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Producing Place, Tradition and the Gods:
Mt. Togakushi, Thirteenth through Mid-Nineteenth Centuries

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Caleb Swift Carter

2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Producing Place, Tradition and the Gods:
Mt. Togakushi, Thirteenth through Mid-Nineteenth Centuries

by

Caleb Swift Carter
Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures
University of California, Los Angeles, 2014
Professor William M. Bodiford, Chair

This dissertation considers two intersecting aspects of premodern Japanese religions: the development of mountain-based religious systems and the formation of numinous sites. The first aspect focuses in particular on the historical emergence of a mountain religious school in Japan known as Shugendō. While previous scholarship often categorizes Shugendō as a form of folk religion, this designation tends to situate the school in overly broad terms that neglect its historical and regional stages of formation. In contrast, this project examines Shugendō through the investigation of a single site. Through a close reading of textual, epigraphical, and visual sources from Mt. Togakushi (in present-day Nagano Ken), I trace the development of Shugendō and other religious trends from roughly the thirteenth through mid-nineteenth centuries. This study further differs from previous research insofar as it analyzes Shugendō as a concrete system of practices, doctrines, members, institutions, and identities. By identifying a constituency of

these elements, we can determine the historical and regional contexts in which Shugendō became a self-conscious school. This approach, furthermore, clarifies the interests—religious, social, economic and institutional—that guided the school’s formation.

The second objective of this project concerns the role of place in the formation of Shugendō and other religious systems. It addresses the processes through which ritual, thought and religious identity are transmitted and adapted to specific places. To this end, I consider two other significant entities that overlapped with Shugendō at the site: Togakushi’s central deity, Kuzuryū (literally, the “nine-headed dragon”), as well as the administrative and ideological contributions of the eighteenth-century cleric, Jōin. The chapter on Kuzuryū explores how an abstract deity from esoteric rituals and *Lotus Sūtra* narratives in Tang China comes to reside at Togakushi. Through an investigation of its development over time, I consider how its presence adds to the identity and numinous power of the mountain. The final two chapters analyze Jōin’s treatment of Shugendō as well as his attempt to construct a new religious school that coalesced around the mountain’s practices, history, and identity.

Investigation of these concomitant developments at Togakushi reveals a twofold process. As rituals, doctrines and deities gained regional traction, religious participants rewrote the site’s historical narratives, developed new identities, and situated divine elements into the landscape. I suggest that these modes of importation and domestication over time guide the construction of numinous places like Togakushi. On a broader scale, we might understand this continual adaptation of translocal trends to a specific locale as a defining element in the formation of overarching religious systems in premodern Japan.

The dissertation of Caleb Swift Carter is approved.

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2014

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Vita

Caleb Carter received his BA in Philosophy from Colorado College in 2000 and his MA in Buddhist Studies from UCLA in 2008. His main focus lies in Japanese religions, particularly Shugendō (Japan's tradition of mountain asceticism). Other interests include Esoteric Buddhism, Chinese religions, place studies, pilgrimage, gender, environmental studies and intellectual history. He carried out his dissertation research at Keio University (Tokyo) from 2011 to 2013 under the supervision of Suzuki Masataka. This research included regular visits to Mt. Togakushi, the primary site of the present study.

Stylistic Conventions

I have capitalized names of people and gods and italicized their titles; for instance, Kōben *hōshinnō* or Tōshō *daigongen*. Following convention, Japanese family cognomen precede personal names and titles. Mountains are referred to interchangeably with or without the Japanese suffix (e.g., *yama*, *san*, or *zan*); for example, “Togakushi” or “Togakushisan,” with the first instance preceded by “Mt.” for clarification (e.g., Mt. Togakushi).

The degree to which a deity was considered foreign or local is often ambiguous in Japanese religions. For this reason, buddhas and bodhisattvas are referred to in the Japanese pronunciation (e.g., *Kannon* instead of *Avalokiteśvara*) as these are the names by which Japanese clergy and laity would have known them. For scholars working outside of Japan, I provide the original names (in Sanskrit or Pinyin) of foreign deities upon the first instance. I have retained the Sanskrit (with diacritics included) for common Buddhist terms like *buddha*, *bodhisattva*, or *maṇḍala* that have been adopted in the English language.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

Introduction

Mt. Togakushi 戸隠 rises above the high plains of northwest Nagano Ken (formerly Shinano province) just east of Japan's interior sea.¹ Rather than culminating in a single summit, the mountain's long, craggy ridgeline cuts a jagged path across the skyline. The surrounding range consists of mostly igneous rock that began forming 27 to 40 million years ago through submarine volcanic activity that was followed by uplifting and erosion. With its highest point reaching 1904 meters (6247 feet), Togakushi casts a majestic presence over the valleys alluviating out beneath its shadows.

Nestled in these valleys stand a consortium of religious sites, all of which orient toward the mountain's flanks. Today they are known as the Five Shrines, with the three main ones referred to as Okusha 奥社, Chūsha 中社, and Hōkōsha 宝光社 (fig. 0-1). Although they are now designated as Shintō shrines, prior to the Meiji period (1868–1912) they were respectively known as Oku-no-in 奥院, Chūin 中院, and Hōkōin 寶光院 and formed an intricate nexus of Buddhist, Shintō, and Shugendō 修驗道 elements. The origins of the site date back to at least the eleventh century.² Over the following centuries, it developed into a powerful complex of three main temples managed by dozens of cloisters and a central administrative temple. On its outskirts emerged a small shrine, agricultural estates, and an alpine training ground extending across the surrounding mountains.³

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The following dissertation turns to this earlier historical context at Togakushisan, specifically by considering evidence from the late thirteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. This time span is not meant to engage a comprehensive history of the mountain—a task already undertaken in Japanese scholarship to which I owe a large debt.⁴ Rather, it traces the development of several formative trends at Togakushi, paying special attention to the mountain-based school of Shugendō. This work is narrowed by the limited number of extant texts from the first three of these centuries (though I also draw upon contemporaneous Shugendō texts from Mt. Hiko 彦). As we move into the early modern period (c. 1600–1868), sources ranging from temple documents, historical narratives, diaries, maps, guidebooks, epigraphy, iconography, and architecture open more channels for investigation.

Roughly translated as the “way of cultivating supernatural powers,” Shugendō is a Japanese tradition that developed out of various East Asian influences (especially esoteric Buddhism). Its most distinguishing feature lies in its focus on the mountains as the premier terrain for religious practice, spiritual advancement and encounters with the divine. Previous scholarship commonly situates Shugendō as a form of folk religion—a modern construct that unfortunately leads to broad, impressionistic assertions that lack careful historical or regional contextualization. This treatment raises a number of lingering questions. First, what exactly constitutes Shugendō in the premodern period? Does the term itself appear in the sources or is it simply a modern category? If it does date back in history, in what contexts does it arise: ritual, social, political, economic, institutional? Furthermore, *where* was Shugendō? Was it shared by all people in Japan’s early history, transcending geographical boundaries, or can it be traced as a definitive movement that emerged at one or more locations? If the latter is the case, what were

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the vehicles for its transmission: ritual performance, material culture, political or economic agents?

These questions apply not only to the study of Shugendō but to religious systems like Shintō or Onmyōdō 陰陽道 (the “way of yin and yang”) in Japan, shamanism in Korea, Daoism in China, or Bon in Tibet. When we shift away from the notion of any one of these as embodiments of the folk, the outlines of a tradition with concrete, historical parameters begins to emerge. In this dissertation, I do not attempt to answer all of the questions above but rather offer a methodology that responds to some of the blind spots they hint at. The first component of this methodology is to investigate Shugendō as a self-conscious school that took shape in the form of specific practices, doctrines, specialized terminology, historical narratives, cultural identity, institutional elements, and economic concerns. This line of inquiry responds to the questions of *what* constituted Shugendō and *when* it emerged. The second component considers the question of *where* this process took place. By limiting my set of data to a single site, I explore the historical formation in relationship to specific communities over time. What we find in the case of Togakushi is that it emerged via certain lines of transmission in the early sixteenth century—not, as previous scholars have asserted, in the late Heian period.⁵ Over the following centuries it came to encompass a body of ritual as well as cultural and institutional practices that collectively suggest its formation into a distinct school at the mountain.

In exploring the historical formation of Shugendō at a single site, this project develops from a second set of broader questions. What is the relationship between place and religion in premodern Japan? Is it accurate to discuss religious movements from this time at the national level or regional? How did a religious system contribute toward the formation of community, cultural identity and practice? This inquiry into the category of place in Japan’s premodern

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religious landscape has guided my research agenda on Togakushisan and the religious developments that evolved there over time. As such, I discuss Shugendō not as an overarching religion but rather as a school that adapted to the contours of specific sites. While this distinction is subtle, a careful study of the development of Shugendō at Togakushisan reveals that its successful traction at the mountain relied on the efforts of the mountain's practitioners in shaping it to their own image and defining it in ways that matched their own economic and practical concerns. I therefore often refer to "Togakushi Shugendō" or "Shugendō at Togakushi" in contradistinction to the notion of a broad-based movement existing beyond the specific circumstances of local context.⁶

Furthermore, I aim to avoid reifying certain claims in the past that Shugendō pervaded all aspects of Togakushisan (or elsewhere), especially in the medieval period. Several of the chapters therefore, analyze significant, concomitant developments at Togakushi. These developments, which also inform our discussion on the relationship between religion and place, include the formation of a cult devoted to the mountain's central deity, a nine-headed dragon, and a religious school constructed by an administrator (*bettō* 別當) of the mountain in the eighteenth century.⁷

