MOBILIZING DEITIES: DEUS, GODS, BUDDHAS, AND THE WARRIOR BAND IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY JAPAN

Christopher Michael Mayo

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines religion and warrior culture during Japan's sixteenth century. It views the period from the perspective of the Ōtomo warrior band, which provides an ideal case study, because its members supported not only cultic sites established for the veneration of traditional gods (kami) and buddhas (hotoke), but also ones for the Christian God (Deus) as well. It demonstrates how the incorporation of Christianity's innovative and disruptive elements into the military organization affected Japan's encounter with Europeans and Christianity. In particular, it connects the initial acceptance and eventual rejection of missionary efforts to issues of religious practice.

The career of Ōtomo Sōrin (1530–1587) illustrates the potential for change that Christianity brought to Japan after it was introduced in 1549. The leader of the Ōtomo warrior band first embraced Buddhism as a lay monk in 1562, and then was baptized as a Catholic in 1578, before finally experiencing a postmortem reversion back to Buddhism at the hands of his son in 1587. On the one hand, he represents the religious stance of a typical military leader; during most of his life he patronized multiple temples and shrines in order to align himself strategically with important religious and political centers, while also seeking to mobilize the deities housed at these sites to support him. On the other hand, he was a visionary; in the last
decade of his life he retired and attempted to establish a Christian kingdom in Japan that would operate according to Western customs without the assistance of gods and buddhas. Previous research on Japan's sixteenth century has focused on the commercial interests of Christian lords like him in order to account for the initial appeal of the foreign faith. It has also emphasized the ideological fears that authoritarian warlords had of organized religion in order to explain their later rejection of it. Yet, scholarship thus far has had little to say about religious practice. Through an exploration of conditions in the Ōtomo warrior band, this dissertation exposes some of the relatively unexplored religious fault lines that could disrupt military organizations.
Acknowledgments

I have accumulated substantial intellectual debts in arriving at this point in my research on religion and warfare in sixteenth-century Japan. My advisor, Martin Collcutt, has patiently read through everything I have written, commented on it, and asked thought-provoking questions, some of which it will take me many more years to satisfactorily answer. From the first day that we met, he has been a personal and professional model that has profoundly shaped me into who I am today. Jacqueline Stone has meticulously read through the central chapters and shared her extensive knowledge of Japanese religion; her comments have not only impacted my treatment of religious issues in my work, but have also reminded me of the need to improve my argumentation and presentation. David Howell provided crucial warnings early in the project (complete with a klaxon call from a sinking ship during one memorable seminar) that have kept me on an intellectually rewarding trajectory while teaching me how to approach historical inquiry with both respect and enjoyment. Federico Marcon's infectious enthusiasm for history and his seemingly inexhaustible supply of connections to philosophical lines of inquiry has challenged me to think outside the conventional confines of documentary research. Andrew Watsky has inspired me to be more meticulous in my research and to rigorously think through some of the implications of my sources. His scholarship has also provided an important foundation for re-considering the relationship between warrior elites and religion during the sixteenth century.
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Finally, despite all of the help I have received, and my efforts to excise them from the text, mistakes of fact or interpretation might remain, and these are entirely the responsibility of the author.
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This dissertation primarily uses the modified Hepburn system (hyōjunshiki or shūsei Hebonshiki) for the romanization of Japanese words, names, titles, and so forth. Under this standard, macrons in the text indicate long vowels in Japanese, with the exception of some frequently used words that exist in English dictionaries (Tokyo, Kyoto, etc.). Chinese words are written using the pinyin system. Japanese and Chinese characters for romanized names and words are given along with their translations in the character list.

For extended translations in this project, the original source in Sino-Japanese (kanbun), Portuguese, or Spanish is followed by the English translations. As the formatting of texts carried significance during the period, especially in the Japanese documents examined here, readers are encouraged to view the originals cited. For the primary source collections, if detailed information is known, it has been provided in the footnotes when first cited. In an attempt to make this work accessible beyond the range of a few specialists on the period, glosses are given for many terms, and when significant within the context of this dissertation, nuances that the English terms inadequately convey have been explained.

Place names for some locations are rendered together with the endings that describe the kind of location, because they are most commonly known by their full names. In the interest of aiding specialists, I have placed Japanese and Chinese characters in the text for extended
translations, and I beg the pardon of non-specialists for including these. I hope I have achieved a balance that meets the needs of both types of readers.

Japanese and Chinese personal names have the surname first, followed by the given name. People in sixteenth-century Japan changed their names on a regular basis, and often addressed one another by titles, so someone might be known several ways. This is an issue explored at length in the first chapter, but with the exception of the main figure in this dissertation, commonly known as Ōtomo Sōrin, the most widely recognized name for each individual is chosen in order to avoid overwhelming the reader with names. See the footnotes for details about each person as they are introduced. When birth and death dates are known, they are provided in the main text when the person is first mentioned.

Dates use a combination of approximate Gregorian calendar years and Japanese calendrical months and days. In footnotes, the Japanese era names (when known) are given, and researchers can use the information there to convert dates entirely to precise Western equivalents as necessary. In many cases, documents are undated or carry partial information. A typical footnote for a source shows name of the document collection in which it is contained, followed by the date (in parentheses if it is an estimated date that does not appear in the original source), its title as it is shown in the publication or archive, the publication or archive name, the volume number (if applicable), page number (if applicable), and document number. For example, Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenshō 14 (1586))/4/6 Ōtomo Sōrin shojō [Document from Ōtomo Sōrin], OKS 33: 227–234, doc. 2090.
Abbreviations for frequently used sources in the footnotes are given below. For complete information, please see the bibliography.

- **BKS**: Bungo no kuni shōen kōryō shiryō shūsei
- **GKM**: Gojō-ke monjo
- **HJ**: Historia de Japam
- **INT**: Shin ikoku sōsho Iezusukai Nihon tsūshin
- **OKK**: Ōita-ken kyōdo shiryō shūsei
- **OKS**: Ōita-ken shiryō
- **OSS**: Ōtomo Sōrin shiryō shū
- **UJS**: Usa Jingūshi
- **ZTHO**: Zōho teisei hennen Ōtomo shiryō
Map 1. Provinces in Medieval Japan. The map indicates the traditional provincial boundaries and locations of the first military government (from 1192 to 1333) in Kamakura, the second one (from 1336 to 1573) in Kyoto, the third one (from 1603 to 1868) in Edo; the power base of the Ōuchi and Mōri clans in Yamaguchi; and the main Ōtomo residence in Funai.
Map 2. Kyūshū and Western Honshū. Provinces are displayed in capital letters, and location markers indicate major sites that appear in this study including the Ōuchi and Mōri residence (Yamaguchi), the Ōtomo residences (Funai and Usuki), and Sōrin's Christian kingdoms (Mushika and Tsukumi). The "jō" appended to some of the location names indicates a castle.
Introduction: Positioning Ōtomo Sōrin in the Sixteenth Century

Ōtomo Sōrin (1530–1587) enthusiastically promoted Christianity during his lifetime, had himself baptized as "Francisco" in 1578, and at the height of his power razed temples and shrines in order to establish a Christian kingdom on the island of Kyūshū in Japan.¹ Modern-day historians might term it a spectacular failure.² Subordinates chafed at his abandonment of traditional deities, his enemies destroyed much of what he had built during the final years of his life, and after his death, persecutions drove many thousands of converts in his former domain to apostasy or clandestine worship. Sōrin's extensively documented warrior band provides us an opportunity to ask how "samurai losers" dealt with defeat, and the research in these pages serves as an initial foray into the topic through an inquiry into the role of religion in warrior society.

The central claim of this dissertation is a simple, but contentious one: in attempting to understand how the Japanese encounter with Europeans and Christianity unfolded during the sixteenth century, we need to account for how religion was practiced by warriors. This emphasis

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¹ Japan had its own luni-solar calendar that differed from the Julian and Gregorian calendars. In this dissertation, I follow the convention of providing approximate modern Western conversions of the years in the text followed by the traditional dating format for the months and days. For more on the precise dating with tables, see José Miguel Pinto dos Santos, "Ieyasu (1542–1616) Versus Ieyasu (1543–1616) Calendrical Conversion Tables for the 16th and 17th Centuries," Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies 5 (December 2002): 15–23. Strictly speaking, "temples" were for the worship of buddhas (hotoke), and shrines for the worship of gods (kami), but the sites were usually operated jointly within religious multiplexes.
² "Failure," is my present-day evaluation of the outcome of Sōrin's Christian Kingdom project, and as this dissertation argues, not a term with which Sōrin or his contemporaries would have necessarily agreed. My use of it also points to his inability to establish conditions in his domain that would ensure the survival of his clan into the early-modern period.
on religious practice stands in contrast to scholarship that privileges commercial interests to explain Christianity's initial appeal, or ideological fears to explain its later prohibition. This is not to say that trade with the West and concerns about the power of organized religion were irrelevant, but rather that these two factors alone carry insufficient explanatory power. This project suggests that we consider cultic sites established for the worship of Deus (as the Christian "God" was then known), buddhas (hotoke), and gods (kami) as competitors for warrior
patronage. By focusing on the Ōtomo domain, where all three traditions flourished, it aims to provide new insights into Japan's sixteenth century.

Modern-day commemorations of Sōrin such as the 1982 bronze relief shown in Figure 1 illustrate how large this issue of trade has loomed in explanations about why Christianity appealed to warlords. The relief is a large rectangle composed of two main images: a European vessel traveling from left to right in the background, and Sōrin seated on the right leaning back into a throne. Two Christian elements can be observed in the work. In the upper left corner we see Sōrin's Latin seal, which had the letters "RCO" on it as an abbreviation for "Francisco." Around his neck we see a cross hanging (see Figure 2), which suggests that viewers are supposed to consider him as a Christian. Symbols representing buddhas and gods, Christianity's competitors, are nowhere to be found in the scene.

In fact, the relatively small amount of space that the religious markers occupy within the collage of images exposes the insignificance of Sōrin's religious commitments for the composition's main message about trade. The vast majority of space contains things meant to

Fig. 2. Detail from Bronze Relief. The image shows Otomo Sōrin with a cross around his neck. Source: Photo by author.

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3 Hinako Jitsuzō (1892–1945) originally cast the bronze relief in 1937, but in 1944 it was melted down for the war effort. In 1982 the relief was remade, and that is the one shown in the photograph. If sources related to the original exist, an investigation of changes made to it might yield interesting insights into how Sōrin appeared in the pre- and post-war periods. Juergen Melzer has pointed out the irony of its 1944 fate considering the content of the work.
indicate Sōrin's vast wealth and power, and through them the relief makes Sōrin's devotion to the acquisition of Western goods overshadow his affinity for Christianity, which is treated as a means to an end. In particular, the artist emphasizes Sōrin's investment in armaments. A Western canon stretches horizontally across the entire piece and a gun stands vertically in the center dividing the work in two. By design or chance, the bronze relief illustrates the current state of the field, which can be separated into scholarship that emphasizes the end of the violent Warring States Period (Sengoku jidai; ca. 15th to 16th centuries) or the beginning of the religious Christian Century (1549–1650).

Reunification of the Warring States and a "Christian Century"

The two periodization schemes presented here reflect the difficulty that historians have had in forming a coherent narrative for the sixteenth century. The Warring States Period could be said to have begun with the Ōnin War (1467–77) and to have ended when the warlord Oda Nobunaga entered the capital of Kyoto in 1568 to prop up the Ashikaga military government (bakufu). As the name suggests, the period is characterized by the tremendous violence that it unleashed, with ever-increasing armies that sometimes numbered in the hundreds of thousands.

4 Sōrin ordered several canons, took receipt of them in 1576 from the Portuguese, and gave them the fearsome name of "domain destroyers" (kunikuzushi). Although they placed Sorin on the cutting edge of military technology within Japan, they were actually rather small, and far inferior to what was available in Europe. This probably indicates a desire on the part of the Europeans to maintain military superiority over the Japanese. See Kanda Takashi, "Nihon ni okeru Kinsei shōtō no 'kahō' no dōnyū to tenkai" [The importation and development of canon in the beginning of the Early Modern period], Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkokushū [Research report of the National Museum of Japanese History] 153 (2009): 149–167.

5 For a brief discussion of Warring States periodization conventions and their implications for scholarship, see Jeffrey Yoshio Kurashige, "Serving Your Master: The Kashindan Retainer Corps and the Socio-Economic Transformation of Warring States Japan," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2011), 2–22. My work shares a concern with shifting our focus away from the capital of Kyoto and looking at the members of the retainer corps (kashindan) in order to better understand what transpired in warrior society.
As part of the mobilization of human and material resources on a national scale in order to wage war, this century also witnessed economic vitality with trade networks established throughout East Asia, the import of Western products, the rise of mercantile centers such as Sakai, and rapid urbanization in the form of castle towns.

Scholars pursuing questions about re-unification at the end of the Warring States Period have gravitated towards hegemons like Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616). When discussing religion in this line of inquiry, they have shown how these warlords annihilated militarized religious communities that opposed them, consolidated political authority through a process of self-apotheosis, and rooted out the Christian communities that flourished in formerly Christian domains. Despite fielding massive armies (many tens of thousands) and acquiring the latest battlefield technology, Sōrin rarely receives mention in histories of the re-unification because he lacked one key element to draw the attention of later historians: an ambition to rule the country from the traditional capital in Kyoto. Much like the pirates of the Inland Sea or the Mōri clan in western Japan, Sōrin has been assumed to be a geographical outlier, because he was based in Funai (modern-day Ōita

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City) on the island of Kyūshū. He has also been treated as a political outlier as well, because looking backwards from the perspective of local rulers in the early modern period, he looks like a military governor from a bygone age, or a radical who unwisely invested in Christianity, but not someone relevant to the narrative of reunification. At best, Sōrin has served as a foil against the perceptiveness of the three "unifiers," and has done so since at least as early as the nineteenth century, when one early-modern critic wrote: "under Ōtomo Sōrin's influence, Oda Nobunaga became involved with this religion [Christianity]. Later, Nobunaga realized its depravity and sought to ban it, but could not." Taking inspiration from the connections drawn between Sōrin and Nobunaga, but developing this line of thought in a new direction, this dissertation contributes to the Warring States narrative to show how one of the warlords who lost out in the process of reunification was integral to the creation of the political system that the "winners" like Nobunaga developed.

According to the second periodization scheme, at the beginning of Japan's Christian Century, the collapse of central power coincided with the arrival of the Jesuits in 1549 to create a political space for religious experimentation. Missionaries would not enjoy such a warm reception again from Japanese leaders until influential figures in the modern Meiji government

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8 Scholarship has recently moved to the peripheries of the reunification narrative to consider the contributions of other organizations to historical developments. On the Mōri clan, see David Anthony Eason, "The Culture of Disputes in Early Modern Japan, 1550–1700" (PhD diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 2009) and on pirates, see Peter D. Shapinsky, "Lords of the Sea: Pirates, Violence, and Exchange in Medieval Japan" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2005). In terms of making a truly decisive break with the traditional periodization schemes and dominant reunification narrative, approaches made from an entirely different, non-warrior perspective such as that of the court have been most effective. See, for example, Lee Butler, Emperor and Aristocracy in Japan, 1467–1680: Resilience and Renewal (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002).

9 Tokugawa Nariaki (1800–1860) wrote this criticism of Ōtomo Sōrin. The translation is by Kiri Paramore. See his Ideology and Christianity in Japan (New York: Routledge, 2009), 123.
(1868–1912) began lending their support to it nearly 300 years later. Sōrin marked the end of an era. A few days after he passed away, the overlord in Japan at the time ordered missionaries to leave the islands, and over the next few decades, anti-Christian edicts became a defining feature of early-modernity.

Scholars investigating Japan's Christian Century have generally concluded that Sōrin and other Christian lords patronized the foreign religion because they sought trade benefits. One historian has recently re-stated the view plainly by writing that "in order to do business with the Portuguese who supplied the musket technology, many Kyūshū daimyō converted to Christianity; among them, Matsuura Takanobu (1592–1637), Ōtomo Yoshishige [Sōrin], and Ōmura Sumitada (1533–1587)." Other researchers refrain from clearly identifying the Christian leaders who converted for guns, but retain the familiar interpretation of a collaborative relationship with churches by Christian lords and a hostile one with temples and shrines by warlords.

Following in Xavier's wake, the Jesuit order launched a series of missions to Japan. In this period, the Japanese islands were split into competing domains.

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10 The Meiji government members Katsu Kaishū (1823–1899) and Ōkubo Ichiō (1817–1888) were notable in this regard. Katsu Kaishū is particularly interesting in the context of this dissertation, because like Sōrin he was a "failure," "loser," or "remainder" at one point. However, he was able to recover better from defeat than Sōrin or his son, Yoshimune did. Kaishū capitulated to the enemy, turned over control of Edo (modern-day Tokyo), and then pursued a prominent career in the new polity.

11 For more on the overlord Hideyoshi's edict, see the Conclusion of this dissertation. The "era" here is one of unfettered religious experimentation. Christian lords survived into the early seventeenth century, but unlike Sōrin, faced increasing pressure from the Tokugawa regime to apostatize until eventually there were no more remaining.

12 The Christian Century is generally understood to have lasted from 1549 to 1650. For a broad outline of this line of historical inquiry, see the seminal work by Charles R[alph] Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), vii–ix.

whose hostilities often broke out into open warfare. This climate facilitated proselytization. A few local rulers even converted their subjects en masse, hoping to gain access to guns and the coveted trade routes. As various military leaders struggled to dominate Japan, they increasingly sought to co-opt or eliminate rival power bases, including Buddhist-military institutions.\footnote{Jason Ánanda Josephson, \textit{The Invention of Religion in Japan} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 39–40.}

The profitable interplay of Christianity, commerce, and widespread urbanization continues to generate a rich body of secondary research, and there are compelling arguments for its importance in East Asia.\footnote{For an overview of the global economy centered on Asia and Japan's place in it, see Andre Gunder Frank, \textit{ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), esp. 104–107.} In the case of the Ōtomo, through archeological excavations and a re-evaluation of the documentary record, Japanese researchers have begun rewriting the history of the clan to place it even more clearly within an age of global trade.\footnote{Kage Toshio has been at the forefront of these efforts to re-evaluate the role of the Ōtomo in terms of their commercial records. See, for example, Kage Toshio, \textit{Sengoku daimyō no gaikō to toshi, ryūtsū: Bungo Ōtomo-shi to Higashi Ajia sekai} [The diplomacy, cities, and trade of warlords: The Bungo Ōtomo clan and the East Asia world] (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2006).} This is in contrast to previous studies that have tended to concentrate on Sōrin as a warlord and the administrative policies he pursued within his domain.\footnote{Representative scholarship in this line of inquiry includes Watanabe Sumio, \textit{Zōtei Bungo Ōtomo-shi no kenkyū} [Expanded and revised research on the Bungo Ōtomo clan] (Tokyo: Dai-ichi Hōki Shuppan, 1981), Toyama Mikio, \textit{Daimyō ryōgoku keisei katei no kenkyū: Bungo Ōtomo-shi no baai} [Research on the process of formulating the lord's domain: The case of the Bungo Ōtomo clan] (Nagasaki: Yūzankaku, 1983), Akutagawa Tatsu, \textit{Bungo Ōtomo ichizoku} [The Ōtomo family of Bungo] (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōrashia, 1990), and Mieno Makoto, \textit{Daimyō ryōgoku shihai no kōzō} [The construction of a lord's dominal control] (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 2003).} A desire for wealth alone does not explain the lengths to which Sōrin went in support of the Jesuit missionaries, and this dissertation contributes to the Christian Century narrative by foregrounding the practical religious benefits that warriors sought to gain in return for their patronage.
It is not Christianity, trade, or Sōrin's military acumen, though, that originally sparked my interest in the Ōtomo. Rather, it was my recognition that what was left out of the bronze relief (and the historiography) of Sōrin is at least as important as what was included; namely, the fact that Sōrin actually spent most of his life patronizing temples and shrines just as other warlords of the time did. His embrace of Christianity late in life only implied, but did not necessarily involve, a complete rejection of traditional cultic sites. As this dissertation will show, churches, temples, and shrines all thrived for a time within his domain's pluralistic environment. Christianity only lost its viability after Sōrin attempted to replace temples and shrines with churches on a large scale in the province of Hyūga. This is not a story about the vicissitudes of the Christian mission, because that narrative has already been told, but by considering the fate of temples and shrines as well, it is an explication of the terms by which the religious traditions competed.18

**Religion and Warfare**

What did religion have to do with warfare in Japan's premodern period (c. 12th to 16th centuries)?19 Quite a lot, if recent English-language scholarship is any indication. Historians have written about conflicts during the early centuries that involved the participation of three "Gates

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19 On how Japanese periodization for the medieval came about, and the internal subdivisions of these centuries, see Andrew Edmund Goble, "Defining 'Medieval,'" in *Emerging Japan: Premodern History to 1850*, ed. Karl F. Friday (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 32–41.
of Power" (*kenmon*): not only the court nobility (*kuge*) and warriors (*buke*), but members of temples and shrines (*jisha*) as well.\(^{20}\) Research has also called for a re-evaluation of how we view violence and religion through an examination of Buddhist "warrior monks" (*sōhei*) in the context of a militarized society.\(^{21}\) In addition, for later centuries, scholars have shown how religious institutions provided an organizing ideology for masses of adherents to come together into leagues (*ikki*) and fight in the belief that doing so would earn them salvation.\(^{22}\) The intersections of organized violence and religion clearly deserve our attention if we want to comprehend a society that did not conceive of clear distinctions between the secular and sacred.\(^{23}\)

We know a great deal about religion in premodern Japan from the standpoint of various traditions (institutional histories and biographical studies), but not so much has been written about the participation by warriors in such activities, and the mutually beneficial relationships that could occur between warriors and religious communities, especially in later centuries.\(^{24}\) For the early medieval period, scholarship has elucidated the coeval flourishing of representative


\(^{24}\) For an overview of the state of the field for religious studies of the Warring States period in Japanese-language scholarship, see Ota Sōchirō, "Muromachi bakufu shūkyō seisakuron" [Religious policies of the Muromachi warrior government], in *Muromachi / Sengoku-kī kenkyū wo yominaosu* [Re-considering Muromachi and Warring States Period research], ed. Chūsei kōki kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2007), 327–355.
institutions such as that occurring between the bakufu and the Five Mountain (Gozan) Zen temple network from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Yet, the decline of such organizations in the late-medieval fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the tremendous outpouring of warrior largesse into competing religious centers remain comparatively unexplored and misunderstood. Warlords did not expend their resources indiscriminately, and through their patronage they sought concrete benefits in this world, along with salvation in the next.

One of the themes throughout this dissertation is that of competition among religious traditions. Sōrin once told a Jesuit missionary that his enemies saw their military offensive against the Ōtomo as one that pit the Japanese "god of war" (Hachiman) against the Christian "Deus" (Deus) in order to see who was the stronger of the two. If we expand this competitive metaphor beyond the battlefield and apply it to the operation of religious communities within warrior society, we can observe how services were localized, and the ways in which they strove to meet the specialized needs of a warlord.

Competition for souls (literally, in the case of the Jesuits) was probably fiercest among non-elites, but records for the Ōtomo reveal detailed information only about a small number of institutions.

25 Martin Colcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 84. Note that Colcutt ties the Ōtomo support for Buddhism to "cultural enthusiasms" that "were reinforced by commercial interests in the continent," a cultural and mercantilistic rationale seen in other scholarship for Ōtomo Sōrin's later support of Jesuits.

26 The second chapter of this dissertation will discuss one religious complex within the traditional Five Mountains system, and another in the Daitokuji lineage outside of it. For the most comprehensive work to-date on the decline of Buddhist institutions during this period, see Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), esp. 85–87.

27 The passage: "Eu confio em Fachiman, deos das batalhas, e o rey de Bungo confia no Deos dos christãos, veremos qual pode mais" in HJ 4: 378–379. This is a recollection by a Jesuit missionary of what Sōrin repeatedly said during the siege of Usuki castle by the Satsuma clan in 1586. See Chapter Five of this dissertation for discussion of a letter circulated by Akizuki Tanezane a few years before this that might have contributed to constructing this view of Sōrin and his warrior band.
power holders who produced and preserved documents, and thus tell us little about the activities of the vast majority of domain residents. Looking at the policies of leaders and high-ranking members of the military organization, the materials suggest that the introduction of Christianity caused tremendous tension in the Ōtomo warrior band, and as a consequence, unit cohesion suffered when armies took to the battlefield. Although the Ōtomo did remarkably well managing a diverse network of temples, shrines, and churches, one would be hard-pressed to find increased cohesion within the retainer band through devotion to rigidly defined traditions. In fact, just the opposite. The more Christianity challenged warriors to make their religious affiliations explicit, the more it produced factions within the community.

Modern Terminology in Premodern Japan

Using modern terminology to investigate a premodern phenomenon carries with it some intriguing difficulties. Most notably, terms like "religion" (shūkyō), "Shinto" (Shintō), and "Christian daimyō" did not exist. In the Japanese language, "religion" became a contested term in the nineteenth century as part of the state's interactions with Western powers, and its application to previous periods creates problems, because it was not a universally understood category. This is particularly true of the "Indian" religion of Christianity that was understood to worship the Buddhist deity Dainichi when the Jesuits first visited Sōrin.28 The use of "religion" in the late nineteenth-century by the Japanese Meiji government (1868–1912) suggests that it saw the

28 Dainichi (Mahāvairocana) was the translation for God by early Jesuits, and because they traveled to Japan from their base of Goa in India, or perhaps because their seemingly Buddhist religious roots were in India, it took some time for people to understand that they actually originated much further to the west. On the need for "unlearning" the meaning of religion (shūkyō), problems faced by the "Indian" Christians who first visited Sōrin, and questions about syncretism, see Jason Ānanda Josephson, The Invention of Religion in Japan (2012), 6–8 and 25–28.
meaning as restricted to Christianity, and it took some time before they conceived of it as a term with the more general meaning now afforded to it. As part of its modernization and re-fashioning of the nation's religious identity, the government also separated approximately 74,642 shrines and 87,558 temples from one another in a process known as *shinbutsu bunri*. This state intervention saw the unauthorized destruction of Buddhist property, and the elevation of *kami* worship, which took the name of "Shinto." However, the question of whether Shinto ought to be considered a religion at all has continued to this day.

If we take "religion" to describe an individual's concern with the ultimate, in the context of warrior society in medieval Japan, where individuals typically do not even refer to themselves in the first person in documents, comments about faith and belief are few and far between. Besides the lack of discussion about such matters in Japanese sources, the very project of interrogating faith, belief, authenticity, and conversion is fraught with methodological problems. As far as conversion goes, scholars have begun to question some of the Jesuit observations, and have affirmed the accuracy of others. The more interesting dilemma, though, might be to ask

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30 Ibid., 15.


what conversion meant for the converts. This dissertation focuses on the actions recorded, the ways in which individuals presented themselves, and how they were viewed by others in order to gain a better sense of how religious commitments were expressed in practice. Behind the doctrinal debates among representatives of different faith traditions lay powerful rituals thought to bring success to warriors on and off the battlefield, and local sites competed primarily in these terms.

How do "Christian daimyō" fit into the sixteenth century? The term can be found in many of the studies written by historians about the period, and strictly speaking, the label applies only to warlords who were baptized as Christians. The phenomenon is supposed to have ended with prohibitions that the Toyotomi and Tokugawa regimes instituted in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Scholars typically point to Arima Harunobu (1567–1612), Konishi Yukinaga (?–1600), Ōmura Sumitada, Ōtomo Sōrin, and Takayama Ukon (1552–1615) as outstanding examples of such figures. However, the researcher looking through sources from the period will find no evidence of Christian daimyō anywhere in them.

The term "Christian daimyō" is a modern invention. Previous research has attributed the term "Daimyō Chrétien" to Michel Steichen in his 1904 French publication on the

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33 On some of the relevant problems of conversion that attended colonization in the modern period, see Thomas David Dubois, "Hegemony, Imperialism, and the Construction of Religion in East and Southeast Asia," History and Theory 44, no. 4, Theme Issue 44: Theorizing Empire (December 2005), 126–131.

phenomenon. However, James Murdoch's *History of Japan* used the word a year earlier in 1903, and in my reading of the literature, he seems to be the one who coined it in print. Regardless of who first devised it, though, the concept reflects a twentieth century preoccupation with missionary efforts in Japan, and not necessarily the historical conditions that actually existed in the sixteenth century. This dissertation treats daimyō identified this way as warlords, their Christian faith to be a challenge to the cohesion of retainer bands within warrior society, and their policies towards religious institutions in the context of military engagements to be a unique contribution to the culture of war that developed in the sixteenth century.

In this dissertation, the rejection of the term "Christian daimyō" is meant as a provocation on three levels. First, it challenges the traditional conception of special men of faith by asking what "Christianity" meant for warlords in terms of religious practice. Researchers have already argued that missionaries originally chose to localize doctrine through the adoption of Buddhist terminology and concepts. As this project demonstrates, even baptized and ostensibly Christian rulers retained relationships with traditional institutions and practices. In many cases, they shifted uneasily among their religious commitments, and this has prompted later researchers to ask whether they were really Christian at all. Rather than questioning their beliefs and faith,


which we ultimately cannot know with any certainty, this project illuminates the tremendous pressure that converts experienced in a pluralistic religious environment.

Second, by focusing on several traditions, we can get a better sense of the pluralistic religious practice that missionaries encountered. Religious sites in Japan seem to neatly define themselves as "Shintō" shrines or "Buddhist" temples, even on premodern maps with a Shintō gate (torii) or Buddhist temple mark (manji), but this should not be taken to indicate their exclusive devotion to gods or buddhas. In fact, the sites often contained elements of both traditions. In this respect, Conrad Totman's resurrection of the archaic "fane" to indicate a religious site without pigeon-holing it into one tradition or another seems particularly inspired. Allan Grappard's "multiplex" or Jacqueline Stone's "temple-shrine complex" (jisha) are more contemporary phrasings that express this intermingling. This dissertation does not dwell on the precise composition of fane precincts; the intermingling occurred in most places to such a degree that attempts to separate them into their constitutive "temple" and "shrine" parts by historical actors are notable mainly as uncommon innovations in religious practice.

Cultic sites usually achieved the co-existence of buddhas and gods through what is known as the "originals and traces" (honji suijaku) combinatory paradigm. During the premodern period, Buddhist deities (the originals) were thought to have manifested themselves as local gods (the traces), and so they were not considered as distinct beings. With the link established in this

39 The shrine's torii mark does not appear in conventional character sets, but the temple's manji mark is the ।! (Sk: sauvastika).


way, the two traditions looked different in their exterior symbols, but their essential natures were the same. This was not precisely speaking syncretism, because the Buddhist deities were held to be above their alternative manifestations in a process of "hierarchical inclusion." The terms "Shinto" or "Buddhist" function inadequately within such an environment. Moreover, they fail to account for worship of deities from the Chinese traditions or the supernatural forces addressed in fortune-telling. The goal of this dissertation is not to categorize beliefs into sectarian categories, but it aims to focus our attention instead on activities that were something other than "Christian" in a domain that was rapidly converting to the new religion. In practice, warriors generally did not engage in doctrinal debates, but worked within the confines of established rituals and written genres to administer their domains and wage war, so some of the solutions they devised were necessarily ad-hoc and often (as we shall see) inconsistent.

Divesting ourselves of the Christian daimyō label, we can recognize that for most of his career, Sōrin administered a domain that resembled those of his warlord counterparts in other regions. Recent scholarship has shown him to have been an economic entrepreneur as an "Asian," rather than simply a "Japanese" warlord, and in this fashion he resembled the Ōuchi and Toyotomi regimes. From the perspective of his Chinese neighbors, Sōrin was one of the most powerful rulers in Japan, and Chinese emperors looked to him as someone who could curb the

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42 Jason Ánanda Josephson has coined the term "hierarchical inclusion" as a process of finding similarities within differences. See *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (2012), 24–28.

rampant piracy that plagued their shores. Even Hideyoshi recognized him as an important ally, and went out of his way to try and impress him. He was a historical figure with his feet firmly planted in both lines of inquiry: the foreign proselytization of the Christian Century and domestic re-unification narrative of the Warring States Period.

The concept of ritual occurs often in this dissertation, and it follows in broad strokes what Catherine Bell has described in her work. In particular it takes it to mean a social practice that draws distinctions, and privileges certain acts over others. Within warrior culture, the conveyance of messages or gifts by monks, which we might not ordinarily consider as "religious," were nevertheless rituals that connected rulers and cultic sites. The taking of names with religious connotations indicated commitments and signaled to others the divine powers that would come to a warrior's aid. Both of these acts (gift-giving and naming) operated within a coherent system that imbued them with meaning. Each chapter demonstrates the importance of the relationships established among ritual practitioners and rulers; in the case of Sōrin, his

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45 An especially detailed account of Hideyoshi and the political influence of his son and tea master can be seen in a lengthy letter written from Sōrin to the Ōtomo clan's council of elders. See Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenshō 14 (1586))/4/6 Ōtomo Sōrin shojō [Document from Ōtomo Sōrin], OKS 33: 227–234, doc. 2091; OSS 5: 213–219, doc. 1870. The Ōtomo-ke monjo roku was compiled and edited in the early seventeenth century, but suffered damage from fires, and the documents were re-arranged and commented on by later archivists. In some cases the sources are reliable and the commentary is helpful, but in many cases the editing is misleading, the dating of the documents has since been refuted, they are out of order, and they have been miscopied. Transcriptions of the documents can be found in OKS volumes 31–34, and the eishabon (reproductions) upon which they are based can be viewed online at the Tokyo Historiographical Institute. The original documents are held by the surviving members of the Ōtomo house in Yokohama.


47 Following Mikael S. Adolphson, I make a distinction in this dissertation between a "monk," a person who takes vows and commits in some way to a Buddhist order, and a "priest," who performs services at a shrine. Sometimes, though, individuals performed both roles, and this distinction is an artificial one of convenience. See The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan (2000), xvi.
support for the Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier (1506–1552) and the Daitokuji-Zen-ect monk Iun Sōetsu (1518–1589) had a dramatic impact on the Ōtomo warrior band.

A Culture of War and the Historical Record

The "culture of war" in this dissertation is an attempt to move the discussion away from institutional and biographical investigations and posit a contribution that warriors made to that enigmatic thing we call "culture." This dissertation takes inspiration not only from work on "cultures of war" in other periods and places, but the work of Fujiki Hisashi, who introduced the term (sensō no bunka) into the study of the Warring States Period. He does not look so much at warriors in his scholarship, but emphasizes the effects that the militarization of society had on the populace in what might best be described as a social history. Similarly, Mary Elizabeth Berry describes a "culture of civil war" that developed among the populace in and around Japan's capital of Kyoto during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The main thrust of her argument is to illuminate a culture of lawlessness among commoners there. This dissertation takes up Hisashi's term, but by foregrounding the martial values and practices that shaped the lives of those who identified as members of a military organization, it shifts attention to elite warrior society. While somewhat counterintuitive, in contrast to Berry's work, my research shows conditions governed by long-established rules, precedents, and practices for waging war.

48 For two recent, and very different, interpretations of this phenomenon that have informed my study, see Martin van Creveld, The Culture of War (New York: Presidio Press, 2008), esp. xi–xvi, and John W. Dower, Cultures of War: Pearl Harbor / Hiroshima / 9-11 / Iraq (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010), xix–xxxiii.

Despite the destructive warfare that plagued the period, a great deal survives in the historical record. This dissertation is based primarily upon the comparatively large number of diplomatics (komonjo), or "old documents," that remain for the Ōtomo warrior clan. The seminal collection of these materials was transcribed over several decades by the scholar Takita Manabu, but he did not live long enough to see the last part of his thirty-five volume magnum opus published in 1979. The prominent historian Takeuchi Rizō took up the project and completed it after Takita's death. In the end, the work contained approximately 14,000 items for the nearly 400 years that the Ōtomo ruled their domain in Kyūshū, with about 3,000 for the three generations of the Ōtomo discussed in this dissertation: Yoshiaki (1502–1550), Sōrin, and Yoshimune (1558–1610). In contrast, the much more extensively researched Takeda clan of central Honshū only left us only about 3,000 items for the entire medieval period.

Scholars writing in English have almost entirely ignored the Ōtomo collection for two simple reasons: it neither says much about the domestic re-unification narrative, nor about the foreign proselytization one. For re-unification, when we read generalizations about a "Kyoto orientation" that drew warlords to the capital and caused them to maintain interest in politics

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50 Takita Manabu collected 13,946 items in total, but if we remove early-modern documents and snippets of text from diaries, war tales, and other materials that fall outside of those conventionally considered as diplomatics, then we have 12,475 for the medieval Ōtomo, and 2,876 for Yoshiaki, Sōrin, and Yoshimune. For these calculations, see Watanabe Sumio, "Bungo Ōtomo-shi kankei monjo no denrai to sono kenkyū" in Sengoku monjo shūei: Ōtomo-shi [Collection of Warring States documents: The Ōtomo house], eds. Watanabe Sumio and Akutagawa Tatsuo (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 1974), 57–59.


52 For earlier periods in Japanese history, the Ōtomo documents have received sporadic attention. One of the first works in English to benefit from these sources investigated the Mongol invasions. See Kyotsu Hori, "The Mongol Invasions and the Kamakura Bakufu" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1967), 161.
there, we should recognize that many warriors held an ideal of a unified state in mind, but did not necessarily see themselves as the ones to do it.\textsuperscript{53} Perhaps, instead of thinking geographically about the focus on Kyoto, we ought to think in terms of practices that provided cohesion even without a strong central government, and this dissertation looks at some (but not all) of the rituals in warrior society that made this possible. My project does not promise to revolutionize our understanding of war and religion in sixteenth-century Japan, but it has the more modest aims of: correcting errors of fact and interpretation, shedding light on a region that has received relatively little attention in previous scholarship, foregrounding linkages between warriors and religious groups, and offering an alternative perspective on the country's encounter with Christianity through an examination of Japanese historical records. The last point needs to be emphasized, because despite the voluminous sources available, they have been almost entirely left out of English-language scholarship on the period.

Claims about the lack of useful content in thousands of materials in the Japanese sources ought to give us pause. As far as the potential they have to tell us about Christianity, a prominent historian was supposed to have observed that "if we had to depend solely on Japanese sources we would know next to nothing of the Catholic episode in Japan's history."\textsuperscript{54} After viewing thousands of documents related to the Ōtomo (the exact number depends on how you count such


\textsuperscript{54} Reported by Charles R[alph] Boxer in \textit{The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650} (1951), viii.
things), I can confirm that this is technically correct. We can easily imagine some reasons why we have few such sources. Many may have been destroyed in response to later Christian persecutions, and naturally the Japanese would not have left us much correspondence with the Jesuits because of the language barrier.

Yet, where I differ with those who would dismiss Japanese sources in examining Japan's Christian Century is that I think the lack should prompt us to ask: what new insights can the non-Christian documents give us into the supposedly Christian domain? The answer, as I suggest in this dissertation, points to the continuing importance, even in the Ōtomo warrior band, of traditional religious practices. Fortunately, for the scholar interested in Japanese documentation, most of the materials related to the Ōtomo can be found transcribed and published in three major collections of sources. Two of these are difficult to obtain outside of Japan, so this might have also contributed to their neglect in English-language scholarship. Whenever possible, I have also viewed the original manuscripts or facsimiles, and these archives included the Tokyo University Historiographical Institute (Tōkyō Shiryō Hensanjo), Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives (Ōita Kenritsu Sentetsu Shiryōkan), the Ōita City Historical Materials Archives (Ōita-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan), and the Yanagawa City Historical Archives (Yanagawa-shi komonjo-kan). Some of these collections include manuscripts that have yet to be published.

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55 In this dissertation, these are: Zōho teisei hennen Ōtomo shiryō [Expanded and revised, historical documents of the Ōtomo arranged in chronological order], eds. Takita Manabu and Takeuchi Rizō (Volumes 24–35), 35 vols. (Ōita: Takita Manabu (24–35 published by Takita Yuki), 1962–1979), hereinafter abbreviated as ZTHO; OKS (previously mentioned); and Ōtomo Sōrin shiryō shū [Collected historical materials of Ōtomo Sōrin], 5 Volumes, ed. Ōita-ken Kyōiku-chō Bunka-ka (Ōita-shi: Ōita-ken Kyōiku Inkai, 1993–1994), hereinafter abbreviated as OSS.

Second, this dissertation also draws upon transcribed and published Jesuit records from the period. These provide insights into Japan that are simply impossible to find in the Japanese documents, and they are an invaluable resource for understanding not only Christianity, but also Japanese society, culture, and politics. Yet, their gaze is also limited to that of people looking from the outside in, and so we only see what the Jesuits could or would observe. This dissertation is not a story about Christianity in Japan, because other scholars have already done a masterful job of writing about the Jesuit mission. Instead, it is a project about the warrior society that went largely unseen and mis-apprehended by the Jesuits. As this dissertation focuses mainly on telling the story of the rituals and cultic sites with which the Jesuits found themselves in competition, Jesuit sources are used sparingly here.

When English translations are given in this dissertation, they are my own. With the exception of the Marsden Collection, which is held at the British Library in London, I have relied upon on published versions of the sources in their original languages (Portuguese or Spanish) for the translations of extended passages. I have endeavored to use these whenever material in the Jesuit sources substantially affects the argument I am making. When the Jesuit records are only mentioned in the main text, and not translated by me there, I have relied upon Japanese translations of the source materials.

Finally, archaeological evidence informs this study. In recent years a tremendous amount of work has been done on the Ōtomo, and the excavations have gained national attention for some of their discoveries. Whenever possible, I have viewed the artifacts, visited the sites, or

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57 Of course, there is far more that could be done with them, and we still do not have an English translation of even critical sources for the period such as Luís Fróis's history of Japan.
received tours of the excavation sites myself. At the time of this writing, a major excavation is being planned for the site where the temple complex of Manjuji once stood, and this is expected to reveal considerable information about this massive lacunae in the Ōtomo administrative capital. As a result, some conclusions reached regarding Manjuji may need to be revised in the future.

**Chapter Overviews**

Because the dissertation addresses one of the most significant themes that runs throughout Japanese history; namely, the relationship between military and religious interests, it cannot hope for exhaustive coverage. Instead, in providing an in-depth reconstruction of the major warrior practices impacted by the entrance of a new actor (Christianity) into the religious landscape, it attempts to clearly illuminate the reasons why religion mattered to warriors so much during this decisive moment in Japanese history.

The first chapter of this dissertation offers a periodization scheme for Ōtomo Sōrin's career, and for each stage, considers what impact his personal religious commitments had on his warrior band. The remaining chapters are arranged thematically, with the second chapter highlighting the role of "memorial temples" (*bodaiji*) during Sōrin's life and after his death. The third one examines one kind of prayer ritual at a major national shrine which fell within the Ōtomo sphere of influence. The fourth one turns to indirect appeals to deities for divine intervention in oaths, and considers the challenges that missionaries faced in localizing Christianity for the militarized environment. The project concludes by explaining how the
Otomo's destructive religious policies in Hyūga province exacerbated tensions within the military organization, and examines a vassal's effort through a re-affirmation of traditional practices to mitigate the damage done to the Otomo warrior band's reputation.
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Naming a Warlord: Buddhist and Christian Influences on Sōrin

What's in a name? The historical figure known as "Ōtomo Sōrin" is not always easy to find in the archives, because he goes under other guises in many of the extant documents, and we are more likely to recognize him lurking on the pages if we keep in mind the various other names he used. He entered this world as "Shintarō" in 1530, and left it as "Tentokuji" when he died fifty-seven years later in 1587, but in-between the two came at least sixteen others: Shiohōshi, Gorō, Yoshishige, Minamoto Yoshishige, Sōrin, Zuihō, Ensai, Kyūsai, Sansai, Gensai, Sangensai, Sanpizai, Genpizai, Furan, Furanshisuko, and Sōteki. Rather than employ the seemingly endless variety of names by which he was actually known, as a service to readers, historians understandably tend to settle on a single referent and a thumbnail description of him. The tremendous complexity that characterized Sōrin's career is thus often reduced to simply "the Christian daimyō, Ōtomo Sōrin."58 This chapter demonstrates that he made many of the name changes to signal religious commitments, and argues that he was experimenting with the traditional system of naming and adapting it to fit himself into both the domestic and foreign traditions that he drew upon to form his identity. It is not a biographical sketch, but a rather a religious genealogy.

58 Sōrin appears only as a Christian, for example, in a recent survey of religion in East Asia along with the mistaken claim, as far as I know, that Hideyoshi promised Sōrin that he would protect the Christians in Kyūshū. See Thomas David DuBois, Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia: New Approaches to Asian History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 84.
There is nothing inherently wrong with using a single name for Sōrin or any other historical figure. After all, we cannot realistically provide the curriculum vitae of everyone mentioned in a monograph. In an age when warriors employed a rich variety of names to signal their loyalties, religious commitments, respect, and so forth to other members in society, it is worthwhile to pause a moment and consider what insights we can glean from this complexity.

A seminal essay on the profusion of names for individuals in early medieval Japan argues that an investigation of nomenclature can shed light on social conditions, and it addresses some fundamental questions about practices in an effort to equip the modern-day paleographer with the knowledge needed to make sense of documents. One of the first puzzling aspects of names that comes to mind when looking at the changes is to ask how anyone kept them all straight. The essay suggests that for medieval warriors, the monogram (kō) at the end of correspondence provided a key piece of information needed to identify the sender. It further speculates that vassals would have memorized the monogram, because the stylized names "functioned as a coded cipher——a unique mode of writing that invested names with identity."59 Indeed, there are some similarities in the monograms Sōrin used during his life, and it is conceivable that familiarity with the monogram

\[\text{Fig. 3. Ōtomo Sōrin's Signature and Monogram. The image shows characters for "Sō" and "rin" followed by his monogram at the bottom. The numbers to the left of the characters have been added by the author. Source: Tachibana house documents, Yanagawa Archives.}\]

would have helped recipients of letters from him to receive whatever signals Sōrin was sending. This may have been easier said than done for Sōrin's subordinates, though, because he used quite a few monograms and seals on document during the course of his life (see Figure 3 for a commonly used one). Semi-literate warriors who received letters from Sōrin may have understood a conventional monogram like the one above, but surely struggled to comprehend a seal bearing an abbreviated form of the name "Francisco" in the Western alphabet at a time when many of them had little or any exposure to Christianity, much less Portuguese!

As the essay points out, there were many affiliations and identification markers that necessitated a name. A person might use clan names, surnames, child names, numerical names, adult names, relational names, religious names, and titles from different hierarchies (titles received from the court and military governments) depending on the situation. Each of these conveyed their own meanings within the context of warrior society. Building on these insights, this chapter focuses on Sōrin's names in taking up the task of explaining some of the signals warriors meant to send through the changes they made.

In pulling together historical sources on Sōrin, this project constructs a golem in place of the figure found in the documents, with bones and sinews woven out of fragments from historical and archaeological materials, and flesh formed from several identities adopted throughout a

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60 The name and monogram in Figure 3 comes from the Tachibana-ke monjo [Tachibana house documents] [date unknown]/7/9 Ōtomo Sōrin shojō [Document from Ōtomo Sōrin], Yanagawa City Historical Archives (Yanagawashi Komonjokan), doc. 2-3-9. The Tachibana house documents contain 9,113 items, of which many provide insight into the inner operations of the Ōtomo clan's domain, because they contain three other Ōtomo collections that were acquired by the Tachibana sometime after the sixteenth century: the Ōtomo monjo, Ōtomo shikan, and Ōtomo kiroku. The materials have survived in large part because Tachibana Dōsetsu's descendants became domainal lords and preserved them. The Tachibana also left behind 5,511 documents from the early modern period along with a considerable collection of well-preserved artifacts that have yet to be studied in English-language scholarship.

lifetime. All of the parts assembled for Sōrin don't quite fit together as one might expect, not only because of the inevitable gaps in the historical record, but due to inconsistencies in his behavior as well. Even though this dissertation is not a biographical investigation of him, we need to understand his personal journey, because his religious entrepreneurship established the parameters within which his warrior band operated.

To take the two-dimensional man-made-man off the pages of this dissertation and actually meet it would surely result in a kind of "uncanny valley" (bukimi no tani), as he would lack the sophistication or spark of humanity that animated his flesh and blood counterpart in the past. There are huge chunks missing from his life; the internal struggles, tensions, and pain that define a real person can only be glimpsed or imagined, and certainly not adequately expressed in this chapter alone. Fortunately, what we lack as historians from having a live person to interrogate might be made up for by the opportunity to view people from multiple perspectives simultaneously across their entire lifetimes. In Sōrin's case, we can observe (in a more comprehensive way than anyone who met him in real life could) one of the rare figures from the period who cultivated both "Buddhist" and "Christian" identities.

As a thought experiment, this chapter also attempts in places to disaggregate Sōrin into his constituent personal identities. It considers each "individual's" unique characteristics in order

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62 The image of the golem, a human-like figure created out of inanimate parts, is perhaps particularly apt for Sōrin, because it was supposedly created in Prague around the time that he lived.

63 Mori Masahiro hypothesizes that the more human-like an automaton becomes, the more we will unconsciously reject it. In his writing he also touches on the macabre topic of the living dead and the benefits of designing without perfect imitation in mind. See "Bukimi no tani" [Uncanny valley], Energy 7, no. 4 (1970): 33–35. Although widely cited this way in academic literature, I do not know if it is actually being read, because I have found it impossible so far to locate the original article in the US, and my synopsis of the content is based on a 2005 translation of it by Karl F. MacDorman and Takashi Minato at http://www.androidscience.com/theuncannyvalley/proceedings2005/uncannyvalley.html.
Fig. 4. Statue of Ōtomo Sōrin in Ōita City. The 1982 statue stands in front of Ōita Station. Note the cross hanging from a chain around his neck, and the Western cape. In contrast to the bronze relief in Usuki shown in Figure 1 of this dissertation, Sōrin holds a sword instead of a gun. Source: Photo by author.
to highlight how religious competition manifested at key moments. Although we do not see a one-to-one correlation between names and religious concerns, the older Sōrin became, the more strongly his names reflected his religious commitments. This chapter also seeks to demonstrate how a trans-local historical approach provides a more nuanced portrait of Sōrin through his links to the global Christian network that he sought to join.64

First, the chapter considers the ways in which popular images of Sōrin have defined our understanding of his religious commitments. Then, it discusses the historical sources we have available to reconstruct the individual. Finally, using these materials, it traces changes in Sōrin's names over the course of his career. It aims to elucidate the timing and significance of turning points in his religious journey, and to paint a portrait of the man that challenges conventional depictions of him. The career trajectory that emerges for Sōrin exposes the indeterminate nature of "taking refuge" (kie) in the three treasures of Buddhism, or receiving baptism (senrei) as a Christian, and troubles any reading of him as simply a "Buddhist" or a "Christian" warlord.65

**Visualizing Sōrin**

Who was Sōrin? Visual depictions of the leader abound, and as we saw in the Introduction of this dissertation (see Figure 1), they give us some sense of how contemporaries

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64 This use of "trans-local" draws upon the work of Matt Matsuda in *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 6, who defines trans-localism as "the specific linked places where direct engagements took place and were tied to histories dependent on the ocean.... This history is episodic, a collected set of characters and experiences that, taken together, define the Pacific. It is still, however, trans-local: the stories take on full meanings only when linked to other stories and places."

65 The three treasures (also known as the three refuges) are the Buddha, the Dharma (the Buddhist teachings), and the Sangha (the Buddhist monastic community). In this period, taking refuge could mean retirement to a monastery (as we see in Chapter Two with attempts to survive after defeat), but in practice usually did not preclude participation in the administration of a domain or fighting in battles.
and later people have interpreted the historical figure. A visitor today to the city of Ōita on the island of Kyūshū will discover a larger-than-life-sized statue of "lord" (kō) Sōrin there to greet them (see Figure 4). It is located outside the main train station upon a massive pedestal that towers above the traffic circle. From his lofty vantage point, Sōrin casts his gaze out in the general direction of the Christian kingdoms that he founded many miles to the south. Everything about him projects an air of confidence, with his cape tossed casually back over his shoulders, his jacket hanging open to reveal a crucifix hung prominently around his neck, one hand gripping the hilt of his sword standing in its scabbard on the ground in front of him, and the other holding taut the cord attached to the weapon. Sōrin evinced considerable interest in Western weaponry, and was one of the first warlords to acquire firearms, sending a gift of a "Southern barbarian" gun (Nanban teppō) to the shogun in 1554, and a "hand fire arrow" (tebiya) to him again in 1559. His enemies had them as well, and by the 1560s battles involving his troops reported many gunshot wounds. Despite Sōrin's association with Western armaments, and in contrast to Figure 1, the sculptor arms him in the traditional style with a sword, perhaps because a naked gun, as opposed to a sheathed sword, does not convey a lordly image.

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66 Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenbun 23 (1554))/1/19 Ashikaga Yoshiteru gonaisho utushi [Copy of directive from Ashikaga Yoshiteru], OSS 2: 10, doc. 316, and Ibid., (Eiroku 2 (1559))/1/13 Ōtomo Yoshishige shojo utushi [Copy of document from Ōtomo Yoshishige], 200, doc. 571. In the document, the gun is gifted through a monk that was visiting Bungo from the capital. These predate the previous claim of 1563 as the earliest mention of teppō according to Thomas Conlan, "Instruments of Change: Organizational Technology and the Consolidation of Regional Power in Japan, 1333–1600" (2010), 147.

67 See, for example, Morinaga-ke monjo [Morinaga house documents] Eiroku 12 (1569)/5/18 Ōtomo Sōrin gunehō hikenjō hoka utushi [Copy of receipt of military rewards report by Ōtomo Sōrin], Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives (Ōita Kenritsu Sentetsu Shiryōkan), doc. 02-905. The document recognizes three warriors who received gunshot wounds. Other battlefield reports for the day show gunshot wounds as well.
In creating the statue of Sōrin, the sculptor Tominaga Naoki (1913–2006) dramatically combined the cross and sword to depict him as a Christian. The work links organized violence and organized religion during the period in which Sōrin lived. An explanatory plaque at the base of the statue praises Sōrin for his many achievements. It recounts that during his lifetime, the Ōtomo clan gained control over six provinces and exerted influence over the western part of Honshū and Shikoku as well. It also says that ships from Portugal and Spain came to call at port, Sōrin opened the harbor to trade, commerce flourished, and he worked to import Western culture. It goes on to list social benefits that he brought in: a Western-style school, hospital, and an orphanage along with Western theatre, music, milk, and so forth. Then, it stresses that he encouraged foreign trade, was the first to import canon and guns, and sent twelve-year-old Itō Mancio to Rome as the first Japanese to set foot on Western soil.68 The explanatory plaque brings up compelling episodes from Sōrin's life, and clearly shows that he was a global figure, but the emphasis is on Sōrin's participation in the economic rather than the religious sphere.

Sōrin's religious affiliation and lifetime of warfare clearly informed the statue in front of Ōita station through the symbol of the cross and the sword, but is curiously absent from the explanatory plaque on the pedestal. In focusing on Sōrin as a Christian leader (as opposed to a commercial entrepreneur), the statue harkens back to a much older tradition of interpreting Sōrin's legacy. Halfway around the world from Ōita, and about four-hundred years ago, the

68 Itō Mancio (1569–1612) was baptized in 1580, left for Rome in 1582, met Pope Gregory XIII and Sixtus V in 1585, returned to Japan in 1590, and then resided in Bungo. For the trip to Europe. See Michael Cooper, The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582–1590: The Journey of Four Samurai Boys through Portugal, Spain and Italy (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2005), esp. 3–24. In later years, a not too convincing attempt to relate a conversation among the boys about the thorny issue of the enslavement of the Japanese by the Portuguese was written. It points to the many messages this embassy carried to audiences in both Japan and Europe, and Sōrin's rather tenuous connection with the group contributes to his image as a "Christian daimyō." For the passage on slavery, see Thomas Nelson, "Slavery in Medieval Japan," Monumenta Nipponica 59, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 464–465.
Flemish artist Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) created a portrait that a collection catalog later titled as the "Emperor of Japan" (*Kaiser von Japanien*). It shows St. Francis Xavier stepping up towards the welcoming, and outstretched hand of a young man, whom scholars have identified as Sōrin. Both of the men wear Western-style clothing, and Sōrin even looks decidedly Western in his visage, with shoulder-length hair and a golden laurel wreath on his head. In painting Sōrin standing on an raised platform, graciously accepting the missionary, van Dyck familiarizes the foreign ruler, strips him of his martial and Japanese aspects, and suggests an aristocratic, perhaps even enlightened outlook for Sōrin. Beyond the support Sōrin showed for Xavier, the image is somewhat misleading. At the time he met Xavier, it is worth noting that Sōrin was well on his way to conquering northern Kyūshū, and despite his support for the Jesuits, he also remained an enthusiastic proponent of temples and shrines.

