were constructed. Bathhouses and infirmaries as well as other facilities for social welfare were also built here. These border areas had varied functions, ranging from aiding those on the margins of society such as lepers and beggars to those who cared for domestic animals such as horses and oxen. This multifaceted border zone stood in vivid contrast to Tsurugaoka Hachimangū, which marked the central axis of medieval Kamakura.

Kobukurozaka is a steep slope that begins immediately to the west of the precincts of Tsurugaoka, leading to Yamanouchi 山ノ内 along the hills of Yukinoshita 雪下, where the monks' quarters were located. This was, and is still today, the shortest route into Kamakura. Kobukurozaka was the stage for a symbolic border incident recorded in the *Ippen hijiri e* 一遍聖絵, a biographical picture scroll of the life of Ippen Chishin 一遍智真 (1239–1289), the founder of the Jishū school, a mendicant *nenbutsu* 念仏 practitioner, and *sute hijiri* 捨聖 (a holy man who has abandoned the world). After the validity of his *nenbutsu* practice was confirmed in a direct encounter with the Kumano Gongen 熊野権現, the god of the Kumano shrines, and after he had widely disseminated the *nenbutsu* practice through talismans and initiated the practice of the *nenbutsu* dance (*odori nenbutsu* 踊り念仏) in Shinano 信濃 (now Nagano), Ippen set his sights on Kamakura as his next goal for proselytization. Whether he could obtain the "ritual protocol for entry into Kamakura" (*Kamakura iri no sahō* 鎌倉入りの作法) would determine whether he could achieve his goal. In the third month of 1282, he tried to enter Kamakura from Kobukurozaka, but he was blocked by warriors because the Taishu 大守 (Great Protector), the shogunal regent Tokimune 時宗 (1251–1284), was visiting Yamanouchi. Ippen said that he was willing to risk his life to enter Kamakura but he was beaten with a cane, and the officials drove the Jishū faithful away. Receiving assurance from the warriors, who sympathized with Ippen's goals, that areas beyond Kamakura were not under shogunal rule, Ippen's company spent the night outdoors and moved to the Tachi Midō 館御堂, a hall at Katase. Next, they moved on to the Jizō Hall on the beach where Ippen led a performance of the *nenbutsu* dance. For a lengthy period of four months,

the *nenbutsu* fundraising campaign to support his movement continued just outside Kamakura, and many *kechiensha* 結縁者 (those who wished to form a spiritual bond)—including Kōchō 公朝 (d.u.) and Shō Amida Butsu 生阿弥陀仏 (d.u.), a disciple of the monk Gangyō 願行 (1215–1295)—came from Kamakura to join the movement. Shōkai 聖戒 (1261–1323), the compiler of the *Ippen hijiri e*, lavished much ink on the scene of Ippen's success on the border of Kamakura.

According to the text preceding the fifth episode of the fifth scroll, Ippen, who leads his Jishū congregation along the house-lined road below the slopes at Yamanouchi, is confronted by a band of warriors including a guard who struck him (Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2019, 93–94). To the left of the confrontation, a wooden gate marks the town's border; there a steward wields a whip to drive away the beggars who have accompanied the Jishū adherents. Even further to the left in an extension of the same scene, Ippen and his Jishū party are shown receiving alms under torchlight in the mountains. The course of events is described in the text that precedes the images. The most important focus in this series of scenes is the confrontation between Ippen and the mounted warrior dressed in white, who points a fan at Ippen as he argues with him. The warrior is labeled "Taishu" in black ink. Judging from the written text, Taishu does not refer to the official Taishu, Tokimune Hōjō, but rather to Tokimune's emissary.

In the next scene, which would have concluded the fifth scroll of the *Ippen hijiri e* but has been excised from the scroll, Ippen moves temporarily to the Tachi Midō at the request of Shō Amida Butsu. The next scene in scroll six shows Ippen's *odori nenbutsu* at the Jizō Hall on the beach at Katasenohama. The scene that would have concluded the fifth scroll and that depicts the landscape from Enoshima 江の島 to Katasenohama was detached early on and preserved as a separate fragment, but if the picture scroll were supplemented with this lost section showing the mouth of the Sakaigawa 境川, the full expanse of the territory that formed the western border of Kamakura would be depicted from Koshigoe 腰越 to Tatsunokuchi 龍口. At the Jizō Hall, a Buddhist building in the center of this border zone (probably a site for offerings and services for criminals executed at Tatsunokuchi), Ippen and the other Jishū adherents are shown performing the *odori nenbutsu*.