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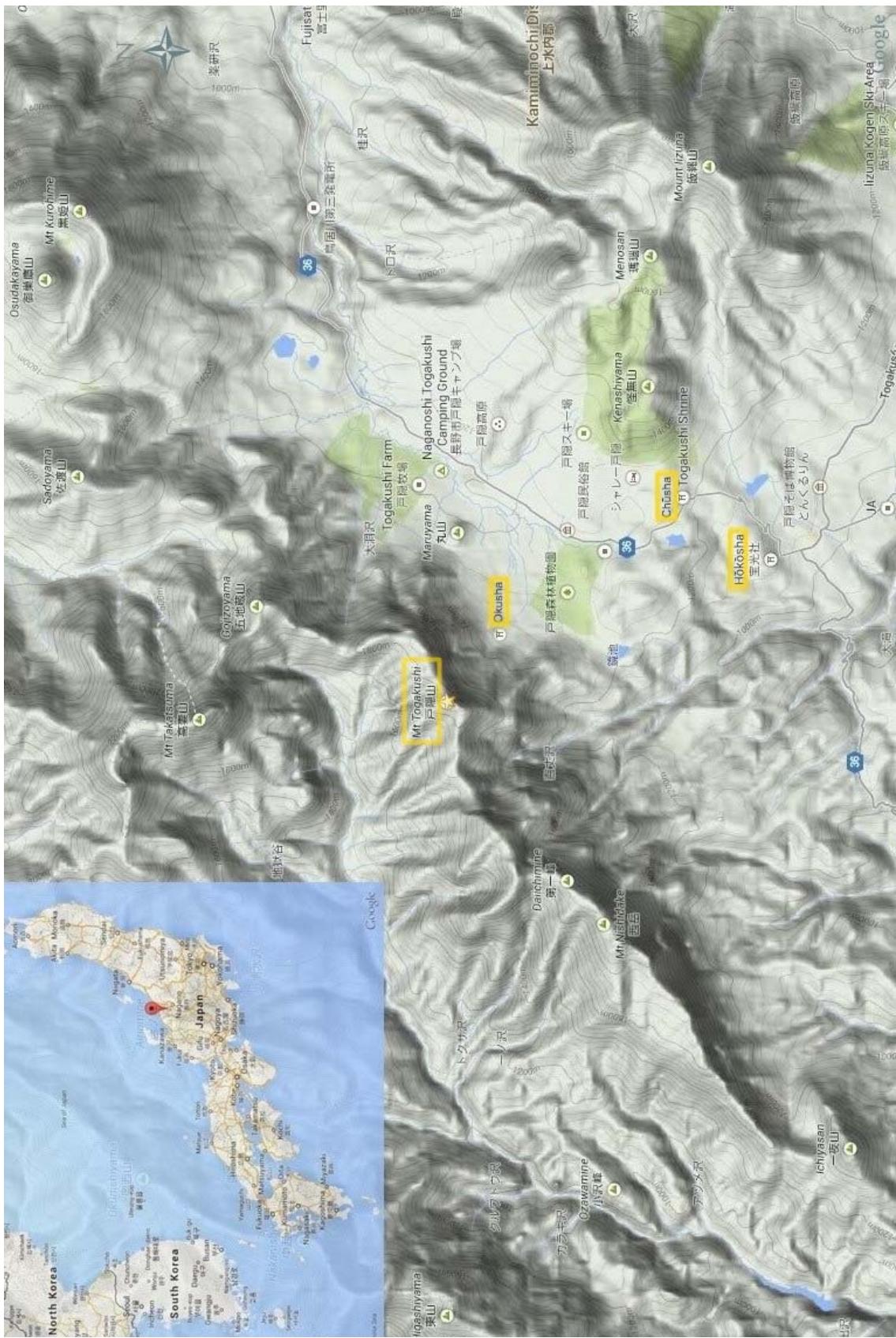


Figure 0-1 Topographic map of the Togakushi region

Togakushi's three main religious sites are labeled by their present-day designations as shrines. Historically, there were two main points of access to the mountain. The most common route ascended from Zenkōji (located in the plains to the southeast). The modern road runs parallel to much of it for the last stretch (visible in the lower right section of the map). It skirts the southern side of Mt. Iizunayama before connecting to Hōkōsha (lower center). The other route skirted the northern flanks of Iizuna before descending into Echigo (now Niigata Ken). Route 36 (right side) roughly follows the former path (no longer extant). The route to Togakushi from Zenkōji via an early modern pilgrim's perspective is discussed on pages 12–16.

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Tracing the historical trajectory of these elements at Togakushisan ultimately poses the question of how they might have contributed to the formation of the mountain itself into a numinous place that gained wide prominence and devotion in early modern Japan. Adapting French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's discourse on the social 'production of space' (discussed in more detail below), I suggest that the overlay of historical narratives, lineages, and identities onto a site, in effect, produces it as a place of meaningful significance, inscribed with its own religious, economic and cultural currency. This process is especially evident in sites of the divine, where the accretion of numinous elements (e.g., deities, legends, and cosmology) increase their reputation, perceived efficacy, and overall allure among practitioners and patrons. Inversely, 'place,' as a parameter for this development, becomes a fundamental building block in the broader formation of religious schools and cults in Japan. This reciprocal dynamic between religious systems and numinous places reminds us that the premodern landscape constituted a diverse ecosystem of cults, schools and practices that were highly integrated with regional cultures.

Reconsidering Shugendō

Having considered some of the broader questions relating to the historical formation of religion and place in Japan, let us next situate them in greater detail in the field of Shugendō. The modern study of Shugendō took shape in the mid-twentieth century in large part through the scholarship of Wakamori Tarō (1915–1977).⁸ Interested especially in the quest for origins, Wakamori investigated its early development and put forth the enduring idea of Shugendō as a movement centered on mountain seclusion and asceticism. In the 1970s and 1980s, Gorai Shigeru (1908–1993) and Miyake Hitoshi (b. 1933) emerged as the most influential scholars in the field, albeit through contrasting approaches. Gorai took an ethnographic angle to the

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investigation of Shugendō, collaborating with scholars and practitioners at local sites in the collection of oral accounts and the salvaging of extant texts. Among the most significant accomplishments to come out of this effort was the eighteen volume series, *Sangaku shūkyōshi kenkyū sōsho* 山岳宗教史研究叢書 (Collected studies on the history of mountain religion [in Japan]; 1975–1983), the bulk of which he supervised and edited. In contrast, Miyake emphasizes the premodern history of Shugendō, dividing his work into three major monographs that individually address ritual, doctrine, and institution.⁹ Carmen Blacker's *Catalpa Bow* (1975), Byron Earhart's 1985 monograph on Mt. Haguro 羽黒, and the numerous publications of French ethnographer Anne Bouchy likewise introduced Shugendō to the non-Japanese speaking world.¹⁰

From these foundations, Shugendō became what is now a significant category in the field of Japanese religions. Despite these advances, however, our understanding of it continues to be constrained by its common placement within folk studies (*minzokugaku* 民俗学).¹¹ We can identify three interlocking consequences of this categorization, the first being vague historical and regional contextualization. This issue dates back to the father of Japanese ethnology Yanagita Kunio 柳田國男 (1875–1962), who directly influenced the work of Wakamori, Gorai and folklorist Hori Ichirō (1910–1974). While Gorai relied on texts as corroborative evidence, he followed Yanagita's preference for oral sources under the notion that words on paper departed from the essence of Shugendō. Hori (1966) furthermore, combined results from Yanagita's field studies with scattered references to mountains in ancient works such as the *Manyōshū* and the *Kojiki*. This subtle collapse of ancient and modern Japan exemplifies the ways in which the ‘folk’ slips into modern conceptions of the nation-state—a positioning that favors the notion of a transregional Japanese people over that of distinct regional cultures on the archipelago. Such a

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construct additionally downplays historical developments by viewing Shugendō as a timeless ingredient in the daily lives of common people. Gorai thus remarks that despite its historical developments, Shugendō “remained what it had always been, a ‘way’, no doubt because it retained its own identity as a natural religion” (1989, 118). Guided by this conception of the folk, Shugendō has been historicized in a way that places it outside of temporal and spatial parameters.¹²

Although these trends continue in the field, a number of scholars have been alternatively investigating the historical formation of Shugendō through careful analyses of extant sources. Hasegawa Kenji’s (1989) research on *yamabushi* 山伏 networks on the Kii peninsula locates the systematization of the Tendai-affiliated Honzan 本山 group (*ha* 派) of Shugendō in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Sekiguchi Makiko’s (2009a–b) recent work on medieval Yoshino 吉野 additionally reveals that the Shingon-affiliated Tōzan 当山 group of Shugendō took shape in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (its emergence had previously been estimated as parallel with that of the Honzan group).

The second consequence of envisioning Shugendō in terms of the ‘folk’ is that it resists serious inquiry into institutional formation. Although the work of Miyake, Sekiguchi and others have provided an important countertrend, we continue to have a very limited understanding of the institutional formation of Shugendō outside of the Kii peninsula and developments in the Edo period (c. 1600–1868) as a whole. Regarded as antithetical to the natural state of the common people, institutionalization is often viewed as a departure from the essence of Shugendō, an artificial construction of elite administrators and bureaucrats. While it is true that aspects of this process were guided by powerful temples (medieval) and the state (early modern), growing evidence demonstrates that the institutions of Shugendō were often instigated by the practitioners,

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themselves. The formation of the Tōzan group for instance, was proposed by *yamabushi* (literally, those who “lie down [to sleep] in the mountains”) in the Yoshino region who sought a legitimate source of authority that could repel the encroaching presence of the Honzan group (Sekiguchi 2009a–b). Investigation of the case at Togakushisan suggests that the mountain’s *yamabushi* called for their own institutional backing in order to protect their livelihood from competing specialists in the area.

Finally, the category of folk religion—and to a greater extent, Asian religions at large—often excludes or disparages the economic concerns of practitioners. In Japan this attitude generally translates into a periodization that idealizes the medieval period as a golden age while dismissing the early modern period as materialistic and corrupt. This schema dates back to intellectuals in the Meiji period but is now most commonly associated with Tsuji Zennosuke (1877–1955), the major postwar scholar of Japanese Buddhism.¹³ Shinjō Tsunezō (1911–1996) took a similar perspective in his foundational study (1982) on premodern pilgrimage in Japan. Looking to the early chronicles of aristocrats and religious itinerants, Shinjō romanticized their voyages under the ideals such as austerity, piety, belief, and sacredness. This perspective not only overlooked the high levels of logistical support and comfort demanded by these rich patrons but also anticipated an inevitable decline to follow. Citing the widespread growth of the pilgrimage industry, Shinjō viewed early modern pilgrimage in antithetical terms—lax, frivolous, and immoral—to that of earlier times. Similarly, Wakamori, Gorai, Earhart, and others have imagined medieval practitioners of Shugendō as solitary ascetics, oblivious to occupational concerns, and guided only by their spiritual motivation. The institutional and economic motivations of early modern *shugenja* 修驗者 (practitioners of Shugendō) in contrast, become viewed as an unfortunate departure from the sacred.

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This differentiation between religious piety and economic interest in Japan's religious history may have its roots in Protestant attitudes toward religious behavior.¹⁴ Under this approach, binaries such as ascetic versus materialistic, or sacred versus secular, cast a Western gaze over the subject. Rather than providing clarity, they are applied to a context in which such categories bear little relevance, obfuscating key elements of Japanese religions. These blind spots have begun to face scrutiny in recent studies on the early modern period.¹⁵ The present work (especially chapters four and five) in turn locates economic concerns as one of the driving forces behind the development of Togakushi Shugendō.

Producing place

My emphasis on place builds from Allan Grapard's work on the lineages, politics, economics, and rituals that become bound to a particular place over a defined period of time. As his research demonstrates, generalized assertions about Japanese religions become less convincing when applied to a single site. Since Grapard's *Protocol of the Gods* (1992), an increasing number of place-based studies have advanced our knowledge of Japan's premodern diversified landscape.¹⁶

In addition to providing rich microhistories, careful attention to the historical formation of specific sites problematizes assumptions about individual sects dominating certain places at different times. As a case in point, scholars have typically situated Togakushisan as Shugendō in the medieval period, Tendai Buddhist in the early modern, and Shintō in the modern. A close reading of the sources, however, demonstrates that throughout most of the mountain's history, its practitioners adopted and accumulated a highly eclectic assortment of symbols, doctrines, and practices. Within this milieu, the fungible elements of Shugendō, Tendai, and Shintō (among others) created not conflicts of interest but rather a strengthened portfolio of divine attributes for the mountain and richer sense of identity for its practitioners. These layers built up gradually

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over the medieval period and accelerated in the Edo period, pushing Togakushi's reputation and numinous efficacy higher with each additional component.