The earliest extant image of Sōrin presents him with an entirely different religious identity. Only a few months after his death in 1587, an unknown painter in Japan completed a portrait of him for the warlord's memorial temple in Kyoto. The work depicts a man with a clean-shaven head seated in Buddhist garb. An inscription at the top by the monk who had initiated him into the Daitokuji Buddhist lineage described him as a devoted promoter of the Buddhist faith. Modern textbooks and mass publications have popularized this image of him, and one might expect that he would be known as a warrior who favored Buddhism, but perhaps because

69 For a detail of the image, a brief discussion of the painting and its provenance, and a persuasive argument that the "emperor" shown here is Ōtomo Sōrin, see Kimura Saburō, "Van Dyck saku, tsūshō 'Nihon no ō ni haietsu suru Sei Furanshisuko Zabieru' ni tsuite" [On van Dyck's portrait known as "St. Francisco Xavier has an audience with a Japanese king"], in *Dai Zabieru ten: Rainichi 450 shūnen sono shōgai to Nanban bunka no ihō, St. Francis Xavier, His Life and Times*, ed. Tōbu Bijutsukan, Asahi Shinbunsha, and Kawasaki-shi Shimin Myūjiamu (Tokyo: Tōbu Bijutsukan, 1999), 231–232. At the time of this writing, I have not yet received permission to use the image, and so I ask that readers please refer to this museum catalog.
publishers tend to crop the religious elements out in order to fit just his face onto the printed page, he still remains known to most people in Japan as a Christian.

The images matter because they shed light not only on what the modern residents of Ōita City want to remember about their past, but also on those aspects of Sōrin's identity that remain difficult to reconcile with one another. Like many other warlords of the time, Sōrin mixed cultural pursuits (bun) with martial ones (bu), and so while the introduction of Western cultural products seemed to be a kind of enlightenment for Japan's "dark ages," his religious commitments also brought violence, persecutions, and ultimately the region's loss of influence when the country turned against Christianity. It is telling that the explanatory plaque at the base of Sōrin's statue in front of Ōita train station actually does not begin with Sōrin at all, but informs the reader that at one time maps of Japan named the entire nation "Bungo" after the province that Sōrin controlled. Sōrin is important to people today for literally putting Ōita Prefecture (under its old name of Bungo Province) on the map, but not so much for the accomplishments of his own career. Sōrin and his confident "Christian daimyō" appearance in the statue belie the fact that he was a composite of many elements.

**Periodizing a Career with Sources**

Even for the time period, in which it was common for someone to have several referents, Sōrin used a large number of names. Some of these are simply variations, but they do give a sense of how invested "Sōrin" was in his identification. It also raises basic questions about how renaming someone worked. How would someone who received correspondence from Shintarō
one day know that he was the same person as Gorō on another one? What signals was Sōrin trying to send, and how might these have been interpreted by recipients?

By using names as the organizing element, this chapter differs from approaches taken by chroniclers and historians who have previously written about the warlord's career. In Japanese-language literature, scholars usually employ the name he first took as a Buddhist lay monk in 1562, "Ōtomo Sōrin." The practice of using this one originated in the sixteenth century, when his son had him memorialized this way shortly after his death. Later generations of researchers probably followed suit because they focused attention on the period of Ōtomo efflorescence, which happened to coincide with Sōrin's use of this name. Although at odds with the nearly universal description of him as a Christian warlord, the convention of assigning him a stable Buddhist name and juxtaposing that with his Christianity buttresses the prevailing view that he converted merely to gain favorable preference in trading, and not out of a true commitment to the foreign doctrine. Rather than holding up purely religious motivations (if there is such a thing) as a litmus test of faith, trying in vain to untangle the secular and spiritual, or laboring under an interpretation of him as committed only to one faith or another, this chapter follows his patronage of sites to explore the pluralistic religious landscape he cultivated.

The current project takes inspiration from methods of paleographical inquiry developed in studies of diplomatics (komonjogaku). Of the more than 3,000 pieces of direct correspondence (hakkyū monjo) with Ōtomo clan leaders during the sixteenth century, about 95% lack years, and historians have relied on frequent name changes by people mentioned in them to date the
materials. Documents usually survive in collections passed down from generation to generation in different households, and so researchers have had to first remove them from their isolated context, transcribe them, compile them together, and then arrange them in chronological order based on the relationships among them. It is thanks to the monumental and tireless efforts to catalog, transcribe, and publish the documentary record that this dissertation was made possible.

Pioneering efforts to order Ōtomo materials chronologically in the first half of the twentieth century culminated in a complete set of sources that remain an invaluable resource for researchers. Yet, debate about key moments in the timeline continues, because we lack sufficient evidence to firmly establish many dates. In the case of recurring events like annual rituals, the content of the sources remained similar from year to year, and without era names or mention of contemporary events in the formulaic documents, sometimes we cannot precisely locate them in time. For example, the annual harvest ritual (hassaku) occurred on the first day of the eighth month, and the exchange of gifts associated with it occasioned the annual large-scale production of documents.

These numbers come from Fukukawa Kazunori, "Sengoku ki Ōtomo-shi no kaō, inshō henen kō" [A chronological study of the Warring States period Ōtomo clan monograms and seals], Komonjo kenkyū [Japanese journal of diplomatics] 31 (September 1989): 11. "Direct correspondence" is used loosely here, as some of the documents came from the Ōtomo council of elders on Sōrin’s behalf, sent from the shogun to him as a child, or were in some other way a step removed from him.

This dissertation draws upon documents from dozens of these collections kept in houses affiliated in some way with the Ōtomo clan during the sixteenth century. One of the most important source collections, though, was originally kept by the Ōtomo themselves. On the geographical distribution of the Ōtomo monjo [Documents of the Ōtomo], Ōtomo shokan [Letters of the Ōtomo], and the Ōtomo kiroku [Record of the Ōtomo], see Fukukawa Kazunori, "Ōtomo monjo ni tsuite" [On the documents of the Ōtomo], in Ōtomo Sōrin to sono jidai: Haken wo mezashita eiyūtachi: Kaikan goshūnen kinen tokubetsuten [Ōtomo Sōrin and his time: Heroes who strove for hegemony, Special exhibition on the fifth-year anniversary of the museum], ed. Ōita-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan (Ōita: Ōita-shi Rekishi Shiryōkan, 1992), 85. All three document collections (the Ōtomo monjo, Ōtomo shokan, and Ōtomo kiroku) are part of the Tachibana-ke monjo [Tachibana house documents] and are held by the Yanagawa City Historical Archives.
I have received several presents (shuju) from you in celebration of the harvest festival (hassaku). I am pleased with them. I am now having a gift sent to you. This [exchange of gifts] is something auspicious. Respectfully conveyed.

[1540–1548?] 8/1
Yoshishige (monogram 1)
Araki Uemon no Jō

This document provides the earliest example of Sōrin's participation in the ritual. In it, we can see how the annual observance required retainers like the Araki to offer up gifts as a signal of fealty, and how the lord would recognize the relationship by sending a return gift. The missing era name here and elsewhere has proven particularly vexing in the case of these sources, because religious sites also participated in the same way that the Araki clan did, which suggests that in some ways they shared membership in the warrior band. The duty (shiki) of administering sacred sites, along with the attendant prestige and income, generally stayed within designated households, which were themselves members of the retainer band. Thus, when addressed to such lineages, this epistolary type demonstrates an intersection between sacred sites, members of the warrior band, and local rulers. More importantly, though, as we will see throughout this dissertation, it was rituals like this that helped give coherence to warrior society.

We can make educated guesses about the dating for documents like the one sent to Araki Uemon no Jō based on close analysis of signatures (shomei), monograms, and seals (inshō). In this case, the name "Yoshishige" appears, and because he did not receive the "Yoshi" character

72 Araki monjo [Documents of the Araki] (Tenbun 9 (1540)–Tenbun 17 (1548))/8/1 Ōtomo Yoshishige jō [Document from Ōtomo Yoshishige], OSS 1: 33–34, doc. 56.
from the shogun until 1540, and only used this version of the monogram (number 1) until 1548, we can date the source to this period. In less formulaic correspondence that was prompted by changing conditions, such as mobilization for a particular military engagement, the content provides additional clues to chronology. Utilizing approximately 1,900 documents like this one sent to Araki Uemon no Jō by Sōrin, or received as a response to correspondence from him, recent scholarship has divided his career up into fifteen periods, as seen in Table 1.73

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods</th>
<th>Approximate dates</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1 Shihōshi</td>
<td>Tenbun 2 (1533/12/2)</td>
<td>OSS 1: 3–8, docs. 1–10</td>
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<td>2 Yoshishige (1)</td>
<td>Tenbun 9 (1540/2/3)</td>
<td>OSS 1: 11–40, docs. 11–67</td>
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<td>3 Yoshishige (2)</td>
<td>Tenbun 19 (1550)/2/12</td>
<td>OSS 1: 43–73, docs. 68–106</td>
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<td>4 Yoshishige (3)</td>
<td>Tenbun 19 (1550)/4/16</td>
<td>OSS 1: 76–147, docs. 107–184</td>
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<td>5 Yoshishige (4)</td>
<td>Tenbun 19 (1550)/9/13</td>
<td>OSS 1: 151–240, docs. 185–305</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Yoshishige (5)</td>
<td>Tenbun 22 (1553)/11/20</td>
<td>OSS 2: 3–349, docs. 306–780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sōrin (1)</td>
<td>Eiroku 5 (1562)/6/15</td>
<td>OSS 3: 3–33, docs. 781–821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Sōrin (2)</td>
<td>Eiroku 5 (1562)/12/28</td>
<td>OSS 3: 37–249, docs. 822–1114 and OSS 4: 3–337, docs. 1115–1609</td>
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<td>9 Sōrin (3)</td>
<td>Tenshō 3 (1575)/2/13</td>
<td>OSS 5: 3–65, docs. 1610–1705</td>
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<td>10 Sanpizai</td>
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<td>OSS 5: 145–156, docs. 1797–1812</td>
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<td>Tenshō 9 (1581)/10/10</td>
<td>OSS 5: 159–167, docs. 1813–1826</td>
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<td>OSS 5: 171–209, docs. 1827–1869</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 Sōteki</td>
<td>Tenshō 14 (1586)/4/6</td>
<td>OSS 5: 213–244, docs. 1870–1900</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: Table compiled based on the arrangement of sources in the five-volume OSS.

Why are Shintarō, Kyūan, Tentokuji and others not in the table? They are missing because it only shows the periodization of direct correspondence with Ōtomo Sōrin divided into

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15 periods according to the classification by the editors of a five-volume series of documents for Ōtomo Sōrin, which forms the main source base for this chapter.\(^{74}\) Rather than the names, the editors rely primarily on the seals and monograms to categorize the documents. As the methodology underpinning this classification focuses on the chronological ordering of sources, it has emphasized stylistic changes in the appearance of monograms, in particular, in order to draw out fine-grained distinctions tied to the production of documents. In contrast, my approach takes more elements into consideration in order to understand the religious context of the documents, not the dating, and includes terms of address used by correspondents, relationships, and the content of signatures, monograms, and seals. Although it produces a coarser filter for the usual purpose of ordering documents, it helps shift focus to the construction of identities, especially as they connected with religious commitments.

**Inheritance in a Military Aristocratic House (1530–1550)**

If we consider each of Sōrin’s names as a separate "individual," we could say that from 1530 to 1550 three figures held the role of heirs to the Ōtomo house: Shintarō, Shiohōshi, Gorō, and Yoshishige. In this capacity, they exerted little influence on religious policy, and the few records that remain for these two decades suggest that their participation in religious matters primarily mirrored the activities of their father, Yoshiaki, and other leaders of the clan stretching back for nearly four centuries.

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\(^{74}\) Takemoto Hirofuji oversaw the project at the Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives. For the periodization, see *OSS* 1: 3; 2: 1; 3: 1; 4: 1; 5: 1–2.
Table 2.
Ōtomo Clan Lineage

<table>
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<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yoshinao</td>
<td>1172-1223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chikahide</td>
<td>1195-1248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yoriyasu</td>
<td>1222-1300</td>
</tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Chikatoki</td>
<td>1236-1295</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Sadachika</td>
<td>1246-1311</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Sadamune</td>
<td>1233-1333</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Ujiyasu</td>
<td>1321-1362</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Ujitoki</td>
<td>1368-1400</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Ujitsugu</td>
<td>1400-1418</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Chikeyo</td>
<td>1418-1550</td>
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<td>Chikatsugu</td>
<td>?-1436</td>
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<td>Mochinao</td>
<td>?-1445</td>
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<td>Chikatsuna</td>
<td>?-1458</td>
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<td>Chikatake</td>
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<td>Chikashige</td>
<td>1411-1493</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
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*Source:* The highlighted names (Sōrin, Harufusa, Yoshimune, and Chikaie) are figures who appear often in this dissertation. The numbers indicate the order of succession for headship of the Ōtomo clan. Unfortunately, the names of daughters have not been transmitted to us.
Sōrin makes his first appearance in historical records as Shintarō in 1533. In preparation for receiving his inheritance, Shintarō's father had his son's name affixed to correspondence, and this initiated him into the group of military governors who ruled over provinces in the Ashikaga bakufu's name. There is some question about the dating of this earliest document bearing his name, but at least the relationship with central authorities that it demonstrates is probably accurate.75 Most of the correspondence that uses the name Shintarō in later documents comes from the military government, so it is clear that they were familiar with him by this name.

The next time we encounter Sōrin in the historical record is four years later as Shihōshi in 1537.76 It was this name, not Shintarō, that seems to have been more commonly used within the Ōtomo warrior band, though, as we will see, names were not officially retired, and Shintarō could have continued to be used on occasion throughout his childhood in documents that no longer remain extant. In the 1537 document, Shiohōshi received correspondence from an administrator and liaison to the military government, Ōdachi Harumitsu (?–1565), whose significance can be ascertained by the fact that he would later be involved in crucial negotiations between the military government and warlords such as the Uesugi, Hōjō, and Takeda. The Ōtomo family's connections with the capital via influential liaisons enabled them to exchange gifts for influence and titles in the traditional manner to integrate into the warrior band writ large.

Specifically, in this letter Harumitsu was writing to thank Shiohōshi for the gift of a sword and

75 For the initial instance of Shintarō, see Kaitei shiseki shūran [Survey of historical sources, revised], Tenbun 2 (1533)/12/2 Ashikaga Yoshiharu gohan migyōsho [Copy of public decree by Ashikaga Yoshiharu], OSS 1: 3, doc. 1. The document is contained in a collection of primary sources that was made during the Meiji period (1868–1912), and there is some doubt about the dating, because it attributes the Ōtomo inheritance to Shintarō very early in his life.

76 For the initial instance of Shiohōshi, see Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenbun 6 (1537))/3/11 Ashikaga Yoshiharu gonaisho utsushi [Copy of directive from Ashikaga Yoshiharu], OSS 1: 3–4, doc. 2.
horse in commemoration of the birth of the shogun's son. Even from an early age, the communal aspect of life in warrior society permeates the records, and this letter marks the beginning of a long relationship with the future ruler of the country.

Not everyone would agree with my portrayal thus far of Shiohōshi as focused on warrior society and relatively disconnected from religious matters. Some modern-day claims for the boy depict him as a precocious proponent of Buddhism. The ten documents that remain with the name Shiohōshi demonstrate no connection to any religious institutions, but in the literature it publishes, Daitokuji temple in Kyoto currently identifies him as the founder of the sub-temple (tatchū) Zuihō-in, and offers the date of 1535 for its establishment. The editors fail to cite their sources, but they probably relied on later biographers, who may have attributed it to the five-year-old because they tried to model him on the legendary Prince Shōtoku (Shōtoku Taishi), who expressed his devotion to Buddhism as early as the age of two by causing a relic of the historical Buddha to appear in his hands. We might also surmise that the story arose because people sought to legitimate the temple's existence during the violently anti-Christian regime of the Tokugawa (ca. 1600–1868) by locating it at a time before the introduction of Christianity.

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77 The shōgun's son was Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1536–1565).

78 In later years, Sōrin would send the shogun an especially fine arquebus, to which Harumitsu would respond saying it would be treasured above all others. See Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenbun 23 (1554))/1/19 Ōdachi Harumitsu shojō utsushi [Copy of document from Ōdachi Harumitsu], OSS 2: 11–12, doc. 318. In this document, Harumitsu referred to him as Gorō, even though Sōrin had taken over the Ōtomo clan and was referred to by others as Yoshishige.

79 Daihonzan Daitokuji, Kyoto, Murasakino Daihonzan Daitokuji [Kyoto, Murasakino Daihonzan Daitokuji Temple] (Kyoto: Daihonzan Daitokuji, 2008), 22.

80 An image showing this legend about Shōtoku's early years appeared in art, such as that found at the Picture Hall in Hōryūji Temple. See Kevin Gray Carr, "The Lives of Shōtoku: Narrative Art and Ritual in Medieval Japan" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2005), 62.
second chapter of this dissertation will take up the problem of dating for this site in more detail and will discuss it as a joint project funded by the neighboring Ōuchi clan and others. What we can say here is that Shiohōshi was surely too young to arrange this on his own, and any participation he may have had in religious matters during this period developed out of policies pursued by his predecessors. Thus, his religious connections, and those of Shintarō, Gorō, and Yoshishige as well, ought to be considered as part of the clan's religious legacy, and not as an innovation by Shiohōshi.

For Shiohōshi, the religious aspect of his clan's legacy mainly manifested itself in his name. At some point in the 1520s, his father married a daughter from his Ōuchi clan rival in order to repair relations between them, and she gave birth to Shiohōshi in 1530. This had tremendous significance for both clans, as it not only tied the Ōtomo to the Ōuchi, but opened the door for Ōtomo family members to enter into the Ōuchi line of succession in later years. Genealogies contain information notoriously difficult to confirm, and other women may well have borne potential heirs to the Ōtomo house. However, by using "hōshi" (also pronounced "hosshi") in his name, one of the traditional appellations for eldest sons and successors in the Ōtomo clan, his father positioned him as a bridge figure between the two feuding houses.

Because "hōshi" meant "Buddhist monk," it also suggested an indeterminate commitment to Buddhism that might best be thought of as a default designation within a society dominated by the religion. Several warrior families routinely appended this title to the childhood names

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81 Genealogies differ about Sōrin's lineage. For his mother as a daughter from the Bōjō Fujiwara clan, see Ōtomo keizu (1) [Genealogy of the Ōtomo (1)], OKK 1: 20, and for her as a daughter of Ōuchi Yoshioki, see Ōtomo keifu (4) [Genealogy of the Ōtomo (4)], OKK 1: 83. The point to be made here is that the ambiguity left options open for future connections with other elite families.
(yōmyō) of their male offspring, possibly hoping that it would have some kind of apotropaic function for their child "priests," because they may have thought a member of the clergy had a better chance of avoiding illness and misfortune than a boy without such a title. It could have also legitimized their rule as proponents of Buddhism. Despite the appearance of religious devotion, though, it did not mean that Shihōshi or his father necessarily had monastic aspirations for him.

Shiohōshi's coming of age ceremony in 1539 marked the end of this period in his life, and the emergence of the name Gorō in the documents initiated a new level of integration with the political center. His name is significant because his father, Yoshiaki, had carried it after his coming of age ceremony as well. This naming pattern was not uncommon, and can be seen in neighboring clans like the Ōuchi, where the last three heads of the family, Masahiro (1446–1495), Yoshioki (1477–1528), and Yoshitaka (1507–1551), all shared the same childhood name of Kidōmaru. It probably signaled to local warriors and those in the capital region that Gorō was in line to succeed to headship of the house, and that he should receive titles and lands.

Gifts to the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu (1511–1550) in 1540 earned Gorō permission to use the "Yoshi" character from the ruler's name, and so he called himself "Yoshishige." He first identified himself this way when he sent a letter to the capital as "Minamoto Yoshishige"

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82 Other notable child "priests" included Oda Hidenobu, who had the name Sanbōshi as a child. Coincidentally, scholars also include him among the ranks of Christian daimyō. His career ended with a reversion to Buddhism when he entered the priesthood as a monk in 1600.

83 Sōrin's grandfather, Yoshinaga, and his father, Yoshiaki, used the names Shiohōshi (or Shiohōshimar) and Gorō in their youth. See Ōtomo keizu (1) [Genealogy of the Ōtomo (1)], in OKK 1: 18–19.

84 Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenbun 9 (1540))/2/3 Ashikaga Yoshiharu gonaisho utushi [Copy of shogunal document from Ashikaga Yoshiharu] OSS 1: 11, doc. 11.
used "Minamoto" here as part of formal correspondence, and it referred to his clan's pedigreed lineage, which stretched back to the originator of the house, Ōtomo Yoshinao (1172–1223), who was recorded in the family genealogies as an unrecognized son of the revered first shogun, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199). Fact or fiction, at least from the perspective of Sōrin and his family in the sixteenth century, they saw themselves as the descendants and heirs of military privilege.

Until 1550, Gorō and Yoshishige existed together. Documents sent from outside of the Ōtomo domain continued to come from Gorō, which suggests the authors' desire to keep a sense of familiarity. Documents originating in the Ōtomo domain came from Yoshishige, a name that expressed submission and a feudal relationship through his use of a character from the shogun's name. As Gorō/Yoshishige grew older, the ambiguity here highlighted "their" position stuck somewhere between heir and ruler; as long as their father refused to relinquish power, they could not make the transition from one to the next.

In the context of this dissertation, Yoshishige's correspondence with a monk by the name of Ryūmin'an (dates unknown) beginning in 1542 is of particular interest. Yoshishige sent his congratulations to Yoshiharu on his return to the capital (the shoguns at this time, like the Ōtomo, were peripatetic because of warfare). In this case, the priest probably served as one of the

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85 See Ōtomo keizu (1) [Genealogy of the Ōtomo (1)], in OKK 1: 3–4. Yoshinao carried the name Ichihōshimaru as a child, so while the name of "Ichī" was different than Shiohōshi's "Shio," the "hōshi" appended to it was the same. On the various accounts of Yoshinao's origin, and the argument against the historicity of the Ōtomo claim to be descendants of the first shogun, see Watanabe Sumio, "Bungo Ōtomo-shi no shutsuji ni tsuite" [On the origins of the Ōtomo clan in Bungo], Ōita-ken chihōshi [Journal of local history in Ōita Prefecture] 24 (1960): 1–17.

86 See Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenbun 11 (1542))/9/11 Ōtomo Yoshishige shojō utsushi [Copy of letter from Ōtomo Yoshishige], OSS 1: 21, doc. 31.

87 I have not been able to determine Ryūmin'an's institutional affiliation, but he is also known as Tōkō in the documents, which suggests that he was from Tōfukuji Temple.
liaisons between the Ōtomo and the shogun, and in this capacity he may have resembled the political emissaries (seiji shisetsu) that scholars have described for Zen monks in the late-medieval period.\textsuperscript{88} After the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1549, Buddhist priests would begin to lose their privileged role as intermediaries among power holders, as the Jesuits established effective communication networks with sympathizers such as the women surrounding the hegemon Hideyoshi.\textsuperscript{89}

For attitudes towards religious institutions within the Ōtomo's domain, we have indirect evidence that Yoshishige followed past precedent in his dealings with temples and shrines. We can think of such materials as "aspirational literature," defining them as texts that: 1) focused on governance, frequently as advice to heirs about how to rule properly; 2) were intended to endure, as opposed to edicts, orders, and other ad-hoc writings; and 3) prescribed (or proscribed) norms that the authors believed ought to (or ought not) be practiced. The genre comprises sources that we have tended to isolate and study separately as wills (ikun), testamentary documents (okibumi), oaths (kishōmon), military codes of behavior (gunritsu), house precepts (kakun), and domainal law codes (bunkokuhō).\textsuperscript{90} The overarching category of aspirational literature proposed here is meant to recognize that whatever differences they possessed, these texts were all expressions of political will. Because the writers often provided no specific criteria or


\textsuperscript{90} Unlike contributions to the genre by their neighbors (the Ōuchi and Sagara families), nothing from the Ōtomo has been examined by mainstream scholarship as "law," and their works have rarely appeared in the catch-all category of "precepts" either. The unfortunate result of these definitional ambiguities is that their political writings exist in canonical limbo with little analysis in Japanese and none at all in English.
in institutional apparatus to evaluate compliance, the expression of intent, not necessarily its actual implementation is the defining characteristic shared by these works.91

The Kamakura military government's 1232 Institutes of Judicature (Goseibai shikimoku) laid the foundation for this genre of writing, and as we see in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, it also influenced the practice of oath-making. The influential document covered a broad range of topics meant to set guidelines for members of a new military administration, and two of the articles stand out for their statements of public policy towards cultic sites.

Item 1. — The Shrines of the gods must be kept in repair; and their worship performed with the greatest attention.

The majesty of the gods is augmented by the veneration of men, and the fortunes of men are fulfilled by the virtue of the gods. Therefore the established sacrifices to them must not be allowed to deteriorate; and there must be no

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Source: The documents in this table comprise ones that scholars generally recognize as house codes or precepts meant to last for some time, but if one includes other ad-hoc "legislation," the list could be made much longer. They were compiled from ZTHO and Ōita-ken kyōdo shiryō shūsei.

91 There are reasons to insist on these more precise categories. Writings identified as "law" can be included in comparative studies of other domains within the Japanese archipelago and with countries outside of it. Those considered as "house precepts" can provide insight into warrior "ideals" or contribute to discussions of the ephemeral warrior ethos of bushidō.
remissness in paying ceremonial honours to them as if they were present.
Accordingly throughout the provinces of the Kwanto Dominion and likewise in the
Manors, the Land Reeves, the Kannushi (Shinto) priests and others concerned
must each bear this in mind, and carefully carry out this duty. Moreover, in the
case of shrines which have been enfeoffed (endowed with benefices) the deed of
grant must be confirmed each generation, and minor repairs executed from time
to time as prescribed therein. If serious damage should happen to a shrine a full
report of the circumstances is to be made, and such directions will be given (from
Kamakura) as the exigencies of the case may require.

2. — (Buddhist) Temples and pagodas must be kept in repair and the
Buddhist services diligently celebrated.
Although (Buddhist) temples are different from (Shinto) shrines, both are
alike as regards worship and veneration. Therefore the merit of maintaining them
both in good order and the duty of keeping up the established services, as
provided in the foregoing article is the same in both cases. Let no one bring
trouble on himself through negligence herein.
In case the incumbent does what he pleases with the income of the temple
benefice or covetously misappropriates it, or if the duties of the clergy be not
diligently fulfilled by him, the offender shall be promptly dismissed, and another
incumbent appointed.92

It is significant that the Institutes of Judicature begins with concern about the proper relationship
of temples and shrines to members of the warrior band, especially with the upkeep and
maintenance of the sites, because it was thought that it would legitimize warrior arrogation of
power, and also gain them divine support for their endeavors. The lingering influence of this
foundational document can be discerned through some of the aspirational writings produced over
the medieval period by leaders of the Ōtomo house.

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Ōtomo Yoriyasu (1222–1300) wrote the first legal code for the Ōtomo clan in 1242, and his 1244 supplement drew heavily on the *Institutes of Judicature*. More than two centuries later, Yoshinaga (1478–1518) felt the need in 1515 to produce a new set of rules for the house, and while previous materials continued to inform the content, he re-fashioned it to meet the demands of a very different age. In 1530, Yoshiaki revised his father's 1515 code, and scholars have suggested that the two versions may have operated simultaneously in his domain. These would have been the codes that Sōrin grew up under, and there is evidence in a notation on the back of one copy of the 1530 code that he read it. Because this was a revision of the earlier one in 1515, he may have seen that one as well. Sōrin's own memorandum in 1584 functioned as a supplement to the 1515 and 1530 codes, not a replacement. After his death, his son produced a major revision to the earlier codes before his departure for the battlefront on the Korean peninsula, but Hideyoshi took away the Ōtomo clan's domain a short time later in 1593, and so it was only in effect for a short time. Finally, in 1635, a probable forgery attributed to Sōrin appeared in Sugitani Muneshige's (dates unknown) chronicle of the Ōtomo house.

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93 Ōtomo Yoriyasu is thought to have been the first of the Ōtomo clan to actually reside in his lands in Bungo province. He joined in the defense against the Mongols when they invaded in 1274 and 1281. During these times, he requested that local monks pray for divine aid in expelling the invaders.


95 Kudaragi Gi'ichirō makes a persuasive argument that the 1635 copy of a code purportedly written by Ōtomo Sōrin was actually modeled on the legal codes of the Tokugawa in the early seventeenth century. See Kudaragi Gi'ichirō, "Ōtomo Sōrin den zakkō" [Various thoughts on stories about Ōtomo Sōrin], "Ōita-ken chihōshi [Journal of local history in Ōita Prefecture] 13–16, (May 1958): 32–53.
The two codes that Sōrin likely read during his time as heir and ruler contain some hints about his public religious policies. Like the 1232 *Institutes of Judicature*, these contain articles exhorting warriors to maintain the sacred sites on their lands.

1515

一、寺社造営、無油断可被申付之事
一、今宮殿御神領寄進之事
ITEM [2]: You must not be negligent in maintaining temples and shrines.
ITEM [3]: It is necessary to donate sacred land to the branch shrine.

1530

一、寺社造営無油断可被申付事
ITEM [1]: You must not be negligent in maintaining temples and shrines.

The 1515 code adds an additional article requiring donations to branch shrines (*imamiya*).

Previous scholarship has argued that Yoshinaga (Sōrin's grandfather) is referring to Yusuhara shrine, which was a branch of the original shrine for Usa shrine, because Yusuhara was supposedly the home of the Ōtomo clan deity. However, as the third chapter of this dissertation will show, the clan deity's identity and location was unstable, and it is unclear whether the Ōtomo at this time held it in higher esteem than other shrines in the area. It is also possible that the text is referring to nearby Wakamiya shrine (Wakamiya Jinja), which occupied an important sacred site in the city of Funai. Whichever site it referred to, the modifications suggest that the general policy of the Ōtomo was to uphold not only the letter, but also the spirit of these early codes in extending their support.
Taking Refuge in Buddhism (1550–1587)

Yoshishige's career changed dramatically from 1550. According to one historical narrative from the seventeenth century, during the second month of that year, his father had a change of heart about his unruly heir. He sent Yoshishige (as Sōrin was known at the time) out of town and summoned four of the clan's chief retainers for an audience at the castle on the tenth day in order to inform them that he was naming his beloved son, Yoshishige's step-brother Shioichimaru (?–1550), as the next clan leader. When his subordinates objected, Yoshiaki left the room in a rage and began plotting to kill them. That same evening, Yoshiaki summoned two of them to his residence and had them assassinated at the gates. When the other two heard, they entered through the rear gate, climbed to the second floor and went on a bloody rampage that claimed the lives of the heir, his mother, some guards, and staff. Although the plotters did not see their coup to completion, they were able to mortally wound Yoshiaki. He died two days later and Yoshishige took over the family. A skeptical reader of the narrative might suspect Yoshishige's hand behind the bloody events that brought him to power in place of his step-brother, and while it seems doubtful that his father would act so capriciously in the matter of succession, documentary evidence sheds little light on the situation.

Social unrest during this period is supposed to have been epitomized by this kind of phenomenon, which historians today call *gekokujō*; literally those "below" (*ge*)

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96 *Ōtomo kōhaiki* [Record of the rise and fall of the Ōtomo Clan], *OKK* 1: 71–73. The following anecdote about Yoshiaki comes from this narrative.
"overthrowing" (koku) those "above" (jō).\(^97\) Conservative elites constructed the category to describe and condemn threats to the traditional social order from widespread violence, treachery, illegitimacy, and the violation of social norms. In this case, gekokujō contained the potential to restrain violence, because the element of kinship present with Yoshishige (the son of Yoshiaki) both enabled the radical transgression of social norms and the maintenance of them. By channeling mutiny through the framework of family, gekokujō was capable of obtaining political power with a minimum of bloodshed. It therefore served as a viable, and not necessarily disloyal, alternative to warfare. Previous scholarship has not adequately acknowledged the familial aspect of gekokujō because seventeenth-century chroniclers of such events foregrounded treachery in order to explain the anarchy and disorder in the period.

Although a watershed moment in his career, clearly a new stage in his life, and a moment of considerable power, Yoshishige did not take a new name. In contrast to religious activities during the first two decades of his life which involved the capital region, from this point in his life he turned his attention to Kyūshū. One of the earliest documents he issued as ruler was a letter sent to the Dazaifu Tenmangū shrine in the northwestern part of the island.

就愛元之儀、示給候、被添心候之次第、祝著候、於于今者、無異儀候、其
堺堅固之才覚、肝要候、猶年寄共可申候、恐々謹言、
二月廿二日
義鎮 (花押2)
天滿宮

\(^{97}\) This was the meaning of gekokujō from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. It is a usage not to be confused with the application of this term to the modern period, especially wartime Japan, as "rule of the higher by the lower." For an example of the latter, see Frank Gibney, *Japan: The Fragile Superpower* (New York: Tuttle Publishing, 1996), 112.
In regards to the matter at hand, you have shown [your position], and your tremendous steadfastness pleases me. At this time, without fail, it is important that you prepare fortifications on the border. The council of elders will convey this. Respectfully.

[Tenbun 19 (1550)]/2/22  Yoshishige (monogram 2)
Tenmangū Shrine
Ōtorii

At the time he gained headship of the family, Yoshishige was in a precarious position. The Ōuchi clan to the north was one of the most powerful military organizations in the country, and the two clans shared a history of violent conflict. Although Yoshishige was descended from the family through his mother, kinship was a tenuous foundation for an alliance. Yoshishige had first-hand experience with the dangers posed by family members in the early days of his rule, when he came under attack by his uncle's armies in neighboring Higo province. This letter to the Ōtorii clan was probably a delicate maneuver meant to shore up his position there against his brother, and also to provide support for the claims of the Ōtorii to control over the Dazaifu Tenmangū shrine, which was esteemed throughout Japan for its connection to the courtier Sugawara Michizane and his deified angry spirit (goryō). As one of five clans supplying administrators (bettō) for it, the Ōtorii had long fought with the Ōuchi-backed Kotorii clan over the position of administrator in absentia (rusu shoku). Yoshishige managed not only to quell the rebellion

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98 Ōtorii monjo [Documents of the Ōtorii] (Tenbun 19 (1550))/2/22 Ōtomo Yoshishige shojō [Document from Ōtomo Yoshishige], OSS 1: 48, doc. 74. The collection contains documents that were held by the Ōtorii clan, which was one of the five administrative families for Dazaifū Tenmangū Shrine. The collection consists of 14 scrolls and a total of 219 items. The collection was compiled in 1685, and the oldest document in it dates from 1333/8/16. It holds many documents related to the Ōtomo and Shimazu families, and it is currently held by Dazaifū Tenmangū Shrine.
and have his uncle killed, but also to join in the overthrow of the Ōuchi and place his younger brother as head of that clan. For a few years, the combination of Ōuchi and Ōtomo forces under the brothers amounted to the largest domain in Japan and the most powerful military organization in the country. The two brothers certainly had the potential to target the capital and take control, but neither of them expressed any interest in doing so. They both developed visions for the future of the region, but until Sōrin attempted to build his Christian kingdom in 1578, neither of them conceived of a role for themselves outside the traditional military government. This characteristic distinguished them from much less powerful (at the time), but far more ambitious warlords such as Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

In addition to supporting traditional cultic sites in other parts of his domain, Yoshishige began including Christian ones as well. Under his protection, a monastery and chapel were built in Hakata. However, in 1557 the Ōtomo and Ōuchi empire began to crumble when the Mōri clan overthrew Yoshishige's younger brother, and continued two years later in 1559/2 when a Mōri ally attacked Hakata with 2,000 troops.99 The Ōtomo's deputy died there and the chapel was destroyed along with part of the city. The chapel was rebuilt in 1561 against the background of Yoshishige's expanding power; he became military governor of Chikuzen province in 1559/6 and the Kyūshū administrator in 1559/11.

If Yoshishige had continued using this name for the remainder of his life, as his father had done during his, then nothing would have distinguished him from any number of other warlords

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99 The Mōri ally was Chikushi Korekado (1531–1567).
during the period in this regard. He was under no obligation to change it, but from the 1560s onward, religion came to dominate his name choices. After consolidating his forces in the 1550s, Mōri Motonari (1497–1571) began attacking the Ōtomo in northern Kyūshū, and politically the conflict between them defined the rest of Yoshishige's reign. Up until the end of 1561, Yoshishige signed documents with his regular name. However, in 1562, in the midst of some of the fiercest fighting, Yoshishige dropped out of the documentary record and the Buddhist lay monk Ōtomo Sōrin emerged in his stead. We do not know precisely when he took this name, but in doing so, he marked a break with Shiohōshi, Gorō, and Yoshishige. Until this time, correspondence had generally involved establishing or maintaining relationships with traditional religious institutions in a public role as heir and ruler, but personal commitments were unclear. In contrast, Sōrin aligned himself with a relatively new Buddhist lineage in the capital, but outside of the government-sponsored system, and this act coincided with a period of constructing religious centers in his domain.

We cannot know with certainty why he chose this time in his early thirties to "leave the world" (shukke) and take Buddhist vows, but scholars have offered two explanations. First, they

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100 See, for example, Abe-shi shūshū monjo [Document collection of the Abe clan] (Eiroku 4 (1561))/11/2 Ōtomo Yoshishige kanjō [Document of gratitude from Ōtomo Yoshishige], Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives (Ōita Kenritsu Sentetsu Shiryōkan), doc. 04-006, 17.5 cm x 50 cm. An identical copy of the document can be found in the Bekki monjo [Documents of the Bekki]. See OSS 2: 287–288, doc. 689. The Documents of the Bekki consist of items for the Bekki house before Bekki Akitsura (Tachibana Dōsetsu) took over the Tachibana house in 1571.

101 For the initial instance of Sōrin, see Watanabe monjo [Documents of the Watanabe] (Eiroku 5 (1562))/6/15 Ōtomo Sōrin shojō [Document from Ōtomo Sōrin], OSS 3: 3, doc. 781.

102 Toyama Mikio suggests Eiroku 5 (1562) from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the seventh month. Akutagawa Tatsuo argues similarly that it occurred in the latter half of 1562. See Toyama Mikio, Ōtomo Sōrin (1975), 136 and Akutagawa Tatsuo, Bungo Ōtomo ichizoku (1990), 136.
have suggested that he was simply indecisive and prone to changing his name. The creation of a new monogram and a new seal involved some amount of time and labor, and the fact that names carried political, social, cultural, and religious significance would make this explanation the least likely. In addition, Sōrin's retainers took his religious commitment seriously, and in an expression of solidarity with their lord, several of them followed him this year by becoming Buddhist initiates themselves. Other scholars have looked to the military threat the Mōri posed, and have posited that he changed his name at this time to express to his retainers, his enemies, and deities the sincerity of his intent to fight. This would comport with the behavior of his contemporaries in other parts of the archipelago, and so this may have played a part in his decision. Finally, they have pointed to Sōrin's poor constitution as a reason for his devotion to Buddhism. Fearing that he might die soon from illness, Sōrin was preparing himself for death. This explanation seems especially compelling, because as we will see below, this period also marked his first serious commitment to Christianity. If we look closely at the names he used, he appears to have made a simultaneous commitment to both faiths.

Sōrin's new religious direction came through his study of Zen under the monk Iun Sōetsu (1518–1589). In 1558 Emperor Ōgimachi (1517–1593) sent Sōetsu from Kyoto to Bungo province as an imperial messenger in order to gather funds for his accession ceremony. Sōetsu was the successor to Tesshū Sōkyū (1480–1556), who was the original head abbot of Zuihō-in

103 ZTHO 21: 98, doc. 196 (Takita Manabu's comment). Toyama Mikio also speculates along the similar lines about Sōrin's mental state in Toyama Mikio, Ōtomo Sōrin (1975), 237.

104 Bekki Akitsura wrote a letter praising another retainer for taking the tonsure and changing his name to show solidarity with Sōrin. See Gojō-ke monjo [Gojō house documents] (Eiroku 5 (1562))/7/7, Bekki Akitsura shojō [Document from Bekki Akitsura], GKM, 175, doc. 243; BKS: 8-2, 674, doc. 7.

(the sub-temple that was supposedly founded by Shiohōshi), and in 1555, Sōetsu took up residence in Zuihō-in. At some point he moved out of the sub-temple, but moved back again in 1558. During his initial trip to Bungo, Sōetsu resided at Kaizōji temple in Usuki, and received support from Sōrin to establish Jurinji temple in the city. In 1571, Sōrin invited Sōetsu to become head abbot of Jurinji. A year later, sources record that Sōrin and some of his top retainers received instruction (mondō) directly from Sōetsu.106 On the one hand, the re-naming and patronage demonstrated Sōrin's support of the Daitokuji lineage. On the other, it can be seen as part of a broader policy of establishing a religious center in the southern part of his domain, because during this time he also supported the Jesuits, who built a church in Usuki. When Sōrin began throwing his full support behind Christianity after his retirement, Sōetsu returned to Kyoto.

After Sōrin "took refuge" in the three treasures, he used "Sōrin" and other "Buddhist" names such as Ensai (and variations on it), Kyūan, Sōteki for the rest of his life. In one case, two

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106 The two top retainers who received instruction were Usuki Akihaya (?–1575) and Nuruyu Akisada (dates unknown).
names occur at once, with Kyūan in the text of the document, and Ensai as the signatory. Although the name Zuihō Sōrin does not appear in correspondence originating with him, others apparently referred to him this way, and genealogies also listed it among the names used for him during his lifetime. What is interesting about the name Zuihō Sōrin is that it is tied to a specific physical site, and much like Tentokuji (discussed more below), it would also become associated with his gravesite.

From Tacit Support to a Qualified Conversion (1578–1587)

Yoshishige first met the Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier in 1551, when he invited Xavier to visit him in Bungo Province, at which time Yoshishige expressed interest in and support for Christianity. When did he first take steps towards making a personal commitment to the faith? Historians conventionally date his conversion to 1578, but evidence of concrete steps toward this may have come as early as 1562, when the name Sangensai started occurring in the records along with a monogram similar to the one found in documents from around this time bearing the name of Sōrin.

Sangensai's documents are undated, and so we cannot be sure of when they were written, but scholars have dated some to the 1560s. These were early steps on Sōrin's road to conversion, because the name probably alludes to three Christian vows that he made not to do certain acts

107 Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenshō 8 (1580))/i3/21 Ōtomo Yoshimune / Ensai renshōjō utushi [Copy of a document jointly signed by Ōtomo Yoshimune and Ensai], OSS 5: 111–112, doc. 1759.

108 For Zuihō Sōrin, see Irie monjo [Documents of the Irie], dates unknown, Ōtomo Tawara keizu [Genealogy of the Ōtomo Tawara], OKS 10: 462, doc. 742.

109 For the initial instance of Sangensai, see Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Eiroku 5 (1562))/12/11 Ōtomo Sangensai shōjō utushi [Copy of letter from Ōtomo Sangensai], OSS 3: 32, doc. 820.
(the character for "san" meaning "three"). The name "Sanpizai," which began appearing sixteen years later, has also been explained by scholars this way as an allusion to his vows. In the case of Sanpizai, it contains the character for "to not be" (hi), and this is seen as a strong reference to the three vows.

Figure 5 shows the name "Sōrin" written over a seal showing the "to not be" (hi) character, presumably used in reference to his Christian name. In this case, it comes from a letter that Sōrin and his son jointly signed and sent in 1575 to Bekki Hōki Nyūdō, who is better known by his later name, Tachibana Dōsetsu (1513–1585). There are three reasons why the form of Sōrin's name here is significant. First, it shows Sōrin using both his Buddhist name (Sōrin) and his Christian one (Sanpizai) together at once in a kind of dual religious identity. This does not indicate syncretism, but merely reflects his interest in both traditions, and there is no indication that he mixed the two conceptually into a single worldview. Second, because he sent the letter to one of his top retainers as internal correspondence related to a succession matter, it demonstrates that he expressed his affinity for Christianity not only to Jesuits but, without any apparent hope to gain benefits from the Jesuits in terms of trade or favor, he also displayed his devotion to Christianity to members of his warrior band. Third, five years later, Dōsetsu wrote a scathing rebuke of the warrior band, which has conventionally been interpreted by historians as

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110 Sōrin's three vows will be discussed in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

111 On the connection between Sangensai, Sanpizai, and the three Christian vows, see Taniguchi Kengo, "Kirishitan daimyō Sōrin," [The Christian lord Ōtomo Sōrin] in Ōtomo Sōrin no subete (1986), 57. Taniguchi claims that both names appeared around the same time as the invasion of Hyūga in 1578, but the editors of the OSS have placed Sangensai as early as 1562. For the initial instance of Sanpizai, see Shide monjo [Documents of the Shide] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/2/4 Ōtomo Sanpizai shojō [Document from Ōtomo Sanpizai], OSS 5: 69, doc. 1706.

112 Tachibana-ke monjo [Tachibana house documents], Yanagawa City Historical Archives (Yanagawa-shi Komonjokan), doc. 2-3-15. For a transcription of the document, see (Tenshō 3(1575))/5/10 Ōtomo Yoshimune / Sōrin renshojo [Letter jointly signed by Ōtomo Yoshimune and Ōtomo Sōrin], OSS 5: 13, doc. 1627.
criticism of Sōrin's Christianity. Yet, if Dōsetsu felt so strongly about the matter, it seems unlikely that Sōrin would have gone out of his way in this letter to antagonize him, and as we will see in the final chapter of this dissertation, the apparent acceptance of Sōrin's faith at this point suggests that Dōsetsu had other grounds for his admonitions.

The two "Christian" sounding names (Sangensai and Sanpizai) present a conundrum. If the names represent a turn towards Christianity, this would place his adoption of Christianity around the same time as his embrace of Daitokuji Zen Buddhism under Iun Sōetsu. As no Japanese or Jesuit records exist to suggest a conversion or baptism at this time, and Sōrin kept the vows private, it would be too much to call him the first (unacknowledged) "Christian lord." However, the possibility of an intense early interest in Christianity cannot be denied. In addition, if he was fearing death from illness at the time (as mentioned previously), then it would make sense that he sought out the salvational benefits of Christianity as well. Unfortunately, none of the documents bearing these names have dates, and we do not have any explicit connections made in the records between religious beliefs and the changes in nomenclature. More research needs to be done on these to say anything.

Fig. 6. Ōtomo Sōrin's Ensai Signature and Latin Seal. The Buddhist name "Ensai" is shown written on top of the "RCO" (Francisco) seal. Source: Jōnai monjo, Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives, doc. 0008-01.
definitive about the timing, but what this suggests is that Sangensai and Sanpizai signaled to members of the retainer band that the leader had made some kind of commitment to both traditional religious groups and the new one introduced by the Jesuits. The writing of names associated with Buddhism over seals associated with Christianity, especially when the seals obviously bear Latin characters (as we will see below), at the very least brings into question any exclusive commitment to one type of religion or another. Certainly, the appellation "Christian daimyō" is inadequate, and trade interest alone seems insufficient motivation for the confusion of names.

Whatever the extent of his personal commitment in the 1560s and 1570s, as Sangensai and Sanpizai he continued to maintain a pluralistic religious network that included temples, shrines, and churches. In the third month of 1578, after receiving more than two decades of support from the Ōtomo clan leaders Yoshishige and Sōrin, the Jesuits gained a convert in "Francisco." Not only was Francisco baptized, but he left his second wife, who came from a local shrine family and had vociferously expressed her opposition to the missionaries.

Yet, Sōrin's Buddhist names continued to populate the documents. His Latin name did not get used by him in correspondence until much later. Shortly after his conversion recorded in 1578, the retired ruler left his province of Bungo, sailed south to an area of Hyūga province known as Mushika in order to establish a Christian kingdom. Even in the midst of this unambiguously Christian project, his son was writing to retainers calling his father "Kyūan" instead of Francisco.113 Yoshimune might have feared that radical nature of his father's new

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religious activities would alienate warriors. Moreover, the name "Francisco" might have
confused recipients, who would not have understood it, and may not have known who its owner
was.

We will return to this point in Sōrin's life in each of the successive chapters, because the
religious issues that arose in his final decade provide the most insight into the tensions that
existed between traditional practices and the new ones introduced by the Jesuits. The conversion
neither altered his Buddhist name nor stopped him from acknowledging rituals done on his
family's behalf by traditional cultic sites. In a document from 1578, he referred to a prayer done
by the ritual specialists at Dazaifu Tenmangū for Sanpizai's son, Yoshimune, before he departed
Bungo to wage war in Hyūga. The recipients were the same clan that had enjoyed Yoshishige's
support in the early days of his rule in 1550, the Ōtorii. Yoshimune's military campaign had a
dual role: to punish a traitorous retainer and to arrogate lands for the establishment of Sanpizai's
Christian community at Mushika (See Chapter Five for a translation of the document).

After his conversion, Sōrin continued to use "Buddhist" sounding names of ambiguous
meaning. The initial occurrence of the name Ensai (the meaning of which is unclear) in 1579
attended the use of a new seal with the Latin characters representing his Christian name of
Francisco, so we can take his name to indicate continuing identification as a member of the new
faith, but we cannot know how someone who received a letter from Ensai would have interpreted
The characters in the seal would have been essentially gibberish, and even if warriors had earlier memorized Sōrin's monogram, it would not have done them any good, because it was missing from these documents. What makes the seal in Figure 5 especially interesting is that it appeared in a document sent by Sōrin in order to confer the Buddhist name of Rinshu (the "Rin" character came from the "rin" in Sōrin's name) on one of his retainers. In other words, a Christian warlord wrote to a retainer (Tsujima Wakasa Nyūdō) in order to give him a Buddhist name (Rinshu) taken in part from a name he was no longer actively using (Sōrin), signed the document with a Buddhist name (Ensai) and a seal showing an abbreviated form of his Christian name (Francisco) in the Latin alphabet.

An unambiguous signal of Sōrin's affiliation with Christianity finally came with the name of Furan (abbreviated form of "Francisco"), which first came into use in 1581. On the one hand, it expressed a deepening commitment to the religion. On the other, the name Sōteki that he started using in 1586 was an anomaly that closely resembles the monogram he used for the

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114 For the initial instance of Ensai, see *Irie monjo* [Documents of the Irie] (Tenshō 7 (1579))/2/2 Ōtomo Ensai shōjō [Document from Ōtomo Ensai], *OSS* 5: 90, doc. 1732. This dating differs from that shown in Table 1 because the editors begin counting the "Ensai" period from correspondence sent by Sōrin's council of elders in *Tawara-ke monjo* [Documents of the Tawara house] (Tenshō 7 (1579))/1/11 Ōtomo-ke kahanshū renshōjō uttsushi (Copy of document with multiple signatures by the Ōtomo house council of elders), *OSS* 5: 89, doc. 1731. His name does not actually appear in the document, though it comes from around the time he changed his name.

115 *Jōnai monjo* [Documents of the Jōnai], Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives, doc. 0008-01. For a transcription of the document, see (Tenshō 8 (1580))/10/14 Ōtomo Ensai shōjō [Letter from Ōtomo Ensai], *OSS* 5: 139–140, doc. 1793.

116 For the initial instance of Furan, see *Monchūjo monjo* [Documents of the Monchūjo] (Tenshō 9 (1581))/10/10 Ōtomo Furan shōjō (Document by Ōtomo Furan), *OSS* 5: 159, doc. 183.
documents he used to sign with the name Sōrin, so this might suggest a nod towards his lingering interest in Buddhism, or at least the promise of salvation through support of the faith.117

In the final months of his life, Sōrin took a new name which, like his earlier use of Zuihō-in, tied him directly to a specific religious site. On 1586/12/2 Hideyoshi addressed a letter to Tentokuji Saemon Nyūdō. In the letter, he said that he was deploying troops from Awa and Awaji provinces on the island of Shikoku to fight against the Shimazu, who were invading Bungo province. He also said that troops from Bizen and Misaka provinces on the island of Honshū were to assist. Moreover, he stated that he was going to take to the field as well (Kanpaku shutsuba).118 This is the first time that Tentokuji is mentioned for Sōrin in the documents, and it is interesting here, because a letter five days later from Sōrin to a retainer was signed as Sōteki, and on 1587/3/13 he wrote a letter to another retainer naming himself "Sōrin."119 To the best of my knowledge, he never used Tentokuji himself, and he seems to have shifted back and forth between using Sōteki and Sōrin in his correspondence until his death in the fifth month of 1587. If we are to attribute significance to Sōrin's choice of names during his life, then surely his use of both Buddhist and Christian ones during his final days complicates the image of him as a zealous Christian convert. Given this situation, the appellation of "Christian daimyō" has been

117 For the initial instance of Sōteki, see Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenshō 14 (1586))/4/6 Ōtomo Sōteki shojō utsushi [Copy of document from Ōtomo Sōteki], OSS 5: 213–219, doc. 1870. This is a rather well-known letter written by Sōrin upon his visit to Hideyoshi in his newly built castle in Osaka.

118 Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenshō 14 (1586))/12/2 Toyotomi Hideyshoi shojō utsushi [Copy of letter from Toyotomi Hideyoshi], OSS 5: 230, doc. 1883. Actually, the copy of the letter mistakenly has Tentokuji Uemon Nyūdō instead of Saemon Nyūdō.

119 Saeki monjo [Documents of the Saeki] (Tenshō 15 (1587))/3/13 Ōtomo Sōrin shojō utsushi [Copy of a letter from Ōtomo Sōrin], OSS 5: 241, doc. 1895.
misleading in the previous literature to the point that we have stopped asking about any other religious commitments.

Conclusion

The changes Sōrin made in nomenclature marked different stages in his career, and some of the names signaled religious commitments. They transformed him into a new individual with a different identity and the emergence of each new one corresponded with developments in an increasingly diverse religious landscape within the Ōtomo domain. These multiple identities come through in some of the visual representations that have been made of him over the centuries, and rather than see him as simply a "Buddhist" or a "Christian," we have to consider the different faces he presented to his warrior band, sometimes even within the same document.

In addition, another point that becomes clear through looking at each stage of his life is that a desire for trade with the "West" lacks explanatory power for his actions. A trans-local history of Sōrin that focuses on his linkages with other places, suggests that his connection with Europe formed out of a desire for both spiritual and material benefits. Just as he desired gunpowder and other "Western" things for commercial and military aims, he also wanted to have a "Western" name and religious identity. The fact that he used the non-traditional Christian names in private correspondence with retainers who were not Christian, and he gained no apparent benefit from doing so, clearly demonstrates that his interest in the foreign faith went far beyond trade.
Sōrin was taking a culture of war that relied on locally significant names, and re-configuring it to send signals to others in his warrior band about his globally significant ones. These moves on his part represented commitments to a religion not based in East Asia, but located halfway around the world in a place that no Japanese had yet visited. In large part it existed only in the Japanese imagination until Sōrin sent a distant relative, Itō Mancio, to visit the Pope in his place shortly before his death.\textsuperscript{120} The remainder of this dissertation will examine how Sōrin and other warriors with an interest in Christianity engaged with traditional and Christian cultic sites in Japan. Focusing on Sōrin's death, our attention will be on critical moments that brought religious issues to the fore.

\textsuperscript{120} Mancio's name is listed as one of the members of the church in Bungo Province after he returned. See Marsden Manuscripts, Add MS 9860 ("Papers relating to the Jesuit mission in Japan"), fls. 111 to 119. It is unclear if Sōrin gave much consideration to what would happen to the church after his death, but as the extensive accounting of sites and hundreds of personnel in the Marsden Manuscripts shows, he may not have worried much, because it was doing extremely well.
Otomo Sōrin made several religious commitments at different stages in his career, but knowing about his personal journey does not give us a very clear sense of why some physical locations held significance for him and his warrior band (*kashindan*). This chapter will focus on memorial temples (*bodaiji*), a type of sacred place that historians have recognized as especially important in premodern warrior society. It will examine the unique connection between cultic sites and the deaths of warriors, and consider how local warlords utilized temple sites to connect with power centers. Further, it will provide an explanation for the tremendous religious changes that occurred at the end of the sixteenth century; namely, the embrace, then rejection of Christianity, and finally re-commitment to Buddhism by elites in one of the most religiously pluralistic regions in the country. In particular, it aims to demonstrate how the Jesuits, who had a keen interest in Japanese mortuary rituals even before they visited the islands, took the opportunity of Sōrin's death to create a form of Christian funerary practice tailored for Japanese elites. 

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121 There is no scholarly consensus on the composition of the *kashindan*, in part because the term was not in use at the time to describe the military organizations. This is exacerbated by the fact that warlords like the Otomo did not keep comprehensive rosters, a fact which points to the fluid nature of the band and the decentralized nature of governance in the period. For a discussion of debates on the warrior band, a persuasive call for rethinking the "retainer corps," and a consideration of how members of such groups received payments for services rendered, see Jeffrey Yoshio Kurashige, "Serving Your Master: The Kashindan Retainer Corps and the Socio-Economic Transformation of Warring States Japan," (2011), 69–125.