Why then did Ippen attempt a frontal assault on the border from the most difficult spot while the shogun Tokimune was visiting Yamanouchi? This was because Ippen hoped to travel directly to and worship at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū. The buddha Amida had been considered as the original ground of Hachiman since the twelfth century, and there are many short didactic tales (*setsuwa* 説話) of *nenbutsu* holy men (*hijiri* 聖) seeking miraculous affirmation of their faith in Hachiman Daibosatsu 八幡大菩薩 (Tyler 2017). Ippen likewise made a pilgrimage to Iwashimizu Hachiman in Kyoto where he offered prayers. However, Kamakura had already adopted a policy of prohibiting *nenbutsu*

practitioners, particularly the more radical followers of Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212) who completely rejected other practices, deities, and sects.[6] Ippen's attempted entry into Kamakura in 1282 immediately followed the second invasion by the Mongols in 1281, a defensive struggle known as the Kōan no Eki 弘安の役. Preparations for renewed fighting were ongoing nationwide, and Kama-kura was in a state of martial law. Pilgrimage to worship at Tsurugaoka was out of the question, to say nothing of permitting *nenbutsu* performances or the frenzied *odori nenbutsu*. The *Ippen hijiri e* thus preserves vivid images of the holy man who shook the borders during a state of emergency.

Mukaekō

Mukaekō 迎講 was a Buddhist service in which the welcoming descent (*raigō* 来迎) of Amida and his entourage of bodhisattvas at the moment of a believer's death was reenacted. It amounted to the ritualization of the moment of rebirth through the power of the *nenbutsu*, thus transcending the border between this world and Amida's Pure Land. The welcoming descent also takes the form of a processional offering (*neri kuyō* 練供養), which is traditionally said to have been initiated by Genshin 源信 (942–1017) at Yokawa 横河 on Mt. Hiei 比叡.[7] Such ceremonies thrived beginning in the early twelfth century when they were conducted both in the capital and throughout the country. The Mukaekō of the monk Sensei 瞻西 (d.u.) at Ungoji 雲居寺 in the Higashiyama 東山 area of Kyoto and that of Chōgen 重源 (1121–1206), who led the campaign to raise funds for the rebuilding of the Great Buddha at Tōdaiji 東大寺, are quite well known (Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 2007; Rosenfield 2011).[8] Many artifacts from the latter, such as Buddhist icons and masks used in the Mukaekō held at various satellite temples (*bessho* 別所) that Chōgen established throughout the country, still exist. The ritual itself can be seen even today in the annual procession at Taimadera 當麻寺 in Nara, where the Taima Mandala is the chief object of veneration. Similar rituals include the bodhisattva dance (*bosatsu mai* 菩薩舞) and the Shōryōe 聖霊会 (a memorial service for Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子). In the Mukaekō, ritual dancers represent the welcoming holy host of twenty-five bodhisattvas who accompanied the descent of Amida. We know from the *Azuma kagami* that these Mukaekō were performed at Kamakura.

6. For an example of the prohibition of the *nenbutsu* (*nenbutsu chōshi* 念仏停止), see SZKT (32: 574). As this scene in the *Ippen hijiri e* details, Shogun Yoriie detested those who wore black robes (the *nenbutsu* followers) and had their robes burned.

7. The earliest attribution to Genshin is found in the *Hokke genki* 法華験記 (Funata 2020).

8. Sensei's rite is depicted in the final scene of a fragment of an early Muromachi picture scroll of the *Aki no yo naga monogatari* 秋夜長物語 in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

On the first day of *higan* 彼岸 (the days preceding and following the vernal equinox) in the second month of 1229, a Mukaekō was performed at sea off the shore of Misaki 三崎 on the Miura 三浦 Peninsula. This was the fruit of a funding campaign led by Gen'en 源延 (d.u.) (SZKT 33: 85; KIKUCHI 1985, 271–279; NŌDOMI 1982, 592–612; ABE 2017). A troupe of bodhisattvas, arriving in a boat, bobbled on the waves accompanied by the music of pipes and strings and backed by the evening sunlight. The bodhisattvas were welcomed by Take no Gosho 竹御所 (1202–1234), Yoriie's daughter and the wife of Yoritsune, and her entourage who waited on the shore. This Mukaekō might be understood as a border ritual (*kyōkai girei* 境界儀礼) conducted on a vast scale in which the mountains of Izu and Hakone, seen across Sagami 相摸 Bay where the sun set over Mt. Fuji in the distance, stood for Amida's Western Pure Land paradise, turning the eastern provinces into a sacred topos.