My focus on place also draws from French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's 2004 (1974) theories on space and place. Challenging the Euclidian concept of space as static and unchanging, he begins from the premise that space is in fact, produced through social forces. Categorized under three types, he describes the first, 'spatial practice,' as the socioeconomic production (e.g., agricultural, mercantile) and bio-physical reproduction (organized by gender, age-groups, and family) that lead to the creation of collective social spaces. Lefebvre suggests that this use of space typified nineteenth century European cities and towns. The second, 'representational space,' constitutes that which is encoded with religious, supernatural, and political symbols or alternatively, forms of individual or artistic expression. Finally, either of these types of space can be transformed through conceptualized 'representations of space.'¹⁷ Lefebvre locates this final category in modern capitalistic power structures that effectively diminish difference and particularity through a generalized, dominant order. While space and place are germane categories, he articulates that a place represents the locus where social space is produced. In this sense, the place is geographically fixed (excluding geologic forces) while remaining bound up in the productive transformations of the space it encompasses.

Lefebvre especially challenges the ways in which modern capitalism has transformed social spaces and to that effect, practices of the everyday. This aspect of his thought draws on Marxist theories of knowledge and power as external forces, which for him are imposed onto particular locales. This angle is less relevant to Japan's historical landscapes, where central authority was either absent (medieval) or highly mediated by regional stakeholders (early modern). More relevant to places like Togakushisan was the continuous flow of incoming and

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outgoing doctrines and practices, determined by the interests of the site's own practitioners.

Nevertheless, Lefebvre's general approach to space and place—especially his notions of spatial practice and representational space—may inform our understanding of the formation of numinous places. In the case of Togakushi, this process involved the creation of ‘representational spaces’ such as the habitation of residential deities, the mapping of topographic *mandalas*, and the emplacement of mythical legends; it also concerned ‘spatial practices’ ranging from agricultural production to mountain asceticism to pilgrimage.

A mid-nineteenth century visit to Togakushisan

Given the emphasis on place in this project, let us briefly tour the site of Togakushisan. While most visitors today drive up from Nagano City, the speed and insulation of modern travel makes it difficult to grasp the layout of the region as one approaches. Better to step out of the car and enter Togakushi from the perspective of one its early modern visitors. Incidentally, the foot path is still maintained for the hardy and only the last section follows the current road. Note that while the following account is written in the past tense, many of the structures and pathways described exist down to the present.

In the mid-nineteenth century, many visitors to Togakushisan in the Edo period were accompanied by one of the mountain's Shugendō guides (*sendatsu* 先達).¹⁸ If traveling independently, however (increasingly common in the nineteenth century), one might have turned to the *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* 善光寺道名所圖會 (Illustrated guide to famous sites along the Zenkōji road), published in 1843.¹⁹ This guidebook served as an essential resource for directions, points of interests along the way, and information on the major festivals hosted by the temple complex.²⁰ Before embarking toward Togakushisan, travelers typically spent time at the major pilgrimage destination of Zenkōji.

The ascending path from Zenkōji up to Togakushi would have taken a full day, even with the option of hired horseback to transport luggage. After covering a distance of five *ri* 里 (1 *ri* = 3.9km; 19.5km total) uphill,²¹ one would have passed through the first *torii* (*Ichi no torii* 一之鳥居; fig. 0-2), which served as the gateway into the officially designated region (as issued under the shogunate) of Togakushisan.²² The road from here proceeded past rolling agricultural estates administered and taxed by the temple complex. While they grew a variety of crops, the best-known was (and still is) buckwheat, used to make the region's famous soba noodles. Seven *chō* 町 (1 *chō* = 109m; 760m total) after *Ichi no torii* stood the Ōkubo 大久保 teahouse. With all businesses in the Togakushi region regulated by Kanjin-in 觀修院 (the region's administrative temple), this was the only designated teahouse until one reached the main temple vicinities.²³



Figure 0-2 Ichi no torii

Ichi no torii (right) was originally built with stone columns in the Kansei era (1789–1801) but collapsed in the Zenkōji earthquake (1847). It was rebuilt with wooden beams in the Meiji period but fell down (from decay) again in the early twentieth century. The remains of the site are still preserved. (*Zenkōji dō meisho zue*. Waseda University Library, ru04_04500, fasc. 4, leaf 4.)

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Just beyond the teahouse, the road reached a fork. A right turn led past the locally administered shrine of Hinomikosha 火御子社 (fig. 0-3) and then onward to the temple of Chūin.²⁴ This way, however, bypassed the temple “valley” of Hōkōin (fig. 0-3).²⁵ Walking left from the fork instead took one under a wooden gate guarded by the statues of two fierce, divine kings (*niō* 二王) before entering the grounds of Hōkōin (fig. 0-3).²⁶ Like the other two valleys, the inner street was lined with cloisters (*in* 院)—seventeen here—where the mountain’s community of *shuto* 衆徒 (clerics) resided and accommodated guests.²⁷ At the end of this street,

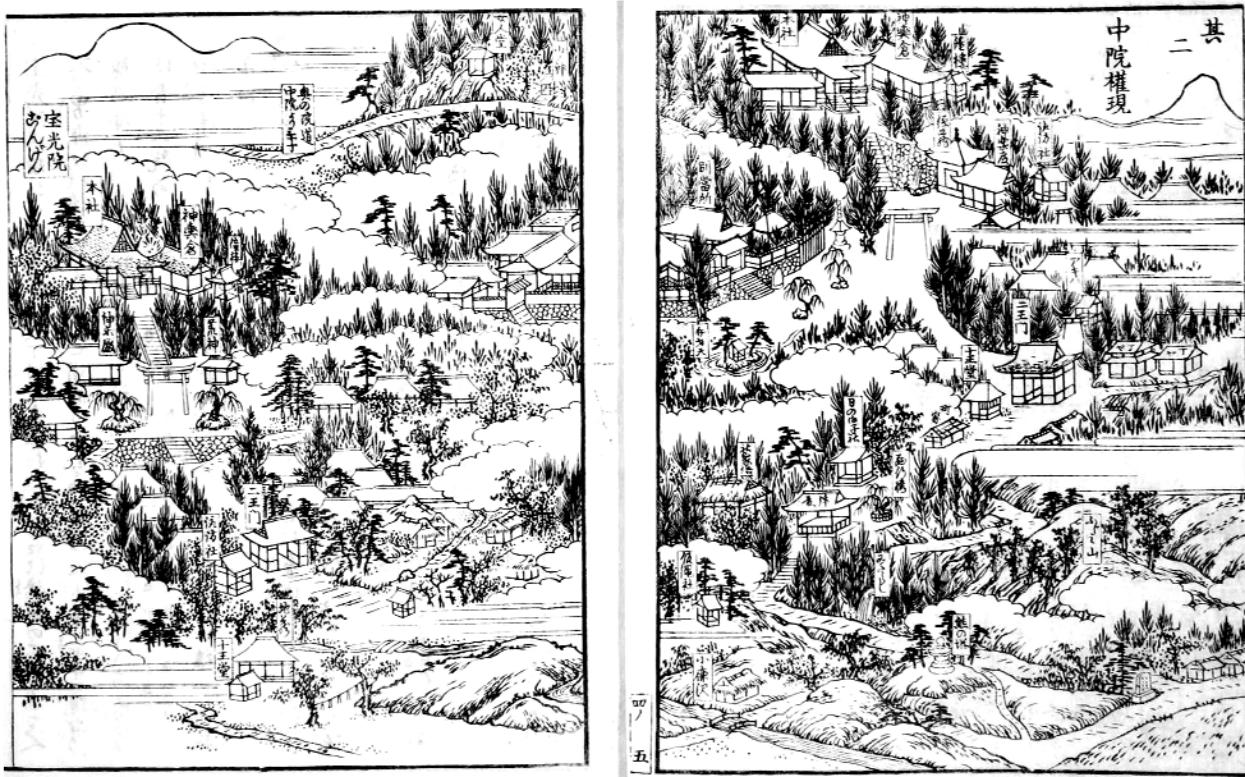


Figure 0-3 The Hōkōin and Chūin valleys

Hinomikosha is situated on the lower right page. The Hōkōin complex is to the left and the Chūin complex to the right. Split between the two pages is Kanjuin, residence of the administrator (*bettō*). Just above it (left page) is the small *nyonin dō*. The distance between sites has been truncated in order to include them all on the two pages. Most of the major structures here still stand today (rebuilt after intermittent fires). (*Zenkōji dō meisho zue*. Waseda University Library, ru04_04500, fasc. 4, leaf 5.)

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one passed under a large *torii* and then ascend a series of steps to the temple of Hōkōin, standing majestically on the hilltop. Enshrined inside was the Japanese god, Uwaharu *no mikoto* 表春命, who appeared as a manifestation of the bodhisattva, Shogun Jizō 地藏 (Kṣitigarbha).²⁸ The modern sightseer might be confused by this combination of religious elements, given the division of Shintō and Buddhism at the start of the Meiji period (1868–1912).²⁹ For a nineteenth-century pilgrim, however, this configuration simply provided the means to commune with the mountain's local deity as well as a transregional bodhisattva.

After praying at Hōkōin, one might continue on the back road toward the temple of Chūin and its twenty-four cloisters (fig. 0-3). Upon arriving, visitors had the option of finding accommodation at one of the cloisters or simply stopping at the temple in order to pray to the Japanese god, Omohikane *no mikoto* 思兼命, who appears as a manifestation of the buddha, Śākyamuni. From here the road continued on to Oku-no-in, which as the name “Inner Temple” suggests, was nestled furthest into the mountains. Situated on the lower flanks of Mt. Togakushi, the walk from Chūin took approximately one hour.³⁰ Along the way, stood a women’s temple (*nyonin dō* 女人堂) on the right (fig. 0-3). This site marked the last place women could officially worship, as the inner mountain area encompassing Oku-no-in prohibited them from entering at this time.³¹

Men, however, could continue down a long path lined with giant conifers and the twelve cloisters of the inner complex before climbing a long series of steps leading to the temple (fig. 0-4). There resided the Japanese god, Tajikarao *no mikoto* 手力雄命, who appeared as a manifestation of the bodhisattva, Shō Kannon 聖觀音 (Noble Avalokiteśvara). Yet equally important was the adjacent hall housing a nine-headed dragon known as the great avatar (*daigongen* 大權現) Kuzuryū 九頭龍.³² Appearing as a manifestation of the water goddess,