The circumstances surrounding Sōrin's death make for a compelling case study because they generated uncertainty over the performance of a new kind of ritual in the archipelago. The controversy is evident in the fact that sites from different religious traditions and regions of the country could claim the right to memorialize the deceased leader: the sub-temple (tatchū) of Zuihō-in on the grounds of Daitokuji temple in Kyoto, the Rinzai Zen (Rinzai shū) temple complex of Manjuji in the local administrative center of Funai, and the Christian church of Tentokuji in Tsukumi. At least one other Buddhist temple (Daichiji temple in Funai) could arguably be included in this list as well, but this chapter focuses on Zuihō-in and Manjuji because they had long associations with Sōrin, enabled the Ōtomo to reach beyond the borders of their domain, and received explicit recognition from Sōrin's son of their status as memorial temples after Sōrin died. Regarding Tentokuji, this chapter will explain why the Catholic church, which had the strongest claim as Sōrin's mortuary site, largely dropped out of the historical record shortly after his death. Treating Tentokuji along with the others as a "memorial temple" is unconventional, but accurate, because this was where the Jesuits invested great effort to offer a viable alternative for the memorialization of elites.

Sōrin was not alone in needing a site for the performance of rites after his death, and many historical figures in premodern Japan have had memorial temples associated with them. Well-known ones in the premodern period included the Hōjō clan's Kenchōji temple in the early-medieval military headquarters of Kamakura, and the imperial family's Sennyūji in the capital of Kyoto.¹²³ Kenchōji's connection with the Hōjō ended with the eradication of the clan in the

¹²³ For more on Hōjō patronage of Kenchōji Temple, see Martin Collcutt, Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan (1981), 57–89.
fourteenth century, and Sennyūji performed its last memorial service for the imperial family about a year before the country abruptly embarked on a path to becoming a modern nation in 1868. By naming a specific site for successive generations of a family, the implication made by historians is that this was "the" memorial temple for a clan rather than simply "a" site among many. Linking one religious complex to a family in this way is so ubiquitous and familiar in Japanese scholarship for the premodern period that we are expected to accept the term as stable and full of obvious significance. Yet, the precise role they played, especially within a culture of war, has been inadequately examined.

Recent research looking at premodern Buddhist notions of dying, death, and the afterlife among society in general offers some insights into a rich tradition of established practices from which warriors could have drawn. On occasion, medieval sources even offer up glimpses of what actually happened with elite, aristocratic warriors. However, we know much less about warriors outside the capital, especially after they died, and the memorial temples took over care of their spirits. By the designation of "memorial temple" in secondary literature on the Ōtomo, we are supposed to understand that a site functioned as a place to inter remains and host prayer services for the enlightenment or Buddhahood (bodai) of a deceased family member.

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125 See, for example, Jacqueline Ilyse Stone, "With the Help of 'Good Friends': Deathbed Ritual Practices in Early Medieval Japan," in Death and the Afterlife in Japanese Buddhism, ed. Jacqueline Stone and Mariko Namba Walter, 61–101 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), esp. 86–90. As we will see at the end of this chapter, the communal aspects of death rituals resonate with the ritual performed at Tentokuji for Sōrin's death.


studies of other clans, it has also been shown that such temples acted as tools for binding the warrior band together through mandatory attendance at commemoration ceremonies held there.\textsuperscript{128}

The term "memorial temple" itself has made only furtive appearances in English-language literature in the past, and it has not found itself the object of sustained historical inquiry.\textsuperscript{129} This concept does not fit easily into studies of religious traditions along sectarian lines because the affiliations of each location changed as old families declined and new ones rose to take their place as patrons. Neither does it play a prominent role in many historical investigations, especially for the sixteenth century, when political and military innovations overshadowed its presence. The lack of research underlines the word's instability and ambiguous relationship to both rulers and religious institutions to which it was attached.

If we expand our scope to include close synonyms of bodaiji, though, we have a slightly larger pool of scholarship upon which to draw. Other terms that cluster around the concept include those for mortuary temples (bodaisho), parish temples (dannadera), family temples that transferred merit to ancestors (ekōdera), prayer temples (kiganji), prayer centers (kigansho), incense burning temples (kōkaji), incense and flowers temples (kōgein), and clan temples (ujidera). The meaning of each and their social significance changed over time. The dannadera, for example, gained importance in later centuries because households had to register with them


under the Tokugawa regime as part of the official persecution of Christianity.\footnote{For a thorough exposition of the Tokugawa 
danka system as it developed in relation to Christianity, see Nam-lin Hur, \textit{Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan: Buddhism, Anti-Christianity, and the Danka System} (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), especially 9–12. This dissertation is positioned as a preliminary foundation for understanding the seventeenth century redoubling of persecution efforts and re-commitment to Buddhist institutions.} From the perspective of the state, the relationship between temples and parishioners, especially in terms of economic support, was radically different during the sixteenth century.\footnote{See Duncan Ryūken Williams, \textit{The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan} (Princeton: Princeton University, 2005), 23.}

For the nearly four centuries of Ōtomo rule, temples ("memorial" or otherwise) had a public presence largely independent of Ōtomo largesse. They relied financially on landholdings accumulated through donation and regular patronage over time. None of these "memorial temple" labels that might have demonstrated a close personal relationship between the temple and the clan occurred with much frequency in the materials that remain to us, and some never appeared at all in documents for the region. This is not to say that the concept is ahistorical or inappropriate for understanding the period. If asked about memorial temples, leaders of the Ōtomo clan could certainly have recognized and had some familiarity with most of the words. Sōrin, for example, designated a memorial temple for his own father.\footnote{Kōya-san Saishō-in monjo [Documents of Kōya-san Saishō-in Sub-Temple] (Tenbun 20 (1551))/6/23 Ōtomo Yoshishige shojō [Document by Ōtomo Yoshishige], \textit{OSS} 1: 163, doc. 200.} Although there was only one temple for his father, after passing away, elite warriors could conceivably be memorialized in several locations. Sōrin and his contemporaries did not restrict use of the memorial temple label to any particular site with quite the same meaning we now attribute to it; multiple locations could fill the role of memorializing the deceased. In addition, with the notable exception of Tentokuji, no site was recognized above others for this purpose. What this meant is that there could be
considerable uncertainty at the time of death about who would care for a warrior's spirit, and
where that memorialization would occur. The problem in 1587 was that with the death of Sōrin
the situation brought potentially dangerous new concerns from persecutions against Christians
began a few days later. His son struggled to integrate a considerably diminished, politically
fragmented, and religiously diverse domain into a new political order that was growing hostile to
Christianity. The new form of an exclusively Christian burial and memorial rites at a single
location were insufficient for this task.

Close examination of the extensive Japanese historical record remaining for the Ōtomo
reveals that sites we now consider "memorial temples" for the clan or Sōrin held significance,
but not only for their connection with the dead. The cultic sites operated within a religious
landscape in which special designations such as "memorial temple" held an indeterminate value
contingent upon geographical, historical, and political contexts. One issue that arises is whether
rituals and sites primarily distinguished themselves from others by offering social glue for the
group or salvation for the individual.

This chapter begins by establishing the unusual, if not unique role that temple sites in
general played in warrior society as strategic military locations and places to stage ritual
suicides. The remaining three parts consider the claims that Zuihō-in, Manjuji, and Tentokuji had
to memorialize Sōrin. Although genealogical records from the premodern period record that
Sōrin died at Usuki castle, no one today disputes that the "Christian" warlord Sōrin died,
received funerary rites, and was initially buried near the church of Tentokuji in Tsukumi.133 Yet,

133 Ōtomo keizu (1) [Genealogy of the Ōtomo (1)], OKK 1: 20.
this fact is usually not mentioned, and Sōrin is typically associated with Buddhist memorial
temples like Manjuji. Exploring the reasons for the competing memories of his death sheds light
on the complex series of events that gave each place meaning within warrior society at the time,
the demands that warriors placed on them, and the attempts religious groups made to supply the
services warriors required.

**Ritual Suicide and Temples**

Warriors enjoyed a unique relationship with temples in the premodern period, because
they built and maintained them not only to accrue merit for their ancestors and their rule, but also
employed them as military encampments, and even as places of refuge in defeat. From the
peripatetic shoguns down to their military governors in the provinces, leaders moved their forces
from one site to another as headquarters for their administrative and military operations. The
grounds probably appealed to them because they offered open spaces for troops to encamp,
numerous buildings to house troops, walls, moats, and other defense fortifications enclosing the
compounds, along with a marginally lower likelihood of suffering attacks compared to non-
religious locations. We can speculate that there may have been some competition among
institutions to host armies, perhaps in order to obtain some benefits from the arrangements in the
form of patronage, goodwill, and protection from marauding warriors. However, considering the
numerous fires that consumed institutions during this period, the bargain held more peril than
promise for the monks.
As a consequence of their profession, and the unstable conditions that drove them to take up positions within the temples, warriors who used these sites to house their forces sometimes ended their stays there with violent last stands and ritual suicides. Arguably the best-known instance of a military encampment and suicide at a temple during the sixteenth century was that of Oda Nobunaga at Honnōji temple in Kyoto. On 1582/5/29 the leader of the country left for Kyoto from his castle in Azuchi and used Honnōji as his residence for his stay in the capital. On 6/2 he was awakened around six in the morning by the sound of battle when one of his top-ranking lieutenants led several thousand troops to surround the temple and stage a coup. Taking up a bow and a spear, Nobunaga fought alongside his retainers against the attackers. Eventually, facing certain defeat he committed suicide and the temple was consumed in fire. Afterwards, his attackers tried unsuccessfully to kill his son, who was staying nearby in Myōkakuji temple.

134 Besides the three examples listed here, numerous others can be found in historical records. Within the region under consideration in this dissertation, in Meiō 7 (1498), Sada Yasukage (dates unknown) took up a position in his memorial temple to fend off attackers in Buzen province. See Sada monjo [Documents of the Sada], Eishō 2 (1505)/7 Sada Yasukage gunchūjō [Receipt for military rewards for Sada Yasukage], ZTHO 13: 45–47, doc. 103.


136 The Jesuits recorded that after he was shot in the back by an arrow while washing his face and hands, he plucked the arrow from his body, and then took up a spear to defend himself. See Shin ikoku sōsho Iezusukai Nihon nenpō [Annual report of the Jesuits in Japan] (1969), 3: 214.

Nobunaga's attackers and Nobunaga drew upon earlier precedents in staging the event. They followed in the footsteps of Ōuchi Yoshitaka and Ōtomo Harufusa (?–1557).¹³⁸ The fictive and real kinship ties between this "father" and "son" produced conflicts that brought down one of the most powerful clans in the country. Their deaths not only opened up a power vacuum into which Oda Nobunaga, and later Hideyoshi, could enter in Kyoto, but also provided spectacular models for suicides.

Ōtomo Harufusa was born into the Ōtomo clan as Sōrin's younger brother, and according to genealogies, the two shared the same mother, who was a daughter from the neighboring Ōuchi clan.¹³⁹ Their uncle, Yoshitaka, who later took over the Ōuchi clan, was recognized as a learned ruler engaged with capital elites in cultural pursuits, and he invited prominent figures to his domain to enjoy a kind of "little Kyoto" in Yamaguchi.¹⁴⁰ However, he lacked a son of his own, and it was arranged that Harufusa, who had no opportunities for advancement within the Ōtomo clan, would take over if he should die without an heir. This represented a major opportunity for both clans to combine their resources and further solidify their power in Western Japan. The birth of a son to Yoshitaka shortly afterwards, though, brought Harufusa's claim to succession into jeopardy. We know that Harufusa continued to desire the position and advocated for the original


¹³⁹ Ōtomo keifu (4) [Genealogy of the Ōtomo (4)], OKK 1: 83–84.

¹⁴⁰ For a detailed description of Yoshitaka's cultural contributions, see Fukuo Takeichirō, Ōuchi Yoshitaka (Tokyo: Yoshika Kōbunkan, 1989), 93–115.
arrangement, because we have a vow he later made at Usa shrine in 1549 that clearly states this.141

What we do not know is why Ōuchi Yoshitaka's retainer, Sue Takafusa (1521–1555) rebelled against Yoshitaka in 1551. Contemporaries writing shortly after the incident suggested that he was displeased with Yoshitaka's mismanagement of the domain, and so he engineered a coup through the medium of a succession dispute. What precisely led Takafusa to concoct this scheme, and how he succeeded at persuading other top retainers to join him remains unclear in the extant documents. Judging by how events unfolded, it looks as if Takafusa favored Ōtomo Harufusa over the young son of his lord, and his scheme to bring about a change in leadership circulated throughout the domain for some time. He even went so far as to contact Sōrin to gain his support for the plan.142 Yoshitaka did not take rumors of it seriously, or at least placed too much trust in his subordinates to remain loyal and protect him in case Takafusa acted on his plans. Unbeknownst to Yoshitaka, though, Takafusa brought the powerful Naitō and Sugi clan leaders over to his cause, and when he finally carried out his coup on the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month in 1551, Yoshitaka was caught completely off guard.

How did warriors deal with defeat? In the case of Yoshitaka, his first instinct was to seek refuge in temples and use them as a base from which he could gather forces and regain control of his domain. He originally fled with his retinue to the nearby temple of Hōsenji, a memorial

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141 Miyanari monjo [Documents of the Miyanari], Tenbun 18 (1549)/5/fortunate day, UJS 12: 428–430. See Chapter Three of this dissertation for further discussion of the document.

142 Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki [Record of Ōuchi Yoshitaka], in Chūgoku shiryōshū [Collection of historical materials from the Chūgoku region of Japan] (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1966), 29. For a brief analysis of certain sections of the record pertaining to Yoshitaka's final days, see Dazaifu-shi shi, (2002), 8: 828–832. The Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki was authored anonymously in 1551 by someone who had probably been close to Yoshitaka.
temple that had been established for his grandfather, Ōuchi Masahiro, in the capital of Yamaguchi. Yoshitaka was unable to stay there, though, because the city of Yamaguchi itself was under attack, and nowhere within it was safe. In particular, many of the temples suffered destruction intentionally or, considering the ultimate goal of re-installing a new Ōuchi leader to continue the clan's rule, perhaps as collateral damage.

Yoshitaka then left with a handful of retainers and courtiers for the port of Senzaki in the province of Nagato in an attempt to make his way by sea to Kyūshū or some other location from which he could regroup to fight back against Takafusa. Inclement weather prevented his escape, though, and trapped without a chance of regaining power, he entered (nyūji) the temple of Daineiji (in modern-day Nagato City). He hoped doing this would enable him to retire, take the tonsure, and have his young son installed as his successor. Takafusa led his troops to the temple and apparently refused to accept this arrangement.

On the first day of the ninth month, with few options left, Yoshitaka decided to commit suicide at Daineiji. A later narrative claimed that he went before the altar, lit incense, quieted his thoughts, and then cut into his stomach. His second (kaishaku) cut off his head, composed a poem, and then set fire to the temple. One of the main differences between this event and the one that took Nobunaga's life was that Yoshitaka was not merely encamped at the temple, but had fled there for sanctuary with the intention of joining the Buddhist order (suggested by the word nyūji). The fact that it could serve as a proper location to commit ritual suicide may have

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143 Tanamori Fusaaki shuki [Diary of Tanamori Fusaaki], in Zoku zoku gunsho ruijū, 4, Shidenbu [Section on historical lineage] (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1958), 161. See also Dazaifu-shi shi, (2002), 8: 825–826. This diary was written by the Itsukushima Shrine administrator, Tanamori Fusaaki.

144 Ōuchi Yoshitaka-ki (1966), 30.
occurred to him as well. Takafusa was ruthless in carrying out his coup, and he had Yoshitaka's son, his followers, and numerous courtiers killed or forced to commit suicide.\footnote{This bold move by Takafusa and his supporters ended Ōuchi domination of capital politics in the late medieval period, but not the clan's influence in Western Japan.} English-language literature has suggested that the Ōuchi line effectively ended with Takafusa's rebellion; in fact, though, it lived on for several more years.\footnote{Sue Takafusa aimed to have Harufusa take over the family, and arrived in Bungo province near Funai at Takedatsu Ura on 1551/12/27 in order to arrange for Harufusa's conveyance across the Inland Sea to the Ōuchi domain.\footnote{Apparently, he felt sufficiently confident in his position after the coup to leave the domain for another one, and trusted that the remaining Ōuchi retainers would accept the new arrangement. In this calculation, he was correct. The act also suggests a certain degree of desperation, because a retainer among retainers, especially one who had killed his lord, could not hope to survive long without a method to legitimate his power. The Ōtomo and retainers of the Ōuchi clan performed the adoption ceremony in Funai on 1552/1/16, and on 2/26 Harufusa Memorializing the Dead}

\begin{quote}
\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{\textit{Tanamori Fusaaki-ki} [Diary of Tanamori Fusaaki] (1958), 161.}
\item \footnote{Peter Judd Arnesen, \textit{The Medieval Japanese Daimyo: The Ōuchi Family's Rule of Suō and Nagato} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 218–219. Arnesen calls Harufusa a "puppet," but more research needs to be done in order to understand the precise nature of this infamous instance of \textit{gekokujō} (the low overthrowing the high).}
\item \footnote{\textit{Nagahiro monjo} [Documents of the Nagahiro], Tenbun 21 (1552)/1/5 Ōuchi-ke shisetsu Ōtomo Harufusa wo mukae ni Funai ni kuru [Representatives of the Ōuchi house come to Funai for Ōtomo Harufusa], \textit{ZTHO} 19: 132–133, doc. 212. The Nagahiro clan were administrators at Usa Shrine, and so many of the documents in the collection provide insight into the religious site. According to the collection contains more than 3,000 documents in total, with 9 from the Heian, 267 from the Kamakura, 280 from the Nanbokuchō, 574 from the Muromachi, and 964 from the Warring States period. Scholars have found them to be an especially useful source of information on social and economic history. Many of the sources can be found transcribed and published in \textit{OKS} 3-6. For more on the collection, see Arai Eiji, et al., eds., \textit{Komonjo yōgo jiten} [Dictionary of word usage for diplomatics] (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shōbō, 1983), 340.}
\end{itemize}
\end{quote}
arrived in his new domain to take control of the family.\textsuperscript{148} To reflect his nominal submission to Harufusa, Takafusa took the "Haru" character from his new lord's name and became known as Harukata.

Shortly afterwards, Harufusa received confirmation of his succession from the shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiteru (1536–1565), along with the "Yoshi" character from his name. Perhaps out of respect for his great-grandfather, Harufusa completed his new name with "naga," to become named Yoshinaga. It is by this name that we usually find him in secondary literature on the period. As we saw in the previous chapter of this dissertation, the taking of names and the receipt of titles had a powerful symbolic effect within warrior society during the period. The nomenclature represented a return to order and a re-investment in the traditional hierarchy of relationships, but suggests a lingering commitment to the Ōtomo line as well.

For a few years, Sōrin and Yoshinaga ruled over a combined swath of land that dwarfed any of their rivals. We speak of Ōuchi dominance during the late medieval period, and a world thrown into chaos after the civil wars began in earnest in 1467. However, looking at the brief period of Ōuchi and Ōtomo joint rule of Western Japan during the early 1550s, it must have looked at long last like the incessant warfare in the region had given way to a new period of stability, with the old order under the shogun shored up by the nominal subservience of the two clans.

Religious groups, especially the Jesuits, must have also welcomed the political settlement with Yoshinaga and Sōrin because it meant the construction or reconstruction of religious

\textsuperscript{148} Kumagai-ke monjo [Kumagai house documents] (Tenbun 21 (1552)/3/1, Sue Harukata sōjō [Accompanying letter from Sue Harukata], ZTHO 19: 142–143, doc. 229.
complexes under the support of the two brothers. We have no documents remaining in Japanese collections to show the favor they received, but the Jesuits kept careful records, even going so far as to draw copies of the Japanese characters themselves. Yoshinaga, for example, gave his official support for their proselytization in his domain and permission for a church on 1552/8/28, saying:

周防国吉敷郡山口県大道寺事、従西域来朝之僧、為仏法紹隆可創建彼寺家之由、任請望之旨、所令裁許之状、如件、
天文廿一年八月二十八日　周防介御判
当寺住持

In regards to Daidōji temple in Yamaguchi Administrative Division (agata), Yoshiki District (kōri), Suo Province (kuni), the monastery (jike) is hereby established for the monks who have come to our country from the West to preach (shoryū) the Law of the Buddha (Buppō). In accordance with the request, this authorization is given. It is so conveyed.

It was not an unmitigated success for the Jesuits. They gained this material support by either presenting themselves as a kind of Buddhist sect, or being misunderstood that way. They gained some traction among residents in Yamaguchi because recent archaeological evidence has unearthed rosaries in the city. These are similar to the ones found in Sōrin's capital of Funai, where the interesting point to note is that they were not only concentrated on the church, but scattered through the city. This suggests the spread of Christian religious paraphernalia, if not the teachings themselves.150


150 On the archaeological findings, see Kage Toshio, Ajian Sengoku daimyō Ōtomo-shi no kenkyū (2011), 42–43.
Sōrin, Yoshinaga, and the Jesuits who flourished under them did not have much time to enjoy their new positions of influence. Yoshinaga's retainer Mōri Motonari rebelled in 1554/5, and by 1555/3 had chased Yoshinaga out of his stronghold in Yamaguchi. Akizuki Fumitane (1512–1557) in northern Kyūshū took this opportunity to join the Mōri, and this occasioned Yoshinaga's order to a clan in the region near Usa shrine to attack and quell the rebellion.\textsuperscript{151}

Although the topic of the Akizuki's shifting allegiances are beyond the scope of this study, they deserve more attention; they were emblematic of problems in the social order at the time, which was constantly threatened by the decisions of low ranking warriors standing between opposing forces. It was a daring move by the Mōri, and a gamble by the Akizuki, because the Mōri had no plans to install a new Ōuchi successor as Sue Takafusa had done. Instead, the Mōri would gain confirmation of lands and titles directly from the shogun. In the fourth month, Yoshinaga was attacked and forced to flee to take refuge in Chōfukuji temple (modern-day Shimonoseki City), in the same province where his adopted father had died. On 1557/4/3 Yoshinaga committed suicide there.\textsuperscript{152} Mōri hostility to the Jesuits drove the missionaries out of the region after Yoshinaga's death, and they were forced to move their base of operations to Sōrin's province of Bungo, a region which would stand out over the next few years as one of the most religiously diverse regions in the archipelago.

\textsuperscript{151} The Sada clan occupied a liminal space in between the Ōtomo and Ōuchi, where their loyalties were unclear throughout the period.

\textsuperscript{152} Word had spread in the Ōtomo domain within about a week of the event. See Sada monjo [Documents of the Sada] (Kōji 3 (1557))/4/12 Ōtomo kahanshū rensho hōsho [Order with multiple signatures from the Ōtomo ruling council], ZTHO, 20, 101, doc. 192. As we will see later in the dissertation, even the death of Yoshinaga did not mark the end of the Ōuchi clan.
There was no manual for performing a ritual suicide at a temple, and so we certainly cannot place these grisly deaths on the same level as other established rituals performed during the period. However, we can see from the three cases examined above that a combination of factors made a temple an ideal location for warrior's to meet their end, and the performances followed a pattern of sorts. It is also worth noting that shrines rarely played such a role, and so there were preferences at work, and in practice warriors made some distinction between the two kinds of cultic sites, even if the places of worship often occupied the same grounds. This choice of temples over shrines might best be explained by the career opportunities available within the monastic order that could not be found at sites for the worship of gods; namely, one could potentially survive as a monk who had left the world (shukke).

All things considered, though, temple leaders probably preferred to avoid being the site of military encampments or ritual suicides. Instead, they competed to offer mortuary, memorial, and other less volatile services to warriors. They focused, in particular, on what they could do to legitimate the authority of rulers as supporters of traditional Buddhist institutions (a perception warriors found especially important to maintain because their profession by its nature involved the taking of life and sometimes the destruction of temple complexes for military or political gain), and the aid they could give to warriors after death. An examination of the "memorial temple" designation after Sōrin's death in 1587 will be the focus of the remaining three sections of this chapter.
The Daitokuji Zen Sub-Temple of Zuihō-in

The first location mentioned in Japanese records as a memorial temple for Sōrin after his death was Zuihō-in. As a thought experiment, if we could swap our modern-day jeans for fundoshi (a loincloth) or hakama (pleated Japanese trousers) and go back in time to the first half of the sixteenth century as visitors to the expansive temple precincts of Daitokuji in Kyoto, we would have seen the grounds crowded with the sub-temples of warrior clans from all over the country. Although in existence since 1326, it had enjoyed a relatively recent spate of lavish architectural projects by warriors and merchants. Without permission to enter the structures, we would not have understood much about them beyond their names and possibly their patrons; the messages about power and influence were directed at other eyes from a higher social class.

However, we could have guessed that the locations functioned as residences for esteemed monks, and sites for the private services of their patrons. If we somehow managed to gain entry to Zuihō-in or any other sub-temple, we could not have helped but be impressed by the gardens, artwork, and other symbols of status and power. Politically and religiously astute members of our group would have discerned in the patronage of the Daitokuji lineage a challenge to the traditional dominance of the Five Mountain institutional system, to which it did not belong.

Clearly, this was a major religious center.

Slipping into our jeans again, and transporting ourselves into the future to today's Daitokuji temple, we now have difficulty recognizing much of it. Most of the buildings are gone, the grounds are considerably smaller, and what remains is now easily accessible to the public. If

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153 To compare maps from the eighteenth century to the present, see Gregory Levine, Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 46, 47, 54, and xiii.
the sub-temple of Zuihō-in did not catch our eyes five hundred years ago, it does now because it diverges from everything else in the compound. One of Zuihō-in's original gates remains from the sixteenth century, but otherwise, the rest has been radically altered to create a modern spectacle. Gazing from the veranda across the "Garden of Leisurably Sleep" (Kanmintei), we see a unique conflation of Zen and Christian elements in the cross motif cleverly worked into the arrangement of the rocks and plants. A sign on the premises dates the structure to 1536 and says Sōrin built it as a memorial temple for the clan. If true, it would have made Sōrin a precocious six-year-old patron. After purchasing a booklet for a nominal fee, we learn that it is a "memorial temple," and the "Christian daimyō" built it even earlier in his childhood, in 1535. It further explains that "because Ōtomo Sōrin was a Christian daimyo, the three stones across, and four down are positioned to form a cross, expressing condolences for the spirits of all the people in the nation." If asked, the current head priest (juji) might explain that the temple's most recent eclectic incarnation is not as strange as it seems: "[i]n the same way there are various routes to climb a mountain, Zen and Christianity aim for the same peak," and he would reiterate the booklet's explanation that "[t]he cross in the garden expresses condolences for the spirits of all the people in the nation." The garden has been transformed into a timeless space, existing independent of any contextualizing historical moment of creation, and accessible to everyone in Japan, regardless of their faith. However inspired the modern renovation was, it is undoubtedly not what Ōtomo Sōrin had in mind when he "founded" Zuihō-in.

154 Kyoto shinbun article posted on temple grounds, dating and other details unknown.
155 Daihonzan Daitokuji, Kyoto, Murasakino Daihonzan Daitokuji (2008), 22.
The definitive attribution to Sōrin, the dating, label of memorial temple, and syncretic garden obscure the complex historical legacy of this important outpost in the Ōtomo clan’s religious network. For the claim that Sōrin founded it, we have to rely upon an inscription by his teacher, Iun Sōetsu, who wrote a lengthy inscription on a posthumous portrait of his student. Within the passage, he identified Sōrin as the "founder of Zuihō" (Zuihō kore sōken suru soki).¹⁵⁶

Lacking any evidence to contradict the claim of someone with firsthand knowledge, we can tentatively accept it, but the priest writing it also had a vested interest in portraying his student as a Buddhist. As we will see with Ōtomo Sadachika’s "founding" of Manjuji, religious sites were often repurposed with the new source of patronage, and Sōrin did something similar with the Zuihō-in site.¹⁵⁷

Unlike the evidence for Manjuji, nothing exists to tell us when or why Sōrin himself "founded" the temple; Sōrin never wrote of it as a memorial temple, its occurrence in the historical record comes relatively late in his life, and it was not until after his death that it gained the label of a memorial temple for him. Although it has survived largely intact over the centuries, from the standpoint of documents, Zuihō-in fared poorly and left very little to posterity, with only ten records in its collection, and a few more that are related.¹⁵⁸ Secondary sources offer at


¹⁵⁷ Fukukawa Kazunori has also questioned the meaning of "founding" in this context. See Fukukawa Kazunori, "Ōtomo Sōrin to Daitokuji Zuihō-in" [Ōtomo Sōrin and Daitokuji Zuihō-in], in Nihon Chūsei no shiteki tenkai [The historical development of Japan’s medieval period], edited by Akutagawa Tatsuo, (Tokyo: Bunken Shuppan, 1997), 219–246.

¹⁵⁸ For the Zuihō-in monjo [Documents of Zuihō-in], OKS 26: 157–161, docs. 240–249.
least five different dates to choose from for the founding of the temple: 1533, 1535, 1536, 1542, sometime before 1542, and the range 1552–1555. We are on the firmest footing with the final set of dates because we can place one source directly connecting Zuihō-in to Sōrin's retainer band within the range.

It was extremely thoughtful of you to send a gift in return. Currently, because I am in Higo province, I cannot respond to your demand for the collection [of taxes], but this does not indicate neglect in any way. I am very grateful for the receipt of one-hundred pieces of torinoko paper and the folding fan. Head abbott Etsu will convey this. Respectfully,

Zuihō-in

Respectfully addressed

Obara Sōi was one of Sōrin's senior advisors (shukurō), and he fought for Sōrin against Kikuchi Yoshitake in Higo province (Higo no kuni) shortly after Sōrin took power in 1551. In 1556/5, though, he rebelled against the Ōtomo, and was killed for it. During his service under Sōrin, he held the position of administrator (hōbun) for Higo province, and in 1551 he took over as castellan of Nanseki castle. Because he mentioned in the letter that he had taken up residence in the province (zaikoku), we can confidently date the letter to sometime between 1551 and 1556. Judging by the content, though, he seems to have just moved, so we can place it closer to the

159 Zuihō-in monjo [Documents of Zuihō-in], Obara Sōi shojō [Document from Obara Sōi], OKS 26: 161, doc. 248.
beginning of that range. The content also suggests that he acted as a liaison (toritsugi) between Sōrin and Zuihō-in. It was standard practice for communications to be delegated to high-ranking retainers, and for this reason we cannot restrict ourselves only to documents directly issued by Sōrin when considering his religious policies.

One of the problems with the document from Obara Sōi is that it is part of an existing relationship, which suggests an earlier date for the establishment of the temple. The Ōtomo invested in Daitokuji even before Sōrin through the construction of Ryōgen-in sub-temple, which was above Zuihō-in. In the first decade of the century, the monk Tōkei Sōboku (1455–1517) opened it with the support of Sōrin's grandfather and other warrior families.¹⁶⁰ As a consortium of donors, they probably did not each think of it as their own memorial temple. Rather, it provided them ties to the Kyoto elite outside of the Five Mountains temple system, which had weakened along with the shogun's power. By Sōrin's time, his support for Zen was demonstrated primarily through patronage of Daitokuji lineage sites. The location around Usuki of those founded by Junjō Shōetsu, along with Sōrin's move to this region, could be understood as an escape from the dominance of Manjuji and its branch temples within Funai. The early investment in Daitokuji paid off, and through it he may have later been able to establish connections with other notable warlords who patronized the site: Miyoshi Yoshitsugu (?–1573) established Jukō-in in

1566 as a memorial temple for his father, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi built Sōken-in as a memorial temple for his lord, Oda Nobunaga, in 1583.\textsuperscript{161}

The sub-temples established under Ryōgen-in came to be called the "southern lineage" (*Minamihi*), and one of the structures among them contains evidence that indicates Zuihō-in's establishment before Sōrin took control of the Ōtomo in 1550. The sub-temple of Ōbai-in holds a document from 1548 with the title "Record of treasures for Anshōken" (*Anshōken jūmotshū*).\textsuperscript{162} Assuming that Anshōken was the lodging room attached to Zuihō-in, as it is today, one historian maintains that this indicates the main structure of Zuihō-in existed at the time as well. Based on an analysis of the document's content, he argues that it shows the temple's private connection with Sōrin and his father, in contrast to Manjuji, which was a public site offering prayers for every generation of the clan. He concludes that Sōrin "founded" the existing temple as a memorial one for his father. He suggests that prior to this, the temple relied on various other sources for income, including contributions from merchants and warriors in the region around Kyoto.\textsuperscript{163}

Considering the documentary evidence, and the claim about Anshōken as the dormitory for Zuihō-in, we can distinguish two periods in the trajectory of Sōrin's relationship with Zuihō-


\textsuperscript{162} At the Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archives (*Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan*) a copy of the document can be found under the reference number Chūshūko S 189-2. The document is on pages 36-39. It lists 38 different types of items that the temple held. These mainly seemed to include tea items. The document is dated Tenbun 17 (1548)/7/29, the days of which differ from Fukukawa Kazunori's dating.

\textsuperscript{163} Fukukawa Kazunori "Ōtomo Sōrin to Daitokuji Zuihō-in" (1997), 234.
in. In the first one, Zuihō-in provided ritual services to a wide range of people without necessarily adopting the characteristics of a memorial temple. This occurred during his childhood, and his father may have been one of its patrons who donated land and other wealth in the hope of not only gaining salvational benefits, but making connections with elites in Kyoto. In the second one, Sōrin took over patronage and monopolized the temple for his clan and its retainers. This was his adult life, when he vigorously supported the shogun in a quest for court and military titles. Again, the temple seems to have functioned mainly as a conduit to power, rather than a place to pray on behalf of the clan. Although we cannot say that the resources allocated to Zuihō-in compared with those for Manjuji, it was enough for Jesuit visitors to remark upon the funding. In 1578, while the Ōtomo were still enjoying victories in their invasion of Hyūga Province, and Sōrin was constructing his Christian kingdom, they noted that Sōrin had built a splendid temple for the Zen monks in Kyoto (Zuihō-in), and he maintained it with huge donations. They also mentioned that he spent large sums on a temple in Usuki (Jurinji), where he had invited a prominent Zen monk to be abbot (Iun Sōetsu).^{164}

The two locations of Zuihō-in and Jurinji were connected through Sōrin's study of Zen under the monk Iun Sōetsu. Sōetsu was the successor to Tesshū Sōkyū, who was the original head abbot of Zuihō-in, and in 1555 Sōetsu took up residence in Zuihō-in. At some point he moved out of the sub-temple, but moved back in 1558. In the same year, Emperor Ōgimachi sent Sōetsu from Kyoto to Bungo province as an imperial messenger in order to gather funds for his accession ceremony. During this initial trip to the province, Sōetsu resided at Kaizōji temple in

^{164} INT 2: 378. We will see more about Jurinji and its significance in Chapter Three of this dissertation.
Usuki, and received support from Sōrin to establish Jurinji temple in the city. As we will see in Chapter Four, Sōrin later attempted to have one of his sons put into this monastery. In 1571, Sōrin invited Sōetsu to become head abbot of Jurinji. His top retainers even received instruction (mondō) directly from Iun. On the one hand, this demonstrates Sōrin's support of the Daitokuji lineage. On the other, it can be seen as part of a broader policy of establishing a religious center in the southern part of his domain because during this time he also supported the Jesuits, who built a church in Usuki. When Sōrin began throwing his full support behind Christianity and churches like Tentokuji, Sōetsu returned to Kyoto. The link with Zuihō-in was lost, and was not picked up again until Yoshimune took over the house.

Sometime after Sōrin's death, probably in 1588, Yoshimune wrote to Zuihō-in about their lands and their role as a memorial temple for his father.

Regarding the temple lands, in recent years, due to unforeseen warfare, there have been unwarranted disputes [about your rights to income]. However, as it is for Kyūan's Buddhahood, I am donating 100 kan of land from Bungo province. Regarding its location, this will be conveyed from the domain [an administrator in Yoshimune's absence]. There shall be no disputes about this. Please look favorably on me. Respectfully yours.

[1588]4/23 [Ōtomo Yoshimune]

Zuihō-in  Ihatsu kakka

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I have translated the letter to read that the temple "is for Kyūan's Buddhahood" (shikari to iedomo, Kyūan bodai to nashi sōro no jō), but this could also be interpreted to mean that Sōrin designated Zuihō-in as his memorial temple. The latter is unlikely. It would have been unconventional for Sōrin to have done that earlier in his life, no evidence exists to corroborate this alternative reading, and he focused his energies on the Christian church of Tentokuji at the end of his life (see the final section of this chapter for more).

The document tells us a lot about changes in the religious landscape under Yoshimune. First, it shows by the characters Yoshimune used in his name that he had not yet received the right to use the different "yoshi" character from Hideyoshi's name. This means that well into his rule he remained with the "yoshi" he had received from the former Ashikaga shogun. It is probably no coincidence that Hideyoshi was drawing upon the association of the "yoshi" name with the traditional military rulers that had been in charge of the still-existing bakufu system and Yoshimune's replacement of the old "yoshi" character with the new one would have declared his allegiance to the new order. The Ashikaga clan remained a powerful presence on the political landscape, even though we often write them out of history after their expulsion from the capital in 1573. Yoshimune had little hope any more of benefitting from his family's traditional support for the Ashikaga clan, and he may have felt encumbered by his lack of integration into the new system, so the clarification of religious commitments and change of name occurred in tandem. This connection between religion and names with warriors echoes the changes in nomenclature that we saw during Sōrin's career in the first chapter.
It is also significant that it took Yoshimune several months from his father's death to acknowledge Zuihō-in as a memorial temple for Sōrin. This delay shows that the decision about what to do after his father's death was a process that took a while to complete. The amount of time it took may have had something to do with complications introduced by Christianity. Most striking of all is Yoshimune's use of the Buddhist name of Kyūan for his father, which suggests a rejection of his father's conversion. From the timing of the document, Yoshimune hoped to clearly identify his family as a Buddhist one by patronizing a temple complex (Daitokuji) to which Hideyoshi also sent funds. Another effort at solidifying his image as a ruler who supported Buddhist institutions came later with Manjuji.

**The Rinzai Zen Temple of Manjuji**

We can see Yoshimune's shift to Buddhism in his later attempts to rebuild Manjuji, which is ironic, considering that he is often blamed for its earlier destruction. However, in thinking about memorial temples, it is notable that Zuihō-in in Kyoto comes before Manjuji in the documents as the focus of his efforts to memorialize his father.

In addition to Zuihō-in, Yoshimune considered Manjuji (also known as Makomo-san) as a memorial temple, and it received new promises of patronage from him about four years after his donation of lands to Zuihō-in. In 1592, Yoshimune authored a piece of aspirational literature in the form of a house code (*kahō*) addressed to his young son before he departed to participate in
Hideyoshi's ill-fated invasion of Korea. The fourth article of the code outlined one aspect of the religious policy that he wanted his son to follow.

ITEM [1]: Due to warfare, the temple houses [clans that administered temples] have been destroyed, and this was not intentional. However, in regards to providing suitable lands for Makomo-san [Manjuji], it should be rebuilt, a mortuary tile for Yoshinao [the founder of the Ōtomo clan] should be placed there, and in addition, the temple should be established as the ancestral memorial site.

This is a rare instance of Manjuji identified as a memorial temple for the clan, and it is interesting to look at it together with the letter we saw from Yoshimune to Zuihō-in, because it demonstrates that he conceived of both as his father's memorial temples. Manjuji, though, has a broader role of memorializing all members of the clan, and so we can glean from this that even though he designated Zuihō-in first in this role, Yoshimune positioned Manjuji with greater scope and more influence than Zuihō-in.

Historians have typically described the Manjuji monastery as the Ōtomo clan's memorial temple throughout their rule of Bungo, because of its large size, long history, and close proximity to their residence in Funai. As Yoshimune's instructions show, though, he needed to clarify its

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166 The house codes of the Ōtomo typically are not mentioned in legal historical examinations of the medieval period, and there remains much work to be done on efforts by warlords to regulate their domains. Possibly, the Ōtomo (and others) have been neglected because the content of their regulations tends to focus on ad hoc measures and exhibits little concern with universal applicability across classes, space, or time. See Chapter One of this dissertation for more discussion of surviving "legal" documents for the Ōtomo.


168 See, for example, Kage, Toshio, Ajian Sengoku daimyō Ōtomo-shi no kenkyū (2011), 9.
designation as a place to hold memorial rites for clan members. This suggests that part of the process of becoming early modern in Japan, especially when it came to religion, required making implicit assumptions explicit, resulting in clarification of relationships among social classes, and reaffirmations of commitments that would survive under the new order.

One thing that historians rarely mention is that even if Sōrin or Yoshimune saw Manjuji as a memorial temple in previous decades, they would have considered it only one of several memorial temples, and it would not necessarily have had a superior status. The Jesuit Gaspar Vilela wrote in 1571/9/18 that "there are many large monasteries in Funai, where the king of Bungo [Sōrin] resides." In particular, he considered two of them to be spectacular. At one of these, probably Manjuji, he claimed "there are 150 monks," and he went on to say that "the temple has a large income, and as an old place, it has a great deal of land and several gardens." Finally, he said that "this monastery is the official cemetery for the kings, and this is why it has such a large income."\(^{169}\) The historical record is unclear about when Manjuji was first explicitly recognized as the Ōtomo clan's memorial temple, but we can accept that it probably did at least gain that function at some point, perhaps before Yoshimune identified it that way in 1592. What ought to draw our attention, though, is that it was obviously flourishing well into the Warring States period, even under Sōrin, who was funneling his profits from trade with the Europeans and expansion of his domain into the construction of numerous other Buddhist complexes at the same time. Yet, Manjuji's memorial temple status goes unmentioned in the Japanese sources until Yoshimune's legal code, and that there were actually other memorial temples constructed by clan

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\(^{169}\) See *INT 2:* 278, doc. 85.
heads over the centuries: Shōkōji, Jōrakuji, Manjuji, Shingenji, Tōmyōji, and Zuihō-in. The privileged memorial temple position it enjoyed in Yoshimune's house code was a new phenomenon.

The Ōtomo were not unique in maintaining multiple memorial temples; the neighboring Ōuchi maintained several as well, and for each generation they added a new one to the list. Ōuchi Yoshinaga's adopted father had his memorial temple at Ryūfukuji, but the Ōuchi clan had at least nine other sites: Jōfukuji, Eikōji, the sub-temple of Shōju-in at Jōfukuji, Kōjakuji, Chōseiji, Kokushōji, Byakuunji, Hōsenji (the location Ōuchi Yoshitaka first fled to after Sue Harukata launched his coup), and Ryōunji. The Ōuchi also had their "clan temple" (ujidera) at Kōryūji.

Retainers in the band could not help but recognize the existence of Ōuchi memorial temples, because the clan required every member to participate in Buddhist anniversary services (nenki) at seven of them. The Ōuchi further emphasized the value they placed on the memorial temples by strategically distributing parts of the original Buddhist cannon, or Tripitika (Daizōkyō; also known as the Tripitika Koreana), to their clan temple, memorial temples, and other significant cultic sites. Clan leaders were avid collectors of these texts, and their desire to obtain it was a major impetus for their trade with Korea until 1539, when a monk sent there by

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170 Locations identified by Watanabe Sumio, Zōtei Bungo Ōtomo-shi no kenkyū (1981), 75.
171 Suda Makiko, Chūsei Nichō kankei to Ōuchi-shi (2011), 14.
172 Ibid., 226.
Yoshitaka was unable to obtain any more because the supply in Korea had been exhausted.\textsuperscript{174}

The Ōuchi may have hoped that importing this rare and important text, and then ensuring that it resided in locations throughout their domain, would help to keep order in their realm.\textsuperscript{175}

The Ōtomo lacked a program to collect the Tripitika, and so they differed in this respect from the Ōuchi, but the large number of memorial temples in both domains begs the question: why did some fare better than others? The key to understanding Manjuji's flourishing is to recognize that it initially had nothing to do with memorializing the Ōtomo dead. According to one explanation for its origin, the Ōtomo built it out of a desire to curry favor with the ruling elite and enhance their authority through rituals on behalf of the ruler and the realm. In other words, they envisioned a public role for it. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the powerful Hōjō clan threw their support behind the Rinzai Zen sect by building the massive complexes of Kenchōji and Enkakuji in Kamakura, and the story goes that the Ōtomo opted into this system during the reign of Sadachika (1246–1311), who was the fifth head of the Ōtomo clan. Sadachika's motivation for establishing the temple in 1306 supposedly came from a conversation he had with the shogunal regent, Hōjō Sadatoki (1271–1311), the previous year.

Sadatoki said to Sadachika] "Build a monastery and invite monks to help you rule." The constable of Bungo [Sadachika] returned, and built a large Zen temple.\textsuperscript{176}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Suda Makiko, \textit{Chūsei Nitchū kankei to Ōuchi-shi} (2011), 268-269.
\item \textit{Hōshū zenmeiroku} [Record of the benevolent ring of the bell in Bungo and Buzen Provinces], ed. Genkei (Shimonoseki: Bōchō Shiryō Shuppansha, 1979), 4: 4–6.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
What Hōjō Sadatoki presumably meant by this was that the temple would offer prayers for the prosperity of Sadachika's clan and his territory. He may have also thought of it as a governing partner in controlling the extraction of revenue, security of land, and administration of the population. It was a lucrative franchise that benefitted all parties.

Manjuji actually began as a memorial temple for someone else. The Record of disorder in Bungo, Buzen, Chikugo and Chikuzen (Hōchiku ranki) points to the complex layering of meaning at religious sites. According to a more embellished version of the story, in 1305 Sadachika went to Kamakura. At that time, Sadatoki had taken refuge in Buddhism and devoted himself to it. When Sadachika arrived at the castle, Sadatoki asked whether Sadachika was supporting monks. He lied and replied in the affirmative, and said that he had invited the monk Jikiō Chikan (1245–1322) of Jōtenji in Hakata, and he was supporting more than 100 monks. Sadatoki was suitably impressed. Jikiō was a well-known monk, and the student of a nationally recognized monk of Tōfukuji in Kyoto. When Sadachika returned to Bungo the next year, he sent a retainer to Jōtenji to invite Jikiō to come. Jikiō accepted and entered the monastery. In order to support the monks, Sadachika donated over 1,000 kan worth of temple land. The account then shifted into the past, and claimed that Manjuji was originally built centuries before for the enlightenment of Yuriwaka Daijin's daughter, Manju, but had fallen into disrepair by this time.177

What we see here is the Ōtomo taking over a private memorial temple for a prestigious, legendary family and re-purposing it in the fourteenth century to serve them in a public role.

177 Hōchiku ranki [Record of disorder in Bungo, Buzen, Chikugo, and Chikuzen], in OKK 2: 164–167. The retainer sent to Hakata was Yoshihiro Minō no kami.
This foundational moment for Manjuji depended upon the connection established between Sadachika and the esteemed monk Jikiō Chikan. By installing him as the abbot of Manjuji, the Ōtomo gained an influential conduit to these realms of elite society. Other important Buddhist figures would continue to visit throughout the medieval period.

Although there may have been embellishments to other parts in the two tales above, independent evidence corroborates the assertion that Sadachika invited him to travel across the island from Jōtenji temple in Hakata to Bungo province in order to become the founding abbot. Jikiō Chikan gave the Ōtomo their first franchise in the national Zen network, a link to powerful figures in the military government through Jikiō Chikan's public and private relationships, and a supplier of Chinese culture. Jikiō studied Zen under the Chinese monk Lan-ch'i Tao-lung (J: Rankei Dōryū (1213–1278)) at Kenchōji, where the bakufu was located. After returning to Japan, he received ordination from the influential monk Enni at Tōfukuji. Gaining Jikiō Chikan and the temple literally placed the Ōtomo on the religious map, and this is a pattern that Ōtomo Sōrin would follow centuries later with the monk Iun Sōetsu.

Manjuji flourished in the medieval period as a communal site within the Five Mountains temple system, and not because it was an "individual" memorial temple for the Ōtomo. The Five Mountains system was an official one established by the Muromachi military government along the lines of the Chinese model upon which it was based. Monasteries within this

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179 By "communal" I mean an institution functioning for the benefit of the clan and warrior band as a whole, and by "individual" I mean one that benefits only a small number of people. For example, a prayer for the security of the country would be for the communal good, while one for the health of the ruler would be for the individual. The two terms are not meant to be mutually exclusive, but rather an indication of the overall emphasis.
institutional network gained funding from the government along with prestige and landholdings. In essence, it was an alternative career path for elites that functioned to connect not only the center and the periphery, but also embedded the sites into a larger East Asian Buddhist network.

Manjuji rose through the ranks of this network to become a "jissatsu," or temple in the second tier of the organization in 1337, tenth rank in 1341, and seventeen years later in 1358, it gained eighth rank. When Vilela wrote about Manjuji more than two centuries later, he probably misunderstood Manjuji to be the memorial temple for the Ōtomo, and incorrectly drew a link between the temple's wealth and the people interred in its cemeteries. Although historians have taken the Jesuits to task in recent years for inaccuracies in their accounts, it would be a little unfair to fault Vilela in this case, because the Five Mountains system was in decline by the time that he visited the islands in the sixteenth century, and Sōrin himself might not have grasped its full legacy, as he had begun turning his attention to the rival Daitokuji Zen lineage. Memorial temple status was neither necessary nor sufficient to assure wealth and prestige; it came after the fact.

Manjuji's medieval success over rival temples lay in its overlapping religious and political contexts. It was a memorial temple for a legendary figure, a major institution in the Five Mountains network, a link to Chinese culture and civilization, and only later a place to inter the remains of Ōtomo clan members. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, clan leaders had already begun casting about for alternative sites to patronize in a public fashion, and the precipitous fall of the bakufu hastened this process. Against this background, Sōrin's lack of

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support for the temple, his enthusiastic support of temples like Zuihō-in outside of Funai, and his son's re-distribution of Manjuji's land holdings to retainers shortly after Vilela's account, make more sense. The Ōtomo were looking for conduits to power in the capital region, just as Sadachika had when he originally established Manjuji.

When Yoshimune called for the rebuilding of Manjuji, he was looking to revive connections with the capital region under the traditional model. Judging by his support for institutions in two Zen lineages, Yoshimune did not feel that relying on Manjuji alone would satisfy his political ambitions, because the Five Mountains system had declined. Unfortunately, he failed to carry out this vision of rebuilding it as it was. Modern visitors to the original site of Manjuji will find that it is a physical, material, and historical lacuna. Now there is only an empty field of dirt with one temporary structure housing a team that provides educational talks and events about Ōita City's history, and a small hospital. The hospital is scheduled to be demolished soon, and archaeologists have scheduled excavations there in the hope of finding some remnants of the monastery below the site. The massive monasterial complex that dominated sixteenth-century Funai suffered destruction from several fires, excavations have uncovered relatively little from the site thus far, and only four documents survive in its collection.\(^{181}\) As traditional sects that gave access to capital elites, they stood in direct opposition to the Christian church of Tentokuji, which Sōrin envisioned as the place to offer memorial rites on his behalf.

\(^{181}\) Manjuji moved to a smaller location when it was rebuilt in the seventeenth century, and it remains there today. For the *Manjuji monjo* [Documents of Manjuji], *OKS* 25: 140–142, docs. 280–283.
The Christian "Temple" of Tentokuji

Reverting again to our sixteenth-century sartorial selves and visiting the site of Tentokuji with the eyes of a sixteenth-century visitor, we surely would not have been impressed by what we saw there. It was neither significant in size, nor located in an especially well-known area, and it certainly would have paled in comparison to anything with which we would have been familiar with in far-off Kyoto or the nearby castle town of Usuki. In fact, from the premodern perspective we adopted with our new garments, we might have been confused or amused by the large cross that likely stood outside the "temple" (like the one erected in Funai for its church), and we probably would have also been a little dismayed to learn how the Christians gained control of the site after a violent and destructive purge of the Buddhists in the area to make way for a new Christian kingdom. Perhaps, we would have even felt some sympathy for the people who wanted to destroy churches and drive out the priests, as the Jesuits feared would happen to them someday.\(^\text{182}\) It was not a site of any obvious significance, and it is unsurprising that it does not receive much attention in English language scholarship.

Donning our jeans again with the aim of visiting the modern-day remains of sites that would have been meaningful to Sōrin in the sixteenth century, we might expect to find something as important as his gravesite located in a prominent place within Ōita City (premodern Funai). The Ōtomo resided in the city for most of the nearly four-hundred years that they were in power, and Sōrin is most strongly associated with it in the popular imagination, as evidenced by the

\(^{182}\) The Jesuits received multiple reports that they were being targeted, and by the grace of God, or the intervention of the Ōtomo, they felt their lives had been spared. See INT 2: 450.
larger-than-life size statue of him as a Christian towering above us when we arrive at Ōita train station. Sōrin's final resting place, though, is actually located far to the south nearby the small church that we visited in sixteenth-century Tsukumi.

Bidding farewell to Sōrin in Ōita, and traveling by train through the countryside down to Tsukumi, we are greeted at the station by another statue of Sōrin representing him in the final decade of his life, but significantly diminished in size. Then, going by car or bus into the surrounding hills, we eventually come to a clearing, where we find yet another smaller image of Sōrin. This one is a bust of the man, and like the other two we saw earlier on our journey, it shows him wearing a Christian cross around his neck (see Figure 7). Even smaller is the final statue of Sōrin, which shows him standing and holding aloft the Christian cross hanging around his neck. The message they convey is that Sōrin was a Christian warrior.

The largest monument in the clearing is a large wall showing all of the major monograms and seals Sōrin used on documents throughout his lifetime. It might seem incongruous to build such a thing at a gravesite, but as we saw in the first chapter of this dissertation, these names provide a timeline not only of political, but also religious commitments made by Sōrin. Behind the bust of Sōrin, one of his "Christian" seals has been placed, reinforcing the religious message conveyed by the statue. We might look in vain for the church/temple of Tsukumi, which is nowhere to be seen now, because it was long ago relocated to another location far away from Sōrin's resting place.

The existence of both Buddhist and Christian elements in Sōrin's seals and monograms was not reflected in the statues we encountered on our modern-day journey to Tsukumi, but it is
dramatically manifested in the graves. On one side, what looks to be a large, white, stone coffin sits above-ground. On the other side, there is a traditional-looking Buddhist gravesite. Neither of these markers are original, and they represent a continual process of fashioning a narrative to remember the warlord. Currently, Sōrin's Christianity overshadows his other religious commitments, the Christian marker is far larger than the Buddhist one, and the imagery depicts him as a Christian. However, the prominence his Christian identity now enjoys is a later phenomenon, with the Christian grave in its current form dating to 1977, and the story of how Sōrin came to be memorialized here sheds light on the concerns that attended the death of a warrior during this period.

Why did Sōrin establish Tentokuji in Tsukumi instead of Funai, and why would he have been buried there? Patronage of Tentokuji represented a major shift for Sōrin, not only religiously from traditional religious sites to a Christian one, but also geographically from old pluralistic ritual centers to a new, exclusive one. The religious network under Ōtomo Sōrin early in his reign covered a large geographic area that traditionally focused on northern Kyūshū, Shikoku, and the main island of Honshū. Sōrin's father, Sōrin, and his son clustered their patronage around certain sites. In the northwest, Dazaifu had long been the location of Japan's second capital, and the nearby port of Hakata (modern-day Fukuoka City) provided direct access to East Asia. In the northeast, unsurprisingly, much of the correspondence between the Ōtomo and religious institutions clusters around the Ōtomo clan's residence in Funai and Usuki. Funai was the Ōtomo's capital in Bungo until Sōrin began shifting the family's base of power to Usuki in the south. There is considerable debate about the precise timing of this move and the
development of the city, but this dissertation sees him shifting his focus towards Usuki from the early days of his rule. More conservative estimates place Sōrin in the southern part of Bungo province for the last half of his rule.

This move to the south is important because it marked a break with past precedent. Scholars have conventionally interpreted Sōrin's decision to relocate in military and political

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183 For more on Usuki under the Ōtomo, see Mieno Makoto, *Daimyō ryōgoku shihai no kōzō* (2003), 113–157.
terms as an attempt to defend against sea-borne incursions by the neighboring Mōri clan. Sōrin's ancestors had traditionally resided in Funai, where they supported numerous temples and shrines, including their "memorial temple" of Manjuji. His move to Usuki and nearby Tsukumi involved not only military fortifications, but spiritual ones as well with the establishment of Christian and Buddhist cultic centers there. In the case of Tsukumi, some scholars argue that he attempted to
re-establish a Christian kingdom on the lands there after he failed to do so in Mushika.\textsuperscript{184} By the time of his death his domain claimed as many as 30,000 people as Christians, and many of these probably lived in close proximity to him.\textsuperscript{185}

Sōrin tied himself directly to the Christian church of Tentokuji through his residence there and his written communication with other warriors. Records indicate that Sōrin constructed a new home in the area around 1584, drove out the Buddhist priests there, burned their idols, converted one of the existing temples in the area into a church, and stationed two Jesuit priests in it towards the end of his life. In addition to Tentokuji, according to Luís Fróis (1532–1597), Sōrin had established a room on the second floor of his Tsukumi residence for hearing the Mass.\textsuperscript{186} Tentokuji was the name not only of the Christian site, but as we saw in the first chapter of this dissertation, the name he took for himself in 1586. The extant sources suggest that he invested his final years, and his final identity into the project.\textsuperscript{187} Scholars have speculated that the name "Tentoku" was meant to evoke a Christian meaning, with "Ten" referring to the Christian heaven.\textsuperscript{188} The "toku" would have carried its current meaning of virtue, and "ji" meant "temple,"\textsuperscript{189} so a literal translation of the name would be "Temple of Heavenly Virtue." The

\textsuperscript{184} Watanabe Šumio, Žōtei Bungo Ōtomo-shi no kenkyū (1981), 269–276. See Chapter Five in Watanabe's work for more about the move to Mushika.