The Mukaekō ritual, which appears to have been conducted in many places in the east, involved a performance employing masks. A number of ancient bodhisattva masks (*bosatsu men* 菩薩面) from the late Heian to the Kamakura period are extant. Not surprisingly, the Tsurugaoka Hachimangū temple was the center of such mask-making and preservation. Numerous *bugaku* masks that can be traced back to the Kamakura period are preserved at Tsurugaoka, including bodhisattva masks. No doubt a processional assembly that included a bodhisattva dance was conducted at Tsurugaoka.

Today in Kamakura the sole procession employing masks is the so-called Menkake Gyōretsu 面掛行列 (masked procession), which is part of the autumn festival of Goryō Jinja 御霊神社, a shrine at Amanawa 甘縄 located within the Sakashita 坂下 area near the excavated pass at Gokurakuji, one of the seven passes cut through the slopes that formed the city's borders.[9] A similar masked group participating in the festival procession was conducted until recent years at Yakumo Jinja 八雲神社 (originally Gozu Tennōsha 牛頭天王社) in Yamanouchi, the scene of Ippen's attempted entry into Kamakura. These masked groups symbolized the festive worship held on both the northern and southern sections of the western border of Kamakura. There are many common features shared by the masks used at these two events; for example, they both resemble masks of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune (Shichifukujin 七福神), but the facial expressions of these heteromorphic figures emphasize the grotesque and have more in common with ancient *gigaku* 伎楽 masks rather than *bugaku* masks. One participant is dressed as a pregnant woman, resembling the chubby-faced character Tafuku 多福. She is accompanied by another figure wearing a female mask and a crown.

9. Sakashita is the area on the Kamakura side of the Gokurakuji pass. On the southwestern border of the city, this area is also called Sakanoshita. Both Goryō Jinja and Gokurakuji are located within the area (SHIRAI 1976, 132).

This masked group of performers, familiarly called the "Haramitto Gyōretsu はらみっと行列 (pregnant procession), possess a somewhat comic sexuality.

Amanawa, the site of the shrine festival, often appears in the *Azuma kagami* as the place where the father of Yoritomo's wet nurse, Adachi Tōkurō Morinaga 安達藤九郎盛長 (1135–1200), maintained his residence. Yoritomo often traveled to and stayed at this location. In 1185, a strange rumbling sound was heard at an ancient shrine dedicated to Gongorō Kagemasa 権五郎景政 (b. 1069), who is said to be the founding father of Kamakura. Yoritomo investigated this himself and offered a prayer (*ganmon* 願文) of apology for offending the god and had a *kagura* danced by a *miko* dedicated to the shrine (SZKT 32: 166). In short, for Yoritomo, the Lord of Kamakura, Gongorō Kagemasa was the lord of the land (*jishu* 地主) who he could not slight despite the fact that Kagemasa was from the Taira clan, his mortal enemies.

An entry for the eleventh month of 1182 in the *Azuma kagami* reveals that Kame no Mae 亀前 (d.u.)—a favorite companion with whom Yoritomo had maintained intimate relations and whom he had concealed from his wife Masako—had just given birth. The enraged Masako ordered Maki Saburō Munechika 牧三郎宗親 (d.u.), a samurai in Yoritomo's service, to destroy the house of her rival. This was clearly a case of what is known as "a first wife's revenge" (*uwanari uchi* うわなり打ち). As a result, Munechika incurred the wrath of Yoritomo who cut Munechika's topknot, thereby humiliating him (SZKT 32: 91). Yoritomo continued to carry on this kind of affair, repeatedly incurring the anger of Masako. The pregnant masked woman in the Menkake Gyōretsu is a comic or parodic reference to Yoritomo's secret affairs. The oral tradition surrounding the group that wears these grotesque masks at Goryō Jinja in Amanawa notes that they represent the band of guardians who escorted the daughter of the *chōri* 長吏 (the manager of the artisans)—that is to say, the daughter who was pregnant with Yoritomo's child—to Tsurugaoka Hachimangū.[10] In other words, the group reenacts the result of Yoritomo's lust and his secret relationship with this woman, symbolically parodying the ruler's violation of prohibitions. This is the hidden or unconscious aspect of the ritual.