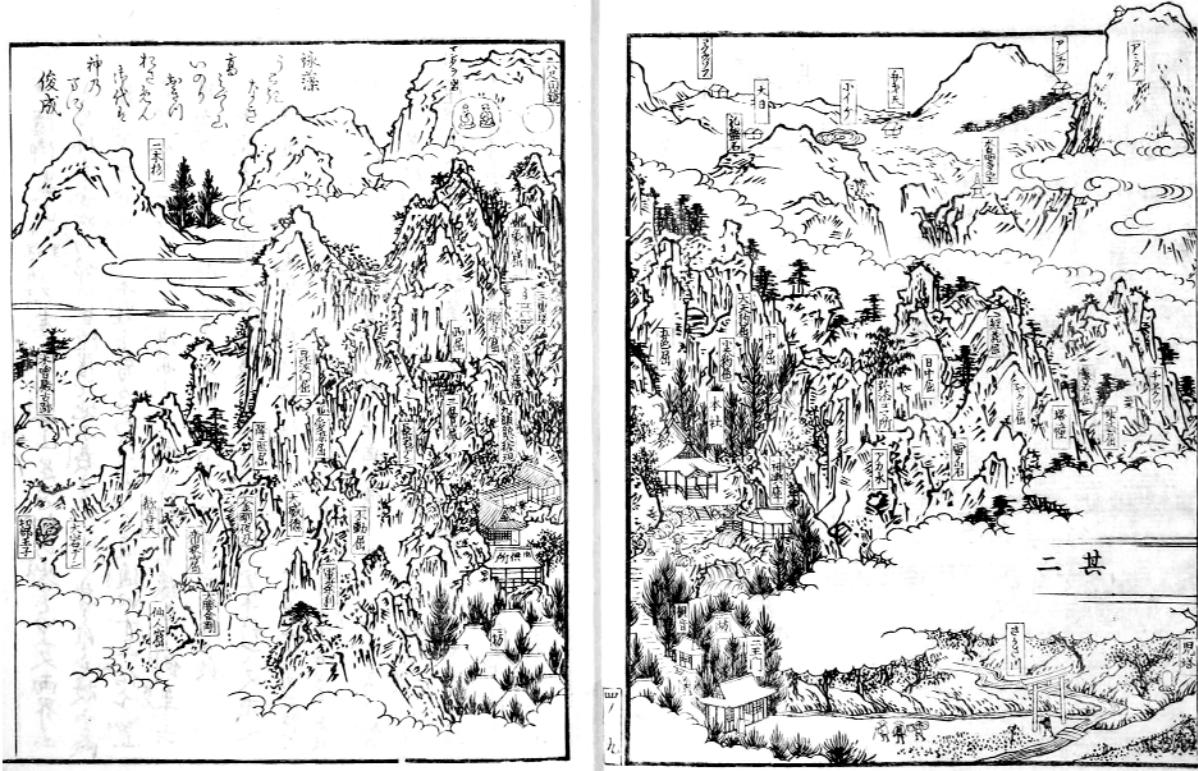


Figure 0-4 Oku-no-in valley

The Oku-no-in complex stands below Mt. Togakushi with the range's *mandala* peaks rising further in the background. The cloisters of Oku-no-in were shuttered at the onset of the Meiji era and the structures no longer exist. Oku-no-in, renamed as Okusha, was destroyed twice in the 1960s and 1970s (by fire and landslides) but was rebuilt after. The Kuzuryū hall (now Kuzuryū sha) survived these recent disasters. (*Zenkōji dō meisho zue*. Waseda University Library, ru04_04500, fasc. 4, leaf 9.)

Benzaiten 辯財天 (Skt. Sarasvatī), this dragon served as the mountain's powerful tutelary deity.

With the cult of Kuzuryū spreading as far as Kantō and Kansai by this time, worshipping the dragon in person often served as the main impetus for the journey.

This point usually served as the culmination of a journey to Togakushisan unless of course, the dates fell between 6/15 and 7/20. Then, this visit to the three main temples may have served the purpose of carrying out preparatory rituals for a guided ascent of Togakushi's Two Realm *mandala* peaks, Takatsuma 高妻 and Ototsuma 乙妻 (fig. 0-4), only opened during this summer window.³³ If that was the case, then the real mountain climb still lay ahead.

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Overview of the chapters

The tour above provides a glimpse of this mountain in the mid-nineteenth century. In order to understand how Togakushisan came to encompass such an array of worship sites, rituals and belief systems, each of the chapters that follow will address key elements of its formation into a renowned numinous site. As its title infers, chapter one establishes a “bedrock” for this study by analyzing foundational components of Togakushi in the medieval period. The results of this investigation challenge some of the ways in which Japan’s numinous mountains—and to a broader extent, religious sites in general—have been understood in previous scholarship. Based on close readings of Togakushi’s origin accounts (composed in the late thirteenth century and mid-fifteenth century) and other scattered evidence, I consider continental influences, Buddhist-Shintō activity, female exclusionary practices, and the state of Shugendō at the mountain in the fifteenth century. Of course as we find in later chapters, this bedrock is subject to its own processes of erosion and alteration as additional religious influences continue to transform the mountain over time.

One principal element in the early development of Togakushisan was the formation of a cult devoted to Kuzuryū. Through analyses of Chinese Buddhist texts, Japanese temple origin accounts, and sources from Togakushi, chapter two demonstrates how this dragon transforms from an abstract divinity and legendary symbol into the tutelary deity of a local site. I suggest furthermore, that the growing reputation of Kuzuryū becomes instrumental in the production of Togakushisan in medieval Japan.

Chapter three shifts toward the emergence of Shugendō, beginning with a number of ritual texts compiled at Hikosan (on the southern island of Kyushu) in the early sixteenth century. After arguing that these works point toward the gestation of Shugendō as a self-conscious

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religious school, I trace their transmission to Togakushisan in the 1520s through a comparative analysis with textual evidence from Togakushi. This evidence, dated to 1561, indicates the beginning of Shugendō as a definitive school at the mountain. Together these texts also suggest the ways in which their authors understood Shugendō within the broader milieu of medieval Japanese Buddhism.

Shugendō at Togakushisan appears to initially mirror the practices and doctrines of its point of origin, Hikosan. Over the course of the Edo period, however, it becomes highly embedded in the local culture, identity, and economy of the Togakushi region as chapter four demonstrates. By establishing their own branch of Shugendō, merging *shugen* practices with preexisting rituals, and weaving Shugendō into the mountain's historical narrative, the mountain community provides an example of how early modern religious schools adapted to specific locales.

The final two chapters analyze the thought and activity of the Tendai cleric, Jōin 乘因 (1682–1739), who served as Togakushi's administrator from 1727 to 1738. During this time, he sought to significantly increase the mountain's identification with Shugendō by favorably casting it in ancient, idealized terms—a portrait that incidentally resembles some modern renderings of Shugendō. Yet to his detriment, Jōin additionally attempted to reshape the institutional framework of the temple complex under this vision of Shugendō—a project that ultimately failed. Chapter five examines his multipronged transformation of Togakushi Shugendō and suggests reasons for its incompatibility with the mountain community.

Although Jōin held a deep interest in Shugendō, his sympathies did not end there. He came to Togakushi as an initiate of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō 山王一實神道, a secret lineage that deified the founding shogun of the Tokugawa clan, Ieyasu, as a god who brought prosperity to

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the country and stability to his heirs. Taking this political doctrine, he formulated a new lineage that incorporated Shugendō and several forms of Shintō circulating at Togakushi at the time. Chapter six argues that through the manipulation of lineage, gods, and historical narrative, Jōin situated Togakushi in the center of this new school. Considering his inclusion of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō, the chapter closes by reflecting on the broader relationship between numinous sites and political symbols in early modern Japan.

Ultimately, these chapters analyze Shugendō as a self-defined school that emerged—at least in the case of Togakushisan—in the early sixteenth century. Its success was enabled through the ongoing adaptation of practices, cultural identity and economic demands to that of the mountain community. These developments, considered alongside the growth of the Kuzuryū cult and the case of Jōin, collectively demonstrate how Togakushisan evolved into one of the country's premier sites of numinous efficacy in Japan's early modern landscape.

Notes

¹ Togakushi refers immediately to the mountain of Togakushisan and the village below but in premodern sources can also designate the surrounding range of peaks.

² For early textual references, refer to Yoneyama 1971, 15–17; Ushiyama 1997, 6–9 and Suzuki 2013, 245–247. Archeological evidence from Togakushisan was carried out under the Shinano Mainichi Shinbunsha 信濃毎日新聞社 1971, 226–246 and is also discussed by Miyashita 1997, 22–27.

³ Although people typically refer to shrines under the rubric of Shintō, this connection often anachronistically presumes the early existence of such a definitive religion. I use the term not to indicate such an affiliation but simply to provide a translation for *sha* 社. The Chinese

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glyph originally referred to a small structure used to worship a local earth god and carried over into Japan in reference to the worship site of a deity other than a buddha or bodhisattva.

⁴ Representative examples include the 1971 Shinano Mainichi Shinbun report, chapters from volume nine (*Fuji, Ontake to chūbu reizan*, 1978) of the *Sangaku shūkyō shi kenkyū sōsho* series, and *Togakushi shinkō no rekishi* 1997.

⁵ Examples include Yoneyama 1971, Wakamori 1980, and Suzuki 2013.

⁶ The case of Togakushisan is rather unique in that it represents one of several mountain centers that gained its own nominal branch of Shugendō in the Tokugawa period. Besides these regional institutions, the Honzan and Tōzan groups (discussed in chapter four) spread across Japan during this time. The present state of the field however, does not address the extent to which the practices of these overarching institutions were adapted at the local level.

⁷ The position of *bettō* was appointed to a high-ranking cleric who oversaw all temple operations within the Togakushi region. Because the region was off-limits to local jurisdiction (at least in the Edo period), the *bettō* effectively governed all secular and religious activity taking place within the mountain's territory (as designated under the shogun's vermilion seal).

Appointments in the medieval period were likely made by powerful regional families in the northern Shinano province, but in the Edo period they were dispatched from Kan'eiji 寛永寺 or Hieizan for the most part.

⁸ For state of the field articles on Shugendō, refer to Bouchy 2000 as well as Sekimori 2002 and 2009b.

⁹ These works are *Shugendō girei no kenkyū* (Research on the rituals of Shugendō, 1971); *Shugendō shisō no kenkyū* (Research on Shugendō thought, 1985); and *Shugendō soshiki no*

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kenkyū (Research on the institutions of Shugendō, 1999). In addition, Byron Earhart and Gaynor Sekimori have translated a good portion of his work into English: see Miyake 2001a, 2001c, and 2005.

¹⁰ Bouchy's publications include six monographs, nine edited volumes, and over thirty articles and essays (see: <http://www.efeo.fr/biographies/Nouveau%20dossier/bouchy.htm>, accessed on May 19, 2014).

¹¹ For an overview of the development of folk studies in Japanese historiography, see Carol Gluck 1978 and Ian Reader 2006. Kim Brandt 2007 moreover, has considered the emergence of folk art (*mingei* 民芸) as a concept and commodity in the twentieth century.

¹² It is important to note that Gorai and Hori were responding to critics from the Meiji period well into the twentieth century who dismissed Shugendō for mixing up Buddhist, Daoist, and autochthonous beliefs (Bouchy 2000, 344–345). They challenged this critique of syncretism by emphasizing what they saw as a pure, ancient core of Shugendō in contrast to the foreign influences of Buddhism. Ultimately however, that stance replicates the syncretistic model by problematically assuming the existence of two discreet, fully formed traditions before their combination. For thorough treatment on the term, “syncretism,” see Colpe 1987 and Graf 2005.

¹³ Orion Klautau 2008 looks at this trend among Meiji thinkers.