\textsuperscript{185} For the estimate of 30,000 Christians in Sōrin's domain, see Ikuo Higashibaba, Christianity in Early Modern Japan: Kirishitan Belief and Practice (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 15.

\textsuperscript{186} HJ 4: 378.

\textsuperscript{187} Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenshō 14 (1586))/12/2 Toyotomi Hideysho shojo ūtsushi [Copy of letter from Toyotomi Hideyoshi], OSS 5: 230, doc. 1883.

\textsuperscript{188} Masumura Takaya, "Ōtomo Sōrin no funbo ni kansuru kenkyū" [A study on Ōtomo Sōrin's grave], Ōita-ken chihōshi [Ōita Prefecture's Regional History] 6 (1956): 21–23.

problem with this, of course, is the character for temple, which suggests a Buddhist affiliation. It is curious that Sōrin (or the Jesuits) would have named it in a way that could be easily confused with Buddhist locations, but at the time it was simply too difficult to indicate a place of worship without drawing upon some of the existing terminology; hence, we see the "Temple of the Great Way" (Daidōji) in Yamaguchi and "Temple of the Heavenly Gate" (Tenmonji) in Hirado, and "The Southern Barbarian Temple" (Nanbanji) in Kyoto. One of the earliest churches in Sōrin's domain, the "Hall of God" (Deusudō) in the capital of Funai, also had the name Kentokuji applied to it on maps from the time period, so it is possible that Tentokuji carried an alternative Western name of this sort as well, even if it has not survived in documents.

Sōrin made sure to spend his final days nearby Tentokuji. We have a detailed account of Sōrin's death left to us by Father Laguna, a Jesuit priest who associated with him for about four years in Tsukumi. According to him, around the time that the Shimazu siege of Usuki castle (also known as Niujima castle) was lifted in the fifth month of 1586, Sōrin became sick from an illness that was spreading among those who had joined him in the defense. It was so bad that he had to be carried out in a palanquin to his residence in Tsukumi, where he took to his bed. Father Laguna placed a statue of Mary next to his pillow, and recounted that Sōrin held his hands together in prayer and would not remove his eyes from it. This behavior is similar to that seen in Pure Land Buddhist deathbed rituals in Japan, and also points to the conflation in practice of

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191 See HJ 4: 377–389. The narrative and details I have chosen to discuss here are only a small fraction of the total amount of information we have for Sōrin's final days, and a more in-depth study of the rituals recounted by Father Laguna would be fruitful, especially in comparison to ones performed in Europe and elsewhere in Japan by other religious groups.
traditional beliefs in the power of iconography and the new objects (rosaries, medallions, and so forth) introduced by the Jesuits.\textsuperscript{192} The sacred power of the objects at the intersection of religious belief systems helps to explain why stepping on images (\textit{e-fumi}) in the seventeenth century in order to prove you were not a Christian was thought to be effective at detecting "true" lack of faith in Christianity.\textsuperscript{193} The Christian adherents took these symbols seriously, but their desecration was probably thought to be inauspicious even if one was not a Christian.

Well-wishers came to pay Sōrin visits, his fellow Christians also offered prayers, and they attended services at Tentokuji three times a day.\textsuperscript{194} During his illness, in another act reminiscent of how Buddhist Pure Land practitioners ended their lives, he reached out into the air and uttered the word "cross" two times ("Padre Laguna, cruz, cruz!").\textsuperscript{195} These were the last words that Sōrin spoke, and though Father Laguna interpreted them as a reference to the Christian sites that Sōrin had earlier promised to rebuild, and thought that this showed his deep regret at not being able to fulfill the promise, it is impossible for us to know what message Sōrin hoped to convey beyond the fact that he was clearly committed to Christianity. After more than two weeks of battling the illness, he succumbed and passed away on the twenty-third day of the fifth month with Father

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{192} On archaeological evidence demonstrating the widespread use of medallions as objects of devotion, see Gotō Kōichi, "Bungo Funai no Kirishitan ibutsu" [Christian artifacts in Bungo Funai], in \textit{Sengoku daimyō Ōtomo-shi to Bungo Funai} [The Ōtomo clan warlords and Bungo Funai], ed. Kage Toshio (Kyoto: Kōshi Shoin, 2008), 377–409.
\item \textsuperscript{193} On the origins of \textit{fumi-e}, and its implications for understanding how cultural practices transfer, face resistance, and are transformed, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Interpreting Cultural Transfer and the Consequences of Markets and Exchange: Reconsidering Fumi-e," in \textit{Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900}, ed. Michael North (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 135–162.
\item \textsuperscript{194} The content of these prayers included vows to rebuild all of the Christian sites that had been destroyed in warfare, or to raise money for the construction of a church if Deus would only help Sōrin to recover. Like the prayers by warlords examined in the next chapter, these were ritual acts made directly to the Christian God without any mediation and aimed at an individual.
\item \textsuperscript{195} Ibid., 381.
\end{itemize}
Laguna, his wife Julia, his second son Chikaie (1561–1614; also known as Sebastian; see Chapter Four for more), and his five daughters at his bedside.

Sōrin's sons, Yoshimune and nineteen-year-old Tawara Chikamori (also known as Don Pantaleão) were away fighting in Hyūga under Hideyoshi, and due to heavy rains that slowed communications, they were unable to come and see Sōrin in his final moments. The Jesuits were left to arrange the memorial services on their own, and they began to prepare Sōrin's grave. Undoubtedly, this was a rare opportunity for them to have so much control over the funeral of a major political figure, and so we can understand why Laguna wished to perform a ceremony worthy of the occasion.

Sōrin's funeral became an opportunity for material syncretism in a way that written genres (as we will see in subsequent chapters) were unable to accomplish. Due to the ongoing war with the Shimazu, there were only two other priests available in Bungo at the time. Despite the lack of church resources, and working with much less funding than he would have liked, Father Laguna secured the best cypress for Sōrin's coffin. In accordance with Japanese custom, Sōrin's wife and daughters washed his body. Then, they dressed him in a fine silk kimono tied with a sash. Sartorially speaking, from Sōrin's torso to his feet, he probably looked no different than he would have in a traditional Buddhist ceremony. On his head, though, was a covering (cabeça carapuça) made in Bengal (fina de Bengala). Around his neck was Sōrin's favorite rosary, which was made from ivory, and a sacred cloth called Veronica's veil from Rome (sua caveira de marfim e huma veronica de Roma). They wrapped his body in a white cloth of Japanese silk with a red cross design on it, before putting it into the coffin, which was then
covered with gold-embroidered cloth from China that had a white cross on it. The presence of foreign items reminds us that global trade had begun to change the region, but it is notable that most of the items mentioned here carried Christian meanings.\(^{196}\)

The trans-local nature of the funeral continued beyond Sōrin and his coffin. Eight carpenters spent three days and nights constructing a temporary structure to house the coffin. It had an octagonal roof covered with gold and silver leaf. The shingles on the roof were made in imitation of those in Goa, where the Jesuits had a significant presence. In the center of the roof was a silver globe (\textit{globo prateado}), and a gold cross stood on top of it. The four pillars inside were painted gold and 38 gold-colored candles stood around the building wrapped in gold- and silver-colored stands. Later, the structure was moved into Tentokuji "temple," where the cross on top reached almost to the ceiling. If Sōrin was invested in Christianity for access to European goods, as previous scholarship would have us believe, it did not manifest itself in his funerary decorations. Besides the gold and silver leaf on the roof of the temporary structure, his funeral was relatively austere.\(^{197}\) The selective acquisition of goods on Sōrin's part during his lifetime probably had little to do with avarice, and more to do with styling himself in a way that befit his religious and cultural commitments. We do not have precise figures available, but there is no reason to think he consumed any more conspicuously than warlords without privileged access to Western trade.

\(^{196}\) The small ways in which global commodity flows like cloth from Bengal began to penetrate Japanese society during this period was a precursor to the fashion-driven trade described by Timothy Brook in \textit{Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World} (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), esp. 26–53.

\(^{197}\) For an image of ostentatious and extravagant wealth obtained by a non-Christian who was not as closely involved in foreign trade, see the lengthy record by Sōrin of his visit to Hideyoshi in Osaka, (Tenshō 14 (1586))/4/6 Ōtomo Sōrin shojō [Letter by Ōtomo Sōrin], \textit{OKS}: 33, 227–234, doc. 2091.
The preparations made by the Jesuits provided them a perfect stage for presenting a Christian ritual. The wake for Sōrin lasted all night, with many people staying in the church with candles. More than three hundred silk flags decorated with Christian motifs were donated for the ceremony by members of the church within Bungo province, and three hundred candles were lit for the service. Tawara Chikakata (?–1600; also known as Jōnin) and other members of the ruling council were present, and Chikakata even donated silk for two flags. The Japanese brother Johann Ōmi (Irmão Omi João) delivered a moving sermon. After the Mass, hymns were sung, and Sōrin's coffin was transported to the gravesite. In accordance with Japanese tradition (Frois does not explain what Japanese tradition this was), they did not inter the body in the building. Tawara Chikakata and Shiga Dōki helped carry the coffin. The Jesuit fathers and the brothers took up a position behind them, then Sōrin's wife and children, the ruling council members, and others followed carrying candles. There were so many people, and the burial site was so close, though, the line barely moved.

Sōrin placed great value on Tentokuji, and his establishment of it at the end of his life nearby his own residence suggests that he had some sense that the end might be near, and perhaps expected rituals to be performed there on his behalf. If he did consider it to be a memorial temple for himself, it would not have been the only one with the name, as the Utsunomiya clan in Buzen also had a "memorial temple" called Tentokuji. The grave near it was conceived of as a place for people to come and pay their respects to Sōrin. With this in mind,

198 For other examples of Tentokuji in use at the time, see Matoba Setsuko, "Iezusukai shirō ga akasu Tentokuji to Kirishitan-hō no setten" [Contact between the Christian style and Tentokuji as shown by the historical materials of the Jesuits], in Sengoku Shokuhōki no shakai to girei [Society and rituals of the Warring States Oda and Toyotomi period], ed. Futaki Ken'ichi (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2006), 501.
Chikaie constructed a beautiful cross and placed it there. If it had remained this way, we surely would have counted the church as Sōrin's memorial temple in terms of how it functioned, if not in name as well.

Because of Tentokuji's status as a church, and events shortly after Sōrin's death, historians do not treat it as a memorial temple, even though it arguably has the strongest claim to that status. One hundred days after his death, Sōrin's son Yoshimune held a Buddhist memorial ceremony at the temple of Daichiji in Funai, and had Sōrin's grave converted into a Buddhist one. The Buddhist gravesite was later lost to fire and neglect, but rediscovered and rebuilt during the eighteenth century. In the modern period, his Christian grave was rebuilt as well so that visitors nowadays can go and see both graves standing side by side. Their appearance together gives the impression of mutual acceptance at the time of his death, but for most of his post-mortem career, Sōrin's grave has been exclusively Buddhist.

Yoshimune probably made this decision to memorialize Sōrin as a Buddhist in reaction to Hideyoshi's new anti-Christian policies. As mentioned in the Introduction of this dissertation, on 6/19, less than a month after Sōrin's death, Hideyoshi issued a decree banning Christianity. He began with the claim that Japan was "the land of the gods (kami)," and ended by ordering the Jesuits to leave the country. In previous generations, warlords would have worshipped buddhas and gods almost by default, but the advent of Christianity compelled them to declare their allegiance vis a vis the new religion. Sōrin chose conversion to Christianity, Hideyoshi chose

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199 Because of space constraints, I have not explored Daichiji's role within the Ōtomo warrior band, and much more could certainly be said. Like Tentokuji, it does not ever seem to have been named as a memorial temple for Sōrin, even though it obviously played a role in his memorial rites.

traditional religious groups that he saw more amenable to his political aims, and Yoshimune decided to demonstrate his support for Hideyoshi's new religious policies. Within warrior society at the time, it was the safest course, and the one more likely to enable him to reconstitute his warrior band after their near defeat at the hands of the Shimazu clan.

Why did Tentokuji fail to achieve memorial temple status? As the detailed account by Father Laguna makes abundantly clear, the Jesuits had developed a rich repertoire of rituals to handle the final moments of someone's life and memorialize them after death, and demonstrated that they could compete effectively with the existing Buddhist rituals. Considering the attendance at his wake and funeral, the ceremonies were apparently able to convey meaning to Christian members of the Ōtomo warrior band as well. In the short term, the Jesuits were successful beyond anything they could have expected just a few days before, when it looked as if their patron and his territory would be lost in defeat to an enemy that would interpret their victory on the battlefield as a win for the Japanese god of war over the Christian deity.

However, Tentokuji could not compete against traditional Buddhist institutions long after the funeral for two reasons. First, the political conditions had changed in warrior society so that policies from the center now affected the periphery, and the culture of war was coalescing around Hideyoshi and his narrower view of acceptable religious practice. Yoshimune's intervention after Sōrin's death was an attempt by a warlord who was already out of favor with Hideyoshi for his poor performance in war, to discard the Christian legacy and refashion the clan's religious affiliations, and better prepare it for the advent of the less permissive early modern period. Second, at the time of Sōrin's death the Christian rituals only had valence within the Christian
community he had established, where it probably helped bind the people there together, but did not carry meaning for the rest of warrior society. Yoshimune may not have only feared going against Hideyoshi's policies, but clearly also felt pressure from within the warrior band to re-align himself with traditional religious institutions. This change in religious policy would not only have assuaged concerns about military losses stemming from the abandonment and destruction of such sites, but also reconnected the Ōtomo clan once again with the capital of Kyoto. Rome simply did not carry the weight that Kyoto did within a newly unified Japan.

Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that memorial temples were important in the sixteenth century, but not necessarily for the reasons we might think. Over the course of the medieval period, patronage tended to converge on the sites not because of their labels as "memorial temples," but instead because they offered entry into rituals of state held at major religious and political centers, connected to historically significant events in the past, and funneled Chinese culture into the domain. Only later, after the sites had already established themselves with national recognition, did the Ōtomo attempt to co-opt them as their "memorial temples." Under the Ōtomo, we can discern competition among religious sites; Daitokuji's Zuihō-in and the Five Mountain's Manjuji struggled to obtain income in exchange for prestige, while Tentokuji lost out to Buddhist institutions upon the death of its patron. The lack of prominence given to the designation of memorial temple suggests that the term only gained significance in later
generations, and during the sixteenth century was often overshadowed by other activities done on behalf of the Ōtomo by these sites.

At least in the case of the Ōtomo, we should consider the temples and churches as a social glue, but one bonding the Ōtomo to elite society at centers of power: Manjuji for its connection to the Five Mountains system, Zuihō-in for its one to the Daitokuji lineage, and Tentokuji for its ties to Rome (Sōrin sent a letter to the pope along with an ambassador). In this respect, Sōrin stands out for his apparently sincere interest in associating himself in death with a particular location (Tentokuji), and the more general trend (from earlier in Sōrin's life, and after his death) is that warlords sought more communal benefits.

Although scholars typically dismiss the Ashikaga military government (of which Sōrin was an official) and Buddhist institutions as insignificant forces in the latter half of the sixteenth century, perhaps we have killed off the Ashikaga family and big Buddhism too soon in our historical narratives, and we have not given enough context for the Ōtomo clan's attempts to connect with Europe. We have also said too little about warlords who were not on a trajectory toward the kind of autonomy we might expect them to be seeking in a world that had supposedly been turned upside down. Some rulers, like Sōrin, yearned for the legitimacy of organizing ideologies beyond the borders of their domains, and used religions institutions for access to them.
THREE

Offering Prayers: Sōrin, Ōuchi Yoshitaka, and Usa Shrine

When Jesuits introduced a Christian form of prayer into Japan in the sixteenth century, they entered into a crowded religious landscape, where they engaged in competition with long-established practices, and thereby threatened the cohesion of the warrior band. To understand why this was the case, we must investigate religious services offered at temples and shrines, and consider how the process of communicating with deities functioned within a culture of war. This chapter focuses on Usa shrine, which was one of the most prominent locations having the Japanese god of war, Hachiman, as its object of worship. Specifically, it examines vows (ganmon) made at the site by Ōuchi Yoshitaka and Sōrin. It argues that the content and performance of vows made by the two leaders in the traditional manner involved the communal interests of the clans. It further suggests that in the case of the Ōtomo, this deep integration of the shrine into the retainer band formed an especially stark contrast with the novel Jesuit practice of directly addressing the Christian God, which became an individualistic alternative to the conventional method of making requests of deities. The picture that emerges of warrior society illustrates some of the entrenched religious interests that made it

201 Within the Ōtomo administrative center of Funai alone, a contemporary map shows 21 temples and shrines of various sectarian affiliations. The Jesuit missionaries built their Deus Hall church ("Daiusu-dō") in the midst of them, but according to Luís Fróis, few people came to the compound. See Sakamoto Yoshihiro, "Chūsei toshi Bungo Funai no hensen: Kōkogaku no shiten kara," in Sengoku daimyō Ōtomo-shi to Bungo Funai [The Ōtomo clan warlords and Bungo Funai], ed. Kage Toshio (Kyoto: Kōshi Shoin, 2008), 29 and 54. There is a great deal of new ground being broken on the structure of late medieval cities, mainly from the work of archaeologists, but this research has not yet made its way into the English-language scholarship.
difficult for Sōrin to extricate himself and his warrior band from the traditional relationships and obligations that tied them to gods and buddhas.  

The five parts of this chapter aim to explain what it meant to offer a prayer as a warrior aristocrat in Japan. The practice was somewhat different than what one might find for other classes in society, and even further removed from the experience in Europe using tools such as the book of hours. As a result, it took some time for the Jesuits to recognize the importance of addressing prayer in their mission. The first part of the chapter discusses the terminology and significance of different prayer types within the warrior band by considering regular and irregular prayer services. Next, the second part explores the history of Usa shrine as a site of violence that tied together Hachiman's dual aspects as a bodhisattva who saves living beings, and a god who placates the angry spirits of the vanquished. The third part examines vows that Yoshitaka and Sōrin directed to the Great Bodhisattva Hachiman (Hachiman Daibosatsu) at Usa in order to demonstrate the level of engagement the two leaders had with it, and to show that the differences reflected political conditions and their relationship with local hereditary shrine administrators. The fourth part compares vows made by Yoshitaka and Sōrin with those authored by their subordinates to illustrate demand that existed for a religious service that brought together the group into a shared experience of worship. Finally, the fifth part suggests that appeals

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addressed to the Christian God by Sōrin enabled sites like Usa to integrate well into warrior
society, because public prayer functions for elite supplicants utilized channels of communication
that incorporated other members of the warrior band into the ritual.

Prayers for Victory in a Culture of War

The term "prayer" for the premodern period in Japan encompasses a broad range of
activities. In documents related to the Ōtomo clan, we encounter the act of addressing a deity
described variously as "appeals" (kōmon), "vows" (ganmon), "prayer offerings" (ritsugan),
"supplications" (kigan), "devotions" (kitō), "records of rites" (kanju), and
"maledictions" (chōbuku).204 Some of these prayers, like maledictions, were uncommon, and
occurred irregularly on special occasions. Others, like devotions and prayer readings, formed
part of the annual procession of ritual events in the domain.

Maledictions are particularly significant in the case of the Ōtomo clan, because they
provided women a religious tool for intervening in the administration of the domain. In the early
years of Sōrin's reign, "Jezebel" (we first met her in Chapter One), supposedly called upon all of
the shrine priests (shasō) and mountain ascetics (yamabushi) in the domain to perform curses
against her husband in retaliation for his affairs.205 Although the episode is found in a

204 The list of terms for prayers is not meant to be an exhaustive one. Among ganmon, ritsugan, kiga, kitō, kanju,
and chōbuku, the first three containing the character "gan" are roughly synonymous with one another, as reflected in
the English glosses given. The next two, kitō and kanjū, often appear together in documents as regular services
offered by cultic sites offered in exchange for patronage.

205 Ōtomo-ki [Record of the Ōtomo], in OKK 2: 261. The Ōtomo-ki is a war tale about the Ōtomo clan from its
origins with Ōtomo Yoshinao, a vassal of the first shogun in the twelfth century. The author and date of authorship is
uncertain, but it may have been written by Tomomatsu Gen'eki in the early seventeenth-century. It is also known as
the Kyūshū chiran ki [Record of political disorder in Kyūshū] and Kyūshū chiran monogatari [Tale of political
disorder in Kyūshū]. See OKK for a transcribed version.
seventeenth-century war tale, and this particular instance is unsupported by more reliable contemporary records, at the very least it does suggest that people around that time saw prayers as something women could directly participate in as well.

In a separate incident, we have more reliable evidence of Jezebel using maledictions. The Jesuits recorded one that she made against Christians, and because this included her husband by this time, we could consider it as a continuation of her earlier efforts to undermine his rule. In her plea, she called upon the sun and the moon, and asked them why they had not killed and destroyed all those who did not adore and put faith in the gods (O sol e lua, porque não matais, assolais e destruis a todos os que vos não adorão e confessão por deozes).206 We should certainly question whether Frois accurately conveyed what he gathered second-hand from her attendants who overheard this. However, given her family background as the daughter of the administrator for Nada Hachiman shrine, and her relationship as the sister to the shrine administrator for the Ōtomo domain, the claim by the Jesuits that she made these prayers seems plausible, and it fits her profile as an enemy of Christians. It is also likely that she worked in league with other ritual specialists who sympathized with her. Certainly, other religious groups would have welcomed the opportunity to attack the Christian interlopers in this manner. The Jesuits also wrote that Buddhist priests at the time warned that the destruction of temples and ridicule of clergy would bring down divine wrath. Sōrin and his son dismissed these words, and assumed that the Christian god was on their side. They did not take seriously the preparations for

war, and this was an attitude that Jesuits blamed for a major defeat they suffered in 1578 against
the Shimazu clan.207

Jezebel's opposition also highlights the tremendous risk that Sōrin was taking by
embracing Christianity, because even within his own household he was bound up with the shrine
network he inherited from his father. The participation of Jezebel in religious rituals reinforces
recent scholarship on the central role of elite women in warrior society.208 Women rarely
received mention in the Japanese sources, but we are fortunate to have these glimpses of them
from the perspective of Jesuit observers, who often worked through wives and daughters to gain
access to powerful figures.209 We know that women in the Ōtomo domain could speak with
authority, even if their words were not recorded for posterity; daughters could inherit and
administer their father's property, a warlord's wife could run the domain during her husband's
absence, and an estranged wife could seek ritual vengeance.

The historical record contains relatively few maledictions, and as previously mentioned,
devotions and records of rites form the majority of prayer instances for the Ōtomo clan. The
document that follows exhibits the typical pattern found for extant sources that tell us about these
prayer rituals. It begins by thanking the ritual specialists for their prayers and for the gifts that

207 INT 2: 431. For more on the 1578 battle, see Chapter Five.

208 Tomoko Kitagawa has written about how Hideyoshi's wife also handled affairs of state for her husband, and
mentions an incident in which a monk attempts to trick her into making a prayer. See Tomoko Kitagawa, "An
Independent Wife During the Warring States: The Life of Kitanomandokoro Nei (1548-1624) in Letters" (PhD diss.,
Princeton University, 2009), 109. For inheritance by a daughter, see Chapter Five of this dissertation, and on a wife
running the domain, see Chapter Four.

209 On Jesuit inroads into Toyotomi Hideyoshi's inner circle using social networks composed of women, see Tomoko
they sent. It ends by identifying the liaison who will convey the correspondence and perhaps deliver an additional message orally.

I was extremely pleased to have received the record of the rites and your year-end devotions together with one cask of dried plums. Usuki Shōyū Tarō will convey this content. Respectfully.

12/28 Ōtomo Sōrin (seal 1)
Shinkōji Jugen Hōin
The monks in residence

Scholars have suggested the date for this document as 1575, which would place it a few years before Sōrin's conversion to Christianity, and close to the height of Ōtomo power. For annual observances like this, the administrators at cultic sites initiated the prayers and sent gifts along with a report of their ritual observances to Sōrin. On special occasions, the order might be reversed, and the Ōtomo would request a prayer to be said on their behalf.

Although the content is unremarkable, the timing and the recipient of the letter makes it stand out from others in the genre. First, we also have another record with the exact same content sent from Sōrin's son, Yoshimune, on the same day. What this suggests is that the two leaders

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211 "The monks in residence" (Ondōshukuchū) was one of many formal phrases used to conclude documents.

212 Ikebe-shi hokan monjo [Documents held by the Ikebe clan] (Tenshō 3 (1575))/12/28 Ōtomo Yoshimune kanzu tō uketorijō [Receipt of sutra readings and other items by Ōtomo Yoshimune], OKS: 9, 392, doc. 437.
shared in administrative duties, and that they issued the documents in the midst of a transition of power from father to son.\footnote{The issue of when this transition of leadership ended will be taken up in the final chapter. The lingering participation of Sōrin in governance greatly complicates any analysis of the last two decades of Ōtomo rule in Kyūshū.} Second, the individual (or individuals) known as Shinkōji Jugen Hōin played an influential role in the Ōtomo administration under three clan leaders.\footnote{Takita Manabu mentions his role in ZTHO 24: 4, doc. 7 (commentary).} The name can be found in other documents conveying confidential messages to retainers, and in one case, Shinkōji Jugen Hōin was instrumental in mobilizing forces to fight on the Ōtomo clan's behalf.\footnote{See, for example, Kibe monjo [Documents of the Kibe] (undated)/5/11 Ōtomo Sōrin shojō utushi [Copy of document from Ōtomo Sōrin], in Saigoku bushidan kankei shiryōshū, eds. Akutagawa Tatsuo and Fukukawa Kazunori (Tokyo: Bunken Shuppan, 1991–2000), 31: 64, doc. 7. For Shinkōji Jugen Hōin's mobilization of forces to fight for the Ōtomo, see Kawasoe Hiroshi, Ryūzōji Takanobu: Goshū nitō no taishū [Ryūzōji Takanobu: Viceroy of five provinces and two islands], ed. Kawasoe Yoshiatsu (Saga: Saga Shinbunsha, 2006), 69. Given the early date of 1532 for this case, it seems possible that multiple individuals filled this administrative position.} The devotions and records of rites were gifts, and in that spirit, they necessitated a response of some sort from their warrior recipients.\footnote{For the interpretation of devotions and records of rites as gifts, see Andrew Watsky, Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 312. On the "spirit" of the gift and vows, see Marcel Mauss, The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies (London: Routledge, 1990 [1950]), 120 (fn. 26).} They formed part of a gift-exchange system in which everyone in the warrior band (including religious sites) participated. One peculiarity to note, though, is that religious institutions tended to send gifts of this sort at the end and beginning of the year, while warriors sent their gifts in the eighth month of the year for the annual harvest ritual (hassaku), an example of which we
saw in Chapter One.\textsuperscript{217} Although part of the same military organization, the religious sites and warriors remained distinct in certain respects. To get a sense of the scale of gift exchanges on these two occasions, a survey of extant documents shows that during Sōrin and Yoshimune's reigns, we have records for 44 prayers made at the end and beginning of the year, and 67 for the annual harvest ritual.\textsuperscript{218} What the many gift exchanges by temples, shrines, and other retainers show is how the practice fostered cohesion in the warrior band.

The Japanese god of war, Hachiman, was an especially important deity for the Ōtomo. As we saw earlier in this chapter, Sōrin's wife was the daughter of an administrator for one of the Hachiman shrines in the domain, and this gave him a direct connection to a major cultic site dedicated to the deity. He also had other opportunities to patronize Hachiman. Jesuit missionaries observed that there were two major festivals in the Ōtomo capital of Funai, with one of them (the Gion festival) attracting as many as 40,000 or 50,000 warriors (people in military garb). In a city of only about 8,000 households, this Gion worship demonstrated tremendous devotion to traditional religious sites. As it was mentioned together with the Gion festival, the second one which was dedicated to Hachiman may have been comparable in size. The Jesuits claimed that the Ōtomo leaders never missed the opportunity to attend the processions, and we can

\textsuperscript{217} Ōtsuka Shunji makes this point about the difference in timing. See Ōtsuka Shunji, "Sengoku-ki Ōtomo-shi to jisha no kitō" [The Warring States Period Ōtomo clan and the prayers of temples and shrines], in Sengoku daimyō Ōtomo-shi to Bungo Funai [The Ōtomo clan warlords and Bungo Funai], ed. Kage Toshio, 231–256 (Kyoto: Kōshi Shoin, 2008), 233–234.

speculate that the clan benefited from the occasions, where they could demonstrate their legitimacy and authority through public support of popular events.\textsuperscript{219}

Within the Hachiman cult, some of the sites engaged in an especially large number of prayers for the Ōtomo. By the sixteenth century, Yusuhara shrine just outside of Funai had long held a prominent position in Bungo province as the "first shrine" (ichinomiya).\textsuperscript{220} Under the shrine ranking system (shakaku seido) that began in the tenth century, locations around the country received rankings that were recognized by central authorities, and this earned them special status during the premodern period. The Ōtomo gradually integrated the Yusuhara site into the warrior band to the extent that the deity it housed became their tutelary deity (ujigami), and according to one interpretation, it then developed into the protective deity for the domain (ryōgoku chinjugami).\textsuperscript{221} In addition to the prayer services Yusuhara offered on behalf of the Ōtomo, it also hosted a rite for the release of living beings (hōjō-e), which afforded the Ōtomo a public stage to demonstrate their authority and legitimacy as supporters of religious sites.\textsuperscript{222} Moreover,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{219} INT 2: 399.
\item \textsuperscript{220} On a systematic approach to categorizing and understanding first shrines in the premodern period, and Yusuhara Shrine's place in it, see Inoue Hiroshi, \textit{Nihon Chūsei kokka to shokoku ichinomiya sei} [The first shrine system in each province and the Japanese medieval state] (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2009), 285–286.
\item \textsuperscript{221} On the process by which the shrine became the Ōtomo clan's tutelary deity, see Toyama Mikio, "Bungo ichinomiya Yusuhara Hachimangū ni kansuru ni san no kōsatsu" [An examination of some issues regarding Yusuhara Hachimangū, the official provincial shrine of Bungo], \textit{Ōita-ken chihōshi} [Journal of local history in Ōita Prefecture] 23 (February 1960): 41–55.
\item \textsuperscript{222} Several sutras refer to this as a meritorious act, including the \textit{Sutra of the Brahma's Net} (Bonmyōkyō; Skt. Brahmacālā-sūtra), \textit{Sutra on the Collection of the Six Perfections} (Rokudōjikkō; Skt. Śaṭ-pāramitā-samgraha), \textit{Storehouse of Sundry Treasures} (Zōhōzōkyō; Skt. Sanyuktā-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra), and \textit{Golden Light Sutra} (Konkōmyōkyō; Skt. Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra). For a discussion of the rite's origins, see Henry Shiu and Leah Stokes, "Buddhist Animal Release Practices: Historic, Environmental, Public Health and Economic Concerns," \textit{Contemporary Buddhism: An Interdisciplinary Journal} 9, no. 2 (2008): 181–186.
\end{itemize}
the occasion provided concrete benefits for governance, as the divine favor gained from performing the ceremony was distributed among everyone.\[^{223}\]

Yusuhara Shrine undoubtedly held a special position within the Ōtomo warrior band, but it had a nearby rival for patronage that has received less recognition from Ōtomo scholars. Previous literature has overlooked the fact that Usa shrine, of which Yusuhara was a branch, also claimed to be the Ōtomo's tutelary deity.\[^{224}\] In a lengthy petition to Sōrin early in his reign regarding the unacceptable behavior of Sōrin's brother-in-law, who had recently been made the newly appointed administrator of shrines (shabugyō), the priests presented the case for why Sōrin ought to side with them in the dispute. They began by describing the history of the shrine and the miraculous feats it had accomplished on behalf of courtiers and warriors in the past. Then, they tied themselves directly to the Ōtomo by saying that "we are your house's tutelary deity."\[^{225}\] They went on to spell out what they saw as their two major roles: a place to perform prayers on behalf of authorities and one to maintain shrine rituals. They claimed that they could perform

\[^{223}\] On the importance that the Ōtomo placed on the rite, see Ōtsuka Shunji, "Bungo no kuni ichinomiya Yusuharagū no hōjō-e to Ōtomo-shi" [The Ōtomo clan and the Rite for the Release of Living Beings at the first shrine of Bungo province, Yusuharagū], *Nihon rekishi* [The Japanese history journal] 2 (2006): 47.

\[^{224}\] To the best of my knowledge, no research has addressed this claim by Usa Hachimangū that the shrine served as the clan's tutelary deity.

\[^{225}\] The phrase: "koto ni gotōke onujigami sōro no tokoro" (御頌当 家御氏神祠之處), *Miyanari monjo* [Documents of the Miyanari], Eiroku 4 (1561)/10/6 Hachiman Usagū jingū shasō isshachū rensho meyasujō an [Draft of petition signed by the shrine priest administrators of HachimanUsagū], *ZTHO* 21: 70–76, doc. 147.
neither of these with his brother-in-law in charge.\footnote{The phrase: "katsū wa kogi onkito, katsū wa tōsha senrei sōrō tokoro" (且者御祈祷, 且者 当社先例候処). Ibid.} The implicit threat here was that the Ōtomo would lose divine protection in their ongoing battles.

In addition to Usa's claim to relevance within the Ōtomo warrior band, the prayers made at the shrine make for compelling objects of study. The site housed the Japanese god of war, and the religious services it supplied were well-suited to meet the demands of an age of incessant warfare.\footnote{One could dispute the characterization of Hachiman as the "god of war," but that is at least how the Jesuits understood the deity when they encountered "Fachiman, deos das batalhas" in the sixteenth century. See, for example, \textit{HJ} 2: 253.} Also, it occupied a liminal space within overlapping spheres of warrior influence between the Ōuchi and Ōtomo clans, and so it offers a unique lens through which to view the relationships that two powerful clans had with a major religious complex. Finally, the related document collections preserve records from the leaders of both houses; of particular note are the vows made by Yoshitaka and Sōrin.

Generally speaking, vows (\textit{ganmon}) by warriors in this period could be considered as a kind of prayer with a particular aim to gain this-worldly benefits. The vows share similarities with oaths, which will be addressed in the next chapter, and there is certainly some conceptual overlap.\footnote{For a brief discussion of the Japanese vow documentary format in the premodern period, see Satō Shin'ichi, comp., \textit{Shinpan Komonjogaku nyūmon} [Re-edition of an introduction to old document studies] (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan Kyoku, 1997), 231–232.} However, the distinction made here is that deities were the direct recipients of vows, in contrast to oaths, in which deities acted as witnesses and enforcers of the promises made. It should be noted that the focus in this chapter is on vows made in the sixteenth century by
warriors, and it makes no claims for earlier periods or classes, which show much more variation and different characteristics.²²⁹

Vows made at Usa by Yoshitaka and Sōrin show that the two leaders performed them as communal acts, and the practice re-enforced the interests of the warrior band. In the case of the Ōtomo, the deep integration of shrines like Usa into the warrior band looked quite different than the Jesuit method of addressing the Christian deity known as "Deus" to make a private prayer.²³⁰ This was a subtle difference that provided an individualistic alternative to the conventional method of making requests for divine aid.²³¹ Within the context of profound social disorder, the appeals to Hachiman ensured that warriors had a divinely legitimated right to wage war, while the ones to Deus did not convey the same meaning in warrior society.

Why study vows by warriors? They are not equal to the literary masterpieces of earlier generations, especially learned in their content, or full of pious devotion. However, as records of requests made to deities, they provide insight into the religious worldview of warriors. They tell stories about issues that mattered to warriors and show us what services supplicants hoped to gain in return for their investment of political, cultural, and material capital into cultic sites.

Second, because subordinates mediated traditional appeals to buddhas and gods, and warlords

²²⁹ For some of the earliest vows in Japan, which illustrate a considerably different way of writing them, see Bryan Daniel Lowe, "Rewriting Nara Buddhism: Sutra Transcription in Early Japan" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2012), 205–281.

²³⁰ The Jesuits chose "Deus" as one of the terms they used for the Christian God when proselytizing. For a discussion of some of the translation issues, see Hubert Cieslik, "Early Jesuit Missionaries in Japan 2: Balthasar Gago and Japanese Christian Terminology" (1954), republished online at http://pweb.cc.sophia.ac.jp/britto/xavier/cieslik/ciejmj02.pdf.

²³¹ This is not to suggest that all Jesuit missionaries everywhere in the world taught this practice of directly addressing Deus, but at least in the case of Ōtomo Sōrin, this is how he communicated. Further research might provide comparative insight into how Jesuits localized their teachings during this period of vigorous proselytization.
rarely had direct communication with the objects of worship themselves, the documents
demonstrate reliance on their retainers to ensure the performance of vows on their behalf. Thus,
as a social practice, the prayers call into question the authoritarian image of warlords suggested
by previous scholarship, because they expose the coordination and collaboration among religious
institutions, retainers, and leaders of the warrior band. Third, they invite comparisons with
radically different alternatives introduced by Jesuit missionaries.

Shrines like Usa did not figure prominently in observations by Jesuit missionaries. The
sites were part of a gods/buddhas (shinbutsu) combination in which, doctrinally speaking, the
traditions were reconciled through the notion of "original ground and subsidiary manifestations,"
which understood native gods as the "subsidiary manifestations" of the "original" buddhas and
bodhisattvas.\textsuperscript{232} This theory held that the objects of worship in temples and shrines often
possessed dual identities. The resulting amalgamation of beliefs found physical expression in the
layout of cultic sites as well. At Usa, Mirokuji temple and other Buddhist structures occupied the
same sacred space as shrine buildings. The writings of Jesuit missionaries demonstrate that they
did not accurately comprehend the interdependent relationship between the two religious
traditions.\textsuperscript{233}

\textsuperscript{232} For a brief account of this theory, see Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli, "Introduction: Combinatory Religion
and the Honji Suijaku Paradigm in Pre-Modern Japan," in Buddhhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a
Combinatory Paradigm, eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), esp. 1–

\textsuperscript{233} On the failure of Jesuits to understand kami worship in sixteenth-century Japan and the implications this had for
their mission, see J[urgis] S[aule] Elisonas, "The Jesuits, the Devil, and Pollution in Japan. The Context
The cooperation between the two religious traditions also manifested itself in administration of the locations, where there was no clear functional distinction between personnel; the same shrine priest might read both the Buddhist sutras and prayers to the gods. Thus, we cannot fault the Jesuits too much for misunderstanding what they saw as an almost exclusively "Buddhist" practice, because, practically speaking, the gods were only one aspect of a primarily Buddhist worldview, and the presence of well-organized Buddhist bureaucracies staffed with priests overshadowed the shrines.

Because the Jesuits did not recognize shrines as serious rivals, and the shrine activities occurred largely in the background within a Buddhist worldview, a competitive metaphor does little to illuminate relations between shrines and temples in the Ōtomo domain. This does not mean, though, that we should disregard distinctions between the two traditions. In the previous chapter we looked at mortuary rituals under Ōtomo Sōrin through his relationships with cultic sites that functioned for him as memorial temples. The chapter argued that they not only unified warrior bands, but in the case of the Ōtomo clan, channeled power from the center to the periphery and participated in a culture of war by offering their ritual services on behalf of military elites. In contrast to Sōrin's ability to dominate some of the memorial temples, shrine complexes like Usa enjoyed considerable autonomy.

If you open a newspaper tomorrow morning and see a Japanese religious institution mentioned there, chances are it will be Tokyo's Yasukuni shrine. Its name literally means "shrine for the pacification of the country," and one reason for its establishment in the late nineteenth century was to address the potential of vengeful spirits arising from dead soldiers in the new
nation's wars. Despite having, amongst other things, the ostensibly peaceful intentions of protecting the living from the dead, in public discourse the cultic site has developed strong associations with Japan's imperialist projects on the continent through its enshrinement of the spirits of war criminals from World War II.

As a consequence of its ties to overseas conquests, every time a high-ranking government official visits Yasukuni to offer prayers, the event elicits criticism from the country's East Asian neighbors. Its quasi memorial-temple existence has turned it into a lightning rod for criticism, but what interests us here is that its uniquely contentious nature has obscured the fact that it is actually one of thousands of other cultic sites throughout the archipelago that bear witness to a violent past and enjoy the participation of prominent elites in religious rituals.

The problem at Yasukuni is unique among shrines connected with warfare. The Hachiman cult in Japan, which originated at Usa shrine, shares with Yasukuni a similarly militaristic aspect, a pacificatory role, a connection with continental conquests through the people it enshrines, and ties to national figures. Yet, you are unlikely to see it in the newspapers, because it is more strongly connected with the past than the present, and so generates much less controversy.

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236 For more on the tension between Yasukuni's identity as both a memorial site and a shrine, along with a discussion of the placatory function of the site, see Klaus Antoni, "Yasukuni-Jinja and Folk Religion: The Problem of Vengeful Spirits," *Asian Folklore Studies* 47, no. 1 (1988): 131–133.
Usa "jingū" carries a benign name that literally means "shrine at Usa," but its alternative appellation as Usa Hachimangū, or "shrine for Hachiman at Usa," gives a better sense of the role it played in warrior society. The Great Bodhisattva Hachiman became the patron deity of many warrior clans in the medieval period. Notably, the deity gained in importance after the first military government's founder and purported father of the first leader of the Ōtomo clan, Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199), supposedly employed it as a unifying force for his military organization through his patronage of Kyoto Iwashimizu Hachimangū shrine and Kamakura Tsurugaoka Hachimangū shrine.237

Usa shrine's connection with warfare began long before the emergence of a warrior class, though. Usa first linked itself with rituals of war through the enshrinement of three legendary figures: Okinaga Tarashi Hime no Mikoto, her son Homutawake no Mikoto (also read as Homudawake), and her son's wife, Hime Ōkami.238 Okinaga Tarashi Hime no Mikoto is better known today as Jingū, the fourteenth emperor's consort (ōkisaki). According to the eighth-century Records of Ancient Matters (Kojiki), she became divinely possessed (kamiyose) when her husband petitioned for an oracle (shintaku) before embarking on a military campaign in Kyūshū. During the ritual, a deity spoke through her, saying, "There is a land to the west. Gold and silver, as well as all sorts of eye-dazzling precious treasures, abound in this country. I will now give this

237 For more on the incorporation of Hachiman worship into the nascent warrior administration begun by Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199), see Martin Collcutt, "Religion in the Formation of the Kamakura Bakufu: As seen through the Azuma Kagami," Japan Review 5 (1994), esp. 71–82.

238 For more on the origins of Usa Shrine, see Ross Bender, "The Hachiman Cult and the Dōkyō Incident," Monumenta Nipponica 34, no. 2 (Summer 1979): 127–130.
country [into your hands].” Her husband denied the veracity of the oracle and died on the spot, apparently as punishment for his doubt. Jingū was later possessed again and told that the son in her womb would rule the land across the sea. She was then given instructions on how she could reach it. She took the gods up on their offer, conquered the land (what we know of today as Korea), and after returning to Japan, gave birth to her son. He ruled Japan as Emperor Ōjin (ca. 3rd century), and was later deified as the Great Bodhisattva Hachiman. By absorbing this earliest historical narrative of Empress Jingū and her son, the shrine managed to acquire a direct connection to the imperial line and a role in future conquests.

Interestingly, however, the Records of Ancient Matters never mentions Usa shrine by name, and we do not know precisely when the shrine took on this martial aspect. The Records was completed in 712, several centuries after the events it purports to record. The earliest mention of Usa occurs in 737 in the Sequel to the Chronicles of Japan (Shoku Nihongi), and our most detailed early account of the shrine comes from the ninth century in the Legendary History of the Founding of Usa Hachiman Shrine's Mirokuji (USA Hachimangū Mirokuji konryū engi). In later sources we see divine oracles, women, conquest and religious rituals combined with Usa in sources like the History of the founding of Usa Hachiman Shrine's Rite for the Release of Living Beings (Hachiman Usagū Hōjō-e engi). The timing suggests that the enshrinement of the


deities may have happened in the early decades of the eighth century in concert with the Records, and the subsequent histories incorporated it into the larger imperial project that generated Japan's first bureaucracy.

As one of its distinguishing characteristics, Usa developed a unique form of the traditional rite for the release of living beings (hōjō-e) in the eighth century. The rite, as generally practiced, commemorated the Buddha's prohibition of fishing and hunting by releasing captive animals, and it was performed throughout East Asia. The History of the founding of Usa Hachiman Shrine's Rite for the Release of Living Beings recorded that in 720 there was an uprising by the Hayato, an ethnic minority that populated southern Kyūshū. Following the pattern we previously saw with the story of Jingū in the Records of Ancient Matters, the court sent an imperial messenger to the shrine with a petition in 721. An oracle was then delivered in response, saying that the southern provinces of Ōsumi and Hyūga should be subjugated, but this time the deity Hachiman further declared "I, the deity, will go and pacify them." Hachiman rode in a sacred palanquin (mikoshi) into battle and after a three-year campaign overcame his enemies. After the campaign ended, Hachiman returned back to Usa and established the rite for the release of living beings as "retribution for killing the Hayato."

The History of the founding of Usa Hachiman Shrine's Rite for the Release of Living Beings explained that "The rite began with the Great Bodhisattva Hachiman. Even though he

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242 For a detailed analysis of how the rite was established and practiced, and a slightly different emphasis than Western scholarship on how the elements of the rite came together, see Inuma Kenji, "Usagū hōjō-e wo yomu" [Reading the Usa Shrine Rite for the Release of Sentient Beings], Ōita-ken chihōshi [Journal of local history in Ōita Prefecture] 161 (March 1996): 22–56.

kills, because he has an enlightened status and does good[,] there is a lot of merit in his killing."

Jane Marie Law persuasively argues that this innovation at Usa demonstrates the "originals and traces" buddha / kami combinatory paradigm in action, and suggests that the melding of a kami spirit pacifying ritual (chinkonsai) with the Buddhist life-releasing one was an attempt to reconcile the contradiction present in a god of war that takes lives. The shrine filled an important role in dealing with the desire to wage war and achieve victory while also tackling the task of bringing peace to the angry souls of the vanquished. It was, in other words, an early articulation of a "culture of defeat," which devised a formula that could bring about peace after bitter struggle. The stories about Hachiman's connection to the rite for the release of living beings were repeated in other texts over the centuries.

The need for a way to deal with violent deaths remained for those who occupied themselves with warfare in the sixteenth century as well. During the rest of the medieval period, Usa continued to be a major ritual center. The Ōuchi and Ōtomo supported the rite for the release of living beings, donated funds to the shrine, and made appeals for divine aid. Their deep interest in religious affairs reflected conditions prevalent in warrior society. Despite Šōrin's

244 Ibid., 345.

245 On cultures of defeat in the modern period, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery*, translated by Jefferson Chase (New York: Picador, 2001). Because the sixteenth century came before the Japanese nation, the culture of defeat worked a little differently, and this is an area that has not yet been adequately explored in English-language scholarship.

246 For the interweaving of the Usa cult, the geography of the Kunisaki peninsula where the shrine was located, and the Lotus Sutra, see Allan G[orges] Grapard, "Lotus in the Mountain, Mountain in the Lotus: Rokugo' Kaizen Nimmon Daibosatsu Hongi," (Spring 1986): 27–50.

247 The Ōuchi revived the ritual in 1418. See Inoue Hiroshi, *Nihon Chūsei kokka to shokoku ichinomiya sei* (2009), 289. For an example of the Ōtomo support for the rite, see *Nagahiro monjo* [Documents of the Nagahiro] (Eiroku 1 (1558))/7/3 Ōtomo Yoshishige shojo utsushi [Copy of document by Ōtomo Yoshishige], in *OSS* 2: 185–186, doc. 552. Šōrin wrote to the shrine families to admonish them for neglecting the rite, told them to follow past precedents this year, and said they needed to be sure to perform the ritual assiduously.
admittedly non-representative conversion to Christianity, rather than terming him as a "Christian lord" (*Kirishitan daimyō*), we ought to think of him in the context of his counterparts in other regions who worshipped a rich variety of deities.

Military leaders throughout the archipelago shared a common interest in seeking divine aid for their warrior bands, but how much did they actually need to rely on shrines like Usa to accomplish this? Records suggest it was possible to self-apotheosize as a buddha or god in the quest for success on the battlefield. For example, the warlord Uesugi Kenshin (1530–1578) was someone who supposedly transformed himself into the Buddhist guardian king of the north, Bishamonten (*Vaisravana*). A historical narrative from the seventeenth century, the *Recorded Words of Famous Generals* (*Meishō genkō roku*), related a stirring scene in which Kenshin stood before his troops, proclaimed himself the incarnation of Bishamonten, and said, "Consider me as Bishamonten, and make an oath before me."[^248] Although we have no contemporary documents to corroborate this incident, records for other warlords exist. The first of the unifiers, Oda Nobunaga, is said to have required other warlords to make "a monetary offering to [him] as to a living god."[^249] Both Kenshin and Nobunaga pushed the limits of traditional worship, but efforts of this sort that had the most impact during the sixteenth century came from the second of the three unifiers, Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

[^248]: Fujimaki Kazuho, *Sengoku no juhō* [Sorcery in the Warring States Period] (Tōkyō: Gakugei Paburisshing, 2010), 18–19.

Although not so bold as to proclaim himself a living deity, Hideyoshi reportedly sought apotheosis after his death. In support of this argument, historians cite a letter sent to Rome by Jesuit Francisco Pasio (1554–1612), which read:

At the end, the Taikō [Hideyoshi] wanted his name to be known to later generations, and hoped to be worshipped like God. He ordered that his remains were not to be cremated, but would be placed in an elaborate coffin, and this would be installed in a garden within the castle grounds. In this way the Taikō would be positioned among the gods.... and he wanted to be known as Shin Hachiman, or the New Hachiman. The reason for this was that Hachiman, like the ancient Roman god Mars, was worshipped among the Japanese as the god of war.250

Pasio did not actually witness the event, and we do not know how he came by this anecdote, but it fits with what we know of Hideyoshi's personality. It has been suggested that Hideyoshi aimed to deify himself with his mausoleum, which was originally named "New Hachiman Hall" (Shin Hachimandō), before it was changed under the Tokugawa regime to "Bountiful Country” shrine (Hōkoku Jinja) to match Hideyoshi's renaming as "Most Bright God of Our Bountiful Country" (Hōkoku Daimyōjin).251 Scholars have long recognized that certain individuals have been deified after death in Japanese history, much as we saw with Emperor Ōjin at Usa shrine, and so we can see that Hideyoshi's transformation is not beyond the pale.252 However, there is considerable debate about who initiated the process, when it occurred, and what apotheosis

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250 Fujimaki Kazuho, Sengoku no juhō (2010), 132–134. Fujimaki uses Matsuda Kiichi's Japanese translation of the Portuguese as his source, and because I am discussing his argument, I have used the Japanese version he offers as the basis for my English translation here.

251 Ibid., 133–134.

252 In the case of Hideyoshi, Mary Elizabeth Berry begins her seminal biography with his deification portrayed as a post-mortem event. See her Hideyoshi (1982), 1.
signified in a clan or warrior band. Just as with Jezebel's malediction, we have to ask whether the Jesuit's second-hand account of a dying Hideyoshi accurately reflects events as they transpired.

Corroboration of a sort for Francisco Pasio's account exists in Japanese records. Only one diary from the period reports Hideyoshi's death on 1598/8/18, though top retainers of Hideyoshi surely knew about it. For reasons only known to them, they kept it a secret for some time. Much like Sōrin's reversion to Buddhism after his death (see Chapter Two), Hideyoshi's apotheosis was a postmortem event arranged by his family and high-ranking members of his retinue. Hideyoshi apparently yearned for this treatment, and it is here that Japanese records support the Jesuit account. One historian has suggested that work may have begun on his apotheosis only a few days after his death, with the survey of a site on 1598/9/6 in order to build a shrine. It was not until a year later, though, that the Toyotomi family managed to petition the court to have Hideyoshi deified, because it was his "dying wish to be worshipped at a great shrine on Amidanotake."255

The grandiose gesture to himself was perfectly in character for Hideyoshi, but even if he had such lofty ambitions, his relationship to divine power was not representative of warlords in general. In order to gain a better sense of how warlords interacted with Hachiman during their


255 Oyudono no ueno nikki [Diary of the palace attendant women serving beyond the bath], Keichō 4 (1599)/3/5, vol. 9, 90. The translation of the passage is Andrew Watsky's in Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan (2004), 205. For a detailed narrative of the project and its legacy into the early modern period, see 205–230.
lifetimes, we will focus on the documents that warlords wrote themselves, as well as the direct observations of Jesuit missionaries. These do not paint quite as rich of an individual portrait, but instead, they illuminate the penetration of the Hachiman cult into warrior society, and show the challenges that Christians brought in offering alternative ritual practices. Interestingly, in contrast to the worship of buddhas and gods, the avenue of self-apotheosis was closed off to Christians, so they pushed the limits of worship in different ways.

**Vows by Local Rulers to Shrines**

Ōuchi Yoshitaka's ambitions built on the work of several generations of rulers who provided enthusiastic support for temples and shrines, particularly through collecting the Buddhist cannon, or Tripitaka (Jp: Daizōkyō; also known as the Tripitika Koreana).²⁵⁶ He was born the eldest son of Ōuchi Yoshioki, and even before he took control of the Ōuchi house, he was active as a young man in the administration of the domain. As early as 1527, he expressed support for the shrine by aiding in its reconstruction after a fire there.²⁵⁷ His interest in religious matters extended to Christianity as well. Early missionaries who visited the islands were impressed by his position atop warrior society, and Francis Xavier wrote back to Europe about the "King of Yamaguchi," who allowed him to proselytize in his realm.²⁵⁸ The Jesuits received an

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²⁵⁷ Ōtōzu monjo [Documents of the Itōzu] (Daiei 7 (1527))/9/28 Ōuchi Yoshitaka shōjō [Document from Ōuchi Yoshitaka], ZTHO 15: 161, doc. 285. The Documents of the Itōzu consist of documents from the Itōzu clan, who were administrators for Usagū Shrine. The collection contains 23 items from the Heian period, 149 from the Kamakura, 77 from the Nanbokucho, 78 from the Muromachi, and 178 from the Warring States for a total of 505 documents up until the early modern period. They provide important insights into matters related to Usagū shrine.

²⁵⁸ HJ 1: 31.
abandoned monastery from him, later built it into a church known as Daidōji, and the Ōuchi domains became a base for the early spread of Christianity. In the context of a culture of war, though, Yoshitaka never wielded power unchallenged. He placed himself in direct opposition to the Ōtomo by extending his reach into Buzen province and the area around Usa shrine. Ultimately, it was this relatively freewheeling competition between powers coalescing around rival authorities, be they feuding warlords representing the communal interests of different warrior bands, or divisions within the band in succession disputes, that distinguished the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from the seventeenth.

Towards the end of his father's life and the beginning of his rule, Yoshitaka became embroiled in military campaigns against the Amago clan (also pronounced as Amako), who threatened the Ōuchi's northern borders on the island of Honshū, and the Ōtomo and Shōni clans that threatened their borders to the south on the island of Kyūshū. Upon his father's death, he inherited nominal governorship of six provinces: Suō no kuni, Nagato no kuni (both in modern-day Yamaguchi Prefecture), Aki no kuni, Iwami no kuni (both in Hiroshima Prefecture), Chikuzen no kuni (Fukuoka Prefecture), and Buzen no kuni. This territory put him in an advantageous position geographically and enabled him to pursue trade with the nearby Chinese Ming dynasty and Korean Chosŏn dynasty. In addition to importing luxury items, some of the Ōuchi continental trade focused on the acquisition of Confucian and Buddhist texts.