Returning once again to the *Azuma kagami*, in 1207 the warrior government prohibited shrine attendants (*jishin* 神人), who had attained various privileges through their participation and service at rituals such as the Hōjōe at Tsurugaoka Hachimangū, from abusing divine authority. They were forbidden to form bands (*tamura* 党), to indulge in overly refined pursuits (*suki no sata* 好奇の沙汰), and to engage in immoral excesses (*mudō na engyō* 無道な濫行) (SZKT 32: 635). Put another way, the shrine attendants of Hachimangū, who pursued vari-

10. The word *chōri* was used both as a common noun for a generic leader or official and as a proper noun used as a title for a high-ranking official such as the abbot of certain temples.

ous occupations and followed a variety of arts in service to the god, had behaved so licentiously that prohibitions had to be issued to curb their excesses. The new frontier at Kamakura had thus become not only a new world for warriors but also for those engaged in and performing these artistic ways.

Considered in the context of the *bugaku* masks used in the orthodox, core ritual performances at Tsurugaoka from which they originated, the masks at the Goryō Jinja at Amanawa have more in common with the comically grotesque Emi 咲, a mask worn in the Ni no Mai 二ノ舞 (second dance), or the Haremen 腫面 (bloated) mask. On the other hand, they were surely linked to the strange forms of the celestial demon-gods (*tenbu kishin* 天部鬼神) such as the Hachibushū 八部衆 (Eight Kinds of Beings) who carried the portable shrines housing the main statue in the processional assemblies at these ancient temples. Collective memory of the functions and skills of the artisan class remain in the masks of the Menkake Gyōretsu.

Conclusion

Transformed into an armed citadel, Kamakura had been constructed with clearly demarcated borders, specifically designated routes, and special zones determined by its steep hillsides, excavated passes, and shorelines. It was at one of these border areas that an itinerant holy man attempted to enter the city. The *Ippen hijiri e*, a set of picture scrolls illustrating the life of Ippen, dramatically recreates this attempt by Ippen to enter Kamakura in text and images. In the "Entrance into Kamakura" scene, Ippen has been prevented from entering the city at Kobukorozaka by the armed warriors at the wooden gate at Yamanouchi. The picture scroll creates a fictive scene in which the Taishu, the shogunal regent Hōjō Tokimune, confronts Ippen, who, having been forced to turn back, initiates an *odori nenbutsu* performance at Katasenohama, another of the border zones leading into the city. As a result of this performance, both nobles and the poor from Kamakura flocked to the border. In effect, the border was miraculously transcended without Ippen ever crossing it.

Ippen's initial goal was to reach Tsurugaoka Hachiman, whose original Buddhist form was the buddha Amida, the principal object of worship for *nenbutsu* practitioners and for certain ritual performances that comprised part of an expansive calendar of religious performances. The mask, which served as a symbol, was an indispensable performance tool. At the Buddhist temple of Tsurugaoka Shrine, a wide variety of medieval masks have been preserved and were used until recently. These ranged from those used in courtly *bugaku* dance performances to those representing bodhisattvas, which were used in processions as part of Buddhist assemblies. Masks were also put to use in adjacent border zones, as we know from the episode in the *Azuma kagami* that describes the Mukaekō

ceremony on the coastal waters of the Miura Cape (SZKT 33: 85). Almost all the performances that featured masked rites, which were at the core of the ceremonies, are now discontinued with the exception of the Menkake Gyōretsu. The ritual space that emerged resonates with that of border zones where "grotesque and strange" people in the distant past were led by the leaders of the Jishū and also with the performances staged on border lines of Kamakura.

The new form of government established by warriors at the start of the medieval period created a new center for the Japanese state. The Buddhist world was no longer fixed in a single location but was instead fluid and bipolar in an oval enveloping both Kyoto and Kamakura. The warrior regime, the ruling structure of the Lord of Kamakura, was a product of the east, which had formerly been on the remote margins. It was constructed around the Tsurugaoka Hachiman, a shrine-temple complex that was the politico-religious center. The ancestral gods of the Genji (Minamoto) shogun could be worshiped there. This complex religious space contained a main shrine building memorializing the ancestors and temple precincts that combined exoteric and esoteric Buddhist elements. It was also created as an urban space with the road leading to the shrine, the *sandō* 参道, as its central axis. The entrance to the shrine also became a ritual space where the high- and low-born congregated to witness performances of various performing arts that were meant to embellish Buddhist assemblies. The *Azuma kagami*, the official annals of the warrior regime, clearly records this process of the city's formation; it also colorfully depicts the rituals conducted at its center and the marginality of the performers who traveled to and from it.

[Translated by Michael Jamentz]

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