¹⁴ The incorporation of Protestant norms into the field of religious studies is of course, not unique to Shinjō. Gregory Schopen 1991 has challenged the field of Indian Buddhist studies in what he identifies as strong Protestant values in gathering evidence and shaping arguments. Anthropologist Ellen Badone 2004 has similarly argued that pilgrimage studies tend to delineate between pilgrimage and tourism on the basis of similar assumptions.

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¹⁵ Nam-lin Hur's 2000 study of the temple Sensōji 浅草寺 for example, argues that avenues of 'play' (entertainment, sex, and consumerism) and 'prayer' were thoroughly intertwined in the early modern capitol of Edo (now Tokyo). Laura Nenzi 2008 applies a similar approach to travel (with an emphasis on women) during this time.

¹⁶ Representative examples include Helen Hardacre 2002 on the southern Kantō region in the nineteenth century; Sarah Thal 2005 on the transformative nature of the gods at Mt. Zōzu 像頭; Barbara Ambros 2008 on early modern pilgrimage in the case of Ōyama 大山; Heather Blair 2008 on the political and institutional influences on the formation of Kinpusen 金峯山; and Caroline Hirasawa 2013 on the early modern use of Tateyama *mandara* 立山曼荼羅 (Skt. *maṇḍalas*).

¹⁷ I have switched the order of the second two types of space in Lefebvre's typology for heuristic purposes.

¹⁸ The term *sendatsu* applies to a variety of social, institutional and historical contexts but generally speaking refers to guides who escort their patrons (*danna* 檀那) to sites of worship. Use of the term dates to the late Heian period, when *sendatsu* began guiding nobility and members of the court to famous sites on the Kii peninsula (e.g., Kumano, Yoshino, and later Ise). Patronage included the military class in the Kamakura period and eventually expanded to merchants and wealthy peasants. In the case of Kumano, *sendatsu* gained affiliation with resident *oshi* (lodge-keepers), thus allowing the *sendatsu* to provide accommodations for their patrons and visit the shrines. In addition to guiding ritualized entry to these sites, *sendatsu* gave sermons, performed intercessory rituals, and distributed amulets and talismans to their patrons. A ranking hierarchy was eventually established, determined by the number of times a

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sendatsu had performed Peak Entry (*nyūbu* or *mineiri*) at their affiliated mountain sites. Many *sendatsu* became wealthy and supervised their own coalitions of *sendatsu*. Other powerful sites around the country like Hikosan and Hagurosan also became centers of *sendatsu* activity. In the fifteenth century, the Shōgoin *monzeki* 聖護院門跡 began conferring the title to large numbers of prominent *yamabushi*, thereby giving rise to the Honzan group. The Tōzan-affiliated *yamabushi* around Yoshino were led by a coalition of self-governing *sendatsu* in the medieval period but only gained an institutional status equal to that of the Honzan *sendatsu* in Tokugawa period. During this time, the occupation spread throughout the country, mainly through the expansion of the Honzan and Tōzan groups. (Mori 1986, 229; Hasegawa 1989, Miyake 2005, 54–55, 65–67; Sekiguchi 2009b, 105)

¹⁹ The *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* was composed by Toyoda Toshitada 豊田利忠 (alt. Toyoda Yōen 廉園) and illustrated by Odagiri Shunkō 小田切春江 (1810–1888), both of Mino Province, in 1843 (Tenpō 14). *Meisho zue* comprise a genre of travel literature composed in the late eighteenth century. Many were published in woodblock and served as guides for an increasing number of independent travelers in the Late Edo period. The *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* served as a supplement to the *Kisō ji meisho zue* 木曾路名所圖會 (1805), which followed the Nakasendō highway (*kaidō* 街道) (alternatively referred to as the Kisō *kaidō*) between Kyoto and Edo but did not extend north to Zenkōji. As such, the *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* begins at the Nakasendō town of Motoseba 本洗馬 and continues to Zenkōji and eventually Togakushisan (the contents of the fourth fascicle). In addition to illustrations and travel information, the *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* provides detailed information on the Togakushi temple complex and its annual ritual calendar. The guide has been digitized by the Waseda University Library

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(available at http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ru04/ru04_04500; accessed on April 26, 2014).

²⁰ The following description also relies on a late Edo period map known as the *Shinshū Togakushisan sōryaku zue* 信州戸隱山惣略繪圖 (fig. 1-1) as a cross-reference.

²¹ This distance is recorded in various travelogues (*dōchūki* 道中記) from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. I refer specifically to the *Ise sangū dōchūki* 伊勢參宮道中記 (p. 435) and *Ise narabi Yamato meguri dōchūki* (p. 124), both of which provide information likely intended for subsequent travelers.

²² This official status refers to the land designated under the shogun's vermilion seal (reviewed in chapter four).

²³ Additionally, this administrative oversight meant that Togakushi did not have a typical *monzen* 門前 (literally, the district "before the temple gate") with inns and entertainment indicative of many of the large temples (e.g., Zenkōji or Sensōji) in the Edo period.

²⁴ I use the most common spelling, recorded first in the *Transmitted Account* (1458) and still used today. The first glyph was occasionally written as sun (*hi* 日) in the Edo period (e.g., fig. 0-3), likely influenced by the importation of the Amaterasu (sun goddess) myth to Togakushisan at this time (discussed in chapter six).

²⁵ The three main sites of Togakushi are referred to in Edo period sources as valleys. I alternatively use the term "temple complex" to refer to the main temples and their affiliated cloisters.

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²⁶ These gates are depicted in illustrations as standing before each of the three main temple complexes. In the *Shinshū Togakushisan sōryaku zue*, they are alternatively labeled as *ninnō* 仁王 (benevolent kings), but both terms denote the deities, Agyō 阿形 and Ungyō 吋形 (meaning open-mouthed and close-mouthed). Understood as manifestations of the Buddha-protecting bodhisattva, Vajrapāṇi, they are situated outside of Buddhist temples across Asia. Today only the gate leading to Okusha (formerly Oku-no-in) remains. While all six icons are extant, they were transferred to various locations in 1870 under the separation of gods and buddhas (*shinbutsu bunri* 神佛分離). The pair at Oku-no-in was replaced with Shintō gods that still stand today.

²⁷ The term *shuto* appears in a variety of contexts in premodern Japan. Its usage dates back to a class of priests serving at major temples (e.g., Enryakuji 延暦寺, Miidera 三井寺, Tōdaiji 東大寺, Kōfukuji 興福寺, and Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺) beginning in the latter half of the Heian. Many *shuto* during this time became members of monastic militias (*sōhei* 僧兵), but this role expanded to the administration of the agricultural estates (*shōen*) in the Kamakura period. The term in this context, became a point of distinction from lower-ranking militia (known as *kokumin* 國民) attached to the shrines. In the broadest sense, the term came to refer to the entire community of priests at a temple or mountain complex. Given its usage in textual sources, this last usage likely represented the case for Togakushi, though the mountain's *shuto* may well have still carried out martial and administrative duties related to the mountain's estates.

²⁸ Shogun Jizō is the militarized version of Jizō (Skt. Kṣitigarbha). Both appear in the sources at Togakushi, though Shogun Jizō appears only in the Tokugawa period.

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²⁹ Representative research on this topic includes Tamamuro 1971, Grapard 1984, Sekimori 2005, and Hardacre 2002. The combinatory aspects of premodern Togakushisan are discussed in chapter one.

³⁰ Temples named Oku-no-in are common at mountain religious sites in Japan. As the name suggests, they are always situated deep within the mountains in contrast to temples positioned closer to the plains in more inhabited areas. I spell it as Oku-no-in (as opposed to Okuin) based on several instances in Tokugawa period sources where it is written as such in *kana*.

³¹ The historical context of this issue is discussed in chapter one.

³² The formation of Kuzuryū as the mountain's tutelary deity is the subject of chapter two.

³³ This event is discussed in chapter four.

1 Establishing a Bedrock

Narrative, Gods, and Practice in the Fifteenth Century

Togakushisan constituted a powerful religious center in the medieval period. By the fifteenth century, the mountain boasted three central temples, numerous cloisters, a locally administered shrine, surrounding agricultural estates, and an alpine training ground that encompassed ritual sites on at least three mountains. In many ways the thought, practice, and institutional composition of the community bear similarities with other contemporary mountain sites on the Japanese archipelago. Yet a careful study of Togakushi's extant sources from this period reveals a number of variations. While some elements speak to the unique attributes of Togakushisan, other elements raise questions over some of the overarching discussions in the field of medieval Japanese religious studies. Does Togakushisan qualify as a typical shrine-temple complex? What do sources offer about the exclusion of women from the site? What role did Shugendō play at the mountain at this time? Taking up these questions, this chapter explores the narratives, gods and practices of Togakushisan in the fifteenth century (and in some cases earlier) through a careful investigation of its sources.

Sources

Textual and material evidence from many of the great mountain centers of the medieval period is extremely limited. With only a handful of its own sources, Togakushisan is no exception. This

chapter relies primarily on two origin accounts from Togakushisan, corroborated by material and archeological evidence when available. Often titled *engi* 縁起 or *ruki* 流記, origin accounts of religious sites were composed throughout Japan mostly between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They typically include earlier sources as well as sections (like the introduction to the site) that were most likely written at the time of compilation. By establishing certain lineages, historical narratives, and affiliated grounds, they not only promoted the legendary origins of a temple but asserted claims over territory, orthodoxy, and ritual precedent. At the same time, their vivid descriptions, harrowing tales, and spirited prose offer a fascinating glimpse at the ways in which the relevant stake holders imagined their own communities, origins, and natural surroundings.

The most detailed of the two origin accounts for Togakushisan is the fifteenth century *Togakushisan Kenkōji ruki* 戸隱山顯光寺流記 (Transmitted account of the temple of Kenkōji of Mt. Togakushi), compiled by the practitioner, Jikkokusō Ujō 十穀僧有通.¹ In the colophon, Ujō laments that the textual record of Togakushi had fallen into a dire state of neglect. In order to preserve it, he compiled a number of texts and most likely wrote much of the work's first half himself. Upon its completion in 1458 (Chōroku 2), he dedicated it to the temple of Hon'in 本院 (a.k.a., Oku-no-in).² In consideration of broader historical events, the recent Eikyō Disturbance (1438–1439) in the Kantō region and its implications for Shinano may have also motivated the mountain community to assert its own orthodox position in the region (Suzuki 2013, 322).