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259 For more on the church from an archaeological perspective, see Gonoi Takashi, "Kirishitan iseki kara mita Kirishitan senkyō" (2009), 3–6.


major figure not only in Japan, but in the East Asia region, he transformed his base of Yamaguchi into a significant cultural center, and his cultural contributions have generally received the most attention in secondary scholarship.\textsuperscript{262}

Yoshitaka's local domain displayed some of the characteristics identified with the early-modern Edo system, which would develop a generation or more later. The Ōuchi exerted strong control over foreign trade, required attendance by top retainers at the capital of Yamaguchi, and rationalized military service.\textsuperscript{263} Although rarely given credit for it, he also managed to transform his power from one that rested mainly on hereditary governorships tied to an increasingly ineffectual military government, to one that drew power directly from imperial appointments.\textsuperscript{264}

Yoshitaka largely succeeded throughout his reign to resist rebellions at home while effectively mobilizing forces and scaling-up to meet the demands of increasingly well-organized opponents outside of his domain. Sometimes his military campaigns involved the patronage of Usa shrine. In a letter sent by Yoshitaka to one of the Usa shrine administrators shortly after he took over the clan, he offered thanks for prayers they made on his behalf for battle, and he provided Usa a gift of a sacred horse (\textit{shinme}).\textsuperscript{265} This is only one of two records of prayer readings directly connected with Yoshitaka, and it is a relatively rare case of personal contact

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{262} See, for example, Fukuo Takeichirō, \textit{Ōuchi Yoshitaka} (1989), 93–115.
\item \textsuperscript{264} One of the reasons Yoshitaka sought the post of Dazai no Daini from the court was to legitimize his war against the Ōtomo, who had gained the favor of the military government. See Yamada Takashi, "Ōuchi Yoshitaka no Dazai no Daini ninkan," \textit{Chihōshi kenkyū} [Studies of local history] 319 (February 2006): 12.
\item \textsuperscript{265} \textit{Masunaga monjo} [Documents of the Masunaga] (Kyōroku 1 (1528))/5/20 \textit{UJS} 12: 10.
\end{itemize}
between him and the shrine, so we can infer that he placed importance on this instance. As we will see below with Yoshitaka's vow, we have some records of prayers tailored to a particular occasion, but otherwise, many of the interactions between warlords and shrines followed a formalized and established pattern. Shrine administrators were both ritual specialists and quasi-members of the warrior band, and they said prayers on a warlord's behalf, probably in response to a request if it was a battle, or as a regular prayer reading done for certain occasions. Usually, we only know about these prayers through documents sent by warlords or their liaisons, who gave gifts and thanked the shrines for their prayers.

An outstanding exception to Yoshitaka's terse and infrequent correspondence with Usa came in 1533 with one of the longest documents sent by him to the shrine. The year began well for Yoshitaka with a string of military successes in Kyūshū. On 1533/3/19 his forces wrested a strategic castle from one of the Ōtomo retainers. Later that month on 3/22, the Ōuchi forces launched an attack on nearby Tachibana castle, a key position located between the northwestern and northeastern parts of the island. On 6/15 Ōuchi forces took a stronghold at Kōrasan to the south and further solidified their hold over the region. It was against the backdrop of his

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266 For the other record of Yoshitaka's request for prayers and sutra readings, see Miyanari monjo [Documents of the Miyanari] (Tenbun 9 (1540))/10/15 UJS 12: 250. A record of gifts remains as well, and these were probably given in exchange for prayers, but we cannot confirm this. The sacred horse mentioned in this source may well be the one given by Yoshitaka in the prayer from the Documents of the Masunaga. See Toida monjo [Documents of the Toida], Tenbun 2 (1533)/7/7 UJS 12: 91–92.

267 Sue Okifusa (1475–1539) led the troops against Kōjidake castle, which was held by Korematsu Tarō (dates unknown). Kōjidake castle also appears in documents as Kusaba. For recognition of Korematsu's military service at this time, see ŽTHO 16: 58–60, docs. 118–124.

268 For Sugi Okishige's letter recognizing military service by the Ōuchi forces when they took Tachibana castle (modern day Kasuya-gun, Hisayama machi), see ŽTHO 16: 60, doc. 126.

269 The editors of the Ōtomo house documents have provided notes on the timeline of events, and the loss of the Kōrasan site is mentioned there. See Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents], OKS 32: 58–59, doc. 817.
victories that Yoshitaka made a promise on 7/23 to maintain the shrine buildings at Usa, along with a petition for divine aid in supporting his rule. This source is unique for the amount of detail that Yoshitaka provides, and it offers a sense of what he thought he could obtain through his patronage of Usa shrine.

A document offering maintenance of the three avatars at the shrine (reibyō) of the Great Bodhisattva Hachiman at Usa in Buzen Province; The First Degree Lower Fifth Rank (Shō goi no ge) Commander of the Left Capital Guard (Sakyō no taifu), Suōsuke Tatara [Yoshitaka]271

Observing the heavens, we see the correct change of seasons; the Earth opens and we obtain benefits that nurture us. The sun and the moon shine without fail, the winds and clouds move as they should, and this all is the result of the outstanding

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271 At some point in the past, someone compiled the Documents of the Masunaga and included this title, which would not have appeared on the original at the time of writing. The name Yoshitaka probably should have been written at the end of the phrase in Japanese, and it does appear in the Documents of the Itōzu copy.
virtues of the great deity, which shine forth without fail. Everyone is protected by the great power of the deity. Clearly, there is no power greater. It is to this awesome spirit that I make this sincere prayer.272

Since the Autumn of last year in 1532, enemy forces have been attacking on the borders of Buzen and Chikuzen. Yoshitaka gathered righteous armies (gihei) and fought them. The outcome was swiftly decided in what was certainly heavenly fortune with the aid of the gods (shinmyō eijo nari). The country [Chikuzen] was returned to peace, the harvests of the people were good, and beginning with my ancestor, Rinshō Taishi [a Korean king of antiquity], down through the generations we have been blessed with bravery, I have risen to high rank, I am the military governor of seven provinces, and I know the importance of heaven's mandate. I have received wealth and fortune, and like a cloud wandering the sky, I recognize that I ought to be in awe of heaven. There is no one who can challenge me as an enemy, and I could not gain victory in battle without the protection of the deity. Mobilizing forces is not for the protection of my office, but to save the people from fire and ash. I implore you to use your supernatural powers on my behalf. If you do that, then I can bring peace to Kyūshū, I can govern the three territories, and I can put away the spear and shield. May the imperial office survive a long time, the gods of the earth and the five grains bestow blessings upon them, and the emperor live long. I humbly offer up this prayer.

1533/7/23

In the first section of the vow, Yoshitaka acknowledged the powers that the deity had to offer him and his warriors in battle. He recognized the deity as capable of helping him anywhere without limits, and it is significant how much praise he offered the god, even though it was not his clan's tutelary deity. His patronage here clearly demonstrates the pluralistic nature of religious practice in Japan at the time.273

In the next section, Yoshitaka credited Hachiman with his military successes earlier that year. One passage that might stand out for readers is Yoshitaka's claim that he descended not

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272 I want to express my appreciation to Jun Hu, who offered tremendously helpful advice on translating the "preamble" to Yoshitaka's vow.

273 The Ōuchi clan's tutelary deity was located at Myōkensha Shrine in Yamaguchi city.
from a Japanese ancestor, but from a Korean one.274 Given the background of the shrine, as one
dedicated to the putative conqueror and rightful ruler of Korea (at least, according to the oracle
mentioned earlier), it is perhaps fitting that Yoshitaka chose to direct his prayer to this deity.  

Finally, Yoshitaka raised the issue of what he hoped to gain from his worship of
Hachiman. Not surprisingly, he asked for further success in battle as he sought to quell disorder
in Kyūshū. It is worth noting here that his ultimate justification for going to war and conquering
these lands was not for self-aggrandizement, but nominally for the people of the island. By
bringing them peace from the fighting warlords, he could save them from destruction (minzoku
wo seshime dotan sukuu), and then put away his weapons; in short, he fought so that he did not
have to fight any longer. If this was merely his pretext for waging war, then he came to the right
place at Usa to express these sentiments, because the shrine's history was tied to the transition
from war to peace. This brings us back to the dual nature of the Usa Hachiman deity as one who
both saves people as a Buddhist bodhisattva, and conquers other lands as a native god.

Who was the recipient for Yoshitaka's vow? As this document is a draft, and not the final
copy, we cannot know for certain how it traveled from Yoshitaka to the shrine. Prayers and vows
often had at least one sender and one recipient, but judging from the other documents sent by the
Ōtomo, which we will see in the next part of the chapter, he probably addressed it directly to the
deity, and he may have named the shrine administrator who was to read it on his behalf.

274 Although this unique background has received attention in Japanese-language scholarship, English-language
materials rarely make mention of it. Ernest Satow recognized this Korean ancestry as early as 1878. See
"Vicissitudes of the Church at Yamaguchi from 1550 to 1586," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan 7 (1879):
134. However, it does not appear, for example, in the only English-language monograph dedicated to the Ōuchi.
Their name is traced there to Tatara-gō in Suō Province. See Peter Judd Arnesen, The Medieval Japanese Daimyo:
Regardless of how he structured the document, though, he did not go himself to the shrine; it still had to pass through the hands of subordinates to arrive at its destination, and after its arrival, someone would have read it aloud in his place. It was a group effort to complete the prayer, and so we cannot extricate the warlord from his warrior band, or the shrine from warrior society.

Yoshitaka's vow follows patterns that can be found in ones made by other warriors in the archipelago as well. We can see the pattern repeated by Takeda Shingen, who was based in Kai Province on the main island of Honshū. In an early petition from 1545 to a deity in the region, like Yoshitaka's vow 12 years earlier, he began by acknowledging the god's miraculous powers, then tailored his request to the deity's particular strengths, and concluded without addressing it to a specific individual.

I respectfully offer up the following. People say that the Great Deity of Taga in Gōshū (Gōshū Taga Daimyōjin) in Ōmi is a miraculous god with the greatest protective power in the realm of Japan. Both rulers and subjects all receive a

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276 Kōshū is an alternate way of writing Ōmi Province. The Taga shrine is in modern-day Shiga Prefecture, Inukami-gun, Taga-chō near Hikone.
response and their prayers are always answered, and it [the receiving of the benefits of rejuvenation and long life] is no different than meeting India's Jivaka [a famous doctor]. For this reason, whether they recognize it [your greatness] or not, all compete with one another to come and worship you.

I, Harunobu [Shingen], the Senior Assistant of the Palace Kitchen, from the Genji Ason Takeda family, was born in a kanotomi year, and this year I will be twenty-five years old [an unlucky age for men]. I respectfully pass on my request to the god and spirit.

Because you are a god, you remove misfortunes, and make a lifespan last as long as the turtle or crane; one obtains the benefits of the protrusions that Su Jing ate from fleshy animals (nikushi) and the skins and hair [of the peaches] Xi Wang Mu washed. In particular, [someone like me] who has received the Dharma that came from the mouth of the Buddha [receives these benefits]. Does one not obtain [these benefits through] Amida Buddha's miraculous power? If there is no miraculous response [from you], then [I will know that] every buddha's words were lies, and that would be truly regrettable.

Next, regarding cultured virtue and fortune in battle, in accordance with my prayer, [I want] to obtain them freely as if pointing to the palm of my hand. If this occurs, then all of my prayers will definitely be fulfilled satisfactorily. I hereby offer up two ryō of gold to the treasure hall (hōden). [May the divine providence I receive be long, just as] heaven and earth last forever.

Tenbun 14 (1545)/2/auspicious day (monogram)  
Presented by Harunobu with reverence

Although similar in structure, Shingen's petition was offered with slightly different aims in mind.

This document contains extremely formulaic passages with rather obscure allusions and no

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277 Kanotomi is one of sixty such names in the cyclical calendar.

278 This is Robert Campany's translation of "nikushi" (Ch: zhi), which was not limited in meaning to mushrooms, but any protrusion. See Robert Ford Campany, To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 27. A tale about Xi Wang Mu and her peaches was included in the Kara monogatari. See Ward Geddes, Kara Monogatari: Tales of China (Tempe: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1984), 94–97. However, there is nothing in it about washing the peaches, and it appears that a different version of the story was the basis for the phrase in this document.

279 The divinity at this shrine under the honji/suijaku combinatory paradigm was believed to be the manifestation of Amida Nyorai (Tathāgata Amitābha).
specific appeals beyond the general ones for enjoying long life, becoming cultured, and having success in battle. These would be high on any ruler's list of desires, but Takeda Shingen offered his petition at this location because it was known for being able to grant long life. The local characteristics of shrines helped them to distinguish themselves from one another in landscape crowded with cultic sites, and as a result, warriors might patronize one shrine for long life, and another for success in battle.

Returning the discussion to Kyūshū and Usa shrine, Yoshitaka and Sōrin probably shared between them expectations for military aid from the deity, but their relations with the site depended on local political conditions, which were dictated by members of the respective warrior bands. Both warlords interacted with their own constellation of sites, and despite Usa's illustrious past, and connection to warfare, it did not receive as much patronage from the Ōtomo and Ōuchi as local shrines closer to their respective bases of power in their home provinces. The appeal of local sites is a theme that runs through all of the chapters in this dissertation, and partly explains why it was difficult for warlords like the Ōtomo and Ōuchi to grow beyond the confines of their domains. For the Ōuchi, Usa was a tertiary shrine that they dominated during Yoshitaka's rule. For the Ōtomo, it was a tertiary shrine that they did not come to dominate until well into Sōrin's rule in the 1550s.

We do not have any vows with Usa shrine made by Sōrin or his father that we can compare directly with Ōuchi Yoshitaka's. Although Sōrin's father, Ōtomo Yoshiaki, controlled the Ōtomo house during most of Yoshitaka's rule, we have no evidence that he made any vows to Usa shrine. The documents that do connect him to the site suggest that he did not have as close
of a relationship to the shrine as Yoshitaka did, and one reason for this might be that during his lifetime the Ōuchi dominated northern Kyūshū, and Yoshiaki was unable to exert much influence over Buzen province. It was not until Sōrin became head of the Ōtomo house that Usa shrine began to factor significantly in the Ōtomo clan's religious network.

Sōrin took over the clan shortly after his father's assassination in the second month of 1550, and during the early years of his rule, we can be fairly confident that Usa shrine did not figure prominently in the religious network he oversaw either. We can speculate about several reasons for this. First, the Ōuchi clan under Yoshitaka held firm control over Buzen province during most of Sōrin's time as heir (1530–1550), and Sōrin's father had relatively little contact with the shrine directly or indirectly through his subordinates. Second, his brother took over the Ōuchi clan after Yoshitaka's assassination in 1551, and in so doing, his brother inherited control over Buzen province. Finally, Sōrin seems to have focused on mobilizing the "military forces of clans around Usa shrine" (Usa gunshū) to fight in battles to the west, and was not so interested in the shrine itself. This may have begun to change after the hostile Mōri clan overthrew his brother and took nominal control of the Ōuchi's lands in 1557.

Like Yoshitaka, Sōrin rarely dealt personally with prayers and sutra readings to the shrine. The earliest example of his direct contact with the shrine comes in a document thanking the shrine administrators for offering prayers and sutra readings on his behalf in a document that may have been written early in 1557.280 However, these kinds of direct interactions with the

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280 Masunaga monjo [Documents of the Masunaga] (Kōji 3 (1557))/5/20, UJS 12: 666.
shrine were rare. Sōrin's first mention of a vow to the shrine came a few months later in the eleventh month. Unfortunately, we only know of it indirectly from the following source.

A wholehearted petition [characters missing] before the deities has been made at Usa Hachimangū shrine. Although it may cause difficulties, [characters missing] it is important that it be fulfilled completely. If you do this, the shrine lands you have held, [characters missing] as in the oath witnessed by each person [members of the warrior band], there will be no dispute about this. Respectfully.

[Pastened onto the paper: Kōji 3 (1557)]
11/26 [Ōtomo]Yoshishige (monogram)
Tashibu Shōgūji

Tashibu Shōgūji, also known as Tashibu Ken'ei, was a member of one of the clans that administered Usa. As a retainer of the Ōtomo, he held lands in a strategic location in northern Bungo province close to the shrine. Although the date for the document was pasted onto the paper sometime later, we have a related document from the following day, sent by Sōrin's ruling council detailing the lands that Tashibu would receive in return for complying with Sōrin's

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281 Nagahiro monjo [Documents of the Nagahiro] (Kōji 3 (1557))/11/26 Ōtomo Yoshishige ichiro no ritsugan ni yori, Usa Hachimangū shinryō wo Tashibu Shōgūji ni ando su [Ōtomo Sōrin, for his wholehearted vow, confirms Usa Hachiman Shrine lands for Tashibu Shōgūji] UJS 12: 668; Ōtomo Yoshishige shojō utsushi [Copy of a document by Ōtomo Yoshishige], OSS 2: 161–162, doc. 521; ZTHO: 19, 150, doc. 290.


283 According to Mieno Makoto, Tashibu Ken'ei was a direct subordinate to Nada Akimoto, Sōrin's brother-in-law and the administrator of religious institutions under Sōrin. See Mieno Makoto, Daimyō ryōgoku shihai no kōzō (2003), 89.
request, so it is probably accurate. As for the content of the vow, we do not have a record of it. Moreover, because this one surviving document is incomplete, it is ambiguous about whose vow it actually was. Some scholars have understood Sōrin to be compelling his retainer to make a vow, but the document is interpreted here to be saying that Sōrin already made his vow, and he was compelling his retainer to fund it on his behalf. Whether it was Sōrin's or Ken'ei's, what this document and the one sent after it demonstrate is that the vow ritual was a communal effort. In this sense, the loose organization of the Ōtomo warrior band was reflected even in their relationships with local cultic sites.

**Vows by Retainers to Shrines**

As we saw earlier, warlords could address deities directly, but did not present the vows themselves, preferring instead to go through their subordinates in order to communicate. Sometimes, the Ōtomo and Ōuchi leaders involved their retainers by specifically naming them in documents to act as liaisons. Other times, the retainers delivered the documents on behalf of warlords, or received the documents in their capacity as administrators of the shrines to which the vows were directed. No matter what the prayer, members of the warrior band participated in the ritual of making a vow.

Vows could also be initiated by the retainers themselves, though, and in this part of the chapter we explore how this was done. Ōuchi Yoshitaka held considerable influence over Buzen province, but like other warlords of the period, he exercised it indirectly through his top

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284 *Nagahiro monjo* [Documents of the Nagahiro], Kōji 3 (1557)/11/27 Ōtomo-ke kahanshū renshojō utsushi [Copy of a letter with multiple signatures from the Ōtomo house's ruling council], *OSS*: 2, 162–163, doc. 522.
retainers. He appointed Sugi Okishige (1477–?) as administrator of religious sites (shabugyō) in the province, and because Okishige acted as a liaison between him and the cultic sites in the region, we see Yoshitaka's name in very few of the Usa documents. For more routine matters, such as prayers offered as part of the annual harvest ritual (hassaku), which occurred on the first day of the eighth month, Okishige handled the correspondence. The same procedures held true for the Ōtomo warrior band, whose top members mediated relations between the ruler and subordinates. They left several documents recording prayers and sutra readings made on their behalf by Usa shrine. Some of these were produced at irregular intervals, and thus were probably initiated by the warriors themselves in response to changing conditions. The content of their requests, though, remains vague with the most specific ones asking merely for the formulaic "many years of success in battle" (bu'un chōkyū), a phrase that regularly occurs in such documents at any shrine.

Yoshitaka's vow from 1533 seeking peace and dominance over the region was apparently answered over the succeeding months, when the conflict between the Ōuchi and Ōtomo culminated in the Battle of Ōmuresan (also known as Seibagaharu) in the fourth month of 1534. Both sides left a considerable number of dead on the battlefield, and though the forces continued to engage in skirmishes afterwards, the intervention of the shōgun enabled them to reach a peaceful resolution to the conflict in the third month of 1538. This agreement also left them free to pursue other enemies that threatened their borders. Yoshitaka turned his attention to the Amago clan in the north, and Yoshiaki looked to the Kikuchi clan on his western border.

285 Miyanari monjo [Documents of the Miyanari] (year unknown)/8/1, UJS: 12, 43.

286 See, for example, UJS: 12, 184–185.
The Ōtomo warrior band celebrated the event with a dog-shooting ceremony dedicated to an unspecified shrine. In format, it is a mixture of oath and prayer, directed at both the deities and their former rivals. Although not made at Usa, it does suggest some of the possible roles that vows by retainers could play in both war and peace.

敬白、至御分国中 諸鎮守、奉立願、千足之御犬追物張行事
右意趣者、大内家御当方、倍以御無二之儀、筑前国御分領之事、如前々、為可被屬御案中、陶安房守、杉伯耆守、杉美作入道、至秋月表、下着之条 從愛元も田北親員、山下長就、臼杵鑑統至彼境、御発足、寛、千秋万歳候、然者、御対談時宜[宜？]、聊無相違、早速御成就之儀、奉仰各丹精願書如件、
天文七年三月十八日
[30名略]287

In reverence. Towards the gods and buddhas that protect the provinces we administer, a vow is offered. One thousand dogs will be included in the dog-shooting ceremonial festival.

Regarding the reason for the aforesaid, the Ōuchi and this house [the Ōtomo] will be ever more in accord, and as for the division of land in Chikuzen province, it will remain as it has been in the past. In accordance with the desires of the Ōtomo clan, Sue Awa no Kami [Sue Takafulsa], Sugi Hōki no Kami [Sugi Shigenori], and Sugi Mimasaka Nyūdō [Sugi Okimichi] will come to Akizuki. From among us, Takita Chikakuzu, Yamashita Naganari, and Usuki Akitsugu will be dispatched to the border. Truly, this is worthy of celebration. They have been consulted and are acting in sincerity on behalf of the Ōtomo. In order for this wish to be fulfilled immediately, we the undersigned have received word, and this sincere vow is hereby presented.
1538/3/18
[30 names omitted]

287 Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents]. Tenbun 7 (1538)/3/18 Ōtomo kashin sanjūmei rensho ritsugan hōno inuōmono chōgyō no koto [Ceremonial event of dog shooting with the offering of a vow by thirty signatories from among retainers of the Ōtomo house], ZTHO: 17, 63–65, doc. 137. I have omitted the names of the retainers from the translation.
In the dog-shooting ceremonial festival, warriors would set dogs loose within an enclosure, chase after them on horseback, and fire blunt arrows at the animals in order to display their martial prowess. During the medieval period, the performances occurred throughout the country, but in the early modern period it seems to have slipped into relative obscurity. Some families like the Shimazu revived the tradition in the seventeenth century and kept it alive so that the event could be seen even into the modern Meiji period, but these were rare cases. One reason for this might have been the connection between the event and warfare. With fewer warriors riding and fighting, they may have lost the skills or interest needed to maintain it. In addition, the aim at this particular event was not only sport, but was meant to mark a change in the relationship between the two warrior bands, and provide entertainment for the buddhas and gods who oversaw it. We can speculate that the ancient tradition (dating back to early China) became anachronistic, but perhaps more importantly, during the comparatively stable centuries that followed the sixteenth, warriors found different ways to manage relations with one another.

Beginning with the three members of the Ōtomo ruling council (kahanshū) mentioned by name in the document (Takita, Yamashita, and Usuki), all thirty of the warriors were major figures in their respective warrior bands, and their names in this vow attest to the importance of the event. At this time, Sōrin was only a child, but later Takita Chikakazu (?–1540) would have his daughter married to Nada Akimoto (?–1569), and Akimoto's daughter would later wed Ōtomo Sōrin, thereby tying them together by blood. Because Sōrin's mother in some genealogies is said to be Ōuchi Yoshitaka's daughter, his marriage to her connected four clans together through ties of kinship. Yamashita Naganari (dates unknown) was appointed to the ruling council
in 1531, and served on it until just after Sōrin took power in 1550. Usuki Akitsugu (dates unknown) served on the council of elders under both Yoshiaki and Sōrin from 1536/8 to 1557/6. Historians have interpreted him as a kind of Secretary of State for the Ōtomo by negotiating with other warlords and with the military government in Kyoto. Within the Ōtomo domains, he was responsible for overseeing Chikuzen province.

The three members of the Ōuchi warrior band mentioned in the document, but probably not present at this particular event, were no less influential. Sue Takafusa (1521–1555) was the deputy military governor (shugodai) of Suō province. Sugi Shigenori was the deputy military governor of Buzen province (the location of Usa shrine). Sugi Okimichi is remembered now as a poet, but at the time he also served as an administrator under Yoshitaka, and was on the Ōuchi council of elders.

Sue Takafusa's participation in this ritual dog-shooting event is especially notable, because it shows him working with both clans in a peaceful role from early in his career. Although sometimes referred to by historians as a traitor who exemplified the medieval phenomenon of the low overthrowing the high (gekokujō) for his assassination of Yoshitaka in 1551, he also sought to bring the Ōtomo and Ōuchi together through the placement of Sōrin's younger brother as the "Ōuchi" successor to his lord. For a time there was talk of Yoshitaka adopting Yoshiaki's second son and having him succeed to head of the Ōuchi family. From one perspective, Takafusa's rebellion was an intervention that followed an arrangement that Yoshitaka himself originally sought, and in broad strokes was not drastically different than the coup that brought Sōrin to power in 1550.
One of the main avenues for advancement in warrior society during this time period was through the metaphor of family and bureaucratic office. As we saw with Ōuchi Yoshitaka, a warrior could inherit headship of a clan as a son, and if they survived the succession disputes that often attended transfers of power, then they could also take possession of offices in the military government and their associated land rights. In Ōtomo Harufusa's case, though, inheritance would pass to his elder brother, Sōrin, so this route was closed off to him.

An alternative existed through the mechanism of adoption, which would allow Harufusa to inherit the headship another way. As luck would have it, he possessed a family connection to the Ōuchi clan through his mother, and Ōuchi Yoshitaka lacked an heir. In a move similar to the one the Ōtomo made to take control of Higo province by having Yoshiaki's brother succeed to headship of the Kikuchi clan through adoption and inheritance. Negotiations broke down, though, when Yoshitaka had a son.

Harufusa took matters into his own hands by presenting his case directly to the Hachiman deity at Usa in 1549. He may well have actually visited the nearby shrine when he offered a lengthy vow there. In the document, he said that Ōuchi Yoshitaka had no heir, and while the warlord wanted Harufusa as his son, Harufusa's father, Yoshiaki, had rejected the idea, and so Harufusa wanted the deity to persuade the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu to intervene on his behalf. Here we see a rare case of an individual who was neither retainer nor leader making a vow to Usa shrine for intervention in a succession dispute. He ended the document in a bold manner by presenting himself as a member of the Ōuchi clan when he gave the name Suō no Suke Harufusa.

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288 Miyanari monjo [Documents of the Miyanari], Tenbun 18 (1549)/5/fortunate day, UJS 12: 428–430.
He addressed it directly to the deity by writing Usagū Hachiman Daibosatsu in the position normally reserved for the recipient's name. This is an interesting contrast to the vow made by Yoshitaka in 1533, but it is in line with Ōtomo practice, as shown in a vow made later by the ruling council under Sōrin in 1562.\(^{289}\) Thus, it could be considered a mix of the two clan practices. Harufusa's document is damaged, and editors of the volume that contains this source have provided the name of the shrine administrator at the very end of it. If we accept this paleographical intervention, then even in this relatively personal and politically disruptive vow Harufusa involved a member of the warrior band in the ritual.

**Christian Prayers**

Compare, for example, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola* with some of the prayers we have seen thus far by warriors. In this contemporary tract that informed Jesuit practice, Ignatius of Loyola (1441–1560) suggested three ways of praying. In the first one on the ten commandments, he said that a preparatory prayer ought to be as follows:

"I ask God our Lord to give me grace to recognize where I have sinned in the matter of the Ten Commandments, and so ask for the help of grace to do better for the future. I should ask for a complete understanding of them so that I may keep them better, thereby giving greater praise and glory to His Divine Majesty."\(^{290}\)

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\(^{289}\) *Tachibana-ke monjo* [Tachibana house documents], Eiroku 5 (1562)/9/13 Ōtomo kahanshū renshō kishōmon utsushi [Copy of oath with multiple signatures of the Ōtomo house ruling council], *ZTHO* 21: 114–115, doc. 223; *OSS* 3: 14, doc. 792.

The prayers demonstrate the importance of one's personal religious journey. Instead of asking for aid in accomplishing this-worldly tasks, the supplicant prayed for grace to understand and follow the commandments given by God. Certainly, prayers for mundane benefits existed. The Jesuits made prayers on behalf of warriors in order to ask God for divine aid in battle, and we can imagine that Christian warriors themselves made such prayers, but the model that was probably presented to Sōrin and his retainers was primarily an internal, mental one that needed no other retainers or even a cultic site for its efficacy. In short, the emphasis was on the individual in the process, and not the community. Add to this the problems with translation, misunderstandings of Christian teachings, and the relatively small number of missionaries available to guide warriors with their prayers, and we can see the challenges that the Jesuits faced in competing with existing practices.

When Jesuit missionaries established some of their earliest bases in the Ōuchi and Ōtomo domains, they attempted something roughly approximating the combinatorial paradigm discussed earlier in the chapter. Francis Xavier first landed in Kagoshima in August 1549, but did not enjoy much success there with his missionary work, and so he traveled north to the port of Hirado, which both the Ōuchi and Ōtomo jointly controlled at the time. In November of 1549 he arrived in Yoshitaka's capital of Yamaguchi, but in the early days of his missionary work, because he drew upon Buddhist terminology to convey his message, he had trouble differentiating himself from the competition. He took his message about a new version of the Buddhist deity "Dainichi" to the streets, where he
criticized the Japanese for sins like sodomy. In his diatribes, he singled out the
Japanese priests for their role in corrupting public morals. As scholars have observed,
Xavier blamed them for sodomy, but because the practice was part of a relationship that
was supposed to ennoble both young men from warrior families and the Buddhist priests,
it was actually a societal norm that was mirrored, rather than dictated by, the priests.
Although Xavier managed to gain permission for the Jesuits to proselytize in the Ōuchi
and Ōtomo domains, some of the religious services they offered were based on mistaken
assumptions and did not initially meet the demands of warrior society.

The Jesuits modified their approach over time, clearly distinguished their deity
from the Buddhist Dainichi, increasingly tailored their message to the warrior class, and
eventually managed to convert some warlords. Sōrin converted to Christianity in 1578,
but as discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation, this did not preclude his
participation in the traditional religious network that he had spent his entire career
developing. To the Jesuits, Sorin presented himself as a convert, and laughed off threats
from Buddhist priests and his wife Jezebel that the gods and buddhas would punish him
for destroying traditional cultic sites. Out of a sense of obligation as retired ruler,
though, he presented a different face to his retainers.

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291 On the development of the Jesuit position regarding Dainichi and Deus, see Hisashi Kishino, "From Dainichi to Deus: The Early Missionaries' Discovery and Understanding of Buddhism" (2009), 45–60.


293 INT 2: 431.
The letter below suggests that even a short time after his conversion to Christianity in 1578, and long after his son, Yoshimune, had taken control of the Ōtomo clan, Sōrin remained connected with traditional cultic sites. At this time, he was beginning work on a Christian kingdom outside of the Ōtomo domain free from the influence of entrenched religious interests (see Chapter Five for more on his project). His relations with temples and shrines would virtually disappear over the last few years of his life, but support for them remained within the realm of possibility for him as a "Christian."

In regards to the deployment by Yoshimune at this time, receipt has been made of a record for one prayer reading and also one sword (Norimitsu). This is pleasing. Tawara Ōmi Nyūdō [Jōnin] will convey the message. With respect.

[1578]/6/25    Sanpizai (monogram 2)
Tenmangū
Rusu Ōtorii

Yoshimune's deployment refers to his attack on lands owned by the provincial warrior (kokujin) Tsuchimochi Chikanari (?)–1578) in Hyūga province. The Shimazu clan had advanced into the province, and while Chikanari was supposed to be a subordinate under the Ōtomo ally Itō Yoshisuke (1512–1585), Yoshisuke had already fled north to Bungo province, leaving Chikanari with little choice but to submit to the invading armies. The Ōtomo considered him a traitor, and

294 Ōtorii monjo [Documents of the Ōtorii] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/6/25 Ōtomo Sanpizai shojo [Letter from Ōtomo Sanpizai], OSS 5: 79, doc. 1721.
used this opportunity to capture territory and stop the Shimazu from advancing any more into Hyūga. Yoshimune departed Funai on 1578/3/15, and less than a month later he had killed Chikanari and turned over the lands to Sōrin. Sōrin founded his Christian kingdom in the town of Mushika (modern-day Nobeoka-shi) by destroying temples and shrines, and erecting a church there.

Even though he was head of his own Christian kingdom, Sōrin remained connected with the administration of the Ōtomo domains. During his rule, Sōrin had relied heavily on his brother-in-law, Tawara Jōnin, to administer his domain, wage war, and act as a liaison between him and his subordinates. After his retirement and the beginning of his new role as a Christian king, we see Jōnin still performing the same duties, and according to one estimate, he was among the top five retainers appointed to this task, with 29 documents by Sōrin during his career naming him as the person to deliver a message. Under Yoshimune, Jōnin's influence continued to increase, and he was asked more than any other retainer to act as a liaison, with 66 extant documents identifying him this way.\(^{295}\) As for the prayer request, it may have been Jōnin, Sōrin or Yoshimune who initiated it. It is even possible that the shrine caught word of the pending campaign and offered the prayer on its own volition.

One interesting point to note in the document is the seal that Sōrin used with his monogram. Scholars have interpreted Sanpizai as a reference to Sōrin's three Christian vows.\(^{296}\)

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\(^{295}\) For an examination of how intermediaries like Jōnin functioned in the Ōtomo band, see Yagi Naoki, "Sengoku ki Ōtomo seiken ni okeru toritsugi to kenryoku kōzō" [Intermediaries and the power structure in the Ōtomo administration during the Warring States Period], in Sengoku daimyō Ōtomo shi to Bungo Funai [The Warring States Period warlords of the Ōtomo family and Bungo Funai], ed. Kage Toshio, 117–150 (Kyoto: Kōshī Shōin, 2008), 121–122.

\(^{296}\) See ZTHO 24: 14–15.
This brings us to records left by the Jesuits about Sōrin shortly after he was defeated in 1578 and had retreated back to Bungo province. According to Luís Fróis, the following scene occurred in a church there.

Acabadas as missas e humas ladainhas que dissemos, esteve por hum pedaço el-rey prostrado em terra com o rosto no chão diante do altar, e depois, ficando em joelhos com as mãos alevantadas, me disse: 'Agora, Padre, vos quero descubrir 3 votos que tenho prometidos a Deos quando estava em Fiungá, e bem os podeis comunicar com o Pe Francisco Cabral e pedirdes a Deos N. S. me queira dar perseverança nelles.

O primeiro hé, que eu tenho prometido a Deos, dando-me elle seo favor e ajuda, que ainda que todo mundo retroceda na fê, que eu com sua graça nunca me apartarei da fê catholica, ainda que por isto me matem.

O 2.0, que com todas minhas forças não somente determino guardar os mandamentos de Deos, mas todos os conselhos e amoestações que pelos Padres da Companhia me forem dadas.

O 3.0, que nunca athé morte serei tran[s]gressor [39v] do matrimonio, nem contaminarei minha alma com algum peccado sensual'. E acabou com dizer: 'Nunca em toda minha vida tamanha alegria e consolação tive, como agora que recebi o Santissimo Sacramento'. E logo se poz a escrever por sua mão em hum livro que tinha das orações estas promessas que fizera a Deos N. Senhor.

Com esta fê d'el-rey, fervor e animo do principe, não podia sahir o demonio com seo intento, porque, ainda que muitos dizião mal de nós e tinhão grandíssimo odio, não era tão descuberto porque, estando estas duas colunas firmes e em pé, nam havia quem se atrevesse publicamente a hir contra a ley de Deos vendo que nisso desagravava a seo rey.297

After all of the Masses and a series of litanies were completed, the king was before the altar and lay prostate with his face on the floor. Then, with both hands together he held them up in the air and said the following: "Father, now I want to reveal to you three vows that I made to God while I was in Hyūga. Please tell Father Francisco Cabral about them, and I want you to ask God to grant me perseverance [to fulfill the vows].

The first vow I have promised to God is that as long as I have the love and support of God, even if all the world were to reject the faith, with God's grace, even if I lose my life, I would not leave the Catholic faith.

Second, a promise to us all my strength to not only follow the God's commandments, but also follow the advice and admonitions I receive from the fathers of the Society of Jesus.

Third, until I die, I will not violate the rules of marriage, nor maculate my soul with sensual sin." Then, he said, "I have never been so happy in all of my life as I am now that I have received the holy sacrament. " He then began to write these promises he had made to the Lord God in his own hand in a book of prayers.

With this faith by the king, and the fervor and bravery of the prince [Yoshimune], the devil could not accomplish his evil plans [could not come out with his intention]. Even though many spoke ill of us, and felt great hatred toward us, they would not make it known publicly, because these two pillars stood firm, and no one would dare to go against God because it would displease the king.

There are several aspects of Sōrin's vows that clearly mark them as different from any of the others presented thus far. One of the most striking ones is that he made them in person. Although it is certainly possible that warriors visited shrines to deliver their vows, perhaps in the case of Harufusa mentioned earlier, it seems to have been uncommon.

The vows Sōrin made are also notable for their personal nature. In contrast to Yoshitaka's impersonal vow in 1533 that did not go into much detail about his faith, Sōrin focused on avoiding sinful behavior, positioned the priests as his superiors, and did not ask for any aid for the warrior band or domain. In the traditional group vows made by Yoshitaka and the group of 30 Ōtomo retainers, they were public performances that sought divine intervention on behalf of the community, and not just the individual. In contrast, in the Christian vows made by Sōrin, even though they were spoken in a public setting, people only bore witness, but did not participate, or
receive benefits for themselves from the act. This is certainly not meant to be an exhaustive comparison of the two traditions, but the extant evidence suggests that Sōrin understood the power this way.

Another point to note is that Sōrin wrote down the vow in his own hand. The document has not survived, and to the best of my knowledge, no other written Christian vows exist from the period, but it is significant that he authored it himself. Warriors like Sōrin usually relied on secretaries to write their documents for them, and so this account by Luis Fróis seems especially out of character for Sōrin. Sōrin chose to break with convention, and he might have done this because it was a practice that was not governed by the usual expectations. Besides the loss of sources due to the ravages of war and time, it is possible that warriors produced few of them because they could participate themselves in rituals, with less value placed on committing the various prayers of believers onto paper. Unlike petitions in the Japanese tradition, this type of address to a deity did not require the mediation of ritual specialists, who read the words aloud before the gods in a warrior's place. In other words, supplicants in the Christian tradition directed their words to God, and did not ask priests to relay messages on their behalf; the Jesuits only witnessed them. Naturally, a written document in such a case would have been possible, as we saw with Sōrin, but not necessary.

Of course, Sōrin's Christian faith was not a secret, and the personal nature of his vows did not preclude a public performance for a communal purpose. After losing the Battle of Mimikawa in 1578, Sōrin abandoned his newly founded Christian kingdom in Hyūga and fled with the remnants of his followers to his lands in southern Bungo Province. Jesuit missionaries
accompanied him, and during the journey they feared for their lives, because Sōrin's men interpreted the defeat as heavenly punishment for Sōrin's rejection of buddhas and gods, and his embrace of the foreign faith. The priests recorded the following incident that occurred during the rout.

Arriving at a small river that was close to where we had stayed the previous night, the king [Sōrin] kneeled on the ground before his people [the retainers] and prayed to God, thanking him for the present trials and suffering. Then he called Father Francisco Cabral over and offered him some rice, since he, like us, lacked in some necessary goods, owing to how disorganized the flight from Tsuchimochi [Hyūga province] had been. The king did all of this to show those cursed people, already possessed by the devil [the retainers who had turned against the Jesuits and blamed them for their loss], that he was Christian, and that these adversities had not changed his heart; rather, the heart of this afflicted and anguished king continued to grow stronger, like gold in fire.298

As we can see here, Sōrin was open about making the vow, and even went so far as to kneel down on the ground in front of his men in a public display. He spoke only about himself in the document, and focused on his personal faith. What this tells us is that Christian prayers lacked not only the physicality of Japanese vows, but in the examples studied here, Sōrin's retainers obtained no benefits from his appeals. The religious service offered by the Jesuits promised

298 *HJ* 3: 87.
tremendous benefits to the individual ruler, and empowered them to directly communicate with God, but the vows were less able than the traditional Japanese ones to meet the demands of warrior society as a whole, because they did not effectively involve communal interests.\textsuperscript{299}

Did the Jesuit observation of Sōrin's public adherence to Christianity despite the protests of his retainers, his ex-wife, and other powerful influences within the warrior band comport with reality? Sōrin, at least, presented himself this way to them, and his Christianity impacted his relationship with traditional sites. One of the consequences of Sōrin's vows to Deus was his abandonment of Usa shrine. He no longer ruled Bungo province, and he had long ago turned the clan over to his son Yoshimune, but Sōrin continued to influence religious policies. In 1581/11 he ordered his youngest son, Chikaie, to lead troops to Usa and burn the shrine to the ground.\textsuperscript{300} Scholars have shown that Sōrin had political and military reasons for attacking it, and they have suggested that we consider the cultic site as another one of many that warriors during the period punished with arson. The historical record of extensive, religiously motivated attacks on religious sites actually rests primarily on later narratives, was a post-defeat reconstruction of events.\textsuperscript{301} Yet, untangling religious commitments from political ones, especially in premodern

\textsuperscript{299} As we saw earlier in the dissertation, prayers were said in the final days of Sōrin's life on his behalf, so it was certainly possible to pray for others, but it seems to have been an individual matter, and restricted in practice to certain situations like a life-threatening illness. It is also notable that one had to reject all other forms of worship and convert to Christianity to gain access to this form of communication.

\textsuperscript{300} We will see Chikaie in the next chapter of this dissertation as a Christian warrior who gained control of a prominent local family, continued to participate in traditional religious practices (swearing oaths).

\textsuperscript{301} Kiyohara Sadao, "Ōtomo Sōrin no shaji hakyaku seisaku ni tsuite" [On Ōtomo Sōrin's policy of destroying shrines and temples], Ōita-ken chihōshi [Journal of local history in Ōita Prefecture] 13–16 (1958): 3-10. The destruction of temples and shrines was a widespread phenomenon, and this chapter has followed the recommendation by Yokota Mitsuo not to focus only on the destruction or construction of cultic sites, but to consider them both together when examining the relationship between rulers and religious institutions. See Yokota Mitsuo, "Sengoku daimyō to jisha hakai / shūzō: Tōkoku no jirei wo chušin ni" [Warring States period lords and the destruction / construction of temples and shrines: Focusing on the case of the eastern region], Sengokushi kenkyū [Research on Warring States Period history] 32 (August 1996): 1–12.
Japan, is difficult to do. At best, we can say that Usa's destruction did not occur simply because of Sōrin's zeal for Christianity.

No doubt Sōrin would not have destroyed the home of the Japanese god of war unless he had managed to obtain rituals for his military campaigns from another source, Deus. The exclusive tenets of the Christian faith had a high political, military, and social cost, but they brought benefits as well. Like Uesugi Kenshin, Oda Nobunaga, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Sōrin sought a more direct relationship with divine powers. In his case, though, the payoff was much more than what the other warlords could hope to gain through traditional sites, because Deus's influence was bounded neither by domain borders, nor by the shores of the Japanese islands. In a world without center, where the unifying authority of a powerful court or shogun no longer existed, the Jesuits supplied a product that offered divine legitimization of authority and ensured exclusive access from within cultic sites monopolized by the Ōtomo.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the level of engagement the Ōuchi and Ōtomo clan leaders had with Usa shrine, and explored how the differences between them reflected political conditions and their relationship with local hereditary shrine administrators. It has also considered how their vows look in relation to one made by a representative warrior from central Japan, Takeda Shingen, in order to suggest that despite their early affinity for Christianity, both the Ōuchi and Ōtomo clans participated in a common mode of communication with traditional
deities. Moreover, the documentary genre of prayers existed within a widely understood system of meaning. In order to function properly, the vows placed certain constraints on their usage.

Ōtomo Sōrin's investment in both traditional and Christian traditions in 1578 demonstrates that while the diversification of religious options challenged conventional methods of obtaining divine aid, and defeat caused subordinates to question the efficacy of Christian prayers, a "middle ground" of religious pluralism remained possible for the Christian warrior. 302 Ideally, he sought to clear a space to build something new in the province of Hyūga. The event demonstrates the obligations that tugged at him as he tried to extricate himself from administration of the domain and establish his own Christian kingdom free from such demands. Jesuit records, which have formed so much of scholarship on religion during the sixteenth century, are insufficient for telling this story, because they cannot take into account the social, political, and cultural factors that informed the activities of warlords like Sōrin. Usa and the other Hachiman shrines in the Ōtomo domain could not be abandoned without paying a heavy political toll.

Usa shrine made important contributions to the late medieval culture of war as a cultic site that publicly legitimized and participated in organized violence. It did so by receiving requests for prayers from leaders and members of both the Ōuchi and Ōtomo warrior bands, sometimes on the occasion of military campaigns. The vows examined here all came from top

302 The "middle ground" here resembles the one described by Richard White for the Great Lakes in the Americas, but it may be that this is the "least interesting" stage, when the Japanese and Jesuits were still cramming one another into existing conceptual categories without yet hitting upon a way to develop new conventions. See Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 50–51. In this case, Christianity was still considered by many as merely another sect of Buddhism.
members of the two clans, but even these required the mediation of warrior families, and the rituals for both prayers and vows needed to be performed by ritual specialists before the god at the site. This practice stood in contrast to Christian prayers that could be performed independent of subordinates in the warrior band, in any location, and only needed the presence of priests. Although the Christian rituals enabled the Jesuits to offer a potentially powerful line of communication to their warlord patron, by circumventing his subordinates, they not only failed to integrate their services well into the military organization, but also sowed the seeds of discontent. In the next chapter, we will see how the ritual of oaths also presented significant challenges to the cohesion of the warrior band.
Swearing Oaths: Deus and the Medieval Buddhist Cosmology

In 1580 a minor warlord in northern Kyūshū made an oath of fealty to his lord. Among other things, Tawara Chikaie swore to reside in the urban capital of Funai instead of in his rural fief in the countryside, not to enter into certain types of agreements with other retainers, and to obey his lord's commands. He concluded by swearing to keep his word or suffer divine retribution from a bevy of gods and buddhas. As with most oaths made during the sixteenth century in Japan, it has attracted little attention from historians, and the document rarely receives mention even in specialized scholarship. Yet, despite its unassuming appearance, it raises significant interpretive issues and provides fresh insights into the ways in which Christianity threatened to undermine the role that gods and buddhas had in maintaining cohesion in warrior society.

If previous researchers have had so little to say about Chikaie's oath, why should we concern ourselves with it? The content and format look unremarkable compared to other examples from the period; the occasion for it does not seem to have greatly affected events in the region; and Chikaie did not even keep the promises that he made in it. The primary challenge for us with Chikaie's oath is this: to explain why it seems so conventional despite the fact that the author had converted to Christianity several years before and had supposedly rejected the very deities he cited as guarantors of his promises.

303 Ōtomo monjo [Documents of the Ōtomo] Tenshō 8 (1580)/2/14 Tawara Chikaie (Hayashi Shinkurō) kishōmon utushi [Copy of oath from Tawara Chikaie (Hayashi Shinkurō)], OKS 26: 400–401, doc. 493.
As the final product of a ritual act which drew upon performative, rhetorical, religious, and material components to signal sincerity to its intended audience, Chikaie's oath held a significance in warrior society that we have tended to overlook. This chapter shows that the content reflected the constraints of the oath genre, the demands of a culture of war, and the ability of available religious services to supply solutions to the problems that warriors faced. A close examination of the conditions that prompted the oath raises the question of whether a "Christian" oath was even conceivable within the medieval cosmological paradigm that informed the worldview of warriors.

The first part of this chapter considers the religious aspects of oaths, and shows that even though they may not have directly involved ritual specialists, as we saw with the prayers in the previous chapter, they nevertheless contained religious elements that had significance for the warriors who participated as authors, signatories, and recipients. The second part examines the historical development of the oath ritual and inquires into distinctions between occasions for oaths among commoners and those made among warrior elites. In order to identify traditional elements of the oath genre, the third part focuses on an oath Sōrin made early in his reign well before his conversion to Christianity in 1578. The next part analyzes oaths made by Christian warlords, shows the constraints of the genre, and suggests the limits of Christianity in practice. Finally, it turns to the phenomenon of the "Southern barbarian oaths" (Nanban seishi) to argue that Christianity fit uncomfortably into the genre, but not into the Buddhist cosmological worldview represented in the oaths.

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304 This follows the idea of "ritual" along the lines proposed by Catherine Bell for viewing "ritual-like" behavior as having "formalism, traditionalism, disciplined invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism, and performance" elements. See her *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 138.
Interpretive Frameworks

Chikaie's oath lends itself to several possible interpretive frameworks. First, it exhibits many of the characteristics found in the "oath of fealty," which supposedly formed the foundation of the feudal bond between warlords and vassals in medieval Japan. According to a legal historical model for the practice, vassals from the twelfth to the nineteenth century initiated the relationship by performing homage to their lord through a formal audience (genzan). Then, an oral or written exchange of oaths occurred. Finally, the lord acknowledged the relationship by confirming the vassal's lands. This process purportedly structured social relations within a military hierarchy that dominated medieval society. Under this rubric, there ought to have been many oath exchanges, yet the Ōtomo leaders themselves only produced one such oath to a vassal during the sixteenth century. Moreover, no records exist among the Ōtomo for the formal audience in combination with the oaths. A review of the sources reveals that Chikaie's detailed oath of fealty is actually quite uncommon, and the lack of documentation for the rest of the ceremony suggests that the beginning and ending of the lord/vassal relationship was more fluid than the rigid model would suggest. In Chikaie's case, the oath was made so explicit because his lord was also his older brother, and so the ritual of making an oath performed another vital function by transforming two brothers into a lord and vassal.

From the perspective of a sociologist, Chikaie's pledges bear an apparent resemblance to those being made elsewhere in the archipelago by house retainers of regional warlords during the turbulent sixteenth century. In giving up on their ambitions and submitting to the authority of hegemons, these local warriors played a crucial role in the process of national unification. Their promises brought stability to their families, but according to one interpretation, stripped the autonomy of individual houses, circumscribed loyalty, and thereby re-configured social relations.\textsuperscript{306} Indeed, after reunification and consolidation of the country in the seventeenth century, a local leader could no longer gather retainers under him and carve out a domain free from interference by overlords, because he had become enmeshed in an urban bureaucracy that provided a salary in lieu of private estates. However, the sixteenth century was not moving inexorably in this direction under every ruler. While Chikaie's oath seems to presage this development by moving him to the main city of Funai, and blends into the overall trend, it was actually an ad-hoc response to deal with the issue of placing a younger brother in charge of one of the most powerful military forces in the domain. Notably, other vassals were not subjected to terms like the ones found in Chikaie's oath.

To an intellectual historian, the deities Chikaie names in his oath deserve attention. Closely following the documentary format used by his father, and primarily using the names of figures worshipped by the Ōtomo, it would seem that Tawara Chikaie submitted himself to the ideological commitments of his superiors.\textsuperscript{307} Alternatively, if we attribute more agency to him,


we can see him as someone maneuvering rhetorically to co-opt gods known to and worshipped by the Ōtomo clan.\footnote{Thomas Keirstead, "The Theater of Protest: Petitions, Oaths, and Rebellion in the Shoen," \textit{Journal of Japanese Studies} 16, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 370–376.} Or, taking a more expansive view, his oath could be interpreted as a local expression of a cosmology shared by everyone in the archipelago, and the main significance is in its adherence to certain rules of the genre.\footnote{Satō Hiroo, \textit{Kishōmon no seishinshi, Chūsei no shinbutsu sekai} [A spiritual history of oaths: The medieval world of gods and buddhas] (Tokyo: Kōdansha Puripuresu, 2006), 22–109.} However we interpret his document, the similarities and subtle differences with other oaths deserve consideration, because as we will see, Chikaie worked from a kind of template, but purposefully modified the content to meet the occasion. In addition to the possibilities for understanding the oath that were raised above, this chapter contends that the demands of a culture of war helped shape the manner in which he made his promise.

Finally, when Chikaie later broke his word to side with enemy forces, a cultural historian might say he proved himself true to form for warriors during the medieval period, because he thought service to the Ōtomo was no longer in his economic self-interest, and so he sought to offer his services to another coalition.\footnote{Regarding self-interest and loyalty, see Thomas Conlan, "Largesse and the Limits of Loyalty in the Fourteenth Century," in \textit{The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century}, edited by Jeffrey P[aul] Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 61.} Indeed, self-interest was involved, but it was not all about land and money. In fact, there was a family element as well. As the younger brother, he lacked a path for career advancement, and becoming the head of the Tawara clan gave him considerable military power and prestige in exchange for a promise to publicly accept his brother as ruler and effectively forswear any claims to take control of the Ōtomo. The stability of a
military house depended on finding employment for all of the eligible males, and when betrayals occurred, they not only reflected the "limits of loyalty," as cultural historians have argued, but the limits of family ties in the organization of social relationships.

**Oaths as Religious Practice**

This section of the chapter begins by exploring the significance of the oath genre and the reasons why it has tended to languish in relative obscurity, with only occasional mention in the English-language literature. As researchers sifting through records looking for the ones that "really mattered," our initial inclination is to pay this type of document little heed. Although some scholars in Japan have authored insightful articles elucidating their format and materiality, their work rarely percolates into English-language literature or generates much discussion.\(^\text{311}\)

Generally speaking, we treat the oaths as materials appended to significant events in order to mark rather than make them—the cessation of hostilities between warriors in battlefield correspondence is considered concrete evidence of a settlement of some kind being reached, and the oath is seen only as formal recognition of an existing reality with no power on its own to bring about these conditions. In modern times, for example, we conventionally date the end of

\(^{311}\) Besides Satō Hiroo's *Kishōmon no seishinshi, Chūsei no shinbutsu sekai* (2006), see, for example, Chijiwa Itaru, "Chūsei no seiyaku no sahō: Sengokuki no Tōgoku wo chūshin to shite" [Etiquette of pledges in the Medieval Period: The case of the eastern provinces in the Warring States Period], in *Sengoku Shokuhōki no shakai to girei* [Society and ritual in the Warring States and the Oda-Toyotomi Period, ed. Futaki Ken'ichi, 163–187 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006)]. Chijiwa Itaru has established himself as an authority on oaths, and for an overview of the field, see Chijiwa Itaru, ed., "Gofu, goō hōin kenkyū no genjō to kadai" [Future issues and current state of the field for research on talismans and talismanic paper] in *Nihon no gofu bunka* [The talismanic culture in Japan] (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 2010), 13–22. For one of the most detailed treatments of oaths in English, see Satō Hiroo, "Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities," in *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 95–114.
the Pacific War to August 15, 1945 with Japan's surrender, while the formal signing of the papers on September 2 is considered secondary.

In considering why historians have neglected oaths, we turn again to the 1232 Institutes of Judicature, which was introduced in the first chapter of this dissertation. There, we looked at the first two articles of it in order to observe how they continued to influence the religious policies of warlords into the sixteenth century. My discussion of the text engaged with research on law that began when John Carey Hall first translated it in 1906. Since then, scholars have talked about this basic legal code of the Kamakura bakufu (1192–1333) as the foundation of more than six centuries of practice among warriors, but in our analyses, we have tended to omit the final section, an oath signed by major figures in the nascent military government.\(^{312}\)

The tendency to overlook oaths, even in this foundational document, is widespread and a result of our research agendas. In this case, the concerns of legal historians have framed the debate. In his analysis of the Institutes of Judicature, Hall mistakenly claims that it "begins with religion and ends with legal procedure," when a more accurate assessment that included the entire document would have concluded that religion is located at both ends.\(^{313}\) As a consequence of this omission, the laws stand shorn of their religious context in the secondary literature. The final anathema section of the oath reads:

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\(^{312}\) For the first English translation of the Goseibai shikimoku, see John Carey Hall, *Japanese Feudal Law* (1979 [1906]), 45–46. For a re-translation of the oath, see Carl Steenstrup, "Sata Mirensho: A Fourteenth-Century Law Primer," 435. Both of these translations have informed mine here, and mine mostly contains stylistic, rather than substantive changes.

\(^{313}\) Ibid., 16.
If for even a single matter, one of us goes against the spirit, or violates them, may each they receive divine punishment and unseen retribution from each [deity]: Brahmā (Bonten), Indra (Taishaku), the Protector Gods of the Four Directions (Shidai Tennō), the greater and lesser gods of the more than sixty provinces of Japan, especially the Avatars (Gongen) of Izu and Hakone, the Great Deity (Daimyōjin) of Mishima, the Great Bodhisattva (Daibosatsu) Hachiman, the Celestial Deity of Great Power Filling Heaven (Tenman Daijizai Tenjin), and all other related kinds [of deities]. The oath is so stated.