The first half of the *Transmitted Account* provides a vivid account of the legendary visit of Gakumon Gyōja 學門行者 in 850 (Kashō 3) and his encounter with the mountain's resident dragon, Kuzuryū (see chapter two). Following in chronological order, Ujō then recounts the origins of Oku-no-in, Chūin and Hōkōin, the accompanying shrine of Hinomikosha, and nearby

Mt. Iizuna 飯繩. We are also introduced to the gods and *buddhas* associated with these sites and the annual ritual calendar. The second half of the *Transmitted Account* includes what are most likely the older records Ujō refers to in the colophon as having salvaged. These sections provide information on the “inner peak” (*buchū* 峯中) practice, the mountain’s thirty-three numinous caves, its history (divided into the tenures of each successive administrator), and a list of donations (dating back to the year of 1110).³

To a lesser extent, I also rely on an earlier origin account titled the *Togakushiji ryakki* 托
隱寺略記 (Brief account of the Togakushi temple), which is found in the thirteenth century *Asaba shō* 阿娑縛抄. The *Asaba shō* was compiled by the Tendai cleric Shōchō 承澄 (1205–1282) from Mt. Hiei 比叡. Gathered from an extensive collection of texts most likely dating from the mid-twelfth through thirteen centuries, the voluminous compendium (227 fasc.) contains descriptions of iconography, rituals, and temple sites throughout the Japanese archipelago. Written from the standpoint of Enryakuji, the passage on Togakushisan provides an origin account for the mountain and lists eighteen numinous caves from which buddhas, bodhisattvas and other deities appear. Despite its connection to Hieizan, the text most likely circulated at Togakushisan—in light of Ujō’s adoption of many of its lines in his later version.⁴

Due to the kinds of information provided in these sources, it should be noted that this chapter does not consider the economic history of Togakushisan in the medieval period. Needless to say, however, like other major religious sites over this period, the complex was heavily supported through the taxation of agricultural states in the region.⁵

Divinities and doctrines

The *Transmitted Account* portrays Togakushisan as a powerful mountain complex situated within a regional nexus of deities, rituals, doctrines, imagery and narratives. Among these

features, numerous buddhas and bodhisattvas are connected to the site. The earliest among these is Śākyamuni's predecessor, Kāśyapa Buddha (Kashō Butsu 迦葉佛), who allegedly preached the Dharma from a cave at the base of Togakushi. The legendary founder of the mountain's first temple, Gakumon Gyōja, represents the “honored [response] body” (*son bunjin 尊分身*) of Śākyamuni and one of Kannon's (Skt. Avalokitēśvara) “responsive transformations” (*ōke 應化*). Through the doctrine of *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 (basis and traces), Togakushi's main divinity, the nine-headed dragon Kuzuryū, appears as both the bodhisattva Shō Kannon (written as Shō Kanjizai 聖觀自在) and the Indian water goddess Benzaiten (written as Daiben Kudoku Ten 大辯功德天; Skt. Sarasvatī).⁶ Additionally, Senju 千手 (Thousand-armed) Kannon, Shaka *gongen* 釋迦權現 (Avatar Śākyamuni), and Jizō reside at Oku-no-in, Chūin, and Hōkōin, respectively. The combined distances between these temples equal forty-eight *chō* (slightly over 5km)—an allusion to the forty-eight vows of the buddha Amida 阿彌陀 (Skt. Amitābha). Finally, many of the mountain's numinous caves are populated by buddhas, bodhisattvas and other imported deities. Some include Yakushi *nyorai* 藥師如來 (Skt. Bhaisajyaguru Tathāgata), Monjushiri 文殊師利 (Skt. Mañjuśrī), Fugen 普賢 (Skt. Samantabhadra), Kokuzō 虛空藏 (Skt. Ākāśagarbha), Aizen Ō 愛染王; and the Indian gods Bishamon 畏沙門 (Skt. Vaiśravaṇa) and Taishakuten 帝釋天 (Skt. Śakra).

In addition to the mountain's extensive pantheon of divinities, its power is asserted through multiple Buddhist doctrines. The site for example, is described as “defending the ruling families” (*chingo kokka* 鎮護國家), providing visitors with “benefits” (*riyaku 利益*) for this world, and eliminating the “evil destinies” (*akushu* 惡趣) of rebirth. Esoteric Buddhist thought moreover, pervades the mountain's practices and narratives. Original Awakening Doctrine

(*hongaku hōmon* 本覺法門) for example,⁷ appears in rituals corresponding to the path of awakening and its reverse course through the metaphor of seed and fruit (*inga* 因果).⁸ In his quest to the mountain, Gakumon Gyōja recites magical spells (*ju* 呪; Skt. *dhāraṇī*) and hurls a *vajra* sceptre (*kongō sho* 金剛杵). Finally, the interior peaks of Togakushisan are described as the “spontaneous emergence” (*jinen yūshutsu* 自然湧出) of the Two Realm Diamond and Womb *mandala*.⁹

Continental influences

Thought and practice at Togakushi represent not only trends in the Japanese archipelago but also the broader cultural sphere of East Asia. Beyond the obvious influences of Buddhist doctrine and ritual, the *Transmitted Account* alludes to elements from China and the Korean peninsula that are less commonly recognized in scholarship on medieval Japan. Daoistic language for example, depicts Gakumon Gyōja in the role of an immortal (*xiānrén* 仙人); “his rank among the worthies (*son’i* 尊位) is difficult to estimate;” and “his virtue and efficacy [in the magical arts] (*tokugen* 德驗) was superior in the world.” At the end of his life, he is described as “ascending into the sky without a burial” in the same way that legendary Chinese ascetics left the world in order to dwell in the celestial realm (*Transmitted Account*, 308).

This image of the ascetic who attains supernatural powers in the mountains in fact appears frequently in ancient and medieval Japanese literature. Poems in the *Kaifūsō* portray Yoshino as a Daoist paradise inhabited by flying immortals (Ooms 2009, 147–148). En no Gyōja likewise, is depicted in the *Nihon ryōiki* and subsequent origin accounts (e.g., *Shozan engi* 諸山縁起) as manipulating spirits, flying atop a five-colored cloud, and conducting longevity

practices (Miyake 2001b, 115). As we will see in subsequent chapters, this influence of Daoist thought in early Japan precedes the emergence of Shugendō.

We can also find influences from the Korean peninsula, as exemplified in a passage regarding Kāśyapa Buddha. As the sixth of the so-called seven buddhas who predicts the coming of Śākyamuni (the seventh buddha), references to Kāśyapa are exceedingly rare in Japanese Buddhism.¹⁰ The *Transmitted Account* nevertheless places him in the mountain's distant origins:

Generally speaking, Kenkōji of Togakushisan in the Minochi district in the province of Shinano is the site where Kāśyapa Buddha preached the Dharma from a numinous cave. It is a quiet place [that offers prayers for] the protection of the ruling families. Considering the dragon's [i.e., Kuzuryū's] words about its mysterious rise and fall, [Togakushi's] origins can be recalled back to the ancient time of black and white horses when divine spirits ruled our country and the human lifespan was twenty thousand years.

夫れ信濃國水内郡戸隱山顯光寺は、迦葉佛説法の靈窟、鎮護國家の寂場なり。竊に興滅を龍語に考へ、緬かに寂初を驪翰に推しあるに、神靈治國の昔日、人壽二萬歳の時なり。(Transmitted Account, 308)

Although Kāśyapa resides in a cave on the mountain in this passage, a later passage situates him at the “esoteric altar of [a] jeweled rock” (*mitsudan no hōseki* 寶石の密壇) (*Transmitted Account*, 309).

Reference to the cave as well as several esoteric elements (the esoteric altar and the twofold *mandala*) reflect the practices and doctrine of Togakushisan in the fifteenth century. The rest of the story, however, recalls a passage about Kāśyapa Buddha from the *Samguk yusa*

三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) by Iryōn 一然 (1206–1289) of the Koryō dynasty.¹¹ In the “Rock on which Kāśyapa Buddha Sat in Meditation” (*Kasōppul yōnjwasōk* 達葉弗宴坐石), Iryōn projects the origins of the great Silla temple of Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 back to the eras of the seven buddhas. In the story, he describes a stone on the premises of the temple site where Kāśyapa Buddha once meditated.

In addition to this common thread linking the two texts, a number of other obscure details from Iryōn’s passage also appear in the *Transmitted Account*. Both refer to the twenty-thousand year lifespan of humans during the era of Kāśyapa Buddha—a reference from the *Long Āgama Sūtras* (Finch 2012, 184). Similar to Iryōn’s measurement of five to six *jō* 丈 (1 *jō* = 3 meters) for the stone’s width at Hwangnyongsa, the “jeweled rock” at Togakushi is described as five *jō* in size. Finally, reference to Kāśyapa Buddha in either account can be thought of as intentionally extending the histories of the two sites. Each was traditionally dated back to a single founder in the relatively recent past: the Silla king and Buddhist patron Chinhŭng 眞興 (534–576, r. 540–576) in the case of Hwangnyongsa and Gakumon Gyōja in the case of Togakushi. According to the reformulated histories, Chinhŭng and Gakumon become restorers (not founders) of great temples that predate even the arrival of Śākyamuni to the world.

Combinatory without kami?

At first glance, the characteristics and scale of Togakushisan in the premodern period align with our common understanding of Japan’s major cultic centers in the ancient and medieval periods. Allan Grapard’s studies of Tōnomine 多武峯 (1984), the so-called twenty-two imperial shrines (1988), and the Kōfukuji-Kasuga multiplex (1992) in particular, advanced the theory of “combinatory” integration between Shintō and Buddhism in the premodern period. He summarizes this relationship in the following passage:

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We find in these places—from the most complex cultic center to the most simple place of worship—common elements in their organization of sacred space, in ritual and sacerdotal lineages, in combinations, and in their social and economic aspects. Local differences, though important, do not hide the patterns along which the tradition was fundamentally organized. (Grapard 1992, 7)

For Grapard, these consistent patterns constitute the codependency of local *kami* and universal buddhas or bodhisattvas. This model surely holds true for many of Japan's premodern religious sites, yet the case of Togakushisan presents an alternative scenario. While Grapard contends that Buddhist clerics imposed cosmology, ritual, and order upon preexisting shrines and their respective gods, evidence of such a cult at Togakushi is difficult to locate. Here are a few possibilities. The main tutelary deity, Kuzuryū, is portrayed in the earliest origin narrative as a local divinity of the mountain. As chapter two will demonstrate, however, Kuzuryū originates in Chinese Tiantai sources and may have been installed at Togakushisan by Tendai clerics. Another sign of the absence of preexisting local gods is the unusual reference to the buddha Śākyamuni and the bodhisattva Jizō as *gongen* (avatars). *Gongen* are normally defined in *honji suijaku* theory as local deities, or “trace manifestations” (*suijaku*), that reveal the “original basis” (*honji*) of a distant buddha or bodhisattva.¹² With no local gods residing at the temples though, their designation at Togakushi as avatars may suggest that they played the dual role of local and universal deity.

If we look for an early form of Shintō, Hinomikosha might be construed as such, given the suffix, *sha* (commonly interpreted as a Shintō shrine), and its administration by a local clan.¹³ Unlike a typical shrine-temple relationship, however, there was no combinatory structure in place between it and the three main temples. Dwarfed by the three temples, Hinomikosha

instead stood on the outskirts of the site and maintained its own *honji suijaku* combination that notably both originate outside of Japan. According to the *Transmitted Account*, the shrine's trace (*suijaku*) deity is described as "Kōi 后妣 of the great Tang empire," whose original basis (*honji*) consists of the "eight great *vajra* lads" (*hachi dai kongō dōji* 八大金剛童子).¹⁴ Finally, Hinomikosha does not appear in the earliest origin account, the *Asaba shō*, despite a reference to the "three sites" (i.e., Oku-no-in, Chūin, and Hōkōin) of the region (*Asaba shō*, 373). The earliest evidence of the site in fact appears in a Buddhist context. In 1327 (Karyaku 2) a coalition of independent practitioners are described as soliciting money by chanting the *Lotus Sūtra* (Ihara 1997, 43).

Not until the Edo period does Togakushisan begin to bear the appearance of a shrine-temple complex of *kami* and buddhas or bodhisattvas. Drawn from either the Heian period *Sendai kuji hongi* or the more recent *Sendai kuji hongi taisei kyō* (ca. 1679), gods from Japan's imperial mythology become situated as avatars of the three temples.¹⁵ This system is first articulated by Jōin (1682–1739) (see chapter six). In contrast to the ancient *kami* cults, however, this adaptation speaks more toward emergent trends in early modern Shintō discourse—a reminder that much of what we commonly classify as "Shintō" developed relatively late in Japan.

That said, a number of idiosyncrasies at Togakushisan suggest its resemblance to the ritual structure of a combinatory complex in the medieval period. Despite the foreign origins of Kuzuryū, the dragon is cast in the *Transmitted Account* as a local god in the mountain's pantheon. Mention of offerings to Kuzuryū (described in later sources as various types of food) in return for divinations each morning also suggest its presence as a living deity at the site (*Transmitted Account*, 309).¹⁶ In the role of *suijaku* moreover, the dragon is loosely paired with the *honji* of Shō Kannon in the *Asaba shō* and directly with Benzaiten in the *Transmitted Account*. Although

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it would be inaccurate to classify these relationships as Shintō-Buddhist under the premise that Shintō is inherently local or Japanese, they do function as a combinatory structure.

The ritual and narrative treatment of Kuzuryū as a tutelary deity in this sense challenges the projected categories of local and foreign. Can a deity be ‘localized’ over time even if it was originally imported? What relevance, if any, do the actual origins have for later generations unaware of the history? These divisions may result from modern strategies of historiography rather than from contemporaneous understandings of local and foreign. The study of structural configurations such as *honji suijaku*, moreover, may be more relevant to understanding the religious, political, and cultural landscape of premodern Japan than debates over whether a deity is Shintō or Buddhist.

Nebulous female boundaries

Turning now toward Togakushisan as a mountain center of practice, one element worth consideration concerns the restriction of women. A growing body of scholarship has revealed evidence that numinous mountains in premodern Japan, including Togakushisan, established imaginary borders that prohibited women from entrance.¹⁷ The practice, known as *nyonin kekkai* 女人結界 (a boundary [restricting] women) or *nyonin kinsei* 女人禁制 (prohibition of women), is often assumed to serve as an early defining component of numinous peaks. As entire mountains beginning with Hieizan came to represent ritualized spaces (so this logic goes), boundaries were established to keep women out. Locating decisive evidence of such restrictive practices in the medieval period, however, can prove difficult. If we examine the case at Togakushisan, a legend from the *Transmitted Account* exemplifies the ambiguities involved in this endeavor:

On the twenty-sixth day of the eighth month of the first year of the Kōhei era (1058) during the reign of Go-reizei In 後冷泉院, a bright light radiated from atop a giant tree fifty *chō* from the temple of Hon'in (Oku-no-in). It seemed like a mysterious and unusual living being. The image was that of a divine true body.¹⁸

At that time, there was a young girl of twelve to thirteen years of age in such mental and physical agony that she passed out on the ground. When asked why, she responded, “I am the avatar (*gongen*) Jizō, the greatest of the three avatars of this mountain, who stands on the left side.¹⁹ That area is a bordered land (*kekka chi* 結界地), upon which the trace of women has been removed. Because this [removal] defies the Buddha’s orders and ignores his original vow, the benefits of conversion (*kedo* 化度) are shallow and scarce. Please erect a building in this place and have me installed.”

Many had their doubts. They challenged the girl, insisting that if this was really the divine oracle [of Jizō], she should prove it by transferring [the light from the treetop] into the sleeve of someone among the priests and laity. It then flew down into the sleeve of a śramaṇa among them who had great faith (*shinriki* 信力). He worshiped it, [making it] the site of the honored form of the bodhisattva Jizō. Not moving for days, he built a shrine with an attached hermitage, which became a hut in which to pursue the Dharma. The place where the divine, true body [of Jizō] flew down is called Fushiogami 伏拝. The temple was first named Fukuokain 福岡院 and later became known as Hōkōin.

後冷泉院御代、康平元年八月廿六日に、本院より五十町計り下の大木の梢に光を放ち輝く物あり。衆人奇異の思をなす。これを見れば御正躰なり。時に十二三歳の童女身心を苦しめ、辟地に悶絶す。事の由を問ふに、我はこれ當山三所權現

の隨一、左方に立てる地蔵權現なり。然して、かの所は結界の地として女人の跡を削る。故に佛勅に違ひ、本誓を默止し、化度の益尠薄なり。願はこの所に一字を建立し、吾を安置せよと云々。諸人疑をなす。實に神託ならば、この僧俗中の袂に移りたまへと申し、各々の信力を致す中に一人の沙門あるに、かの袖を飛び移れり。これを拝せば即ち地蔵薩埵の尊像なり。時日を廻らさず社を造り庵室を結ぶ。求法房これなり。御正躰の飛來の處は伏拝と稱す是なり。初めには福岡院と號し、後には寶光院と云へり。*(Transmitted Account, 309–310)*

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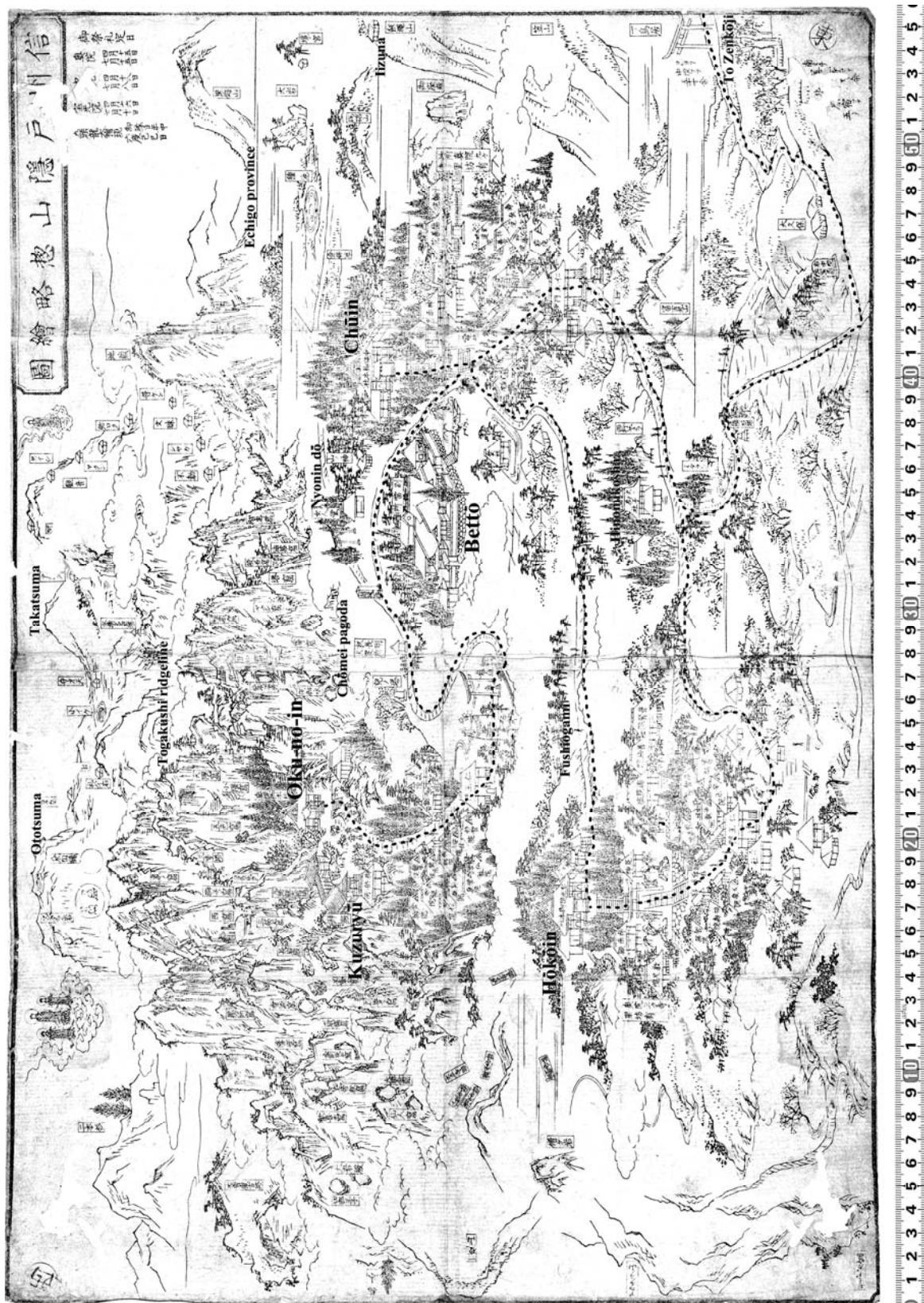


Figure 1-1 *Shinshū Togakushisan sōryaku zue*

This map was likely composed in the late Edo period. I have drawn in the main roads and labeled the major sites. Fushigami is not included in the map but I have provided a label by its approximate location. Note that the sites and natural formations of the area have been vertically truncated to fit into the dimensions of a rectangular map, making the roads between sites appear to fold back upon one another. (Nagano Prefectural Library)

This passage serves the dual purpose of establishing an origin myth for Hōkōin and raising the issue of women's exclusion at Togakushisan. Yet it draws a highly ambiguous picture of the policy, its physical boundaries and the degree of consensus at Togakushi. This is evident in the location of Fushiogami as the site of the legendary event (fig. 1-1). Fushiogami is located shortly after Hōkōin along the path to Chūin. At first glance, this placement suggests that Hōkōin and its cloisters would have accepted women while the complexes of Chūin and Oku-no-in (both within the boundary) would have not. The account, however, only hints at the existence of an exclusionary policy and even then, its level of enforcement remains unclear.

Complicating matters, early modern sources allude to female boundaries, but in relation to an entirely different area of the mountain. On the road between Chūin and Oku-no-in, the words *nyonin kinsei* were engraved on a stone pillar (no longer



Figure 1-2 Fushiogami

Fushiogami continues to be memorialized down to this day with a number of stones, inscriptions and a sign recounting the legend. Behind stands a tall conifer tree with a *shimenawa* rope wrapped around it. The tree is smaller than the row of great conifers (*sugi nami ki* 杉並木) lining the path to Oku-no-in. Their planting in the beginning of the Edo period (1612) suggest that this tree does not date back to the time at which the legend was recorded.

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extant) in 1705 (Hōei 3), implying an exclusionary boundary that encompassed the Oku-no-in complex (Ushiyama 1994a, 84). Later in 1795 (Kansei 7) a large stele was erected at a nearby fork in the road. The engraved directions stated that Oku-no-in (to the right), was a *nyonin kekkai* (Horii 2013, 86–87). As depicted in the map (fig. 1-1), a *nyonin dō* (literally, women's temple) was situated beside the stone, indicating that it was most likely the closest site women wishing to pray at Oku-no-in could reach. This placement suggests a much smaller boundary than what the land encompassing Fushigami would have represented. In addition to this discrepancy, we might question why this succession of announcements was made in the eighteenth century unless the rule was being regularly broken. Did the prohibition even exist before then?