Ironically, studies of oaths have de-contextualized ones like this as well, but in a different way. One of the most extensive examinations of oaths has approached them from the perspective of intellectual history in order to divine a medieval cosmology. From this high level of analysis that crosses several centuries and ostensibly holds for the entire archipelago, historical changes in later periods and the specific events that prompted their creation are out of focus. What we lack are comprehensive examinations of these documents that take into account their historically contingent political and religious components. Chikaie's document clearly resembles the oath

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315 In the Indian cosmology, Bonten resided in the heavens above Mt. Sumeru, Taishaku protected the realm against the warring Asura, and the Shidai Tennō were four celestial kings under Taishaku who protected the four continents. Gongen were local avatars, or provisional manifestations of deities. For more on their origin and connection with localities in the Japanese religious tradition, see Allan G[eorges] Grapard, "Japan's Ignored Cultural Revolution: The Separation of Shinto and Buddhist Divinities in Meiji ("Shimbutsu Bunri") and a Case Study: Tōnomine," History of Religions 23, no. 3 (February 1984): 254. The English gloss of Tenman Daijizai Tenjin is somewhat stilted due at least in part to the combination of names from two traditions: Sugawara Michizane was deified as a "heavenly deity" (Tenjin), but also incorporated the Hindu deity Daijizai-ten (Skt: Mahaśvara/Siva) into his identity as well. On the first instance of this name, its derivation, and the English gloss, see Iyanaga Nobumi,"in Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm, eds. Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 156–158.

that concluded the *Institutes of Judicature* many centuries before him, and fits comfortably into the framework proposed for a medieval cosmology, but the Christian position from which he made it offers us the opportunity to consider the limits of the genre: how universal was the medieval cosmology at this point, when a Christian operating from what was supposed to have been an entirely different worldview was making the oath?

A case could be made that religion is merely ancillary to Chikaie's oath. Certainly, we can see this in modern states, which have sometimes deemed unnecessary the invocation of any divine entity as guarantor or witness. In the Constitution of the United States, for example, it says that "[b]efore he [the President] enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the Constitution of the United States." Enclosed in quotation marks, it deliberately and precisely outlines a ritual devoid of any specific religious connotations.

The presidential oath adds weight to the promise by employing formulaic phrasing and public spectacle. In the case of the presidential oath, the public concern raised by a misstatement of it in 2009, and its subsequent re-statement by the President, point to attendant anxieties about language that permeate the process of oath-taking. When we craft a promise into an oath, we do it in order to make language do what it is supposed to, because there is concern that it will not; the idea is that ordinary words alone do not carry enough weight and need to be combined into a ritual formula that will ensure the promise is kept. In theory, the presidential oath lacks the

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318 I want to thank Professor Paize Keulemans for this observation.
religious elements found in Chikaie’s oath, and relies on language alone to perform the oath. Despite the efforts of the Constitution to make it solemn, public, and formal on paper, the language in the oath of office remains nothing more than a promise without an appeal to deities.

In practice, the presidential oath of office was transformed to include ritual elements, representatives of religious institutions, and an appeal to a deity. A Bible is now placed underneath the President’s hand, a Christian minister is positioned in close proximity, and the phrase "So help me God" is appended to the oath.319 These accouterments were not mandated, but inserted into the ritual to address the anxieties of the oath takers and witnesses. As we saw with the Constitution, an oath shorn of religious elements is conceivable, but is uncommon, and the current usage suggests that it would carry insufficient weight if kept in its original form.

How does an oath work? This dissertation suggests that an oath makes ordinary words extraordinary by invoking the name of one or more deities, and this helps us distinguish it from the everyday pinky promise or handshake to close a business deal.320 Read literally, the implication in this case is that the President will perform the designated duties or suffer the displeasure of a divine power that can both observe and punish the oath-taker. The pledge of allegiance, sworn by schoolchildren throughout the nation on a regular basis, follows a similar transformation from a religiously neutral oath into a sacred promise made before God.321

319 For the inauguration with a transcript, see "Obama Oath Oops (with transcript)," YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GsVuoegrTJc [December 29, 2011 8:36 AM].

320 For more on the Western tradition of distinguishing oaths from promises, vows, and other practices, see Martin Hogg, Promises and Contract Law: Comparative Perspectives (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 39–45.

321 God was not always part of this oath. For a discussion of recent litigation regarding the religious language with a focus on the media’s portrayal of it, see Ronald Bishop, Taking on the Pledge of Allegiance: The Media and Michael Newdow’s Constitutional Challenge (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007), esp. 25–42.
By oath, we usually mean a formal promise involving mortals and one or more deities. In the Western tradition, this definition includes pledges made by supernatural beings such as ones made by the Jewish God to the Israelites.\textsuperscript{322} It also applies to the Hippocratic Oath and oaths of office in which humans invoke deities to perform as witnesses. In daily life outside of the public school system and a few extraordinary situations, we rarely make oaths. It is so uncommon that when we hear "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," we know immediately that the context is a legal proceeding of some kind.\textsuperscript{323} The rarity in modern times is not because we have an abundance of trust in one another. Rather, it is because we live in a more secular and atomized world, and lack a shared cosmology to instill sacred significance in our words.

Premodern Japan was different.

An oath (kishōmon) in premodern Japan typically distinguished itself from other document types by including a "deity" (shinmon), or "anathema" clause (batsubun) at the end. A widely accepted definition in the study of diplomatics describes the kishōmon as a type of promise in which the signatory declares that: "the content of the sworn statement is absolutely without falsehood, and if this is incorrect (in other words, if the sworn statement is violated), I will receive punishment (batsu) by means of the magico-shamanistic power (jujutsuteki na chikara) of deities like gods and buddhas (shinbutsu nado)." The definition continues by explaining that because people called upon divine power for adjudication, we ought to consider

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{322} For examples of Biblical oaths, see God's promise to Noah in Genesis 8:21 and Abraham in Genesis 13: 14–17. For recent research on this tradition, see Yael Ziegler, \textit{Promises to Keep: The Oath in Biblical Narrative} (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

\textsuperscript{323} As can be seen in various US civil procedure codes, in the courtroom oath as well, just as with the Presidential oath, it is not necessary to invoke God.
\end{footnotesize}
the anathema clause as a type of divine ordeal (shinpan) like those seen in the ancient and medieval periods using boiling water.\textsuperscript{324} Presumably, the connection here with oaths is that the gods are present to act as an independent actor recognized by all parties concerned as legitimate, and having the power to identify and punish falsehood. Notably, the criteria offered for oaths suggest a promise among humans, and not one made by a mortal to a deity, which is more properly considered in the Japanese context as a prayer or vow, which we saw in the previous chapter.

Oaths written in this format combined two parts that differed materially from one another: the preface (maegaki) with declarations of fact usually written on regular paper, followed by the anathema clause, which was written on sacred paper with a list of entities the authors called upon to participate in the process as witnesses and guarantors.\textsuperscript{325} The high quality paper was obtained from shrines, where stylized characters were printed or written on it along with special stamps in order to distinguish the paper from that used on other occasions (see Figure 9).

In manuscript form, the divinities section that followed the promises not only marked the document as an oath, but distinguished it materially from other ones. Oath-makers affixed their signature following a list of deity names, which were written on the reverse side of a talismanic paper called an "Ox-King's Treasure Seal" (Goō hōin) that bore images and writing associated with highly regarded religious complexes such as the three Kumano shrines (Kumano sanzan) of

\textsuperscript{324} Satō Shin'ichi, comp., \textit{Shinpan Komonjogaku nyūmon} (1997), 220.

\textsuperscript{325} Alternative arrangements were also possible, but not evident in the sources used in this study. See Chijiwa Itaru, "Chūsei no seiyaku monjo = kishōmon no, futatsu no keiretsu" [Two sources of written pledges in the medieval ages], \textit{Kokugakuin zasshi} [Kokugakuin journal] 106, no. 2 (February 2005): 1–11.
Hayatama Taisha, Nachi Taisha, and Hongū Taisha on the main island of Honshū (modern-day Wakayama prefecture).326

The oath instances related to the Ōtomo in the sixteenth century fall into two categories: (1) "vertical" ones between subordinates and their superiors, who required the oaths or administered the ordeals; and (2) "horizontal" oaths of amity that bound individuals or groups of roughly equal standing. These broad divisions are not exhaustive for all oaths in every period, but at least within the Ōtomo corpus, they provide a heuristic device for interpreting the sources. Here we will focus on the "vertical" ones, and begin by considering the pervasiveness of oaths throughout all levels of society.

**Divine Ordeals**

Oaths like Chikaie's drew upon concepts evident in ancient divine ordeals. Ruling elites employed them as part of governance from at least as early as the writing of the *Sui Dynasty History* (Ch: Suīshū; Jp: Suisho) in China's seventh century. The Chinese observers referred to the practice as meng shen shen tang (Jp: kugatachi or kukadachi), and additional evidence corroborating the reports can be found about a century later in the earliest official Japanese histories, the *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*) from 712 and *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki*), written in 720.

In early sources from this period, we have a total of five cases, four of which are unique. The *Sui Dynasty History* explains that pebbles were put in boiling water and disputants had to

326 For more on belief in the talisman, see Oyama Satoko, "Kumano Goō Hōin he no shinkō" [Belief in the Kumano Ox King’s Treasure Seal], *Komonjo kenkyū* [Japanese journal of diplomatics] 61 (2006): 48–59.
pick them out. The guilty party was identified by inflammation. Alternatively, a snake was kept in a jar, and a person would be made to catch it. He was judged guilty if bitten. The section concluded that the "gentle and peaceful" people seldom litigated or committed theft. Given the severity of the process, this is not surprising. The connection between these ordeals and the oaths that are the focus of this chapter is the notion underpinning both of them; namely, that deities were called upon to determine the veracity of statements and to mark or punish those whose claims were false.

The *Records of Ancient Matters* only contains one instance of an ordeal. Emperor Ingyō (ca. 5th century) used it to clarify genealogical and court records sometime around the fifth century. He lamented that the clan names and court titles had naturally, or through artifice, become disordered. In order to solve the problem, he had a cauldron of hot water prepared, and by performing the divine ordeal, determined the proper ones. Although the circumstances varied considerably, the Chinese and Japanese texts shared a view of it as an effective and just means of settling disputes.

The *Chronicles of Japan* contains the remaining three mentions of ordeals (two unique ones). In order to resolve a dispute in the third century between two brothers involving a claim by one that the other was plotting to take over the country, Emperor Ōjin (ca. 3rd century) "gave orders to ask of the Gods of Heaven and Earth the ordeal by boiling water," and the result proved

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328 In English, see Basil Hall Chamberlain, trans., *Translation of "Ko-ji-ki" (古事記) or "Records of Ancient Matters"*, Second Edition (Kobe: J.L. Thompson, 1932), 356–357.
the accused brother's innocence.\footnote{In English, see \textit{Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697}, trans. Aston, W.G., (1896), 1: 258.} The second instance was a retelling of the incident with Emperor Ingyō in the \textit{Records of Ancient Matters}. It added a commentary about the practice, though, explaining that boiling mud was sometimes used, and people had to stir it with their bare arms. Other times, an axe was heated and placed in the palm of someone's hands. The main text claimed that "those who were true remained naturally uninjured, and all those who were false were harmed."\footnote{Ibid., 1: 317.} In contrast to the previous two cases, the final one criticized the practice. It recorded that during the reign of Emperor Keitai in the sixth century, the official he sent to administer the Japanese territory held in Korea was abusing the practice of ordeals. In disputes about children of mixed ancestry and their claims to being part of Japanese families, the official became fond of conducting the ordeal with boiling water, saying that "Those who are in the right will not be scalded: those who are false will certainly be scalded."\footnote{Ibid., 2: 22.} The text went on to say that the practice had scalded and even killed many people. The emperor sent a messenger to recall the man, but the official was detained by a revolt caused by his misrule. He eventually died on the island of Tsushima while on his way from Korea to answer the emperor's summons.

Based on the cases discussed here, we can make several inferences. First, the practice primarily involved elites. Although the \textit{Sui Dynasty History} is unclear about who participated, by the eighth century and the writing of the Japanese records, it had become a way to determine ancestry and rights to court titles, or to resolve serious cases of slander. Second, the practice was
supposed to be used infrequently, when the facts could not be ascertained in any other way. The emperor's criticism of his official in Korea suggests that elites were attentive to abuses. Finally, the names of the deities did not matter. The authors identified the locations for the ordeals, the names of the people involved, and even went into great detail about the different methods of performing it. However, they did not mention any specific buddhas or gods. Moreover, we do not know if written documents performed any role, because no evidence remains.

After the *Chronicles of Japan* was written in 720, the practice apparently stopped. We do not see divine ordeals in the sources again for nearly seven hundred years. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it inexplicably revived, somewhere along the way a written oath became part of the process, and elites no longer seem to have participated. Sometimes, as in the case of the hot metal, the written oath would be carried in the hands along with it. Other times, the oaths would be burned, mixed in water, and consumed by all parties to a dispute, with the guilty party identified by some kind of resulting misfortune. The documents were destroyed in the process, though, and none from the ordeals remain for the Ōtomo domain. If non-elites under the Ōtomo had oaths written for them, we can speculate that the documents listed the names of local deities, and as surviving examples of oaths from other regions show, these would have included entities that their overlords worshiped, and so may have resembled the ones used in the Ōtomo warrior band.

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333 For some examples of anathema clauses from the medieval period, see Satō Hiroo, "Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities" (2003), 95–114.
What did it mean for non-elites on medieval estates to adopt the conventional formula in the anathema clause of the oath? Some scholars have interpreted it to mean that the oath-takers were naming the estate proprietors' deities before their own as submission to a dominant ideology that placed their gods and buddhas in a weaker position. Drawing upon Foucault, historians have questioned this interpretation by suggesting that we see the use of proprietors' deities as a mutually understood way to engage in a discourse binding the two classes together. Both of these approaches share a problematic assumption. They take the list of deities to be arranged in order of importance from first to last. Because these lists typically began with deities originally from Indian or Chinese traditions, the interpretations carry the implication that elites submitted themselves as well to a dominant ideology imported from the continent. Rather than seeing everyone in Japan as trapped in an ideological paradigm imported from abroad, this chapter re-examines the oaths to argue that the ones who were listed last actually came first in terms of importance within the context of the oath event. In other words, the first part with foreign entities functioned as a formula that everyone in the islands could recognize, and the latter part indicated the local deities who had jurisdiction over the author(s), and would be expected to mete out punishments. This is a topic addressed in the translation of Chikaie's oath in the next section.

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One document that briefly mentions the performance of a divine ordeal in the Ōtomo domain remains from the sixteenth century. In 1588 a retainer sent a message to another one about a land dispute among commoners, because as an administrator charged with governing the region, he wanted to call upon the assistance of deities in the adjudication of the dispute. In the correspondence, he asked for a divine ordeal using boiling water (called yusei in medieval times) and fire (kasei) to be held there, presumably under the auspices of the Ōtomo clan head at the time, Yoshimune. We do not know any more details about what he had in mind, but we can speculate that it would have functioned much as the ones mentioned earlier from the Japanese histories; the commoners would have made their claims, placed their hands in boiling water, or carried a hot piece of metal, and their guilt or innocence would have been determined by how they were affected. It may also not be a coincidence that this incident appears in the records after Ōtomo Sōrin's death and Yoshimune's turn towards more traditional practices of worship.

Although there was widespread disorder in the Japanese archipelago, and numerous attempts to gain more autonomy from the military government, different places around the country shared a common body of knowledge about oaths and divine ordeals. We know of one instance of how this knowledge was put into practice with Christianity. Elsewhere in Kyūshū,

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336 Andō monjō [Documents of the Andō] (Tenshō 18 (1588))/10/10 Michitō shojō [Document from Michitō], OKS 10: 116, doc. 171; BKS 6: 393, doc. 279.

337 The retainer signing it was likely Furujō Michitō (dates unknown) and he was writing about a dispute in the Moriyama area of Bungo. The signature on the document is written as 道仏, but it is an alternate (Watanabe Sumio calls it a mistake in his transcription notes) for 仏仏, which would suggest that Furujō Michitō authored it. See BKS 6: 393, doc. 279.

338 For an interpretation of this document indicating Yoshimune's presence in Usuki, see Mieno Makoto, "Ōtomo Sōrin / Yoshimune no jūroku seiki matsu ni okeru dōkō [The movements of Ōtomo Sōrin and Yoshimune at the end of the sixteenth century], in Sengoku daimyō Ōtomo-shi to Bungo Funai [The Warring States Period Ōtomo clan and Bungo Funai], ed. Kage Toshio (Kyoto: Kōshi Shoin, 2008), 224.
peasants purportedly "scraped a piece from [a] wooden cross and put it in a cup with water so that they could divine the criminal among seven or eight suspects. The one whose stomach swelled after drinking the water was determined to be guilty." The symbols were swapped in this case so that a wooden cross was used instead of talismanic paper with the names of gods and buddhas on it, but the underlying logic of the Japanese ordeals remained the same.

Unsurprisingly, during the medieval period elite members of society did not subject one another to these violent methods, but the thinking behind divine ordeals (calling upon divine powers to detect and punish falsehood) manifested itself in their written oaths. The divine ordeals had some appeal for authorities because they could defer difficult decisions to deities. Yet, despite the ease of implementation and relatively quick resolution of disputes, the ordeals did not become a regular part of dispute resolution. Authorities likely found it impractical and unjust to inflict potentially life-threatening burns on people every time there was doubt about a statement. Also, the practice could only indicate guilt or innocence after the fact, without providing a way to signal the intention to keep a promise. The anathema clause of the written oaths carried the threat of divine punishment, but with less immediate and certain danger. Finally, many issues, especially between competing elites, had to be dealt with far beyond the reach of Japan's premodern legal systems—most important for warriors, in a time of tremendous disorder in the human realm, the oaths enabled warriors to make binding promises to one another by relying on

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339 Ikuo Higashibaba, *Christianity in Early Modern Japan: Kirishitan Belief and Practice* (2001), 31. Higashibaba also notes that the overall religious system remained intact even after the use of Christian symbols. She calls this the syncretistic character of popular faith. See Ibid., 35–41.
the more stable world of a shared perception of the superhuman; that is, until Christianity arrived to challenge the status quo.

A Traditional Oath by a Warlord

Chikaie's father, Sōrin, experienced his first political crisis immediately after becoming head of the Ōtomo house in 1550. Early in his rule, he made the following oath to two of his retainers.

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On this occasion, in regards to the unfortunate event, there is nothing that could be done [to prevent it]. However, I have heard that you made a display of your devotion. Of course, I was pleased by your consideration given to proper behavior. I expect you will show ever more loyalty. I will forever hold you in the highest esteem. On the back of talismanic paper, I declare that if I have spoken falsely, may Brahma, Indra, The Four Deva Kings, and generally the gods of heaven and earth, small and large throughout the country of Japan, especially the Great Bodhisattva Yusuhara Hachiman, the two Hachiman bodhisattvas at Matsuzaka and Wakamiya, the Gion Ox-Headed King, the Avatar at six locations in Seki, and the Celestial Deity of Great Power Filling Heaven visit punishment on the body of this person. The oath is so written.

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340 Shiga monjo [Documents of the Shiga], Tenbun 19 (1550)/2/21 Ōtomo Yoshishige kishōmon an [Draft of oath by Ōtomo Yoshishige], OSS 1: 47–48, doc. 73.
This oath holds a unique place among the extant documents related to the Ōtomo, because it is the only one made by the head of the house to a retainer. The fact that he made this oath indicates his attempt to solidify control over his domain after the coup that brought him to power. The recipients were high-ranking retainers based along the southwestern borders of Bungo province, and they provided the first line of defense against incursions by Sōrin's uncle, who sought to take control of the Ōtomo clan from his base in the neighboring province of Higo.

Besides providing insights into a warlord's use of oaths in political maneuvering, Sōrin's oath sheds light on the role of religious sites in the process of guaranteeing a promise. As we saw in Chapter One, during his time as head of the Ōtomo house, Sōrin should not be considered as a Christian ruler. He provided support for many religious sites, including Christian churches. However, he did not convert to the religion until his retirement, and during his time as a ruler, exhibited a preference for the Daitokuji lineage of Zen Buddhism.

Like many oaths from the sixteenth century, Sōrin's vow contained a list of deities with names drawn from both Indian and local traditions. The secretary who drafted it probably drew on models existing in house records for the format, and followed the style seen in the 1232 Institutes of Judicature. The underlying logic for the arrangement of the divinities will be discussed in more detail below, but here we will focus on the specific sites from Kyūshū that

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341 The recipients were Shiga Chikatabi (?–1587) and his son, Chikamori (dates unknown).
Sōrin mentioned. It is in this final line of an oath that the oath wording was modified to meet local conditions.

Yusuhara shrine started the list of local deities. While we might be tempted to see this as a reflection of the fact that it housed his tutelary deity (ujigami), as we saw in the previous chapter, Sōrin did not yet recognize it that way, and such an interpretation is anachronistic. Even without this distinction, though, its prominent place in the document shows that it held particular significance for the Ōtomo clan.

In contrast to Yusuhara, which was located some distance away from the Ōtomo residence, Matsuzaka, Wakamiya, and Gion shrines were all within the capital of Funai. They stood near a small castle overlooking the city from atop a large hill. Gion shrine hosted a yearly procession through the city with towering floats much like the ones seen at the Gion festival in Kyoto today. Many thousands of people flocked to Funai for the event, and records show that Sōrin also participated. Although the shrines were relatively small in size compared to Yusuhara or Usa, their stature in the local community was tied to their long association with the Ōtomo clan, and this magnified their importance for the Ōtomo.342

Seki shrine was positioned roughly halfway between the two major Ōtomo strongholds of Funai and Usuki. Historians have offered two explanations for why Sōrin included this relatively distant site in his oath. He may have valued it because the Ōtomo relied on the sea power of retainers and pirates in the Inland Sea, and it occupied a strategic position at a choke point between the islands of Kyūshū and Shikoku. In addition, its inclusion suggests that he held a

view of his geographic base of power that extended down towards Usuki (See Map 2). Although usually counted among the so-called "Christian" lords of the sixteenth century, as this oath demonstrates, Sōrin followed the conventional model in terms of content and arrangement. There is no indication whatsoever that Christianity had made inroads into the genre at this point. Unfortunately, no oaths remain for him after his baptism, and in order to see an oath by a Christian lord, we have to look to his son, Chikaie.

Oaths by Christian Warriors

Chikaie was Sōrin's second son, and his older brother was Ōtomo Yoshimune, who was the heir-designate at the time.343 Around 1573, Sōrin attempted to have Chikaie become a monk at Jurinji temple in Usuki, where he would have prayed for the enlightenment of deceased clan members. Apparently, Sōrin hoped that having him in a monastery would discourage him from causing a succession dispute.344 However, Chikaie refused, and so Sōrin asked the Jesuit Mission Superior, Francisco Cabral (1528–1609), to baptize him along with some other retainers.345 The decision came about after consultations between Sōrin and the Jesuit priests, and the priests considered the baptism of a major lord's son quite significant.

343 See Ōtomo keizu (1) [Ōtomo genealogy (1)], in OKK 1: 21–22.
344 INT 2: 378–379.
345 See Akutagawa Tatsuo, Bungo Ōtomo-shi (1972), 198.
According to Cabral, the idea came from Sōrin, but Luís Fróis wrote in his history of Japan that Cabral suggested it in order to tame the boy's unruliness. Presumably, the religious order planned to impose discipline on him when they took him into their care. It may well have been Cabral who suggested it, because two years earlier, he had written about the Jesuit strategy, reporting that:

>The best apostles [in Japan] are the lords and tonos, for the people in general live off the lands or the income which they get from the lords, and they are all so poor that they have nothing else except what the land provides them with when it is cultivated, and they are so utterly dependent on the lord that he is the only god they know; the result is that if the lords tell them to take up this or that religion they will readily do so, and will usually abandon the one they previously held to; and if the lord does not give them permission to take up another religion, no matter how much they want to they will not take it up. And I have had personal experience of this in several of the places I have been to this year, places where Our Lord produced much fruit in conversions; for in order to make many places Christian all that was required was for the lord to order them to listen to a sermon and then they all immediately became Christians; on the other hand there were others who had heard the things of God and had been enlightened and were extremely desirous of becoming Christians, and these asked me to obtain permission for it from their lord, and told me that without his permission it was not possible. And it has to be a real permission, so that it is clear that the lord grants it because he is pleased that it should be so. So they are Christians at a word of command from the tono, and also, if he then orders them not to be Christians, for the most part they cease to be Christians. Always, however, there are some among them chosen of God, who would rather lose their property and their lives than retreat.

Chikaie's conversion fit perfectly into the policy of working from the top down that Cabral had explained. Although the Jesuits had not yet won over Sōrin to the new religion

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346 HJ 2: 440; Manoel de Lyra, Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Japão e China aos da mesma Companhia da India e Europa, desde anno de 1549 ate o de 1580 (Em Evoorá : Por Manoel de Lyra, 1598), 1: 356–357.

at the time, within just twenty years of operating in the province, the acquisition of Chikie showed that they had managed to compete successfully for this type of patronage and access to power within elite families.

Chikie's baptism as Sebastião in 1575 had significance for the newly-arrived Jesuit missionaries, because he was the son of one of the most powerful warlords in the country. His father, Sōrin, had first invited Francis Xavier from Yamaguchi (the Ōuchi clan's domain) to his residence in Funai in 1551. Within a few years the priests had established churches, a hospital, and thousands of converts in Sōrin's domain. Yet, until gaining Chikie's conversion, they had had difficulty penetrating warrior society in Bungo.

Chikie's baptism also had significance for warrior society in the region. It is thought by scholars of the Ōtomo clan to have marked a turning point for Christianity in the domain, and encouraged subsequent conversions within the retainer band. It split the organization into Christian and Buddhist factions as Chikie began razing Buddhist structures. We do not know what Christianity meant to Chikie, and he may well have been destroying temples in the hope of gaining lands rather than making a religious statement, but at least from a Jesuit perspective, Chikie remained true to the faith for more than a decade after his baptism until around 1586. During this time, as part of governing his territory, he naturally dealt with temples and shrines. A document from 1580 a few weeks after he took control of the Tawara clan, for example, shows

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348 Taniguchi Kengo, "Kirishitan daimyō Ōtomo Sōrin" [The Christian lord Ōtomo Sōrin], in Ōtomo Sōrin no subete (1986), 44.

349 Kume Tadaomi, "Sōrin no Kunisaki Hantō shihai" [Sōrin's control of the Kunisaki peninsula], in Ōtomo Sōrin no subete (1986), 126.
him making appointments at Mirokuji temple on the grounds of Usa shrine.\textsuperscript{350} Regarding this change of heart in later years, Fróis wrote that Chikaie, on the advice of his mother (a notorious anti-Christian whom the Jesuits scornfully called "Jezebel"), had abandoned the faith since 1586, when he had betrayed his brother (and his oath) to side with the Ōtomo's enemies.\textsuperscript{351} Chikaie followed this turn away from Christianity by apostasy in 1636 or 1637.\textsuperscript{352} In short, we need to consider Chikaie as a Christian warrior when he authored his 1580 oath invoking the names of gods and buddhas.

Chikaie's conversion in 1575 should have solved the succession dispute in the Ōtomo clan by removing him from the family and placing him into the religious order as it did when boys "left the household" (shukke) to enter a Buddhist monastery. However, because Chikaie existed in a new space, he could distinguish himself as a general on the battlefields, and he remained a potential threat to his brother until a stable career path could be found for him. In 1579, Tawara Chikatsura (?–1580) unintentionally provided a solution to the problem when he revolted against the Ōtomo and took up a position at Aki castle (modern-day Kunisaki City). His rebellion created a major crisis when warriors in southern Bungo Province refused a call to arms from Yoshimune. With the help of Sōrin and Tachibana Dōsetsu, Yoshimune eventually managed to mobilize his forces to end the uprising, kill Chikatsura, and have Chikaie take over leadership.

\textsuperscript{350} Nishi-ke denrai Sōtatsu Usa-ke monjo [Nishi house hereditary Sōtatsu Usa house documents] Tenshō 8 (1580)/ i3/19 Tawara Chikaie sōtatsu shiki buninjō [Letter of appointment from Tawara Chikaie to the temple staff], Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives (Ōita Kenritsu Sentetsu Shirōkan), doc. 06-005, 20.2 cm x 49 cm.


\textsuperscript{352} Fukukawa Kazunori, "Ōtomo Sōrin kankei jinbutsu jiten" [A dictionary of people connected with Ōtomo Sōrin], in \textit{Ōtomo Sōrin no subete} (1986), 183.
of the contumacious clan.\textsuperscript{353} This promotion occasioned Chikaie's swearing of his oath, ensuring for a time that Yoshimune was recognized as the proper leader of the Ōtomo, and the Tawara corporate unit would survive intact.

The original preface to Chikaie's oath has not survived, and all that remains is a copy (Figure 9, top page) that was made during the Edo Period. In premodern times fires, floods, and the ravages of time often mistreated documents, and copying was a common practice for preserving records for future generations. Of course, this also involved a selection process, as it would have been impossible to copy everything, and the fact that oaths continued to be copied long after they were made suggests that later generations considered the oaths important.

The two pages of Chikaie's oath both remain in good condition, and the writing is clearly legible. The page at the bottom is an original document signed by him. At the time he wrote it, the two parts would have been joined together by glue, and so they would have formed a single document. However, after the first one was recopied, they were apparently kept separate from one another, and this may explain why the content of the second page has been mistakenly omitted from some published transcriptions of the text.\textsuperscript{354}

As discussed earlier in the chapter, oaths generally had a preface (\textit{maegaki}) with declarations of fact usually written on regular paper (see Figure 9), followed by the anathema clause, which was written on sacred paper listing divinities the authors called upon to participate

\textsuperscript{353} Ibid., 183.

\textsuperscript{354} Oddly, Takita Manabu lists the first two deities (Bonten and Taishaku), but omits the rest of them from his transcription of Chikaie's oath. See \textit{Ōtomo monjo} [Documents of the Ōtomo] (undated), Tawara Chikaie (Shinkurō) kishōmon utsushi [Copy of oath by Tawara Chikaie (Shinkurō)]. \textit{ZTHO}, 24: 207–208, doc. 397.
Fig. 9. Tawara Chikaie's Oath. The preface section is at the top and the anathema is on the bottom. Note that the images have been resized to fit the page, and their actual relative sizes are different than shown here. Source: Ōtomo kiroku [Records of the Ōtomo] Tenshō 8 (1580)/2/14, Tawara Chikaie kishōmon (Tawara Chikaie's oath), Yanagawa Historical Archives, doc. 3.
as witnesses and guarantors. In addition, sometimes oath-takers placed drops of blood at the end of the document, or mixed their blood into the ink. By imbuing the paper with the names of the gods and their own physical essence, the writers of these documents literally inscribed themselves into the oath, and brought themselves into direct contact with the sacred forces in the talismanic paper. When warriors included their blood, they further distinguished the document from ordinary ones. Although the existence of blood in Chikaie's oath cannot be ascertained with absolute certainty, a discoloration can be detected in the location where blood would have been placed. If correct, then this would show that the Ōtomo also participated in the practice, which is not surprising, considering that the earliest instance of such an oath occurred in a neighboring province under the Kikuchi clan as early as 1338.

The translation below of the oath preface is based upon the document held by the Yanagawa City Historical Archives. The punctuation follows the transcribed and published version of the document found in the Ōita-ken shiryō. In source collections like this that use modern printing methods, Japanese oaths appear much like any other documents, and a reader

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355 Alternative arrangements were also possible, but not evident in the sources used in this study. See Chijiwa Itaru, "Chūsei no seiyaku monjo = kishōmon no, futatsu no keiretsu" (February 2005): 1–11.

356 For the discoloration that may indicate blood, see the third fold from the left at the bottom of the page on Figure 9.


358 Ōtomo kiroku [Records of the Ōtomo] Tenshō 8 (1580)/2/14, Tawara Chikaie kishōmon [Tawara Chikaie's oath], Yanagawa City Historical Archives (Yanagawa-shi Komonjokan), doc. 3. Chikaie's oath is held as part of the Tachibana house collection. The Tachibana were retainers of the Ōtomo in the sixteenth century, but were elevated to daimyō status from the seventeenth century, and at some time during the Edo period they acquired some of the Ōtomo house documents.

359 I want to express my gratitude to Amano Tadayuki and James Kanda for discussing the reading and interpretation of the text with me. Any errors that remain are, of course, my own.
could be forgiven for considering them as mere words on paper. However, as we see in Figure 9, even without any specialized training to recognize them, the anathema clause of the oath is easily distinguishable.

条々、天八、二、十三
一、親家進退之事、付、耽在府之事
一、所々号本領、方角懸持之人領地、為家中之人狼藉不可然之事
一、今度親貫同意之悪い、後人之覚、堅成敗之事
一、每事義統下知之外、不可然之事、付、於所々足城等不可申付候事
一、直恩之衆、寄験之契約停止之事
一、於向後雖為不肖之人、深重申報事不可有之事
一、節々無御腹藏頂入魂、別而可申講之事
已上 360

Articles, 1580/2/13

ITEM [1]: Regarding the matter of Chikaie's disposition, the explanation is that he is certainly to be in Funai.361
ITEM [2]: The claiming of various lands as one's own fiefs by those who hold lands in other provinces, or outrages by house members, must not occur.362
ITEM [3]: At this time, in order for later people to remember those evildoers who were in league with Chikatsura, they must be severely punished.
ITEM [4]: At no time must anything be done without Yoshimune's commands. The explanation is that in various places, ancillary castles and the like must not be maintained.
ITEM [5]: For direct retainers, agreements for service are to be halted.

360 Ōtomo monjo [Documents of the Ōtomo] Tenshō 8 (1580)/2/14 Tawara Chikaie (Hayashi Shinkurō) kishōmon utsushi [Copy of oath from Tawara Chikaie (Hayashi Shinkurō)], OKS 26: 400–401, doc. 493.

361 The term zaifu in this case likely refers to Funai, where Yoshimune had his residence. However, it could also be understood as "to be in" (cai) the administrative center (fu). In this case, Funai (literally "inside" (nai) the administrative center (fu)) would seem to be the obvious location, but why not name it explicitly? Perhaps, because the Ōtomo also resided in Usuki, this phrase was meant to be ambiguous and point to whatever location Yoshimune happened to be holding court.

362 The term rōzeki was a general one that applied to violent activities that ought not be done, and so deserving of some kind of punishment or admonishment.
ITEM [6]: Henceforth, even if it is done with those who are inconsequential, allying oneself in seriousness must not be done.
ITEM [7]: On occasion, without reservation, and with faithfulness, consultations are to be done.
End [of section]

Controlling Movement (Item One)

Chikaie began his oath with a promise to remain in the main administrative center of Funai. The wording of the passage suggests that the document was prepared for him to sign, and an order from Yoshimune to another retainer, Tawara Jōnin, requiring him to swear an oath to enforce the conditions in Chikaie's document suggests that Yoshimune was behind it.\(^\text{363}\)

As historians, we do not usually delve into the particularities of oaths from this period, because they require immersion in detailed and complex interpersonal relationships. In this case, however, investigating the deities reveals the danger of reading Chikaie's oath solely as part of a widespread practice of extracting oaths of fealty from high-ranking retainers and restricting their movements. Although the first item would seem to fit with the general trend of relocating vassals in castle towns away from their lands, in the case of the Ōtomo, this requirement was actually unique to Chikaie and resulted from both Yoshimune's distrust of his brother, and the Ōtomo house's long distrust of the Tawara clan.\(^\text{364}\) Chikaie's promise to stay in Funai is all the more striking considering the military situation. At this point, as we will see in the next chapter, the Ōtomo were forced to keep high-ranking retainers in administrative and military positions far

\(^{363}\) Ōtomo kiroku [Record of the Ōtomo], Hayashi Shinkurō shintai jōjō oboe, Yanagawa City Historical Archives (Yanagawa-shi Komonjokan), doc. 2. For a published transcription of it, see Ōtomo monjo [Documents of the Ōtomo] (Tenshō 8) Ōtomo Yoshimune yori Tawara Jōnin ni ataetaru oboegaki [Memorandum sent to Tawara Jōnin from Ōtomo Yoshimune], ZTHO 24: 208–209, doc. 397.

away from the main province; forcing Chikaie to distance himself from his retainers may have been necessary to prevent internecine rivalry, but increased the risk of rebellion by the warriors he was supposed to be overseeing.

A Wedge between the Warrior Band and Its Leader (Items Two and Three)

The second and third items in Chikaie's oath addressed the behavior of warriors serving the Tawara clan. As minor warlords in their own right, with their own independent connections to the central military government, and a powerful position standing on the front lines protecting against the Ōuchi (and later Mōri) forces threatening the Ōtomo in the north, the forces were critical to the domain's security. In fact, Ōtomo Sōrin's wife came from the region and her brother (Tawara Jōnin) was a top general who also controlled a Tawara collateral line. "The claiming of various lands as one's allodial fiefs by those who hold lands in other provinces," a practice renounced in Article Two of Chikaie's oath, likely aimed to stop warriors in the region from trying to gain lands outside of their traditional prerogatives, and "outrages by house members must not be done" seems to have indicated that Chikaie would be held responsible for any more unauthorized expansion of lands or destruction of property.

The "evildoers" referred to in Article Three were the local warriors who joined Tawara Chikatsura in the uprising that had led to Chikaie taking over the house. It may well be that by extracting from Chikaie this promise to deal harshly with retainers, Yoshimune placed him in the difficult position of having to punish those whose support he needed most in order to remain in control of the lands. Although later chroniclers and historians have typically portrayed
Yoshimune as a feckless successor to his father, the documents and his handling of situations like this point rather to his political acumen.

**Clarifying Chikaie's Place in the Hierarchy (Items Four through Six)**

The fourth item in the oath raises the issue of independent action, especially in regard to fortifying castles on Chikaie's lands. Through reading the sources, we sometimes learn about a rebellion only when the documents begin mentioning that someone has taken up a position in a castle instead of attending to their duties or replying to a summons. By requiring that nothing must be done "without Yoshimune's commands," the document unambiguously places Chikaie, who also had a claim to succession, under his older brother. The explanatory passage is unclear, but is interpreted here to mean that Chikaie was not allowed to strengthen any of the numerous fortifications on his lands.

Items five and six focused on Chikaie's relationships with other warriors. "Horizontal" oaths made between members of a warrior band, or with nearby forces sympathetic to warlords in other domains, made it difficult for rulers to maintain order, and became precursors for military action. In the fifth item, it may be that Yoshimune was trying with restrictions on "agreements for service" to prevent Chikaie from taking on one of Yoshimune's direct retainers in a subordinate role, which could have potentially led to divided loyalties. As a consequence of being unable to command the loyalty of everyone in his region, Chikaie would have had warriors on his lands that stood outside of his control, and under Yoshimune. The sixth one, precluding serious alliances, is another unclear passage that seems to have indicated concern about Chikaie
entering into onerous obligations with warriors in the course of his duties. The conventional interpretation of Chikaie's later betrayal would be that there are limits to a warrior's loyalty, and Yoshimune simply failed to provide enough monetary incentive to maintain his brother as a retainer. However, in this case the problem may have been that Chikaie was a possible rival to Yoshimune. In fact, in many of the struggles during the period, complex kinship relations play a role, and often it is unclear what, if any financial gains were sought. When we talk about "rational choice," we cannot identify all of the myriad factors that contributed to a decision, but during this period, we can confidently include "succession" as one of the major considerations, and the "cost" to Chikaie for gaining control of a powerful military organization like this would have been quite high in terms of his autonomy.

Transparency and Honesty in Communication (Item Seven)

The seventh and final item in the list of promises, mandatory regular consultation, was a variation on a standard formula found throughout the oath genre. Such phrases indicated a desire on the part of warlords to communicate directly with their vassals about issues before they became either serious problems or fueled slanderous accusations. The fact that this kind of phrasing exists in the documents highlights the concerns that warriors had about words failing to compel proper action, and reminds us about the dangers of rumors from third parties that threatened to sour relationships. The word marking the end of the document was inserted by the copyists, as it does not appear in any other oaths related to the Ōtomo.
The Anathema Clause

The final passage on the first page set up the list of deities that traditionally followed on talismanic paper, and was similar to the phrasing found in other examples from the genre. The translation of the anathema clause is based upon the original held by the Yanagawa City Historical Archives, and the punctuation also follows the transcribed and published version of the document found in the *Historical Documents of Ōita Prefecture (OKS)*. Warriors modified the preface and anathema clauses to localize their oaths and tailor them to their specific historical conditions, but did so based on a shared understanding for how an oath ought to look. Like other ones in the genre from around the archipelago, Chikaie's anathema clause listed deities of foreign origin (Brahma, Indra, and The Four Heavenly Kings), but in the second half diverged to focus on local ones, which suggests we are hearing the voices of the author as he adjusted the formula to meet his needs.

右以御条々被 仰下候之趣、銘々、奉存其旨候、親家於生中無忘却、万事上意不可致違背候、若偽申候者、 梵天、帝釈、四大天王、惱而日本國中大小神祇、當國鎮守由原八幡大菩薩、奈多八幡大菩薩、武蔵國椿八幡大菩薩、国東國桜八幡大菩薩、祇園、松坂、閔宮六所権現、天満自在天神御罰於身上可能蒙者也、仍起請文如件、

天正八年二月十四日 田原新九郎

親家（花押）

柴田治右衛門入道殿
浦上左京入道殿

Regarding the aforesaid articles and the intention of the commands received, for each one of them, their content will be honored. Chikaie, while he is alive, will not fail to observe any of them, and will not take action against his lord in any matter. If there is any falsehood, then:
Brahma, Indra, The Four Deva Kings, and generally the gods of heaven and earth, small and large throughout the country of Japan, especially the Great Bodhisattva Yusuhara Hachiman who protects this country, the Great Bodhisattva Nada Hachiman, the Great Bodhisattva Musashigō Hachiman, the Great Bodhisattva Kunisakigō Hachiman, Gion, Matsuzaka, the Avatar with six aspects in Seki, and the Celestial Deity of Great Power Filling Heaven (Tenman Daijizai Tenjin) will visit punishment on the body of this person. The oath is so written.

1580/2/14 Tawara Shinkurō
Chikaie (monogram)
Shibata Jiemon Nyūdō
Uragami Sakyō Nyūdō

In Chikaie's case, the arrangement of deities followed roughly the same pattern as ones listed by his father, Sōrin, in the oath examined earlier. Chikaie began with Indian deities that had long ago been absorbed into the Japanese Buddhist pantheon. He then moved to Yusuhara Hachimangū shrine, which he identified here as a protective deity for the entire province, in contrast to his father and the council of elders, who were referring at this time to Yusuhara as the Ōtomo clan's protective deity (ujigami).365 The next three shrines were inserted into the list in order to tailor it to Chikaie's new position. Nada Hachiman was run by the Nada clan within Chikaie's domain, and Chikaie's mother came from that family. By placing it immediately after Yusuhara (the most important shrine in Bungo province) but before Musashigō and Kunisakigō, which were also located on his lands, he established its pre-eminence. The text then shifted geographically back to the Funai area with Gion and Matsuzaka shrines, followed by Seki, which was on the coast between Funai and Usuki. These three show a reversion to his father's pattern.

365 Shiga monjo [Documents of the Shiga], Tenbun 19 (1550)/2/21 Ōtomo Yoshishige kishōmon [Oath of Ōtomo Yoshigihige], OSS 1: 47–48, doc. 73; ZTHO 19: 25, doc. 18. Unfortunately, the document collection containing the original was destroyed in the World War II bombing of Hiroshima. For a copy of the draft (an) with the deity section omitted, see Ōtomo ke monjo roku [Records of documents for the Ōtomo house], Tenbun 19 (1550)/2/21 Ōtomo Yoshishige kishōmon an [Draft of oath by Ōtomo Yoshishige], ZTHO 19: 24–25, doc. 17.
Finally, he ended by invoking Tenjin, who regularly came at the end of the anathema clause of warriors in the Ōtomo warrior band without being associated with particular shrines in the province. Because other records show that oath-makers declared the content at a shrine before the gods, we can speculate that Chikaie or his representatives actually visited the local deities to report his promise. In this sense, even though deities from the continent appeared first, it was the local ones that mattered.

The Heavenly Way, Grace, and the Christian Oath

One of the things that makes Chikaie's oath significant and unique among the Ōtomo documents is the fact that, while self-identified as a Christian warrior, he included no Christian elements in his oath. This brings us to a curious aspect of the remaining sources for the period: only one entirely Christian oath was used in the premodern period for any region in Japan.

If we inquire into the most "Christian" of oaths made in the sixteenth century, it would have to be a document sent by Ōmura Sumitada to Ryūzōji Takanobu (1529–1584) in 1576. At the time he authored the oath, Sumitada and Takanobu were independent allies of the Ōtomo. Sumitada was baptised in 1563 as "Bartolomeu," and because of this, he is known in English-language literature as the first "Christian daimyō." However, he also took the tonsure and the name "Risen" some time around 1574 (two years before writing the oath), so his devotion to the

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366 This lack of a locality attached to Tenjin's name could have simply meant they were referring to the main shrine located in Daizaifu in Chikuzen Province. However, Marishiten also appears this way, and I believe it is possible they were referring to an image or representation on their person or in their residence. The significance and devotion to Marishiten and Tenjin, not to mention Hachiman and Bishamonten among warriors is a topic that requires further research.
Christian faith has been the subject of debate, and his oath reflects his ambiguous religious commitments.367

One of the differences between Ōmura's oath and Chikaie's is that instead of binding the two parties "vertically" in a subordinate / superior relationship, it bound them "horizontally" as part of the reconciliation process between two rivals of roughly equal status. Although the function and audience for these two types of documents differed substantially, the construction of the anathema section usually followed the same patterns that we we have seen in the examples given above, including Chikaie's oath.

Instead of a long list of deities, as we might expect after seeing the oaths made by Sōrin and Chikaie, Ōmura only named one entity. He wrote at the end of his oath:

渉内為壹ヶ条、存曲折、於令相違者、
天道之離絮羅佐、弓箭之運命竭終並部類眷属、殊者於子々孫々、皆以可蒙
御罰者也、仍起請文如件、
天正四年
　六月十六日　　理専 (花押)
隆信
鎮賢
参368

If I stray from any one of these items and there is a disagreement [between my words and actions], then may I be separated from the grace of the Heavenly Way, my fortune in war ended for me and also for my kin, especially for my descendants. Everyone will be visited with punishment. The oath is thus.

Tenshō 4/6/16　　Risen (monogram)
Takanobu
Shigemasa

One historian argues that Sumitada's "heavenly way" (tentō) referred to the Christian God, and because he signed the document with his Buddhist name, they conclude that "the Buddhist Sumitada made the oath under the name of the Christian deity." They further surmise that "Sumitada's case demonstrates the syncretistic character" of his faith.\(^{369}\) Although religious practice surely varied widely, at least within this formal genre, as explained below, any syncretism is superficial at best.

Another historian has read the oath in an entirely different way, taking the position that "tentō" has nothing to do with Christianity, claiming that it actually had long precedent in the Japanese tradition.\(^{370}\) Indeed, the word has its origins in classic Chinese texts. The problem with this reading, though, is that Sumitada chose an ambiguous word, and given his religious background, it seems more likely that his new faith was closer to him than the etymological origins of the word.

Both historians have underestimated the significance of this document, because it was neither syncretic in the sense of a Buddhist writing a Christian oath, nor in line with traditional beliefs about the "Heavenly Way." The word that ought to attract our attention is not the ambiguous "tentō," which in contemporary usage could be taken to mean either the Christian deity or the Heavenly Way, but the word "garasa" (grace) that immediately follows it. The word was undoubtedly Portuguese, and to my knowledge, this is the only example from the period of a foreign word appearing in the anathema clause of an oath. Sumitada made a radical departure

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from past precedent by using a Portuguese word in combination with "tentō," and what stands out here is that in so doing he transformed the entire anathema section into one that was Christian in content. Rather than the pantheon of deities we normally see, there was only one now, and the punishment here was to be separated from "grace."

Sumitada's oath shows that the genre could be stretched to include Christianity, and demonstrates the possibility for a warrior to submit a Christian oath to another warrior who did not share the same faith. Because this document was produced long before Chikaie's, it also suggests that Chikaie could have produced a similar kind of oath had he wanted to do so, though we have no way to know if he was aware of Sumitada's oath. If Sumitada's oath was indeed the only "Christian" one created, and the exception to the rule, what might have been the reason?

Considerable conceptual barriers and traditional practices hampered the adoption of Sumitada's formulation, and the oath genre could only be stretched so far. It is important to note that it was apparently not possible for Ōmura Sumitada or Chikaie to mix Christian deities with local ones as had been done in the past with religious traditions originating in India and China. Foreign deities could be folded into the medieval cosmology through the "originals and traces" (honji suijaku) combinatory paradigm, but at least in the sixteenth century oath genre, this had not yet occurred with the Christian God. Whatever their actual faith commitments, Ōmura Sumitada and Tawara Chikaie were constrained by the conventions within warrior society. A medieval cosmological paradigm prevented Chikaie and Sumitada from listing the Christian elements together with the other deities in the anathema clause.
One approach to understanding medieval religious worldviews from the perspective of intellectual history provides some ideas about how we can better understand what was happening in the anathema clauses of the oaths by Christians. Satō Hiroo uses oaths to give a synchronic overview of how buddhas and gods functioned together within medieval thought. He shows that the cosmology evident in oaths linked everyone in the archipelago regardless of class or sectarian affiliation, and he believes the documents have the potential to provide insight into popular belief that we would otherwise be unable to access. Dealing primarily with oaths made around the twelfth century, and extrapolating from these, Satō attempts to reconstruct the way that people ordered the spiritual realm and the role they saw for deities in human affairs. One of the main points that Satō makes concerns the eligibility of deities for inclusion in the oaths. He persuasively argues that deities enshrined in a cultic site (usually through a statue or image) could be asked to punish falsehood. The field of punitive beings primarily consists of gods, who are "wrathful deities," but the Buddhist "saving deities" like Kannon who normally dwell in other realms, could act in a punitive manner if they were localized with an image.\footnote{Satō Hiroo, "Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities" (2003), esp. 100–109.}

Satō also attempts to explain the arrangement of the deities in oaths. Based on evidence provided in the documents, he argues that medieval people placed divine entities in a hierarchy of figures originating in Indian, Chinese, and Japanese traditions. He maintains that the ones residing in India always came ahead of the others, because people believed they had power over all lands, and therefore superseded those beings confined to China or the Japanese archipelago. He claims that the authors sandwiched the Chinese ones between, because they considered them...
to be less powerful than the Indian figures, yet with their existence beyond the Japanese shores, he suggests that they stood above the Japanese ones. As subsidiary manifestations (suijaku) of the original forms (honji), the Japanese deities came last on the list.372

Of course, the Christian objects of worship met several of the qualifications Satō describes for inclusion in the documents. For example, in medieval Japan, Christians had images they carried around with them as medallions or enshrined in churches. Christians also had sanctuaries to house these objects, and believers could go and pray for divine assistance there, just like people would for any other Japanese deity. However, at least in the sixteenth century, the "original" Christian deities had not yet developed local "trace" manifestations to represent them in Japan. They do not seem to have been localized to the point that people referred to them as "Mary of Funai." Certainly, we know that such localization existed in Europe, and ought to have been conceivable, but we see no evidence that this was occurring yet in the oath genre.

Returning to Sumitada's oath, two curious aspects of it are that the Heavenly Way has no earthly abode, and the removal of grace is equated with punishment. Satō notes a rare oath from the Kamakura period that provides some clues as to why a "saving deity" might be able to remain unlocalized and still punish.

Those who break these regulations will become unable to receive the otherworldly assistance of the buddhas of past, present and future, and especially of Śākyamuni, and they will be banned to the Hell of Uninterrupted Suffering for all eternity.373


373 Translation by Mark Teeuwen in Satō Hiroo, "Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities" (2003), 101.
Satō suggests that even if a saving deity was not localized, by withholding their saving powers, they could inflict punishment. This was rare in the medieval period, but it is possible that the thinking that underpinned the oath influenced Sumitada. Thus, even Sumitada's most "Christian" of medieval oaths may have still owed an intellectual debt to the prevailing Buddhist worldview.

Against the background of a burgeoning Christian community in northern Kyushū, and considering the tradition of incorporating foreign deities using the "originals and traces" combinatory paradigm, we might expect to find Christian powers mixed in with buddhas and gods in Sumitada or Chikaie's oaths. As we will see in Chapter Five, members of the Ōtomo band saw Christianity as simply another Indian religion like Buddhism, and so we can imagine the possibility of using the traditional combinatory paradigm to fit it into the list. Yet, no one had managed yet to find a way to accommodate both the old and new traditions. Instead, Chikaie stayed well within the medieval paradigm, and while Sumitada stretched it, he had to adopt an uncommon approach, and did not attempt to place his Heavenly Way in relation to other deities. Perhaps, if Christianity had escaped persecution for a little longer, then it would have been localized and found its way into the traditional list of deity names that populated oaths. If so, then it would have greatly undermined the Jesuit's goal of evangelizing the country and having the Christian paradigm replace the Buddhist one, because it would have been subsumed within a Buddhist cosmology. Considering this, it may be that Jesuit resistance to amalgamation and insistence on exclusive worship in the Christian tradition inhibited religious innovation.

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This kind of synthesis would later occur among the "hidden Christians" who survived through persecution in the early-modern period, though I am not aware of any oaths surviving from this tradition.
The Jesuits recognized the incompatibility of their worldview with the Japanese one, and also saw the need to develop a method of oath taking that could compete with the ones being used in warrior society. Like the Japanese oaths, though, which could not mix deities from the two religious paradigms, the Christian oaths continued to insist on their separation. João Rodriguez (1561–1633) came to Japan as a teenager, and entered the Jesuit novitiate in Sōrin's home province of Bungo in 1580. His background made him uniquely familiar with warrior society, the Japanese language, and the Jesuit mission. In his 1620 treatise on epistolary style, he presented a Christian alternative to traditional practices in Japan.

Using the Japanese oaths as models, a written oath for Christians might take the following, or some other similar form:

_**Kishō**_

_Shingi gofushin no aida shintei futatsu kore naki tokoro arawashimoshisoro koto._

_Hitotsu. Naninani no koto._

_Hitotsu. Naninani no koto._

_Hitotsu. Naninani no koto._

_Migi jōjō gofushin haremōsubeki tame shinjū itsuwari kore naki tokoro, Deus no myōkan ni kaketatematsuri seishi o motte mōshiaguru mono nari. Moshi naishin ni itsuwari o kamae gaisō kenjitsu. N. taretare ni taishitatematsuri hyōri kyokusetsu no nishin o zonzuru o zonzu no oite wa, Deus o hajimetatematsuri, Tenjō no shoten zenji onoono tenbatsu myōbatsu o kōmuri, genze wa Deus no myōjō o hanare, goshō wa jigoku no kugen ni otosare, ukabu yo sara ni kore arubekarazaru mono nari. Yotte kishō kudan no gotoshi._

_Irmam Vicente._

"Oath:

I want to make clear to you that my heart knows no duplicity, because you have questioned my motives.


I commit the above oath to paper by the Grace of God, in order to take away your misgivings about my trustworthiness. My countenance will betray me should I harbor any lies in my heart. Should I contemplate to betray Mr. So-and-so, then may I, first of all, be subjected to [the Wrath of] God, and to the punishments and

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retributions of all Saints and Angels; may I be separated from God's help in this life, and may I fall victim to the sufferings of Hell in the next, and never see daylight again. Hereby sworn, as stated above.

Brother Vicente."\)]376

The later date of the publication in 1620, and the wording suggests that during Sōrin's rule, the Jesuits had not yet been able to implement this style of an oath. If this was the case, it would explain why Ōmura Sumitada's oath bears so little resemblance to the one by Rodriguez. Conceptually, the removal of God's grace as punishment in this life, and removal to Hell in the afterlife clearly resonate with Sumitada's document as well as the one introduced earlier by Satō to explain the function of a non-localized "saving deity." Yet, one crucial difference in thought is that the Christian God was intrinsically both a "saving" and "wrathful" deity dwelling in another realm, and this might not have worked in the Jesuit's favor, because it meant that it was more difficult to know how one ought to deal with such a deity, not to mention that fact that God was not supposed to be made into an image. If, as this dissertation has posited, local deities held more significance in warrior oaths, then the widespread adoption of the format that Rodriguez proposed would have been unlikely.

Ironically, persecution of Christians in the early-modern seventeenth century prompted the invention of a Christian / Buddhist oath genre, long after the Ōtomo clan had been stripped of their lands in 1593, and the Jesuits they supported had fled the island. Scholars have termed these "Southern barbarian oaths" (Nanban seishi). People were made to apostatize and invoke the names of both traditional and Christian entities. The document below from the Bungo region in

376 Ibid., 77–78. The translation is by Jerome Pieter Lamers.
the seventeenth century shows how the oath worked by lining up two completely independent
punishment clauses.

If there are any who harbor support for Christianity in their hearts, and they make
this pledge, and they offer up this Christian oath, may they be punished by Deus,
Jesus Christ, Santa Maria, Angels, and the blessed [beatified], then we will fall
into hell forever. In [good] conscience, this oath [is made]. If there is any
falsehood in our declaration, then we shall be subject to the punishments of the
gods of heaven and earth, small and large throughout the country of Japan, the
Great Bodhisattva (Daibosatsu) Hachiman, the Great Avatar (Daigongen)
Atagoyama, and in this province, especially the Yusuhara Hachiman shrine, the
Avatar at six locations in Seki, Gion, the Gion Ox-Headed King, and in particular
our clan deity. This is to certify to the foregoing.

11/13
[names omitted]

These kinds of documents began to proliferate starting from the seventeenth century as the
Tokugawa regime redefined the religious landscape to exclude socially divisive sects.\textsuperscript{378} It was a

\textsuperscript{377} Mario Marega Collection (Mario Marega bunko), (Kanei 12 (1635))/11/13, Kirishitan shūmen onaratame ni
kōtsu kishōmon [Oath of Christian apostasy], in Bungo Kirisutokyō shi [History of Christianity in Bungo], ed. Ōita
kenritsu sentetsu shiryōkan (Ōita: Ōita kenritsu sentetsu shiryōkan, 2001), 14–15.

\textsuperscript{378} For a document translated into English that is similar to the one presented here, see Yosaburō Takekoshi, The
88–89. In English Yosaburō's name is sometimes romanized as Yosoburo. The translation is Yosaburō's, because I
have been unable to locate the original document used for this translation, but it resembles other Christian oaths
found in the Kyūshū region. The "four great angels of heaven" in the document there is probably an unfortunate
translation of Shidai Tennō, or the protective deities of the four directions, which had their origin in the Indian
tradition.
practicee that had implications for foreign relations, and Christianity became the primary target of its efforts. On the surface, the "Southern Barbarian oaths" appear ludicrous. As a result of signing this document, people both renounced the false teachings of Christianity, but at the same time, they asked to be punished by the supposedly ineffectual Christian deities. The obvious contradiction demonstrated a cruel genius, though: the act of rejecting the faith condemned the Christians to hell, because that would have meant apostasy; a lie about apostasy would also have been a falsehood that put their salvation in danger; and a refusal to sign the oath would have resulted in horrific tortures to try and elicit their apostasy. Some Christians would choose the latter and succeed in dying as martyrs, but for most who were subjected to the oaths, they were truly damned if they did and damned if they did not.

Interestingly, by reproducing parallel cosmologies in the same document, and including buddhas and gods, these were less purely "Christian" than Sumitada's oath. The fact that Sumitada's oath followed some of the Buddhist logic regarding the capabilities of saving deities, and the inability of other warriors to mix the deities into a single list of names, or construct independent oaths bears out the contention in previous literature that a medieval Buddhist paradigm obtained well into the Tokugawa period.379

Conclusion

In summarizing the above discussion about oaths by Christians, the following observations can be made. Applying interpretive frameworks from previous scholarship offers

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valuable insights into the documents, but accounting for local factors illustrates the need to
consider historical contingencies. As we saw, for example, Chikaie's oath was undeniably one
that placed him in "feudal" relationship subordinate to his lord, but it cannot be taken as
representative of Ōtomo practices, because his lord was his older brother, and the concerns that
prompted him to make the document were primarily familial in nature. It begs the question: how
many other "feudal" oaths of this sort did not follow the expected pattern, or addressed other
concerns that had little to do with the lord/vassal relationship?

Most intriguing of all is Chikaie's use of gods and buddhas in the anathema clause of his
oath, because he was supposed to have been a Christian warrior, sending the document to another
warrior sympathetic to Christianity (his older brother), in one of the most Christian domains in
the Japanese archipelago. We have seen that Chikaie, Sumitada, Jesuits, and the anti-Christian
Tokugawa regime worked within the genre of oaths to produce documents that would convey the
sincerity of their claims to audiences. They handled the constraints of the genre in different ways.
However, the materials introduced here indicate that the late medieval cosmological framework
informed the structure of "Christian" oaths and it was persecution in the early modern period that
finally prompted an uncomfortable incorporation of foreign elements into the genre. Importantly,
though, there was not a mixing of the deities from the two cosmologies; they existed side-by-side
within their own hierarchies.

Rather than observing a paradigm shift in response to the challenges of a new religious
doctrine, we see a re-affirmation of tradition, and a rejection of the exclusively Christian oaths
invented by Ōmura Sumitada and the Alessandro Valignano. Concrete criticisms of Christianity's
effect on the warrior band, and solutions involving buddhas and gods will be taken up in the next chapter.
Maintaining Appearances: An "Old Fool's" Remonstration

Tachibana Dōsetsu sent a bold remonstration to his fellow members of the Ōtomo warrior band in 1580 urging them to change their ways. In his missive, he mentioned a letter written by a malcontent that was circulating around Kyūshū. According to Dōsetsu, it reported that religious adherents, young and old, as well as men and women in the province of Bungo had converted to the "Indian religion" (Christianity), razed temples and shrines, and thrown images of buddhas and gods into the river, or repurposed them as firewood. He asserted that this was something unheard of since time immemorial. Dōsetsu wondered if any of these claims could possibly be true. If so, he said it would have been very short-sighted of the Ōtomo, as they had prayed for the protection of the buddhas and gods since the time of the

380 We first met Tachibana Dōsetsu (1513–1585) in Chapter One of this dissertation. He rose to an influential position in the warrior band long before Sōrin took power, and he was the longest serving member of Sōrin's military organization until he passed away just two years before Sōrin's death.

381 Dōsetsu's language; "Mazumazu, hatsujō ni, kikoku no gi wa, yogi naku muneto no mono, onkatagata wo hajime mōsu, rōnyaku danjo tomo ni, Tenjiku shū to yaran ni, nasaserare, jisha wo hakyaku ari, busshin wo arui wa kawa ni ire, arui wa takigi to nasu, zendai mimon goyōtei ni sōrō to" (先々、初条ニ、貴国之儀者、無余儀宗徒之者、御方々を始申、老若男女共ニ、天竺宗と哉らんニ、成され、寺社を破却、佛神を或河ニ入、或、薪に成、前代未聞之御様体ニ候輿). Unless otherwise noted, all translations of Dōsetsu's admonition come from Tachibana-ke monjo [Tachibana house documents] (year unknown)/2/6 Bekki Dōsetsu shojō utushi [Copy of letter from Bekki Dōsetsu], Yanagawa City Historical Archives (Yanagawa-shi Komonjokan), doc. 2.6.39. A transcription of this document can be found in Tachibana-ke monjo [Tachibana house documents] (Tenshō 8 (1580))/2/16 Tachibana Dōsetsu no Nangunshū ate dai gekibun an [Copy of major remonstration to the southern forces by Tachibana Dōsetsu], ZTHO 24: 214–220, doc. 406.

382 Dōsetsu's language; "shosai ni itari no yoshi sōrō, kore wa, sotto wa, katachi moya goza sōrōran, onkokoromotonaku ni zonji sōrō" (致書載之由候、是ハ、卒度者、形もや御座候覧、無御心元存候).
Genpei wars in the twelfth century. He pointed out that it did not even rise to the level of asking whether using images of buddhas and gods as firewood was "good" or "bad," but that they ought to naturally know it is senseless and beyond such distinctions. He concluded the section by stating that Japan was the land of the gods; in private and public matters, and in faith, the warriors must act without going against the Way of Heaven (the same word we saw Ōmura Sumitada use in the previous chapter, but definitely not with a Christian connotation here).

Scholars have long recognized Dōsetsu's remonstration as an important source for understanding the rejection of Christianity by warriors in the sixteenth century. The Cambridge History of Early Modern Japan carries a chapter by Juergen Elisonas titled "Christian Daimyō," in which he introduces the document. Elisonas says Dōsetsu "eloquently" expressed the "concerns and sentiments" of traditionalists. It is worth quoting in full Elisonas' version of the passage from Dōsetsu's letter that began the chapter, because it differs from mine in subtle, but significant ways.

There was no doubt that Sōrin's infatuation with Christianity at the expense of the traditional religious beliefs, practices, and institutions of the warrior class had exacerbated the retainers' disaffection from the Ōtomo. Hence Dōsetsu sounds particularly alarmed when he laments what he cannot comprehend, namely, the abandonment of customs that had prevailed among Ōtomo samurai from time immemorial: "to pray for the gods' and Buddhas' protection, to stand on what is right and proper, and then to take up bow and arrow." Instead, according to

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383 Dōsetsu's language; "nakanaka, rikō sugitaru mōsu koto ni sōōedomo, Genpei ikō bushhin no kago wo inori" (中々, 利口過たる申事に候へ共、源平以降、祈佛神之加護).

384 Dōsetsu's language; "kekku, bushhin wo takigi ni nasare sōō zen aku wa, shōtoku no guchi, warera shiki bunbetsu made ni oyobazu ni sōō" (結句、被成佛神於新候善悪者、生得愚झ之、我等式、不及分別迄候).

385 Dōsetsu's language; "Nihon wa, shinkoku to mōshi sōō aida, zehi, kōshi, onshinshin, moppara, jungi Tendō ni somukarezaru yō ni, onkakugo aru beki koto" (日本者、神国與新候之間、是非、公私、御信心、專、不被背順儀天道之様、可有御覚悟事).
Dōsetsu, what had been going on in Bungo was something unheard-of in previous generations: "young and old, men and women made willy-nilly into [adherents of] something that's supposed to be an Indian sect or whatever [Tenjiku-shū to yaran]; temples and shrines destroyed; [images of] the Buddas and the gods either cast into the river or turned into firewood." To one who believed in the article of faith, "Japan is the Land of the Gods," as firmly as did Tachibana Dōsetsu, it was apparent that the impious excesses that had been latterly committed in the Ōtomo domain in the name of the foreign faith – of Christianity – invited punishment from the Buddhas and the gods.\(^{386}\)

Elisonas astutely observes that Sōrin's support for Christianity was causing the Ōtomo military organization to unravel, and he reaches convincing conclusions about the divisive nature of Christianity which resonate with the arguments made in this dissertation. However, this chapter disagrees with Elisonas on one important point. Although he has the weight of scholarly consensus behind him in seeing the document primarily for its importance as a criticism of Sōrin's Christianity, this chapter suggests that the document itself tells a different story. Dōsetsu does not talk about faith. His observations on Christianity in this section are not his own, but reported speech. Something else is prompting him to write this remonstration. We could paint a portrait of Sōrin as a religious zealot out of touch with conditions in his domain and Dōsetsu as someone writing because he is anti-Christian, but it begs the question: why did Dōsetsu wait until 1580 to write his remonstrance—two years after Sōrin's conversion and the events he is criticizing?\(^{387}\)

How does Dōsetsu's remonstration fit into this dissertation? Previous chapters discussed four practices that brought temples and shrines into warrior society and enabled them to

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\(^{386}\) Jurgis Saulius Algirdas Elisonas, "Christianity and the Daimyo" (1991), 341–342. This chapter by Elisonas remains one of the most comprehensive treatments in English of the subject of Christian daimyō.

\(^{387}\) Takita Manabu stated the case for Sōrin's fanaticism and dissociation from the most strongly, and authoritatively, in his editorial comments for the sources on the Ōtomo that he compiled. See ZTHO 23: 9.
contribute to a culture of war. First, this project considered the names warriors took to mark changes in their religious commitments; then temples as sites of death and mortuary services; next, shrines as the objects of prayers offered to deities in the context of military campaigns; and finally, the oaths that identified supernatural forces which would guarantee that promises were kept. Viewing these events as socially embedded services that traditional religious groups and the newly-arrived Jesuit missionaries competed to provide to warriors, it suggested that established religious practices appealed to warriors because they integrated religious sites into the warrior band, and it was for this reason that the comparatively autonomous Jesuits had difficulty penetrating this strata of society.

The evidence presented so far, though, has relied mainly upon inferring competition and tensions through close readings and comparison of materials from different document genres. Most of the sources have not explicitly addressed the issues of religion and warfare, and so we have been left to tease out the connections. This final chapter of the dissertation examines the aftermath of Sōrin's failed attempt to build a Christian kingdom. The years following his project dramatically exposed religious fault lines within the Ōtomo warrior band, and when the crisis reached its peak, it prompted Dōsetsu to directly address the problem of Christianity and re-affirm the need for traditional religious practices.

The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate that closer scrutiny of the remonstration yields new insights into what was at stake for Dōsetsu. The text is a treasure trove of information about warrior society in Kyūshū, but this chapter focuses specifically on three major topics of concern that emerge from the letter: rebellion, religion, and the reputation of the Ōtomo clan. It
demonstrates that Dōsetsu identified the malcontent Akizuki Tanezane (1545–1596) as the source of the crisis facing the Ōtomo in 1580, considered Tawara Chikatsura's rebellion as an offshoot of this threat, and criticized the attacks on temples and shrines because they gave cause to rebels. In other words, it was not Christianity itself that was objectionable to Dōsetsu, but Sōrin's destructive support of it. Dōsetsu's call for a return to traditional practices came from his own belief in their power to influence the outcomes of battles, to be sure, but also out of his concern about the appearance of legitimacy in the eyes of outsiders. Inquiring into the actual conditions also shows that the anti-traditional inclinations of the Ōtomo, outside of a relatively small area devoted to a new "Christian" kingdom, have been exaggerated in historical narratives, and perhaps even misunderstood by Dōsetsu himself.

**Dōsetsu's Remonstrance**

Looking at Dōsetsu's manuscript shows that the approximately 100 characters worth of text that Elisonas translated amounts to only a tiny fraction of the nearly 4,500 characters in the entire document. Dōsetsu's letter is among the longest ones remaining in all the materials related to the Ōtomo dating back even to the twelfth century. It is also an unusually frank statement of warrior beliefs and practices for the period. Elisonas sought to explain the phenomenon of the "Christian daimyō," and so he naturally did not dwell much on Tachibana Dōsetsu's entire letter, but exploration of the historical conditions that prompted Dōsetsu to produce this extraordinarily lengthy remonstrance, and scrutiny of the religious elements he scattered throughout it, can
provide a better sense of why Dōsetsu was pushing for adherence to the "traditional religious beliefs, practices, and institutions of the warrior class."

Versions of Dōsetsu's remonstration exist in four locations.\(^{388}\) The Yanagawa City Historical Archives in Kyūshū holds a draft (an) of the remonstrance in the Tachibana-ke monjo (Tachibana house documents) collection. The Edo-period historical tale, the Ōtomo kōhaiki (Record of the rise and fall of the Ōtomo clan), contains a copy of a draft of the remonstrance originally found in the Ichimanda-ke monjo (Ichimanda house documents).\(^{389}\) In addition, the Tokyo Historiographical Institute (Tōkyō Daigaku shiryō hensanjo) holds two versions of the Ichimanda draft. The Ichimanda and Tachibana House versions share nearly identical content, with only minor variations in wording.

Space considerations prohibit inclusion of a full translation of Dōsetsu's lengthy remonstrance in the following sections of this chapter, and so only the relevant passages have been translated. Reading the passages out of context, though, is a frustrating exercise for the reader, and wading through extensive explanations of the people, places, and political conditions needed to make them intelligible is unproductive. For this reason, the chapter uses summary translations, which differ from literal ones only in that they remove or restate information in order to make them more easily readable. The original passages have been included in footnotes for specialists. The version of the letter relied upon for this chapter is the one held by the Yanagawa City Historical Archives in the Tachibana house documents.

\(^{388}\) For this claim, see editorial comments by Takita Manabu, ZTHO 24: 212–213.

\(^{389}\) OKK 1: 335–343.
When reading a piece of correspondence from this period in Japanese history, it often helps to begin at the end to see when it was written, who sent it, and who received it. In this case, there is no year, and the draft only says the sixteenth day of the second month (nigatsu jūroku nichi). However, because of the contents of the letter, we can confidently date it to 1580. In the position where the sender conventionally wrote their name, we simply see Dōsetsu. This suggests that it would have been obvious to anyone receiving the letter who the sender was. As for the recipients, Dōsetsu lists thirteen of them.390

The biographical details of each figure are not directly relevant to this study, but what interests us here are three things. First, Dōsetsu wrote his remonstrance to multiple individuals, and by doing so, he ensured that his criticisms were both public, and not seen as directed at a specific person. Second, every one of the recipients was in charge of lands in southern Bungo, which put them on the front lines in the defense against the Shimazu forces to the south, and also quite distant from the rebellion occurring at the time in the northern part of the province. For them to show hesitancy in complying with orders did not bode well for the Ōtomo, and the fact that the Ōtomo had to draw warriors away from these strategic locations in order to deal with a threat from within gives some sense of the gravity of the situation. Third, the criticisms are not directed at Sōrin or his son, but at Ōtomo subordinates.

390 In order from right to left in the document: Shiga Dōki, Ichimanda Sōsatsu, Bekki Jōsan, Shiga Dōun, Kutami Sōsaku, Bekki Shigetsura, Kiyoda Shigeyori, Shiga Shigetaka, Bekki Sōketsu, Tagita Jōtetsu, Shiga Dōeki, Kutami Sōkeki, and Ichimanda Sōkei.
Rebellion

Dōsetsu began his remonstrance with a preamble in which he wished the southern warriors a happy new year and offered good news from northern Kyūshū, where he was based at the time. He said that in the winter a few months before, they had fought a battle against Akizuki Tanezane and others in northern Kyūshū and, since their victory, the Ōtomo forces under two other lieutenants had consolidated their positions in the region's castles. He ended the first part of the preamble by imploring them not to give up the gains his forces had made.391

In this part of the preamble to his remonstration, Dōsetsu was reminding the recipients of his letter that he was doing his part to serve the Ōtomo by shoring up the areas of the domain under his purview, and asking them to exert effort as well. It is worth noting that there is no hint here of an anti-Christian agenda, and by mentioning the battlefield victory, Dōsetsu points to the thinking behind his letter. Akizuki Tanezane acted as a proxy for the hostile Mōri clan, and a natural ally for other rebellious figures like Ryūzōji Takanobu and Tawara Chikatsura. Dōsetsu's statement had three purposes: to raise the spirits of the Ōtomo forces during this time of crisis by recalling the victory over a longtime foe, to remind them that other members of the warrior band were successfully defending against enemies, and to suggest that they work together as he was doing with the two other lieutenants in order to quell disturbances.

391 Dōsetsu's language; "Ikuha no omote yori, ono ono onkara tachi hikare sōrō irai.... yōyaku kakae tsukamatsuri rōjō itashi sōrō.... ka no onkyūsen, sashi suterubeki gi ni arazu sōrō no jō" (従生葉表、各被引空太刀候以来.... 滅仕拘、致韜城候.... 彼御弓箭 非可被差捨儀候之条).
In the second part of the preamble, Dōsetsu brought up the then-current crisis threatening the domain. He said that they had been ordered to quickly deploy to Hita-gun. He reminded them that the order said everyone's lands had been confirmed, and Tawara Chikatsura's disloyalty was clearly evident, so it was imperative that they drive him off his lands. Dōsetsu claimed that he was shocked to have received such news on the seventh day of the second month and sent a fast messenger to report and find out more. He stressed to them that this was the most serious threat to the existence of the domain, and noted the forces were too great for him to handle on his own, and so at this juncture, he asked whether they would fulfill their duty with a clear conscience, and make their names ring out. He concluded by saying that he was a "foolish old man" near the end of his life, and must therefore be forgiven for speaking his mind like this.

Of course, the fact that he was old, respected, and one of the few warriors in the band who was in a position to speak so bluntly about internal matters has provided us with an invaluable perspective on the inner workings of the military organization.

Again, Dōsetsu employed multiple rhetorical strategies in his preamble. First, he restated the order so that there was no doubt by anyone that they must make a choice immediately, and

392 Dōsetsu's language; "Sōsō Hita-gun made onshinpatsu nasarubeki no yoshi, tabi tabi őse kudasare sōrō jō" (早々、日田郡迄、可被成御進発之由、度々被御下候条).

393 Dōsetsu's language; "Onoono ando no omoi wo nashi.... Tawara Chikatsura, fugi kenzen ni yori, kitto ontaiji nasarubeki" (各、成安堵之思.... 田原親賢、不儀依顚然、急度、可被成御退治).

394 Dōsetsu's language; "onkokka on'ichidaiji ni kiwamete nari sōrō ya.... onte amarare sōrōwaba.... ono ono onkoto mo arui wa kokochi yoku goyō tatare.... on'nā wo agerare sōrō ka" (御国家、極御一大批候咬.... 各御事茂或地能、被立御用.... 揚御名候歌).

395 Dōsetsu's language; "mochiron gurō no koto wa, yagate, aihaite mōsu beki gi ni sōrō no jō, fui ni kyōchū, kaki, nosashime sōrō, sono osore sukanakarazu sōrō" (勿論、愚者事、頓而、相終可申儀候之条、不貳胸中、令書載候、其恐不少候).
could not ignore it. Second, he invoked honor, and suggested that failure to follow the order would sully their names. Finally, by mentioning the destruction of the domain, he made the stakes clear, and indicated that failure to act would mean not only the loss of honor, but the loss of guarantees from the Ōtomo for their lands. That he had to make this plea to his fellow warriors, and that the order from the Ōtomo was apparently insufficient to move them, points to the gap in thinking between Dōsetsu and his fellow warriors.

Who was Dōsetsu to make these kinds of demands on his fellow retainers? He had a uniquely inauspicious childhood. He was born into the Bekki clan in 1513 during the rule of Ōtomo Yoshinaga (1478–1518), Sōrin's grandfather. According to the Tachibana family genealogy, Dōsetsu's father was Bekki Chikaie, but there is some doubt about who his mother was, with most scholars suggesting that she was a daughter of Yufu Koretsune. She may have died shortly after Dōsetsu's birth, though, and his father remarried to a daughter of Usuki Chikaaki, another member of the Ōtomo warrior band.

Like Sōrin, Dōsetsu had several names during his life, and these reflected both political and religious commitments. His parents gave him the childhood name of Hachimanmaru (meaning something like "little god of war") according to some sources, Sonjirō according to others. In 1526/4 his father passed away and he succeeded as head of the Bekki family at the age

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396 For the claims about Dōsetsu's parents, see Fukukawa Kazunori, "Ōtomo Sōrin kankei jinbutsu jiten" [Biographical dictionary of people connected with Ōtomo Sōrin], in Ōtomo Sōrin no subete (1986), 216. According to the Bekki keizu [Genealogy of the Bekki], Taketa-shi bōshi shūshū monjo [Taketa City anonymous clan document collection], Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives, doc. 97-006-0014, 16.2 cm. x 570.8 cm shown in Figure 10, Dōsetsu's mother came from the Usuki family. As with many of these records, it contains apparent mistakes or inconsistencies. In this case, the date he took the tonsure here (1569) is several years later than the documentary evidence suggests. The name of his grandfather; Usuki Etsū no Kami Akisumi, does not exist in any records, and it appears to be a miscopying of a rather well-known figure within the warrior band, Usuki Etsū no Kami Akihaya, but this lineage seems highly unlikely.
of 14. He had his coming of age ceremony, and upon receiving the "aki" character from Sōrin's father, Ōtomo Yoshiaki, he took the name Akitsura. After this, documents referred to him as "the military governor of Hōki province (Hōki no kami)." His career was nearly ended at this point, when he was struck by lightning and lost the use of his legs.397 Within a warrior society that valued martial valor, and considering the fact that he had succeeded to the headship of the family at such a young age without battlefield experience, he faced enormous difficulties.

397 For Sonjirō, see Ibid. Fukukawa Kazunori claims Dōsetsu's childhood name was Hachimanmaru. See "Ōtomo Sōrin kankei jinbutsu jiten" (1986), 216. On the lightning strike, see Ōtomo kōhaiki [Record of the rise and fall of the Ōtomo clan], OKK 1: 162.
By the time that Sōrin was born in 1530, Dōsetsu had already distinguished himself in battle, though. Directing his troops from a palanquin, he participated in several campaigns. In the early years of Sōrin's reign, Dōsetsu rose to prominence as an enforcer of sorts, especially for politically sensitive operations. After Sōrin's father was assassinated and the heir (Sōrin's half-brother) was killed in the second month of 1550, Sōrin took over the Ōtomo clan, and he began his rule by hunting down the men who had brought him to power. In a letter Sōrin sent a month later to his uncle, who was in charge of neighboring Higo province, Sōrin said that the "evil deeds of the Nyūta father and son [Chikakado and Chikazane]" were to blame for his father's death. He stated that he had sent out forces to punish them, "but they were unsuccessful on the first day of the third month, and regrettably they [the Nyūta] remain alive." He claimed that he did not care if it took a long time, because he had "resolved that the anger of my father's spirit must be quieted." The letter then turned to rather troubling rumors that had reached Sōrin's ears about activities in Higo province. He heard that the provincial warriors (kokujin) had gathered at Kumamoto castle (the administrative capital of the province), and that they were in league with the Nyūta. He claimed that he was "shocked to hear this," and the implication in the letter was that he held his uncle accountable for the coup as well. He ended the letter by asking for his uncle's aid in killing the Nyūta rebels.398 Sōrin's fears about sympathizers in Higo were well-founded. Nyūta's lands were near the border with Higo, his uncle had had a falling out with Sōrin's father in the past, and so may have thought the power vacuum gave him more of a claim

398 Tawara monjo [Documents of the Tawara] (Tenbun 19 (1550))/3/9 Ōtomo Yoshishige shojō, ZTHO 19: 30–31, doc. 27.
to the Ōtomo lands than Sōrin, who had earlier lost his position as heir to his half-brother (the one who was killed in the coup along with Sōrin's father).

Sōrin chose Dōsetsu to handle the delicate matter of cleaning up the bloody succession. A few days after Sōrin wrote the letter to his uncle, Dōsetsu's forces captured and killed Nyūta Chikazane. In 1554, Dōsetsu would also be responsible for assassinating Sōrin's uncle, even after his uncle had cut off his hair, taken Buddhist vows with the name Sōgin in order to escape his fate, much like some of the figures we saw trying to survive by entering Buddhist temples in Chapter Two of this dissertation. Clearly, Sōrin held Dōsetsu in close confidence and relied on his discretion. Around this time, Dōsetsu passed headship of the Bekki family to his son, Shigetsura, but remained active in the warrior band. Three years later, in the summer of 1557, he killed Akizuki Fumitane as well, and as we will see below, this act precipitated the crisis twenty years later that Dōsetsu is writing about in his admonition.

In 1561 Dōsetsu deployed his forces to Moji castle to defend against incursions by the Mōri clan and their allies into northern Kyūshū. It was around this time that he joined the council of elders (kahanshū) in 1561/3, and held that position for a decade. As the regional administrator (hōbun) for Chikugo province, he was in charge of the northern borders of the Ōtomo domain,

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399 Dōsetsu pursued Nyūta Chikazane (?–1550), Chikazane fled to Higo province to seek aid from his father-in-law, Aso Koretoyo, but Dōsetsu ordered Koretoyo to execute him. See Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents], Ōtomo nikai kuzure no hen [The second-floor palace incident], ZTHO 19: 3, doc. 5. Kikuchi Yoshitake (dates unknown), like Sōrin's brother Yoshinaga, took over another family to maintain the military organization as a corporate unit, and gain the territories associated with that name; in this case, the military governorship of Higo province. His death was a major success for Sōrin, because it finally gained him control over his western border, and brought him access to several other provinces. On his death, see Ibid., Kikuchi Yoshitake no shi [The death of Kikuchi Yoshitake], ZTHO 19: 283–284, doc. 473.

400 Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents], Akizuki Fumitane jisatsu, ZTHO 20: 131–132, doc. 242. For a letter from Dōsetsu recognizing the military service of a retainer in the battle, see Yufu monjo [Documents of the Yufu] (Kōji 3 (1554)), Bekki Akitsura kanjō [Letter of gratitude from Bekki Akitsura], ZTHO 20: 133, doc. 245.
and in this strategic location, he fought frequently against enemies in this region. Although he also held duties of some kind at the records office for Ōno gun (Ōno gun shohōshō kirokujo), the details are unclear, and he turned these over to his son along with headship of the Bekki house in 1554.

As we saw earlier in the dissertation (see Chapter Four), in the ninth month of 1562, Dōsetsu joined with other warriors at Usa shrine to pray for battlefield success.⁴⁰¹ Perhaps in that same year, following battlefield defeats and an especially difficult military campaign in the north, Sōrin became a Buddhist initiate. Dōsetsu followed suit, and the documents began signaling his Buddhist commitment with names like Hōki Nyūdō (the Hōki Buddhist novice), Rinhakken, and Dōsetsu.⁴⁰² In the first chapter of this dissertation, we saw that this may have occurred in 1562, but according to one genealogy for the Bekki clan (see Figure 10), it happened in 1569.

For the rest of the 1560s, Dōsetsu fought to solidify the Ōtomo position in the north. In 1567, he was dispatched to Chikuzen province in order to deal with a rebellion led by Akizuki

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⁴⁰¹ Tachibana-ke monjo [Tachibana house documents], Eiroku 5 (1562)/9/13 Ōtomo kahanshū rensho kishōmon utsushi [Copy of oath with multiple signatures of the Ōtomo house ruling council], ZTHO 21: 114–115, doc. 223; OSS 3: 14, doc. 792.

⁴⁰² It is unclear precisely when Dōsetsu himself took the tonsure. The genealogical record in Figure 10 shows Dōsetsu taking the tonsure in 1569. In the published transcription by Takita Manabu of a document from 1562, he shows the document signed by "Dōsetsu," (Eiroku 5 (1562))/7/7 Bekki Dōsetsu shojob [Document from Bekki Dōsetsu], ZTHO 21: 101, doc. 203. However, this was probably a mistake, as later editors with direct access to the documents transcribed it as "Akitsura" (see Chapter One of this dissertation). An unpublished manuscript of "secret teachings" shows him as an initiate as early as 1559. Nevertheless, scholars usually point to this year as the one for his name change. For an even earlier possibility, see Ueda-ke monjo [Ueda house documents], Eiroku 2 (1559)/2/ fortunate day Hidensho (heihō hijutsu ni tsuki) [Secret teachings (on secret techniques for war)], Ōita Prefecture Ancient Sages Historical Archives (Ōita Kenritsu Sentetsu Shiryōkan), doc. 08-005, 19.4 cm x 1068.7 cm.
Tanezane, who became a dangerous rallying point for discontented retainers. With support from the Mōri clan, Tanezane was able to withstand Dōsetsu's assault. On 1567/7/7 Dōsetsu took Hōman castle, and in 1568 Sōrin sent him to attack Tachibana Akitoshi, another retainer who had joined Tanezane's uprising. The military campaign lasted for many months; 1569 saw him still fighting the Mōri forces in the area around Tachibana castle, and on 5/18 he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Mōri forces. The gunshot wounds mentioned in the battlefield reports for that day testify to the changing conditions of warfare and the growing influence of firearms.

In order to change the course of the war, Sōrin devised a cunning scheme that would shift Mōri attention away from Kysuhu. For many years, he had sheltered a member of the Ōuchi clan who had a claim to the territory that the Mōri now controlled. He took this opportunity to send him to Yamaguchi in order to reclaim the Ōuchi house. Saying a prayer before the deities at Usa (much as we saw Sōrin's brother, Yoshinaga, do in Chapter Three before he left the Ōtomo

403 Sōrin was aware of the machinations behind the scenes, and in a letter to Tawara Chikahiro, whose daughter was married to Tanezane, he sought to confirm his loyalty. As we will see later in this chapter with Dōsetsu's remonstration, the same family dynamic remained a threat for more than a decade until Sōrin killed Chikahiro. See Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Eiroku 10 (1567))/10/ last day of the month, Ōtomo Sōrin shōjū utushi [Copy of letter from Ōtomo Sōrin], OSS 3: 191–192, doc. 1032.

404 Just prior to this, the Mōri had landed troops in northern Kyūshū and attempted to link up with the former Ōtomo retainer Takahashi Akitane (1529–1579) at Hōman castle in Chikuzen province. Mōri Motonari (1497–1571) put Kikkawa Motoharu (1530–1586) and Kobayakawa Takakage (1533–1597) in charge of the forces, and they began by taking Mitake castle, which was held by the Nagano clan. In the third month of 1569 they advanced from there to Tachibana castle and captured it as well. For a fascinating look at how the Ōtomo defenders handled this "defeat" at Tachibana castle on 5/18, and negotiated with the Mōri forces for its return when the fortunes of war changed, see Yamada Kuniaki, "Chikuzen Tachibanajō no kaijō" [The opening of Tachibana castle in Chikuzen], Sengokushi kenkyū [Research on the Warring States period] 57 (February 2009): 33–34.

405 For records of the battle, wounds received, and heads taken by both sides, see ZTHO: 22, 164–180, docs. 369–382.

406 Ōuchi Teruhiro (1520–1569) fled to Bungo after his father, Ōuchi Takahiro (?–?) rebelled against his brother, Ōuchi Yoshiuki (1477–1529). He succeeded in setting up a base in Yamaguchi, from which the Ōuchi had traditionally ruled, and so he probably managed to gain some support from former Ōuchi retainers, but his "rule" was short-lived. The main result of his effort was to draw the Mōri out of northern Kyūshū, give the Ōtomo the opportunity to establish control over it, and thereby usher in a period of Ōtomo dominance on the island. For Sōrin's announcements that he had dispatched Teruhiro by sea to Yamaguchi, see ZTHO: 22, 212–215, docs. 454–460.
lands to take up headship of the clan) the would-be leader left for the mainland.407 The Mōri shifted their resources away from northern Kyūshū in order to overthrow the Ōuchi clan (for a second time), and Tachibana castle was regained. When the castellan there suddenly died, Dōsetsu had to take his place, and became head of the Tachibana clan in 1571.408

The north became a permanent home for Dōsetsu, and at some point, perhaps because he could no longer fulfill his duties as an advisor in Bungo province, he left the council of elders.409 His eldest son had already taken over the Bekki family in 1554, and so he had no son to succeed him in the Tachibana line. In 1575/5 he made his daughter Genchiyo (1569–1602) his heir, then adopted the son of a comrade in arms who controlled nearby Hōman and Iwaya castles, and married him to his young daughter in order to preserve the family line.410 Genchiyo in this scenario retained considerable power for a woman of this period, and technically speaking, after Dōsetsu's death she would become the castellan of Tachibana castle, and her husband would only

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407 *Nagahiro monjo* [Documents of the Nagahiro] (Eiroku 12 (1569))/9/11 Ōuchi Teruhiro kanju reijō [Letter of gratitude from Ōuchi Teruhiro for prayer and sutra readings], ZTHO 22: 213, doc. 455.

408 Yoshihiro Akitada was the castellan of Tachibana castle, but the precise date of his death is unclear. The Yoshihiro genealogical records claim he died in battle in Tenshō 6 (1578)/11/11 but a document dated to Genki 2 (1571)/6/8 suggests otherwise. See *Yoshihiro Shigenobu-shi monjo* [Documents of Yoshihiro Shigenobu] (Genki 2 (1571)/6/8 Ōtomo Sōrin shojo [Document from Ōtomo Sōrin], ZTHO 23, 51, doc. 130, esp. the editorial comments following it. The editors of more recent source collections follow this dating as well. See also *Yoshihiro monjo* [Documents of the Yoshihiro] (Genki 2 (1571)/6/8 Ōtomo Sōrin shojo [Document from Ōtomo Sōrin], OSS 4: 1440, doc. 223.

409 At this time, one of the retainers, Saeki Korenori (?–1578), who had left the domain for more than a decade returned to take Dōsetsu's place on the council. See *Shiga Chikanaga-shi monjo* [Documents of Shiga Chikanaga] (Eiroku 12 (1569))/3/27 Ōtomo kahanshū renshojo [Document with multiple signatures of the Ōtomo house ruling council], ZTHO 22: 144, doc. 329. He demonstrated his loyalty to the Ōtomo by being the first to come to the aid of Sōrin's father when he was attacked in the coup that brought Sōrin to power in 1550. He would die in 1578 in Hyūga, and the loss of a member of the council of elders, especially one with such a record of service, was surely one reason that Dōsetsu was concerned enough to write his remonstrance.

410 Dōsetsu's daughter, Genchiyo, married Takahashi Shigetane's (1548–1586) son, Takahashi Munetora (?–1642; more commonly known as Muneshige). Munetora became Dōsetsu's adopted son, and carried the line into the early modern period. Fortunately, it is due to the Tachibana's survival, many of the documents related to the Ōtomo remain extant.
be the deputy under her. In a letter signed by both Sōrin and Yoshimune, the two leaders guaranteed her Dōsetsu's inheritance; this was a rare instance of a daughter receiving the same treatment as a son would, and it suggests the high esteem the Ōtomo had for Dōsetsu. After Yoshimune's defeat in 1578/12 against the Shimazu in northern Hyūga province, rebellions broke out in Chikuzen, and Dōsetsu's final years would be spent desperately fighting off far more powerful and better-organized enemies.

The remonstration from Dōsetsu came in the final years of a long, and distinguished military career. He had already established the succession of his house, and felt that he could speak freely. In part, his frankness came from his position as a member of the old guard, but it also arose from the hope that he could stem the tide of anti-Ōtomo sentiment and ensure the longevity of his clan after his death. With his remonstration, he was able to persuade his fellow retainers to mobilize against Tawara Chikatsura, but his fortunes declined with the rise of his rival, Ryūzōji Takanobu, in the 1580s. In 1584, Dōsetsu attempted to retake Chikugo province from Takanobu, but failed. The next year, he tried again, and during the campaign, he died of illness on 1585/9/11 near Kōrasan at the age of 71.

I believe that it was not so much Sōrin's Christianity, but a lack of commitment from his fellow warriors to the cause that worried Dōsetsu in 1580. He placed the blame firmly on the advisors, because they did not speak out for the good of the clan, and they had made themselves the objects of ridicule. Starting in the first article of his remonstration, he said that since the death of two longtime advisors, Sōkan and Akihaya, conditions in Bungo had not gone in

411  Tachibana monjo [Documents of the Tachibana] (Tenshō 3 (1575))/6/18 Ōtomo Yoshimune / Sōrin renshōjō [Letter jointly issued by Ōtomo Yoshimune and Sōrin], OSS: 5, 15, doc. 1630.
accordance with proper principles, and the rulers had entered into wars of convenience. As a result, heaven's punishment had prevented the Ōtomo from winning battles in recent years, they had lost respect from outsiders, and people in the province were suffering. He had heard that in neighboring provinces, the children shooting dogs for sport ridiculed the Ōtomo by pretending the dogs were Bungo warriors.

From Dōsetsu's perspective, becoming the laughing stock of those in neighboring provinces invited attacks from without and from within the domain. This concern highlights the fact that rumors carried great weight, and warriors took slander seriously in the premodern period. It is telling that the article begins by mentioning the loss of two retainers: Yoshioka Sōkan and Usuki Akihaya. One of the most significant challenges the Ōtomo faced is that they had to take the administrative apparatus they had employed for hundreds of years to rule a relatively small geographical area and scale that up to meet the demands of a sprawling new domain, while also dealing with innovative upstarts like the Mōri clan to the north, the Shimazu to the south, and the Ryūzōji to the west. However, Sōrin had never managed to develop a way to identify and promote men of talent into his rapidly expanding holdings, and this produced

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412 Dōsetsu's language: "Sōkan, Akihaya, shikyo no igo.... kikoku onyōtei, mudō no mi.... oboshimeshi tatate sōrō onkyūsen" (宗祇、鑑遂、死去之夜後.... 貴国御様体、無道而已.... 被思召立候御弓矢).

413 Dōsetsu's language: "tenbatsu ni yori, kinnen oboshimeshitare sōrō onkyūsen, onshōri naki no gi ni sōrō.... ongaibun ushinaware.... kekkyoku kikoku no onnangi ni makarinari sōrō to" (依天罰、近年、被思召立候御弓矢、無御勝利之儀候... 被矢御外間.... 結局、貴国之御難儀二、罷成候與).

414 Dōsetsu's language: "inu utsu warabe made mo, azakeri mōsu no yoshi ni sōrō" (犬打童迄も、嘲申之由候). See Chapter Three for more about this practice of dog-shooting.

problems long before Yoshimune took charge of the clan. In 1571, Sōrin lost Yoshihiro Akitada, who had managed diplomacy for the clan for most of Sōrin's career. In 1572, he lost Yoshioka Sōkan, who had been on the ruling council for nearly Sōrin's entire life. Sōrin still had Dōsetsu from among the old guard, but Dōsetsu could no longer advise him or his son. He was stationed far away on the north-western border overseeing Chikugo and Chikuzen provinces, and the lines of communication were unreliable. In short, the Ōtomo lacked experienced advisors to help Yoshimune when Sōrin handed power over to him.

To make matters worse, Sōrin had serious health issues with which he had to contend. We do not know the details, but scattered references throughout his life suggest that he had a weak constitution, and was prone to sickness. In 1574, he seems to have taken ill again and he wrote to the Hakata merchant Shimai Sōshitsu about his condition in order to request something called "goōen" from him.\footnote{Shimai monjo [Documents of the Shimai] (Tenshō 2 (1574))/11/17 Ōtomo Sōrin shojō [Document from Ōtomo Sōin], OSS: 4, 298–299, doc. 1547. The practice of extracting Goō from cattle stretches back at least to the eleventh-century Sakeiki [Diary of Minamoto no Tsuneyori]. For this claim, see Amino Yoshihiko, Rekishi wo kangaeru hinto [Hints for thinking about history] (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2001), 127. It was also something that came to the attention of the Jesuits, who recorded it in the 1603 Vocabulario da Lingoa de Japam com a declaração em Portugues, feito por alguns Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesu [Vocabulary of the language of Japan with definitions in Portuguese produced by some fathers and brothers of the Society of Jesus] (Nagasaki 1603) under the heading of Gouō.} Goō is interesting in the context of this dissertation because of its connection to oaths (kishōmon; also known as Goō hōin). One theory has it that goō not only referred to an efficacious medicine extracted from cattle (gallstones), but was associated with buddhas or bodhisattvas (bosatsu). Goō was supposedly mixed into the red ink for the stamp, presumably imbuing the power of the deities into the paper as well.\footnote{Shimazu Norifumi, "Gofu to kamidana" [Talismans and altars for the gods], in Nihon no gofu bunka [The talismanic culture in Japan] (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 2010), 50.} Sōrin was looking for the medicinal and spiritual benefits he could gain from the substance and, because occasions when
he signified his religious commitments (as we saw in previous chapters) were often tied to his health issues, we can speculate that he was unable to find relief from the goō. We can speculate that his health issues may have contributed to his conversion to Christianity a few years later. Certainly, the hope for good health in this life and salvation in the next seems at least as plausible as his desire for trade privileges.

Around the time of Sōrin's illness, his fifteen-year-old son was writing to retainers granting them the use of a character from his name, confirming land holdings, and taking receipt of the annual gifts for the harvest ritual (hassaku). Yoshimune was effectively taking over control of the domain, and at the time he had Usuki Akihaya, Tawara Chikakata, Saeki Korenori (?–1578), Shiga Chikanori (?–1587), and Kutami Akiyasu (1502–1586) on the ruling council. Chikakata's name is important to note. He was Yoshimune's uncle, his mother's brother, a descendant of the Nada shrine family, and the administrator of shrines and temples in the Ōtomo domain. Although she did not sit on the ruling council, Yoshimune's mother (Jezebel) held considerable sway, as she was Chikakata's sister, and continued to live in the castle with Yoshimune even after separating from Sōrin. Chikakata's familial and organizational foundation enabled him to wield tremendous power in the domain, and together with Jezebel, the two represented the traditional system focused on the incorporation of temples and shrines into the retainer band. One of the reasons why this dissertation does not carry Ōtomo Sōrin's name in the title is because it is misleading to think that the warrior band was directed by one man alone. As we have seen in previous chapters, and we see here with Sōrin's attempt to carve out a Christian
kingdom independent of the organization, the interactions among constituent members constituted the clan, and any breakdown of cohesion placed the entire structure in jeopardy.

Yoshimune encountered difficulties immediately after he began taking over for his father. The disruption of central authority in 1573 when Oda Nobunaga drove the shogun from the capital meant that his claim to rule based on his appointments as military governors within the Ashikaga bakufu rested on shaky foundations, and so he was in more need than ever of a core group of warriors who could enforce his will. In that same year, Usuki Akihaya died, depriving the ruling council of one of its most experienced members. Kutami Akiyasu, for example, had only just joined the council.

Dōsetsu heaped praise upon Yoshimune throughout his remonstrance and stressed that the Ōtomo advisors needed to properly guide him. He wrote that he heard that even though Yoshimune was young, he had shown benevolence. Dōsetsu believed he would have a long and glorious reign, and that was something to celebrate.418 He stressed to the southern warriors that they needed to admonish their lord, and keep him from taking any unreasonable actions.419 If they failed to do this, he warned that others would hear and Yoshimune's reputation would turn bad, the Ōtomo domain would come to an end, and if they thought only of themselves in a

418 Dōsetsu's language; "Yoshimune sama onkoto, waka jōrō sama ni te, goza sōrōedomo, maiji, goseidō, masumasu, gojihi goza sōrō yoshi, senshūbanzai, medetaku sōrō" (義経様御事、若上閣様二面、御座候へ共、毎事、御政道、倍、御慈悲御座候由、承及、千秋萬歳、目出度候).

419 Dōsetsu's language; "iyoiyo, ono ono, isame onmōshi narare, isasaka mo, hidō no gi" (義、各、諫被成御中、聊も、非道之儀).
cowardly manner (by not risking punishment for admonishing Yoshimune), then everything both public and private would be lost.420

Historical narratives have laid the blame for the decline of the Ōtomo clan at the feet of Sōrin or his son, and Dōsetsu's assessment stands in stark contrast to these interpretations.421 It is possible that Dōsetsu did fault the two leaders—Sōrin for his zealous support of Christianity and Yoshimune for his incompetence—and his criticism of the advisors was a socially acceptable way of admonishing his lord. However, as he states in the preamble, he did not have much longer to live, and nothing to lose by speaking frankly about the crisis. Moreover, as the tone of the summary translations suggests, he was not one to mince words, he had high expectations for the performance of duties, and he emphasized the role of the advisor as someone to speak truthfully to the ruler. Given his personality, and his circumstances, it seems likely that he truly did fault the advisors for the missteps of the ruler. Perhaps this view of the clan as a corporate entity run primarily by advisors is a more accurate portrayal than our modern tendency to focus on the individuals at the top.

Dōsetsu was troubled by the clan's loss of reputation due to the ineffectiveness of advisors in recent years not just because he cherished "warrior ideals," but for more practical reasons. Their poor performance was fueling discontent, which drained the resources of the domain in pointless warfare. At the beginning of his remonstrance, he reported that Akizuki

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420 Dōsetsu's language; "gogai bun akuji ni goza ni sōrōeba, onkokka wa shidai ni nari, ono ono on'ie onmi no mae sae, tsutsuganaku goza sōrō mono to, onhikyō kamaere sōrōeba, hikkyō, kore kōshi, onkiko wo ushinawarubeaki made ni sōrō" (御外間悪事ニ御座候候者ニ御国家者、成次第、各御家御身ノ前さへ、無能御座候者と、被挫御比興候てハ、畢竟、公私之、可被失御鬼箇迄ニ候).

421 Toyama Mikio recognizes that Sōrin is not the object of criticism, but maintains that Dōsetsu directed his criticism at Yoshimune and his top retainers. See, for example, Toyama Mikio, Ōtomo Sōrin (1975), 62.
Tanezane had been sending around a letter consisting of ten articles in which he laid out the case against the Ōtomo as unprincipled rulers. Later, in the longest article in the remonstration, he focused on the rebellion emerging under Tawara Chikatsura. Dōsetsu said that it was distressing to hear that there was criticism of the Ōtomo in both Kyoto and Bungo. He urged them to move quickly and decisively, because the Ryūzōji and Tawara were working in concert with the Akizuki. Dōsetsu continued at length about Akizuki Tanezane, even going so far as to mention specific instances he had heard of involving collusion facilitated by a retainer named Tsuzaki Zenhyōe Nyūdō under Tawara Chikatsura, and two named Ueno Shirō Hyōe and Eri Kuranosuke under Tanezane.

Because of the detail that Dōsetsu went into about the ties between Akizuki Tanezane and Tawara Chikatsura, we can surmise that his primary motivation for writing this remonstrance was his desire to move the warriors to the north of Bungo province to deal with the rebellion Tanezane instigated. While the southern warriors were battling in the south in senseless wars, Dōsetsu was struggling to defeat Tanezane, who was receiving aid from the powerful Mōri clan. In addition, Tanezane was reaching out to other forces in northern Kyūshū like the Ryūzōji and

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422 Dōsetsu's language; "Akizuki atari yori wa, onmudō no jō, jūkajō amari, kakitachi sōrōte, kinkoku ni fure mawari sōrō yoshi" (秋月月刊者、御無道之条数、千葉重、書立候而，近国、触階之由).

423 Dōsetsu's language; "tohi no gaibun, taho no hihan, kuchioshiku, munen no itari ni sōro" (都鄙之外聞、他方之批判、口惜、無念之至候).

424 Dōsetsu's language; "Akizuki, Ryūzōji, mōshi danji, Chikatsura ni itari, kasei to gō shi, Tanezane, Takanobu, ima hodo ichimi ni itashi" (秋月、竜造寺、申談、至親賢、号加勢、種実、隆信、今程致一味候).

425 Dōsetsu's language; "Chikatsura hikan Tsuzaki Zenhyōe Nyūdō, nennai, tsukisemari, mata kainen ni itattemo, tabitabi, Akizuki he makarikoshi... Akizuki yori mo, Ueno Shirō Hyōe, Eri Kuranosuke to mōsu mono nado, koro, setusetsu, Chikatsura he, sachikosu no yoshi sōrō jō" (親貫被官津崎善兵衛入道、年内、月迫、又改年二至而も、度々、秋月へ罷越... 徒秋月も、上野四朗兵衛、江利内蔵助與申者等、頃、節々、親貫へ、差越之由候条).
Tawara, and using the mismanagement of the Ōtomo clan to sow dissent. If successful, the combined forces of the three groups would have broken through Dōsetsu's defense in the north and left the rest of the domain open to assaults. It was imperative in his mind for the southern warriors to deal quickly with Tawara in the north so that Dōsetsu could fend off the Ryūzōji and Akizuki forces.

The trouble in the south began with one of the most innovative experiences in governance in Japanese history. Imagine building a brand new community—and constructing it however you would like. Of course, you would have to deal with straightforward material concerns: naming the place, obtaining land for the venture, and deciding what kinds of structures you want to build. However, you would also have to address the organizational concerns as well: regulating the members of the community, overseeing religious institutions, and administering justice. These abstract issues are some of the thorniest ones to address, and leaders during Japan's Warring States Period developed radical solutions. In a premodern society that was neither "decent" nor "just," we would expect bloody solutions to be common, and so the paroxysms of violence that we have seen thus far in the dissertation might seem to confirm that Japan was in a state of lawlessness. Yet, even though sixteenth-century residents of the Japanese archipelago recognized this reality, and they did not share some of the liberal democratic assumptions of political theorists today, apparently accepting a certain level of bloodshed, they did not do so

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426 Some of these innovations have been described as "control through dependence," a process that the Ōtomo attempted (with varying degrees of success) to employ in their warrior band. See John Owen Haley, Authority without Power: Law and the Japanese Paradox (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 45.

unconditionally, especially when the community being proposed challenged traditional religious sentiments. It was a state of profound disorder, but not one of utter lawlessness, and certain rules obtained, even in war.\footnote{Thomas Conlan argues a similar point about unwritten rules and conventions operating for earlier centuries of disorder in State of War: The Violent Order of Fourteenth-Century Japan (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 194–196.}

Ōtomo Sōrin struggled with these abstract issues of community management in 1578 when he planned a radical, new kind of Christian kingdom in Kyūshū. He located a desirable site in a neighboring province a few days march from his base in Bungo province, but there were hostile military forces, Buddhist temples, and shrines for the local gods that stood in his way. His son cleared the land physically and spiritually by sending Ōtomo forces into the area to remove enemy forces, dismantle religious structures, and dispose of their idols. Sōrin moved there, began work immediately on a church, and he apparently aimed to have the area run according to Western traditions. It is not clear what he had in mind, though, because within a few months the Ōtomo forces were routed in a devastating battle, and he had to retreat back to Bungo in order to try again to establish a less ambitious Christian kingdom at Tsukumi (located south of Usuki in Bungo Province). What is important to note here is that the way he went about establishing his community through attacks on traditional religious institutions that would haunt his clan for the rest of his career. His failed religious project became associated with the heavy losses suffered by the military organization. It turned into a rallying point for discontented retainers in his domain and longtime enemies outside of it.

The destruction of temple and shrine paraphernalia that Dōsetsu mentioned occurred in the province of Hyūga when the Ōtomo invaded it two years before Dōsetsu wrote the letter.
What were the Ōtomo doing there in the first place? Sōrin had already converted to Christianity, divorced his second wife, moved out of the castle into a nearby residence, and handed over the reins of power to his son. Beset by illness, his son might have expected him to carry out the rest of his days as a kind of elder statesman. Instead, Sōrin married a third wife, who converted to Christianity, and he continued to influence policy in the domain by using Ōtomo forces to help establish his own independent kingdom.

Up until the point that Sōrin retired and handed control of the clan to his son (probably around 1573), he held appointments as military governor for six provinces, controlled most of Kyūshū and, with his wealth and access to Portuguese traders, he arguably looked to contemporaries to be one of the most powerful rulers in the Japanese archipelago; the Jesuits called him the "king of Bungo" (Rey de Bungo). Thus, in historical narratives over the last four centuries, he has generally received most of the credit for the success the Ōtomo enjoyed, and his son has received blame for wasting his inheritance through incompetence and cowardice. However, the transfer of control from father to son reveals unresolved tensions in the system that began with the inability to staff the administration with capable warriors, and continued through his retirement with his goals, which were at odds with the obligations Yoshimune had as a ruler.

Debilitating problems within the Ōtomo military organization began to surface when conditions in the province of Hyūga reached a degree of disarray in the 1570s that demanded some kind of intervention by the Ōtomo. Itō Yoshisuke was an Ōtomo ally in Hyūga who had been attempting in recent years to expand out from his base in Sadowara (modern-day Miyazaki City) and, through the maintenance of as many as 48 castles, take control of the province. This
brought him into contact with the Shimazu to his southwest and he suffered a major defeat at their hands in 1577. Because Sōrin's niece had married Itō Yoshisuke's son, when the Shimazu drove Yoshisuke out of Hyūga and forced him to make a desperate flight to Bungo, Yoshisuke could plead for aid out of shared military interests and a family connection. The most important reason for supporting the Itō, was that one of the Ōtomo's retainers in Hyūga, the Tsuchimochi clan, had collaborated with the Shimazu in their attack on the Itō, so the Ōtomo could further justify a military campaign in the region as punishment of a disloyal retainer. On 1577/12/25, the Ōtomo had his family reside in a monastery located close to the Ōtomo's base of operations in Usuki. Interestingly, this area of southern Bungo Province was populated by a large Christian population, and it may have been here that the Itō were first exposed to Christianity. They would later convert, and the clan would survive into the early-modern period as one of the many Christian lords (approximately 14) that existed at the beginning of the Tokugawa regime.

Surrounded by powerful neighbors like the Ōtomo and Itō families, the Tsuchimochi had long struggled to maintain control over their territory. As the Itō family to their south grew in

429 By this time, Itō Yoshisuke's son, Itō Yoshimasu had died, and left Sōrin's niece a widow. Shimazu Tadahira reports driving Itō out of Hyūga on 1577/12/19. See Sagara-ke monjo [Sagara house documents] (Tenshō 5 (1577))/12/19 Shimazu Tadahira (Yoshihiro) shōjō [Document from Shimazu Tadahira (Yoshihiro)] ZTHO 23: 251, doc. 516.

430 Yoshimune framed the invasion this way in his correspondence. See Kōno Nagaharu-shi monjo [Documents of Kōno Nagaharu] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/3/25 Ōtomo Yoshimune shōjō [Document from Ōtomo Yoshimune], ZTHO 24: 19, doc. 28.

431 Luís Fróis wrote this in a letter dated October 16, 1578. See INT 2: 383.

power over the centuries, they lost lands and by the sixteenth century they found their position even more tenuous, because the Itō had established a connection to the Ōtomo through marriage. The head of the family sent a daughter as hostage to Sōrin, perhaps in the hopes of signaling his loyalty. This type of human trafficking was a common practice throughout the archipelago at the time, because it enabled warrior aristocrats to gain leverage over their rivals, but in Bungo it also existed alongside a flourishing slave trade that affected other classes as well. The Shimazu put Chikanari's loyalty to the test in 1578 when they drove the Itō out of Hyūga, but left him untouched, perhaps as part of a strategy to sow doubt among the Ōtomo forces. Or, it may be that Chikanari had truly agreed to side with the Shimazu.

A seventeenth-century war tale says that Sōrin began the military campaign in Hyūga to punish the Tsuchimochi for turning traitor. According to the story, Chikanari sent a monk as a messenger to declare his loyalty to the Ōtomo and swore that he had not betrayed the clan. Sōrin took no heed, and imprisoned the monk. However, the monk escaped, and Ōtomo soldiers killed him when he caught up to him. This version of events is confirmed by the seventeenth-century compilers of the Ōtomo documents, who also attribute the invasion to Sōrin, and see the Tsuchimochi clan's betrayal as the reason for the invasion. If we step back from these

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433 *Saijiroku* [Record of western rule], in *OKK* 2: 589. Tsuchimochi Chikanari (?–1578) was the head of the Tsuchimochi clan at the time of the Ōtomo invasion.


435 *Ōtomo kōhaiki* [Record of the rise and fall of the Ōtomo Clan], in *OKK* 1: 274.

436 *Ōtomo-ke monjo roku* [Record of Ōtomo house documents], *ZTHO* 24: 1. For the record of the monk emissary, see *ZTHO* 24: 23, doc. 38.
historical narratives and look at the documentary evidence, we can see how they have unduly influenced interpretations of events made by later scholars.

Considering the state of affairs in Bungo, it is more likely that the invasion was a joint decision made with input from Sōrin, but controlled primarily by Yoshimune. In the third month of 1578, it was Yoshimune who consulted with his advisors before dispatching the forces, as he had already succeeded his father to headship by this time. Why does it matter who was "in charge"? In this case, Sōrin not only retired and took religious vows, but converted to Christianity. A commitment to the religion ostensibly required a rejection of religious institutions that bound his warrior band together, so it would have been difficult, if not impossible for him to directly rule such an expansive domain as a Christian. This is not to say that other warriors did not convert and continue ruling. The first "Christian" daimyō, Ōmura Sumitada, on the other side of the island in Sanjō castle (modern-day Ōmura-shi, Sanjō-chō, near Nagasaki-shi), achieved this elusive goal, but only through an ambiguous commitment to the new religion that scholars continue to debate to this day. As we will see below, even in the background, Sōrin was also unable to completely disengage from the traditional religious network.

Another reason that Sōrin shared management of the war was that he suffered from poor health, and this gave him an opportunity to conserve his strength, pass on his legacy of relationships to traditional religious institutions to his son, and focus on his personal salvation. One implication of this interpretation is that Sōrin was not, technically speaking, a "Christian daimyō," as he had already gone into retirement. The important thing to note is that even if we
accept the claims made in the Edo-period narratives for his involvement in this war, the documents show that Yoshimune was active in it as well.

Let us turn then to Yoshimune, who gathered 30,000 of his men at Umesakari along the southern border of the domain.\(^{437}\) This first campaign would afford him the chance to send a signal to other disgruntled retainers by making a show of suppressing the rebellion, and to install the Itō with a debt of gratitude to him. As seen earlier in this dissertation with the ascension of Ōuchi Yoshinaga and Ōtomo Sōrin, transitions of power during the sixteenth century typically involved violence and contumacious retainers. Yoshimune split his forces into seven units and, though historians have typically called the divided force disorganized and poorly led, the Ōtomo enjoyed significant successes early in the campaign.\(^{438}\)

The Ōtomo began and ended their initial incursion into Hyūga with a flurry of prayers by both Yoshimune and Sōrin to traditional cultic sites. On 2/1 Yoshimune asked Yusuhara shrine to fervently pray before the gods for his success in battle (shōgun kitō).\(^{439}\) A month later, on 3/9, he asked Kakusha shrine (an alternative name for Yusuhara shrine) for prayers offered on his behalf upon his departure for Hyūga Province.\(^{440}\) A few days after that, on 3/14 Sōrin (signing the

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\(^{437}\) For an order about the meeting point from Yoshimune to his ally, Mera Shirō, see Itō monjo [Documents of the Itō] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/3/28 Ōtomo Yoshimune shojo an [Draft of document from Ōtomo Yoshimune], BKS 7-1: 376, doc. 147. The estimate on the size of the army comes from the Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents], ZTHO 24: 22, doc. 37.

\(^{438}\) For the division of the army, see Ibid., doc. 37. Some of the generals included top retainers such as Saeki Sōten, Shiga Chikanori, Bekki Shigetsura, Takita Shigekane, and Tawara Jōnin.

\(^{439}\) Yusuhara Hachimangū monjo [Documents of Yusuhara Hachimangū Shrine] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/2/1 Ōtomo Yoshimune shōgun kitō iraijō [Document from Ōtomo Yoshimune requesting a prayer for military success], ZTHO 24, 2, doc. 3.

\(^{440}\) Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/3/9 Ōtomo Yoshimune bu'un chōkyō kigan iraijō [Document from Ōtomo Yoshimune requesting a prayer for long military success], ZTHO 24: 12, doc. 14.
document as Sanpizai) asked Kōrasan for prayers and sutra readings to be said on the occasion of Yoshimune's departure for battle. On 4/10, Yoshimune's forces captured Matsuo castle along with Tsuchimochi Chikanari, who later committed suicide. The Ōtomo completed their initial campaign by taking control of Shiomi, Hichiiya, and Kadokawa castle. Yoshimune left one of his retainers in charge of Matsuo castle and returned victorious to Bungo. On 5/13 Yoshimune wrote to Tenmangū shrine and thanked them for praying for his military victory, and the following day Sōrin wrote to them as well.

Christianity also shared the stage with national politics in the decision to invade Hyūga. The movements of the Ōtomo, Shimazu, and the Tsuchimochi, who were stuck in the middle between the two clans, did not occur in a vacuum. Local politics comprised one element of national strategies formulated by would-be hegemons struggling for control of the center. By this point in the century, most historical narratives have long since written the Ashikaga out of the story, with Oda Nobunaga as the upstart replacement who ended the Age of the Warring States by marching into Kyoto in 1568, or did so when he removed the puppet shogun from Kyoto in 1573 and took direct control of the country. In fact, the shogun Ashikaga Yoshiaki continued operating behind the scenes for the rest of his life, urging the Shimazu in the ninth month of 1578 to attack the Ōtomo from the south so that the Mōri could attack from the north in the first

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441 Ōtomo-ke monjo roku [Record of Ōtomo house documents] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/3/14 Sanpizai (Ōtomo Sōrin) kanju oyobi shinmotsu reijō [Letter of thanks from Sanpizai (Ōtomo Sōrin) for gifts and records of rites], ZTHO 24: 16, doc. 21.


443 Ōtorii monjo [Documents of the Ōtorii] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/5/13 Ōtomo Yoshimune shinmotsu reijō [Letter of thanks from Sanpizai (Ōtomo Sōrin) for gifts], ZTHO 24: 43, doc. 74, and (Tenshō 6 (1578))/5/14 Sanpizai (Ōtomo Sōrin) shinmotsu reijō [Letter of gratitude from Sanpizai (Ōtomo Sōrin) for gifts], ZTHO 24: 43, doc. 75.
month of 1579, link up with the Ryūzōji who were threatening Dōsetsu's position, and then take control of the island of Kyūshū. The Tsuchimochi found themselves caught in a power struggle between the Ōtomo and Shimazu, who were themselves proxies in a national conflict that pitted Oda Nobunaga against the Ashikaga bakufu.

In service to the shogun, and their own interests, the Shimazu stationed a force in one of Itō Yoshisuke's castles, Niishi. Yoshimune dispatched one of his own armies to take control of nearby Taka castle. The Ōtomo troops numbered more than 50,000, and the Shimazu had 10,000 less than that, so the local conflict that began as punishment for a rebellious retainer escalated into one of the largest battles that the island of Kyūshū had ever seen.

According to the Record of the Rise and Fall of the Ōtomo Clan, after his early success in Hyūga, Ōtomo Sōrin (not his son) sought more than simply punishment of Tsuchimochi, but aimed to conquer the entire island.

天正六年戊寅九月下旬に、大友左衛門督入道宗麟公、老中田原近江守親堅入道紹忍、田北相模守鎮周、朽網三河守鑑康入道宗総、吉岡三河守入道宗顕、志賀伊豫守親安入道道輝、並に軍配者石宗を召して仰出さるる。面々存の如く、我男力を以て九州を多分退治し、日州表も塩見、日知也、門河、此三ヶ城、又、山毛、田代の武士も皆相随ふと云へども、大隅、薩摩未だ其義なし。此両国を手に入るに於ては、九州の主とならん。

In the latter half of the ninth month of Tenshō 6 [1578], Lord Ōtomo Saemon no Suke Nyūdō Sōrin gathered Tawara Ōmi no Kami Chikakata Nyūdō Jōnin, Takita Sagami no Kami Shigekane, Kutami Mikawa no Kami Akiyasu Nyūdō Sōreki, Yoshioka Mikawa no Kami Nyūdō Sōkan, and Shiga Iyo no Kami Chikayasu Nyūdō Dōki from his council of elders, together with his strategist Usō. He said, "As each of you knows, our bravery has driven out our enemies from most of Kyūshū. Although we have taken the three castles of Shiomi, Hichi, and

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Kadokawa, and the warriors of the Yamake and Tashiro have all fallen in line, those in Ōsumi and Satsuma provinces have not yet done so. By bringing these two countries under my control I will become the ruler of Kyūshū.445

It attributes motivations to Sōrin that do not manifest themselves in the actual military campaign. The number of troops they used and their deployments suggest that they remained focused on Hyūga Province throughout 1578. Instead of returning to the capital of Funai, Yoshiume took up a position in Nozu in the south, and he apparently wanted to solidify his position or expand on his gains in Hyūga Province by sending more troops into the region. The problem with the first attack that went so well was that Yoshimune had no lands to offer as a reward for faithful military service.446 Facing opposition from his retainers for another un-profitable war, it looks like Sōrin stepped in to back up his son by handling more of the administrative duties.

In fact, though, Sōrin had interests of his own in Hyūga. Shortly after Yoshimune's victory in the province, he began preparing to lead 300 Christian troops by sea from Usuki to Mushika (modern-day Nobeoka City), and Yoshimune helped arrange this by ordering his retainers to strengthen their defenses in the region in advance of Sōrin (called Kyūan in the correspondence) entering the province.447 The Jesuits recorded that Sōrin departed with his new wife, Julia. On his boat, he had white damask emblazoned with a red cross to mark it, and he had many military flags created with crosses on them.448 Some scholars have suggested that Sōrin

445 Ōtomo kōhaiki [Record of the rise and fall of the Ōtomo Clan], in OKK 1: 310.

446 Akutagawa Tatsuo makes this point. See Bungo Ōtomo-shi [The Bungo Ōtomo clan], Sengokushi sōsho [Warring States Period history], Vol. 9 (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha, 1972), 200.

447 Hirabayashi monjo [Documents of the Hirabayashi] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/4/24 Ōtomo Yoshimune kanjō utsushi [Copy of a document of gratitude from Ōtomo Yoshimune], ZTHO 24: 31, doc. 54.

desired not to gain hegemony over Kyūshū, but to build an "ideal Christian kingdom" (Kirisutokyōteki risō kokka) there free from temples and shrines.\textsuperscript{449} In the words of Luís Fróis, he sought to create "a kingdom following the laws of God" (reyno a ley de Deos), where Western laws and customs would be followed (se regessem e governassem com as leys e costumes de Europa), and a Christian community would flourish to such a degree that word of it would reach all the way to Rome (naquelle reino de Fíunga huma christandade mui solida e que fosse nomeada athé dentro de Roma).\textsuperscript{450}

While Sōrin worked on his project, Yoshimune sent Tawara Jōnin with 43,000 troops by land into Hyūga. Yoshimune also made the decision to send a separate force through neighboring Higo Province in an attempt to enter it from the west. These troops were supposed to meet up with the Sagara clan forces in the region, advance to Taka castle in order to solidify control over Hyūga, and then (according to one source) go on to take control of Ōsumi and Satsuma province. It was an ambitious plan, but the troops never made it to Hyūga, and they were still encamped in neighboring Higo Province long after the defeat at Taka castle.\textsuperscript{451} Perhaps, if they had followed orders, the Ōtomo clan would have fared better in their Hyūga campaign, and we would be looking back on it as a brilliant tactical move. Looking objectively at the situation, without our knowledge of the ignominious outcome, the Ōtomo did not have inferior capabilities compared

\textsuperscript{449} For a persuasive argument that Sōrin sought to establish a "Christian kingdom" here, see Watanabe Sumio, "Ōtomo Sōrin to kirisutokyō teki risōkoku" [Ōtomo Sōrin and a Christian-style Ideal State], Shigaku ronsō [Review of historical studies] 11 (February 1980): 26–61.

\textsuperscript{450} HJ 3: 95, 38.

\textsuperscript{451} On plans to take over all of southern Kyūshū, see Sagara-ke monjo [Sagara house documents] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/11/1 Ōtomo Yoshimune shojo, ZTHO 24: 64, doc. 118. For the troops lingering in Higo after the defeat at Taka castle, see Shiga Shirō-shi monjo [Documents of Shiga Shirō] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/11/26 Ōtomo Yoshimune shojo, ZTHO 24: 69–70, doc. 128.
to their rivals at the time, but they did lack what we might now call "unit cohesion." Scholars have interpreted their slow progress through Higo as resistance to the Ōtomo policies, but it is unclear why they would have taken such drastic measures.

Despite a popular view of warriors from this period as eager to do battle to acquire lands, they had self-interest in mind, and were unlikely to fight beyond the borders of their lands unless they were both compelled and enticed to do so. They must have had little interest in waging a war for this territory. Under an untested ruler, it put them into an unnecessary, costly, and likely protracted conflict with the Satsuma forces. Of course, they may have also feared that their fighting for land would end in vain, with Ōtomo Sōrin using their gains to build a religious community in which they had no stake. Moreover, Yoshimune's second campaign also began to take on a Christian flavor. He sent inquiries to the Jesuits about matters of doctrine, and chose to depart together with his father for Hyūga on October 3 (the day before the feast day for Saint Francis of Assisi—St. Francis being the patron saint of his father, Francisco), and went with him by sea as far as Hoto island.452

On 1578/10/20 the Ōtomo forces under Tawara Jōnin surrounded Taka castle and they began a siege of the Shimazu forces isolated inside.453 The Shimazu gathered troops and traveled to Hyūga in order to relieve the besieged forces. This set the stage for a major battle there between tens of thousands of troops, and the Ōtomo were unprepared for such a response. The

452 INT 2: 403. On Yoshimune, see HJ 3: 38.

453 Yoshihiro monjo [Documents of the Yoshihiro] (Tenshō 6 (1578))/10/22 Ōtomo Sanpizai (Sōrin) shojō, ZTHO 24: 62–63, doc. 115. The Shimazu warrior Yamada Shinsuke (Arinobu) held the castle with 500 troops. Sōrin signed this letter as "Sanpizai," and as we saw in Chapters One and Three of this dissertation, this name probably referred to his three Christian vows.
Otomo carried out an attack on the relief forces on 11/12, but faced unexpectedly stiff resistance, and they lost several thousand troops including several of their top leaders. They broke ranks and fled the battlefield, and in the carnage that ensued as they attempted to cross the Mimigawa river to the north to escape, many thousands more were killed, drowned, or captured in a disastrous rout.

Yoshimune failed to achieve whatever he sought to gain from the military campaign, and Sōrin lost his Christian kingdom. How bad was the defeat for them? In modern-day English-language accounts we read that "Sorin lost the battle miserably," he lost it because "Sorin and the Jesuits provoked resistance from the Buddhist faithful," who were "not ready for a Christian kingdom," and the battle of Mimikawa represented a dead end for the Jesuit mission in Japan under the supervision of Francisco Cabral (1529–1609). It was, in short, "a complete failure."\footnote{Noriko Kotani, "Studies in Jesuit Art in Japan," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2010), 264–266.}

The Jesuit, Valignano, had this to write about the events in 1578.

*Casi lo mismo sucedió con el rey de Bungo, el cual siendo señor de cinco reinos, que tuvo muy pacíficos por más de treinta años, conquistando el sexto se hizo cristiano y con su conversión se movieron no solamente muchos caballeros y señores de sus reinos a oír pláticas del catecismo y hacer lo mismo, mas su hijo primogénito, que es el que ahora reina, con su mujer, oyeron todas las pláticas y se determinaron del todo a ser cristianos y pedían con instancia el bautismo, dilatando los Padres el dárselo hasta que se convirtiesen algunos más de los grandes para que no hubiese alguna revuelta en sus reinos, y bautizándose cada día mucho número de gente y prosiguiéndose el rey Francisco la guerra contra el reino de Hyūga, que conquistaba entrando por él con más de cincuenta mil hombres de guerra, y destruyendo todos los templos y monasteries de los bonzos que topaba, y entregándolos a los Padres que iban con él, clamando y predicando los bonzos públicamente que se había de perder con su ejército, y que había de venir grande castigo de los kami y hotoke sobre Bungo; y viviendo los Padres con muy ciertas esperanzas de que en breve se bautizarían todos sus reinos, fué*
nuestro Señor servido que diesen contra él los enemigos de tal manera que desbarataron su ejército, matándole más de veinte mil hombres, y entre ellos casi todos los señores y nobleza de Bungo. Y luego se levantaron muchos señores en todos los cinco reinos, no habiendo más de dos meses que era cristiano, teniendo todos los gentiles por cosa muy cierta que todo esto era castigo de los kami y hotoke, con que no solamente se resfriaron los que estaban para convertirse, mas ensañados los del reino de Bungo con la muerte de sus parientes e hijos, levantaron tan grande persecución contra los Padres y contra el mismo rey, que estuvieron por muchos meses como sentenciados a la muerte, esperando cada hora que los viniesen a matar.455

[Like the failure of his nephew in Tosa to spread Christianity] Almost the same thing happened with the King of Bungo, who ruled over five kingdoms, and maintained them in peace for more than thirty years. After conquering the sixth [kingdom], he became a Christian. Because of his conversion, not only were many knights moved to listen to talks about the catechism and follow his example, but also his firstborn son, the current ruler, along with his wife, heard all the talks and decided to become Christian, urgently requesting baptism. The Fathers delayed baptizing them until a few more key figures had converted, in order to avoid a revolt in the kingdom. Each day more people were baptized, while King Francisco continued to wage war, and conquered the kingdom of Hyūga, entering it with more than 50,000 warriors, destroying all the temples and monasteries that he encountered, and delivering them to the Fathers that accompanied him. The Buddhist monks preached and proclaimed publicly that the king's army would lose, and that a great punishment of the kami and hotoke would be visited upon Bungo. The Fathers had strong hopes that the kingdoms would soon be baptized, but instead the Lord was served by the victory of the enemy, who destroyed his [Sōrin's] army, killing more than 20,000 men, among them almost all the lords and nobles of Bungo. Then, many lords from the five kingdoms, who had been Christian for no more than two months, along with the Gentiles, who believed that all of this had come about as a punishment from the kami and hotoke, rose up. They became cold towards those who were preparing to convert, and those of Bungo who had lost relatives and sons became merciless. All rose up in such great persecution against the Fathers and the King himself that they [the Jesuits and Sōrin] remained as if under a sentence of death for many months, expecting that any hour the people might come to kill them.

In several respects, Valignano's account mirrors that found above in the passages of Dōsetsu's letter. According to him, Sōrin invaded the province of Hyūga with a huge force for the period, and in the course of the campaign, he destroyed Buddhist sites. The priests warned that the gods and buddhas would punish the Ōtomo, and when the Ōtomo lost, the non-Christians interpreted events that way. Of course, Valignano viewed matters differently, and attributed the defeat to the Lord's will. Interestingly, in the Jesuit view put forth here by Valignano, God picks sides in battles, and decides the victor, and just as in the case of the gods and buddhas, warriors have to compete for divine favor. This suggests the possibility that Sōrin patronized the Christian God because he wanted to monopolize the power of the deity, and as Chapter Three showed, he concluded from his defeat at the hands of the Shimazu that God was punishing him for his own personal failings, and this gave him the power to change his fortunes by re-committing to the Christian faith. Considering this behavior by the leader of the clan, it is no wonder that Dōsetsu expressed concern about the future of religious practice in the warrior band.

Yet, despite the dim view that modern scholarship and premodern observers have taken of the events, the Ōtomo clan survived, and Sōrin even went on to found another Christian kingdom at Tsukumi in Bungo province. The actual numbers lost may have had less to do with the fallout afterwards than the manner in which it happened. Yoshimune did not take to the battlefield, and directed activities from afar in Bungo province. Instead of involving himself with the campaign, Sōrin spent his time destroying temples and shrines, and trying to build a Christian kingdom. Perhaps most injurious of all to the Ōtomo's reputation, Sōrin heard news about the defeat at Taka castle, and rather than attempt to rally his troops and hold their positions in Hyūga
province, he fled in the night back to Bungo province, leaving the entire endeavor in total
disarray. In his first military campaign, Yoshimune had under-estimated the strength of the
enemy, and lost the core of his military organization. From this point on, he had to face the
daunting task of rebuilding his administration while fending off rebellion within the domain, and
attacks by the Shimazu and others from outside of it. He was no longer in a position to accede to
Oda Nobunaga's request, and so could not put pressure on the Mōri, which left Toyotomi
Hideyoshi unable to bring them under Nobunaga's control. With such high stakes, it is no wonder
that Dōsetsu criticized the southern warriors for allowing the situation to become so dire.

Shortly after the Ōtomo defeat at Taka castle in the southeast, Ryūzōji Takanobu began
preparing for an attack in the northwest on Dōsetsu's forces in Chikugo province. On 1579/7/3 he
entered into an alliance with the Munakata clan through an oath he made together with his son.456
The danger for Dōsetsu increased when local warriors seized the opportunity to line up behind
Takanobu, Akizuki Tanezane gathered local forces in Chikuzen and Buzen provinces to his side,
and coordinated in assaults on Dōsetsu and his allies.457 In raising his forces, Akizuki targeted
the Tawara clan, because the leader's adopted son was Akizuki's nephew.458 Sōrin tried to
maneuver to block Akizuki by having his own son Chikaie (we saw his oath in Chapter Four)
replace Chikatsura as heir, and in return, Sōrin would return the lands that the Ōtomo had

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456  *Munakata jinja monjo* [Documents of Munakata shrine] Tenshō 7 (1579)/7/3 Ryūzōji Takanobu, dō Shigetomo renshō kishōmon [Oath signed jointly by Ryūzōji Takanobu and Ryūzōji Shigetomo], ZTHO 24: 139, doc. 260. Naturally, the local deities he listed in the oath differed considerably from those we saw in Chapter Four for the Ōtomo, who were based in the eastern part of the island.

457  Akizuki Tanezane, Harada Nyūdō Ryōei (Takatane) (1513–1588), Kusano Shigenaga (dates unknown), and Chikushi Hirokado (1556–1623) were among the warriors who joined Ryūzōji Takanobu in the rebellion.

458  Akizuki married Tawara Chikahiro's eldest daughter. The alliance gave him a connection to one of the most powerful military force under the Ōtomo, and gave the Tawara a connection to an independent power base outside of the Ōtomo.
confiscated from the Tawara in the past. This gambit failed, and the leader of the Tawara turned against the Ōtomo. The Ōtomo may have thought they had been saved from disaster when he died of a sudden illness shortly afterwards (the Jesuits saw God at work here), but his son took up the cause, and became a threat to the survival of the Ōtomo.\footnote{Shin ikoku sōsho Iezusukai Nihon tsūshin [Correspondence by the Jesuits in Japan], trans. Murakami Naojirō, ed. Yanagiya Takeo (Tokyo: Yūshūdō Shoten, 1968–1969), 2: 457.} This is the point in time at which Dōsetsu wrote his remonstrance.

**Religion**

Dōsetsu's first mention of religion came with his discussion of the contents of the letter that Akizuki Tanezane sent around to neighboring provinces. The document does not survive, but as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, it said that the religious adherents, the young and old, men and women of Bungo had converted to the Indian religion (Christianity), razed temples and shrines, and thrown images of buddhas and gods into the river, or repurposed them as firewood, and this was something unheard of since time immemorial.\footnote{Dōsetsu's language; "Sakizaki, hatsujō ni, kikoku no gi wa, yogi naku muneto no mono, onkatagata wo hajime mōsu, rōnyaku danjo tomo ni, Tenjiku shū to yaran ni, nasaserare, jisha hakyaku ari, busshin, arui wa kawa ni ire, arui wa takigi to nasu, zendai mimon goyōte ni sōrō to" (先々、初条ニ、貴国ノ信者、無余信宗徒之者、御方々を始申、老若男女共ニ、天竺宗と哉らんニ、成され、寺社を有破却、佛神を或河ニ入、或、薪に成、前代未聞之御様体ニ候興).} When we consider the context for Dōsetsu's statements about Christianity, we gain a better sense of which issues drove him to compose this remonstrance in the first place. His motivations for writing the letter centered on warfare: the rebellions against the Ōtomo from within (the Akizuki and Tawara clans), and the threat of attacks against the Ōtomo from without (the Shimazu, Mōri, and others).
He did not express opposition to the tenets of the Christian faith, and as far as we can tell from this correspondence, he did not concern himself much if warriors like Sōrin subscribed to it. Judging by Dōsetsu's reference to Christianity as an Indian sect, though, it is unclear whether he realized that the Jesuits expected Christian converts to reject all other faiths, and they would not have easily tolerated the traditionally pluralistic religious centers like Funai. In part, as we saw earlier in this dissertation, his confusion is understandable, because the Jesuits came from Goa in India, and they preached that Deus was equivalent to the Buddhist deity Dainichi. Perhaps, if he had grasped this aspect of the religion, then he would have spoken out sooner and more forcefully against it.

The issue here, though, was relatively simple and straightforward: destroying temples and shrines brought the legitimacy of Ōtomo rule into question and the senseless acts of violence estranged them from the vast majority of warriors who went to battle praying for the aid and protection of those deities. Dōsetsu focused on the expression of Christian faith through an attack on tradition, not on the faith itself as the problem. Their battlefield losses would have been bad enough, but by tying themselves to popular religious movements among the commoners, and ominous acts against traditional religious groups, the Ōtomo gave Akizuki Tanezane grist for the rumor mill, which he could use to provoke further rebellions and attacks against them. In Dōsetsu's thinking, as long as the Ōtomo forces continued to support the temples and shrines in their public and private lives, and acted with propriety, they would receive divine protection, and would demonstrate to their potential enemies that they had a legitimate right to rule. In short, Dōsetsu sought to re-focus the attentions of the clan on dealing with the problems that actually
existed, like Tawara Chikatsura, and not to create problems for Dōsetsu and others by engaging in activities that would lend support to the efforts of malcontents like Akizuki Tanazane.

One interesting aspect of Dōsetsu's remonstrance is that he provides insight into some of the religious rituals he valued, and suggests the power that these traditional ones had to move warriors. Dōsetsu covered a wide range of issues in the next eight articles of his remonstrance, but this chapter will focus on points about religious practice that he made, because these provide concrete examples of the rituals he thought warriors ought to be performing at temples and shrines.

Oaths are mentioned two times in Dōsetsu's remonstrance. In the fifth article, Dōsetsu spoke about how the southern warriors had alienated an important member of the ruling council, and he called this period the greatest crisis that the Ōtomo have experienced. He explained that at this time it was incumbent upon them to repair relations, and ensure that their descendants would live to remember their great deeds. Their council meeting was absolutely essential to their survival, and he swore that these words were accurate by calling for the deities Hachiman, Atago, and the 98,000 martial deities to witness his statement. Dōsetsu directly addressed his son, Bekki Shigetsura, here. He praised him for fulfilling his duties valiantly up to this point, but swore on the clan deity Hachiman, along with Atago, Iizuna, and Marishiten that if he was

461 Dōsetsu's language; "sude ni, onkokka on'ichidaiji no migiri sōro no jō" (既、御国家御一大事之勧懐之條).

462 Dōsetsu's language; "kono setsu, waboku itashi, goyō makaritachi sōrowaba, shison no oboe ni mo makarinarubeki ya to zonji on'nakanaori mōsu koto ni sōro" (此節、致和睦、御用統立候者、子孫之覚ニも可能成哉と存、御中直申事ニ候).

463 Dōsetsu's language; "kanarazu sankai mōsubeki koto wa, Shide no yama, Sanzu no kawabe taru beku sōro... tada kaku no gotoku mōsu koto, Hachiman, Atago, Kyūman Hassen no Gunjin mo goshōran" (必參会可申事八、後端之山、三途河辺可為候).... (只々、如斯申事、八幡、愛宕、九萬八千之軍神も御照覧).
insufficiently committed, Dōsetsu would commit suicide, transform himself into an angry spirit, and destroy his descendants.\footnote{Dōsetsu's language; "miren no kakugo ni oite wa, ujigami Hachiman, Atago, Iizuna, Marishiten mo goshōran, guro, tsunebara itashi, akurei ni makari sōrote, shison wo tayashi" (於未練之覚悟者、氏神八幡、愛宕、飯綱、摩利支天も御照覧、愚老、致詫腹、悪霊ニ罷成候て、子孫を絶シ).}

Unfortunately, neither of Dōsetsu's oaths survive (assuming he actually made them). One point to note here is that even within this document, Dōsetsu did not call upon the same deities to witness his oath. In the first one, he called upon an unspecified Hachiman, possibly the same Atago, but ended with the 98,000 martial deities. Perhaps, because he was addressing multiple members of the clan in this article, he kept the deities more general so that they would be recognized by all of the individuals. In the second oath, when he was speaking to his son, he may have felt it more appropriate to call upon the clan deity, though we do not know which one: the Tachibana clan deity of Hachiman or the Bekki one? The list of deities differed again from oaths that he made together with the council of elders in 1562, when he used Brahma, Indra, The Four Deva Kings, the gods small and large throughout the country of Japan, the clan deity the Great Bodhisattva Yusuhara Hachiman, the Gion Ox-Headed King, the Avatar at six locations in Seki, the Great God Kasuga, and the Celestial Deity of Great Power Filling Heaven.\footnote{Dōsetsu's language; "Bonten Taishaku Shidai Tennō, sōjite Nihon kunijū daishō shingi, koto ni ujigami Yusuhara Hachiman Daibosatsu, Gion Gozu Tennō, Seki Rokusho Gongen, Kasuga Daimyōjin, Tenman Dairizai Tenjin" (梵天帝釈四大天王、惣而日本國中大小神祇、殊氏神由原八幡大菩薩、祇園牛頭天皇、関六所権現、春日大明神、天満大自在天神). For the 1562 oath, see Kikkawa-ke monjo [Kikkawa house documents], Eiroku 7 (1564)/7/25 Ōtomo kahanshū renshō kishōmon utsushi, OSS 3: 69, doc. 867.} The variances suggest that the oaths may have been calibrated according to the social position and geographical base of the sender and recipient.
In the sixth article of his remonstrance, Dōsetsu brought up the practice of fortune telling before battles. He said that there was a fortune-teller (ekisha) named Keirin at Jissō-in temple in Hakozaki (modern-day Fukuoka-shi). Dōsetsu consulted him regarding what the fortune would be for forces to be dispatched against Chikatsura. Keirin responded that the fortune clearly showed that it would be good if the attack was made in all haste. Dōsetsu stated that he had already written down what Keirin said, and sent it to the Ōtomo. He reminded the recipients of his remonstrance that they must not doubt the will of the heavenly way, and prayed that they would have good fortune forevermore.

One could read this passage as an indirect attack on the Christian faith by Dōsetsu, and it was, in the sense that he drew instead upon other religious traditions to guide his actions, but fortune-telling was a critical part of embarking on a military campaign, and military success was thought to depend on heeding the omens. Dōsetsu's solicitation and announcement of the omen to the Ōtomo may not have carried much weight with them, but he also told the warrior band, perhaps in the hope of boosting the morale of the many non-Christians. As Elisonas noted in the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter, and as Valignano's contemporary observations demonstrate, warriors blamed worship of the Christian deity for their loss at Taka castle in 1578. Interestingly, however, they also blamed a failure to heed the omens as well. It was not one factor

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466 Dōsetsu's language; "Hakozaki Jissō-in ni oite, Keirin to mōsu ekisha sōro aida, Chikatsura ni itari, goninzū wo mukawasaru kikkyō ina no gi zei torase mōshi sōro tokoro ni" (於福崎真相院、景利與中易者候問、至親賀、被向御人教因否之儀箋取せ申候処ニ).

467 Dōsetsu's language; "isogu beku meshi kakeraru koto, gokichiji taru no dan, uranai kenzen no yosi sōro jō" (急可被召懸事、為御吉事之段、不虞堅然之由候條).

468 Dōsetsu's language; "kakitsuke shinjō itashi sōro, Tendō wo itasu tokoro" (書付致進上候、致天道之所).

469 Dōsetsu's language; "utagai aru bekarazu sōro no jō, senshū banzai ni sōro" (不可有疑候之條、千秋萬歲候).
alone that made the Ōtomo vulnerable, but the combination of their public support for Christianity, public rejection of the past traditions like fortune-telling, and incomprehensible destruction of temples and shrines that invited public scorn. Dōsetsu's remonstrance offered a path back to respectability, and his own solicitation of fortune-telling in support of the campaign provided the necessary ritual services that the Ōtomo were neglecting.

**Conclusion**

Tachibana Dōsetsu chose the vehicle of a remonstrance to reject the new, embrace the old, and make a case for policies that maintained appearances in the face of tremendous crises from within and without the domain. His letter had the desired effect of mobilizing the southern warriors to join the operation to suppress Tawara Chikatsura's rebellion and install Ōtomo Sōrin's second son, Tawara Chikaie (also known as Don Sebastião), as head of the family. Given the criticism directed at his fellow retainers, Dōsetsu's continued support of the Ōtomo, and the outcome that put the Christian Chikaie in a position of leadership, we cannot stop our analysis of the remonstrance at the point where Dōsetsu criticizes the burning of temples and shrines.

Sōrin's Christian ambitions undoubtedly caused dissension in the ranks, but the issue was not one of "belief," as has been previously suggested, but one of practice; namely, restraining warriors from destroying traditional cultic sites. Thanks to Dōsetsu's aid at a critical time, the Ōtomo survived the challenge to their rule, and if their religious policies did not substantially change (they later burned down Usa shrine in Buzen province), at least the appearance of impropriety became less of an issue for their rule. The Ōtomo continued to support traditional
cultic sites and religious practices within their home province of Bungo, and even though Sōrin converted to a new faith, the Ōtomo reputation survived intact there.

For more than a decade after Dōsetsu's remonstrance, the Ōtomo managed to maintain the kind of unit cohesion that might have carried the domain and their warrior band into the early-modern period, if only Sōrin's son could have gained the same kind of favor from Hideyoshi that his father had enjoyed. After Sōrin's death, though, Yoshimune lost Hideyoshi's confidence. He was blamed for cowardice and incompetence on the battlefield during the invasion of Korea, and he had his lands stripped from him. In the end, it was not Christianity that directly caused the downfall of the clan, as narratives that trail off after their defeat in 1578 sometimes suggest, but rather Yoshimune's inability to heed Dōsetsu's advice and maintain appearances.
Conclusion: The Ōtomo's Religious Policies in Early Modern Japan

What has this examination of war, religion, and the Ōtomo clan in sixteenth-century Kyūshū revealed that will help us better understand or teach about the period? Previous scholarship on Japan's "Warring States Period" and "Christian Century" has already elucidated the ties between commerce and Christianity, and in order to contribute to the two lines of inquiry, this dissertation began by uncoupling the competitive metaphor from its conventional association with trade in physical commodities, and applied it to religion independently of ties to Portuguese traders.

The integration of Japan into emerging maritime trade networks with Europe occurred coevally with its participation in global religious networks as well. Of course, we already knew that commerce and Christianity came to Japan together. However, what I have shown in this project is the ways that they impacted existing institutions and practices. Specifically, I have argued that the Christian religious novelties brought by Jesuit missionaries posed existential challenges to warrior society to an even greater degree than the disruptions that occurred with the introduction of physical ones like Western weaponry.

Conversion for Commercial Advantage?

In many historical narratives, warriors like Sōrin are typically shown as willing to bear the "costs" associated with the foreign faith in order to gain the benefits of trade; in short, they
are driven by a profit motive strikingly (and unconvincingly) similar to modern-day business "warriors." A recent textbook for East Asia, for example, explains that Japanese warlords treated Jesuit missionaries well in the hope of attracting Portuguese traders.\textsuperscript{470} Although trade was undoubtedly a factor, this does not preclude sincere religious commitments, and we should not subsume these personal motivations to commercial interests.

More importantly, the presence of commercial interests should not lead us to overlook the profound challenges new religious practices posed for a culture of war. In this dissertation, I have argued that naming practices changed so that military leaders had to juggle their obligations towards traditional institutions while putting their personal salvation at risk (see Chapter One). Radically different ways of memorializing the Christian dead were created that melded traditional and Western practices together, and though the resulting ceremony was meant as a model for future mortuary practices, the rejection of Sōrin's Christian burial a few days later meant that it was unable to reach a wider audience among warrior elites (see Chapter Two). Prayers for divine aid were spoken in novel situations and fell on the ears of a deity who stood outside the traditional pantheon, and the practice worked to undermine medieval cosmologies (see Chapter Three). The feudal oath at the foundation of medieval society, particularly in the case of the military hierarchies, was literally being rewritten by Christian warriors, Jesuit missionaries, and the early modern Tokugawa regime (see Chapter Four). Finally, the emergence of an alternative to the buddhas and gods contributed to the dissolution of one of the most

\textsuperscript{470} Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Anne Walthall, and James B. Palais, eds., \textit{East Asia: A Cultural, Social, and Political History} (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006), 311.
powerful warrior bands in the country and served as a cautionary tale about the power of buddhas and gods to punish those who turned against them (see Chapter Five).

Historical narratives written shortly after the demise of the Ōtomo clan attest to concerns about the corrosive effects of Christianity. They show Sōrin's retainers as reluctant to accept the foreign faith. Moreover, battlefield losses attributed to the destruction of temples and shrines fomented rebellion within his domain. If anything, the lessons hegemons of Japan learned from Sōrin's experience were that their support for Christianity would not ensure victory, and it could cause loss of unit cohesion in the warrior band.

**Sōrin and the Anti-Christian Edicts**

As mentioned in the Introduction of this dissertation, only a few days after Sōrin died in 1587, on the nineteenth day of the sixth month, Hideyoshi promulgated his expulsion edict requiring that Christian missionaries leave Japan. The first two of the five items call to mind the experiences of the Ōtomo warrior band that we saw in the last chapter.

Item [1]: Japan is the Land of the Gods. Diffusion here from the Kirishitan Country of a pernicious doctrine is most undesirable.

Item [2]: To approach the people of our provinces and districts and, making them into [Kirishitan] sectarians, cause them to destroy the shrines of the gods and the temples of the Buddhas is a thing unheard of in previous ages...

Item [3]: It is the judgment [of the Lord of the Tenka] that since the Bateren [padres] by means of their clever doctrine amass parishioners as they please, the aforementioned violation of the Buddhist law... has resulted. That being outrageous, the Bateren can hardly be allowed to remain on Japanese soil.\(^{471}\)

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\(^{471}\) Translation by Mary Elizabeth Berry. See *Hideyoshi* (1982), 91–92.
The wording and the acts that Hideyoshi criticized are strikingly similar to those found in Dōsetsu's remonstration, which we saw in Chapter Five. Hideyoshi may not have read or been directly influenced by Dōsetsu's letter, but the issues clearly resonated across warrior society. Instead of focusing on whether the edict was enforced, and its effect on Christianity, as previous scholarship has done, this project has shown that we need to consider why the destruction of temples and shrines caused such consternation among warriors. After all, warlords were known just as much for the horrific destruction they visited upon traditional cultic sites during war as they were for their patronage of them during times of peace. Sōrin introduced a thorny problem, though: cultic sites were not being destroyed as collateral damage to quell disorder, but as part of a religious war pitting one sect against all others. Although such activities were not unheard of in earlier times by religious orders or warriors, the disastrous effects of Christianity within the warrior band were easily observed.

The timing, wording, and eventual punishment of the Ōtomo by Hideyoshi suggest a possible motivation that previous scholarship has not considered. As we saw earlier in the dissertation, the "hierarchical inclusion" of the "originals" (honji) and "subsidiary manifestations" (suijaku) combinatory paradigm was an option for reconciling different religious traditions. However, not only had the Jesuits resisted this incorporation of their teachings into the existing medieval cosmology, warlords like Sōrin interpreted the resulting incomprehensibility to mean that they ought to destroy temples and shrines to make room in the physical and religious landscape for churches. In banning Christian missionaries, Hideyoshi

drew on an alternative method of dealing with the Other that has been termed "exclusive similarity," in which some teachings are considered so dangerously similar that they became "pernicious" and demonic (ironically, Hideyoshi's choice mirrored the Jesuit's stance against worship of buddhas and gods, which Sōrin was putting into practice). It was not that Christianity was so radically different, then, but rather that some elements such as the equation of God with the Buddhist Dainichi threatened to unravel the coherence in society that Hideyoshi needed to stitch the country back together after more than a century of incessant warfare. Gifts of names, prayers, oaths and many other established practices held importance because they operated within a system of meaning intelligible to warriors throughout the archipelago, and a Christian kingdom like the one Sōrin envisioned might make it impossible to unify the country again.

Why would Hideyoshi bother to take up this issue, and why at this time? The anti-Christian edicts began immediately after Sōrin's death, because while he was alive, Hideyoshi needed the support of Christian lords in the pacification of Kyūshū. Once he had Kyūshū in hand, and the most fervent proponent of Christianity (Sōrin) was no longer a factor, he could move to deal with Christianity. Or, more precisely, he could halt the destructive expressions of religious faith. In his edict, he focused on criticizing the destruction of temples and shrines because he witnessed how the Ōtomo band unraveled after the clan failed to maintain the appearance of traditional rulers who supported the local gods and buddhas. Later wars in Korea gave Hideyoshi an opportunity to legitimately strip a Christian lord (Sōrin's son) of his lands in

473 The term "exclusive similarity" was coined by Jason Ānanda Josephson. See his *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (2012), 29–38.
one of the most Christian regions of the country. In retrospect, it looks as if the concerns
Tachibana Dōsetsu expressed in his admonition were well-founded.

This dissertation calls into question another narrative found in histories of the period. The
authors of the aforementioned textbook also suggest that warlords were suspicious of the foreign
faith, because they supposedly wondered: "[i]f an absolute god demanded absolute loyalty, where
did that leave the bonds between lord and retainer?" As we have seen, Sōrin apparently had no
such questions about the loyalty of retainers devoted to the Christian God; indeed, he even
supported the religion from the early days of his career, when he had only a tenuous hold on
power. Warriors sought divine aid in the administration of their domains, military campaigns,
and in their personal lives, and Christianity became one option to attain these desires through a
connection halfway across the world to Europe.

There are several reasons why Christianity might have troubled a ruler, yet still appealed
to them. Christianity was not necessarily ideologically inconsistent with rulership or the feudal
model, and Sōrin even believed he had a workable model in his Christian kingdom fashioned on
Western principles (however vaguely articulated). Given the Jesuit insistence in later teachings
that Deus was not Dainichi, and Sōrin's eventual agreement that worship demanded a rejection of
other deities, building the Christian kingdom required a tremendous cost and risk, because Sōrin
had to deny the power of local cultic sites. Hideyoshi had to hold together a federation of
warriors who supported many religious sects, and because they prayed to innumerable local
deities, he may have feared that accepting the growing power of a single deity in Christianity

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would have generated more of the kind warrior rebellions he saw in Bungo. Fear of religious tensions within the warrior band rather than fear of zealous commoners was at the heart of his decision to promulgate the edict.\footnote{Mary Elizabeth Berry, \textit{Hideyoshi} (1982), 92.}

Although Hideyoshi was a religious pioneer in many respects, in terms of military governance, he was quite conservative. He certainly evinced no interest in establishing a new kind of system for ruling the archipelago, something which would have been a likely prerequisite for incorporating Christianity into his nascent political order. The concerns about Christian commoners came after the initial persecutions revealed enthusiasm for martyrdom. We should not discount fears of European invasion completely, but Hideyoshi's plans to conquer China, for example, do not exhibit the marks of a ruler who was concerned about a few Western ships. In the early years of anti-Christian edicts, at least, it was not fear of Christianity's ideological threat so much as its effect on the warrior band that likely elicited concern from elites like him.

Sōrin knew what he risked with his conversion, yet even after major losses on the battlefield, he did not apostatize. At first glance, it would seem that he dealt with defeat simply by persevering; this would make for a banal answer to the question of how "samurai losers" dealt with defeat. However, in asking this, we have to consider how the occasion of loss, trauma, and failure looked from their eyes. Instead of interpreting the conflict between the Ōtomo and Shimazu clans simply as a military one fought between two warlords, if we recognize that they conceived of it at the time as one that mobilized the forces of the Japanese Hachiman against those of the Christian Deus, then we can see it as a religious war with larger stakes. Christianity worked in a pluralistic environment, but when it became the only option, and was set against the
full weight of traditional religious practice through the wanton destruction of temples and
shrines, then it became increasingly difficult to incorporate it into the new early-modern world
order forming under Hideyoshi. Yet, it is not clear at all that Sōrin concerned himself with the
future of the Jesuit mission. It was the here and now that mattered to him.

In a sense, Sōrin was not defeated after all, because like so many warriors who had gone
before him, what he cared most about in the end was the ritual performed upon his death. He
died secure in the knowledge that he had saved the Catholic church from destruction in his
domain, he received assurance from the priest at his deathbed that he would be saved, and he left
this world with the word "cross" on his lips.
Character List

Abe-shi shūshū monjo 安部氏収集文書
Akechi Mitsuhide 明智光秀
Akijō 安岐城
Aki no kuni 安芸国
Akizuki Fumitane 秋月文種
Akizuki Tanizane 秋月種実
Amago (or Amako) shi 尼子氏
Andō monjo 安東文書
Anshōken jūmotsuchō 安勝軒什物帳
Araki monjo 荒木文書
Arima Harunobu 有馬晴信
Ashikaga Yoshihara 足利義晴
Ashikaga Yoshiteru 足利義輝
baku 藩府
batsu 刷
batsu bun 刷文
Bekki Akitsura 戸次鑑連
Bekki Chikaike 戸次親家
Bekki Hōki Nyūdō 戸次伯耆入道
Bekki Ōsan 戸次紹珊
Bekki keizu 戸次係図
Bekki Shigetsura 戸次鎮連
Bekki Sōketsu 戸次宗傑
bettō 別当
Bishamonten 毘沙門天
bodai 菩提
bodaiji 菩提寺
bodaisho 菩提所
bu 武
buke 武家
bukimi no tani 不気味の谷
bun 文
Bungo 豊後
bushidō 武士道
bu'un chōkyū 武運長久
Byaku'unji 泊雲寺
Chikuzen no kuni 筑前国
Chikushi Hirokado 筑紫広門
Chikushi Korekado 筑紫惟門
chinkonsai 鎮魂祭
chōbuku 調伏
Chōfukuji 長福寺
Chōseiji 澄静寺
Daichiji 大智寺
Daidōji 大道寺
Dainichi 大日
Daineiiji 大寧寺
Daitokuji 大德寺
Daitokuji Zuihō-in monjo 大徳寺瑞峯院文書
Daiusu-dō ダイヌス堂
Daizōkyō 大蔵経
dannadera 旦那寺
Dazaifu Tenmangū 太宰府天満宮
Deus デウス
Eikōji 永興寺
eishabon 影写本
ekisha 易者
ekōdera 回向寺
Enkakuji 円覚寺
Enni 円爾
Ensei 円斎
Funai 府内
fundoshi 裾
Furan 府蘭
Furanshisuko 府蘭師司旭
Furujō Michitō 古庄道任; 古庄通任
ganmon 願文
gekokujo 下克上
Genchiyo 閣千代; 閣千世
Genpizai 玄非斎
Gensai 玄斎
genzan 見参
Gojō-ke monjo 五條家文書
Goën 牛黃園
Goō hōin 午玉宝印
goryō 御霊
Goseibai shikimoku 御成敗式目
Gozan 八幡
Hachiman Daibosatsu 八幡大菩薩
Hachimanmaru 八幡丸
Hachiman Usagū hōjō-e engi 八幡宇佐宮放生会縁起
hakama 祲
hakkyū monjo 発給文書
Harada Nyūdō Ryōei (Takatane) 原田入道了榮（隆種）
hassaku 八朔
Hayato 隼人
hi 非
Hichiya 日知屋
Higo no kuni 肥後国
Hime Ōkami 比咩大神
Hinako Jitsuzō 日名子実三
Hirabayashi monjo 平林文書
hōbun 方分
Hōchiku ranki 豊筑乱記
hōjō-e 放生会
Hōjō Sadatoki 北条貞時
Hōki no Kami 伯耆守
Hōki Nyūdō 伯耆入道
Hōkoku Daimyōjin 豊国大明神
Hōkoku Jinja 豊国神社
Hōmanjō 宝満城
Homutawake (Homudawake) no Mikoto 誓田別命
honjō 本地
honji suijaku 本地垂迹
Honnōji 本能寺
Hōsenji 法泉寺
hōshi; hosshi 法師
hotoke 仏
Hyōgo no Suke 兵摘助
hyōjunshiki 標準式
Ichihōshimaru 一法師
Ichimanda-ke monjo 一田田家文書
Ichimanda Sōkei 一田田宗慶
Ichimanda Sōsatsu 一田田宗権
ichinomiya 一宮
ikebe-shi hokan monjo 池辺氏保管文書
iki 一摂
ikun 遣訓
imamiya 今宮
Ingyō Tennō 允恭天皇
inshō 印章
Irie monjo 入江文書
Itō Mancio 伊東マンショ
Itō monjo 伊東文書
Itō Yoshisuke 伊東義祐
Itōzu monjo 到津文書
Iun Sōetsu 恬雲宗悦
Iwami no kuni 岩見国
Iwashimizu Hachimangū 岩清水八幡宮
Jiki Chikan 直翁智侃
Jingū 神功
jisha 寺社
jissatsu 十利
Jissō-in 実相院
Jōfukuji 乗福寺
Jōnai monjo 城内文書
Jōrakuji 常楽寺
承天寺
住持
呪術的
聚光院
寿林寺
門川城
加判衆
家法
甲斐国
家訓
賀来社
鎌倉幕府
鶴岡八幡宮
神
帰神
漢文
巻数
閑眠庭
関白出馬
花押
唐物語
火誓
家臣団
勝海舟
勝山城
継体天皇
建長寺
権門
頼徳寺
岐部文書
亀童丸
帰依
祈願
祈願時
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吉川家文書
菊池氏
キリシタン大名
キリスト教的理想国家
起請文
祈祷
清田鎮順
公
香華院
柑子岳城/好士岳城
古事記
香火寺
国人
国清寺
告文
古文書
古文書学
小西行長
河野長治文書
高良山
是松太郎
興隆寺
香積寺
小島氏
熊野山西院文書
盟神深湯
公家
熊谷家文書
熊野三山
草場城
草野鎮永
朽網鑑康
朽網宗歴
朽網宗策
休庵
久栄
九州治乱物語
九州治乱記
Character List

Lan-ch’i Tao-lung; Rankei Dōryū 蘭溪道隆
maegaki 前書
Makomo-san 蒔山
Manjuji 万寿寺
Manjuji monjo 万寿寺文書
Masunaga monjo 益永文書
Matsuojō 松尾城
Matsuura Takanobu 松浦隆信
Meishō genkō roku 名将言行録
Mikawa no Kami 三河守
mikoshi 神輿
Minamiha 南派
Minamoto Yoritomo 小原宗政
Minamoto Yoshishige 小原義継
Mirokuji 寺崎寺
Miyazaki-shi 宮崎市
Miyoshi Nagayoshi 三好長慶
Miyoshi Yoshitsugu 三好義継
Monchūjō monjo 書注所文書
mondō 講答
Mōri Motonari 毛利元就
Morinaga-ke monjo 森永家文書
Munakata Jinja monjo 宗像神社文書
Mushika 動志賀 / 無鹿
Myōkakuji 妙覚寺
Myōkensha 妙見社
Nada Akimoto 奈多範基
Nada Hachimangō 奈多八幡宮
Nagahiro monjo 永弘文書
Nagato no kuni 長門国
Naitō 内藤
Nanban seishi 南蛮壽詞
Nanban teppō 南蛮鉄放
Nansekiō 南関城
nenki 年紀
Nichijō Shōnin 日乗上人
nigatsu jūroku nichig 二月十六日
Nihon shoki 日本書紀
Niishijō 新納石城
Nishi-ke denrai Sōtatsu Ura-ke monjo 西家伝来惣達
宇佐家文書
Niujimagō 丹生島城
Nozu 野津
Nuruyu Akisada 奴留湯鑑貞
nyūji 入寺
Ōbai-in 黄梅院
Obara Sōi 小原宗威
Ōdachi Harumitsu 大艤晴時
Oda Hidenobu 織田秀信
Oda Nobunaga 織田信長
Ōgimachi Tennō 正親町天皇
Ōjin Tennō 応神天皇
okibumi 置文
Okinaga Tarashi Hime no Mikoto 息長命比売命
ōkisaki 大後
Ōkubo Ichiō 大久保一翁
Ōkura-ke shiryō 大蔵家史料
Ōmura Sumitada 大村純忠
Ōmuresan 大牟礼山
Ondōshukuchū 御同宿中
Ōno gun 大野郡
Ōno gun shoohoshō kirokujo 大野郡諸方帳記録所
Ōtomo Chikaike 大友親家
Ōtomo Furan 大友府蘭
Ōtomo Furanshisuko 大友府蘭師司佔
Ōtomo Genpizai 大友玄非斎
Ōtomo Gensai 大友玄斎
Ōtomo Gorō 大友五郎
Ōtomo Harufusa 大友晴英
Ōtomo kōhaiki 大友興敬記
Ōtomo Kyūsai 大友久斎
Ōtomo monjo 大友文書
Ōtomo Sadachika 大友貞親
Ōtomo Sangensai 大友三玄斎
Ōtomo Sanpizai 大友三非斎
Ōtomo Sansai 大友三斎
Ōtomo Sōrin 大友宗麟
Ōtomo Yoriyasu 大友頼泰
Ōtomo Yoshiaki 大友義鑑
Ōtomo Yoshimune 大友義純
Ōtomo Yoshinaga 大友義長
Ōtomo Yoshinao 大友能直
Ōtomo Yoshishige 大友義義
Ōtomo-ke monjo roku 大友家文書録
Ōtorii 大鳥居
Ōtorii monjo 大鳥居文書
Ōuchi 大内
Ōuchi Masahiro 大内政弘
Ōuchi Yoshinaga 大内義長
Ōuchi Yoshioki 大内義興
Ōuchi Yoshitaka 大内義隆
Rinhakken 麟白軒
Rinshu 麟種
Rinzai-shū 臨済宗
ritsugan 立願
rokudō 六道
rusu shoku 留守職
Ryōgen-in 龍源院
ryōgoku chinjugami 領国鎭守神
Ryūunji 凌雲寺
Ryūfukuji 龍福寺
Ryūmin'an 龍眠庵
Ryūzōji monjo 龍造寺文書
Ryūzōji Takanobu 龍造寺隆信
Ryūzōji Shigetomo 龍造寺鎮賢
Sada monjo 佐田文書
Sada Yasukage 佐田泰景
Sadowara 佐土原
Saeki monjo 佐伯文書
Saeki Korenori 佐伯惟教
Sagara-ke monjo 相良家文書
Sakeiki 左經記

Character List

san 三
Sanbōshi 三法師
Sangensai 三玄斎
Sanjō-jō 三城城
Seibagaharu 勢場ヶ原
Seiji shisetsu 政治使節
Sengoku jidai 戦国時代
Sennyūji 泉涌寺
Sensō no bunka 戦争の文化
Senzaki 先崎
Shabugyō 社奉行
Shakaku seido 社各制度
Shasō 社僧
Shide monjo 志手文書
Shiga Chikamori 志賀親益
Shiga Chikanaga-shi monjo 志賀親長氏文書
Shiga Chikatabi 志賀親度
Shiga Dōeki 志賀道易
Shiga Dōki 志賀道輝
Shiga Dōun 志賀道雲
Shiga monjo 志賀文書
Shiga Shigetaka 志賀鎮隆
Shiga Shirō-shi monjo 志賀四郎氏文書
Shiki 職
Shimai monjo 嶋井文書
Shinbutsu 神仏
Shinbutsu bunri 神仏分離
Shingenji 心源寺
Shin Hachimandō 新八幡堂
Shinkōji Jugen Hōin 真光寺壽元法印
Shinkōji monjo 真光寺文書
Shinkurō 林新九郎
Shinnō 神文
Shintarō 新太郎
Shioichimaru 塩市丸
Shinme 神馬
Shinmon 神文
<table>
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<td>Tenmangū (天満宮)</td>
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<td>Tentokuji (Saemon Nyūdō) (天徳寺左衛門人道)</td>
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<td>Tomomatsu Gen'eki</td>
<td>友松玄益</td>
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<td>Tōmyōji</td>
<td>到明寺</td>
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<td>toritsugi</td>
<td>取次</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toyotomi Hideyoshi</td>
<td>豊臣秀吉</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tsuchimochi Chikanari</td>
<td>土持親成</td>
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<td>Tsuchimochi-shi</td>
<td>土持氏</td>
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<td>Tsujima Wakasa Nyūdō</td>
<td>武間若狭道</td>
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<td>Tsukumi</td>
<td>津久見</td>
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<td>Tsuchi Zhenyōe Nyūdō</td>
<td>津崎善兵衛入道</td>
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<td>Ueda-ke monjo</td>
<td>植田文書</td>
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<td>Usugi Kenshin</td>
<td>上杉謙信</td>
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<td>ujidera 氏寺</td>
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<td>ujigami 氏神</td>
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<td>uketorijō 請取伏</td>
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