The name “Fushigami”—possibly borrowed from Fushigami Ōji 王子 in Kumano—adds an additional layer of complexity to our understanding of the medieval boundary. Although Kumano 熊野 is well-known for accepting women in the premodern period, ambivalence toward this policy emerges in a poetic exchange between the late Heian poet Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部 and the *gongen* of Hongū本宮. In the poem, Izumi laments that her current menstruation prevents her from proceeding to the shrine, as blood was understood to be impure:²⁰

<i>hareyaranu mi no ukigumo no tanabikite</i>	Beneath unclear skies, my body
	obscured by drifting clouds,
<i>tsuki no sawari to naru zo kanashiki</i>	I am saddened that my monthly
(<i>Fūga wakashū</i> , poem no. 2100) ²¹	obstruction has begun.

The *gongen* appears in a dream that night, responding:

<i>moto yori mo chiri ni maji waru kami nareba</i>	How could the god who mingles with the dust
--	--

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tsuki no sawari mo nani ga kurushiki suffer because of your
(*Fūga wakashū*, poem no. 2099) monthly obstruction?
(Moerman transl. 2005, 195)

Implicitly giving her permission to enter the shrine, the *gongen*'s response relies on the concept of *wakō dōjin* 和光同塵. Translated roughly as “softening the radiance in order to mingle with the dust,” this doctrine asserts that as beings too powerful for human contact, buddhas and bodhisattvas appear in the world through the mediated form of local gods. As one of these gods, the Kumano *gongen* resides in the “dust”-covered (i.e., polluted) world, thus explaining its lack of concern over Izumi's supposed state of impurity. Ultimately, the *gongen*'s acceptance of her justifies the entrance of women who are even in menstruation.

The name of Fushiogami does not appear in early medieval sources from Kumano and its connection to Izumi is not evident until the mid-seventeenth century (Tokuda 1997, 82). Translated as “lie down and worship,” the site nevertheless becomes associated with the legend, based on the idea of Izumi prostrating on the ground in order to worship the *gongen*. The fifteenth century appearance of the toponym at Togakushi, especially in connection with *nyonin kekkai*, suggests that the link between Izumi and the Kumano site may date back to the medieval period as well.

Further inspection of the two narratives reveals that in both cases divine beings intervene in order to challenge the restriction of women. While the Kumano *gongen* intervenes in order to provide a rationale for Izumi's entry, Jizō explicitly condemns the practice. Speaking through an oracle (the adolescent girl), he proclaims that it “defies the Buddha's orders and ignores his original vow.” The origins of this reference are unclear, but it may refer to Śākyamuni's alleged permission to his stepmother Mahāprajāpatī to establish a nun's order—a moment generally

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implied to symbolize his acceptance of women into the Saṅgha. This discord at Togakushi with Śākyamuni's decree therefore, decreased the numinous efficacy of the mountain, as Jizō concludes. Coupled with the name of Fushigami, the condemnation suggests the possibility of a similar level of acceptance (albeit contested) of women between Kumano and Togakushi.

While critiques of *nyonin kekkai* occasionally appear in medieval texts, rarely are they voiced in a temple's own sources. Max Moerman (2005, chapter 5) and Melissa McCormick 2012 offer examples of how women mediated policies of *nyonin kekkai* through the imaginative spaces of medieval poetry and *emaki* literature. Each argue that these creative realms allowed women to symbolically transgress these borders without literally doing so. The shifting nature of the boundary at Togakushisan as well as its sharp critique in the *Transmitted Account*, however, suggest a murkier picture of this exclusion. With only a paucity of evidence regarding female boundaries in the medieval period, it is perhaps impossible to know the extent of these prohibitions, if they even existed at all.

Mountain practices and gods

Having considered doctrinal, institutional, and social elements with regard to the early history of the mountain, we will finally consider Togakushi in relation to mountain asceticism and mountain deities. This investigation will later allow us to situate this realm of practice vis-à-vis the school of Shugendō. From the latter half of the Heian period into the Kamakura periods, mountains beginning in the Kii peninsula and eventually across the archipelago, developed into centers of ascetic practice. Described in extant texts as *tosō* 斗數 (Skt. *dhūta*; literally, to “shake off” defilements), austerities included practices such as ritualized entry in mountains, seclusion in caves, and waterfall ablutions. These activities were most likely accompanied by prayers, chants, fasting, various rituals and forms of meditation (Wakamori 1980, 51–67, 108–121). In

the case of Togakushisan, evidence suggests that caves were fundamental to ascetic practices. For example, references in the *Transmitted Account* appear in narratives related to the origins of the mountain such as Kāśyapa Buddha's first sermon from a cave, Kuzuryū's concealment in a cave, and Gakumon's search for a practice cave on the summit of Iizuna.

The *Transmitted Account* also details thirty-three caves on Togakushisan, a number corresponding to the thirty-three manifestations of Kannon in the world.²² Ushiyama Yoshiyuki (1997, 12) suggests that the thirty-three sites constituted a practice circuit on the mountain, perhaps similar to the forty-nine caves of Hikosan (a number identified with the future buddha, Maitreya). This claim is substantiated by archeological evidence from a number of the caves sites.²³ Objects ranging from ritual implements and icons to ceramic shards and coins—some of which have been dated back to the Heian period—demonstrate that many of these caves were used by practitioners. Within the list of thirty-three, the first seventeen caves are purported to host resident deities, buddhas, and bodhisattvas. They also match the caves listed in the *Asaba shō*, demonstrating their precedence at the mountain. The caves in the second half (added later) receive sparse mention and carry mundane names (e.g. “gold,” “daytime,” “great fork,” and “little fork”), suggesting that their primary significance may have been to simply to reach the combined total of thirty-three.

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In addition to cave practices, a festival known as the *hashira matsu* 柱松 (figs. 1-3, 1-4) was shaped around mountain practices and beliefs. The *Transmitted Account* describes practitioners (*gyōnin* 行人) appearing in the event in order to showcase the “awesome powers” (*igen* 威驗) they had acquired through mountain austerities performed during the summer (p. 310).²⁴ The earliest mention of the *hashira matsu* appears in a dispute that broke out in the seventh month of Enin 5 (1297) between the elder monks (*rōsō* 老僧) and the practitioners over use of the *hashira matsu hei* 幣 (white paper streams attached to the columns) (*Transmitted*



Figure 1-3 The *hashira matsu*

The *hashira* (one for each temple) are arranged prior to the event. The festival was discontinued in the Meiji period but has been restored in recent decades, taking place once every three years. Recreated from descriptions in Edo period sources, the Chūin *hashira* is composed of bamboo, the Hōkōin is made of pine branches, and the Oku-no-in *hashira* combines both materials. (Photograph taken by author on July 27, 2012)



Figure 1-4 Lighting the *hashira*

Practitioners representing each of the temples race to ignite the *hashira* with sparks created from flint.

(Photograph taken by author on July 27, 2012)

Account, 314). Although the *Transmitted Account* provides few other details, the *hashira matsu* is described in Edo period texts from Togakushi and Hiko as an event in which three columns of tied bamboo or pine branches are stood upright and lit on fire. The first to ignite divines the success of the coming year (agricultural, economic, etc.). The event was held at each temple over three days in the seventh month: Chūin beginning on the eighth, Hōkōin on the tenth and the finale at Oku-no-in on the fifteenth (*Zenkōji dō meisho zue*, 256). This last day coincided with Obon, suggesting the additional aim of inviting the deities and ancestral spirits residing in the mountains to descend to Oku-no-in and meet their descendants. While the roots of this ritual

may be tied to Togakushi, the *hashira matsu* eventually spread to other mountain sites around the country in the Edo period (Wakamori 1989, Yoshitani 2006).

Shifting from mountain-based rituals, we might also note the presence of alpine deities described in Togakushi's origin narratives. Cave Four of the thirty-three caves for example, is associated with Kongō Zao 金剛藏王. More commonly known as the avatar Zao *gongen*, this deity is alleged to have been first summoned by En no Gyōja on Kinpusen. The prominence of *ōji* 王子, or “princely” divinities from the Kumano region, also reveal a propensity toward mountain deities at Togakushi.²⁵ One passage in the *Transmitted Account* describes Kiribe 切部 *ōji* as a divine messenger dispatched from the Katsuragi mountains who now resides at Togakushi. While Kiribe originates from Kumano (like the other *ōji*), the Katsuragi range nevertheless also served as an early site of mountain asceticism as well as the purported home of En no Gyōja.²⁶

Another mountain deity found at medieval Togakushisan is Fudō *myōō* 不動明王 (literally, the “Immovable Luminous King”). Corresponding with the Indian god Ācala-vidyā-rāja, Fudō becomes central to Shingon Buddhism and Shugendō. With flames lapping up behind him, he menacingly bears a sword in one hand (used to sever ignorance) and a lasso in the other (to restrain demons). Fūdo appears repeatedly in medieval sources from the Togakushi region. In the *Asaba shō* (p. 373), the Fudō Cave on the mountain is said to resemble the shape of Fudō’s flames. The *Transmitted Account* (p. 313) returns to this site, describing Fudō as “appearing in the revered form of perpetual light amidst a three-tiered waterfall” in Cave 10. A later passage states that in the eleventh century the twenty-fourth administrator Kanhan 寬範 erected a Fudō temple on top of the mountain (*Transmitted Account*, 314).

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Fudō also appears in material evidence from Togakushi. One of the earliest images of Fudō in Japan is found in a round, bronze mirror dated to the latter half of the Heian period that was recovered from a fire at Togakushi's Hōkōsha (formerly Hōkōin) in 1949. Furthermore, an image of him measuring two meters in height is carved into a boulder in a ravine (later named Fudō Zawa 不動沢, or the Fudō Ravine) between Nishidake 西岳 and Togakushi. This is most likely the vicinity of Cave 10 in the *Transmitted Account* (p. 313), corroborated through its placement on a map of the caves in the mid-nineteenth century *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* (p. 255). The choice of Fudō for this site most likely stems from his common association with waterfalls, given that the boulder is situated directly over a mountain stream originating from the pass above.²⁷ Although the carving is not dated, it is close to the former site of the medieval period Shingon temple of Saikōji 西光寺 (Togakushi Jinja 2003, 67).

Finally, Fudō *myōō* is closely linked to the deity Iizuna of neighboring Iizunayama. Iizuna is commonly depicted as a winged *tengu* who bears the implements and flames of Fudō and rides a mythical fox (*zubari*). Statues of the deity can still be seen around Togakushi, revealing close historical ties between the two sites (fig. 1.5).

Conclusion

A close reading of Togakushi's early sources reveals a rich array of ritual, thought, and divinities coexisting at Togakushisan in the fifteenth century. Doctrines such as Original Awakening and *honji suijaku*, shared mountain practices and deities, and exclusionary issues regarding women represent significant trends circulating at this time. As this chapter suggests, however, examination of some of these elements challenge standard models in the field regarding medieval thought and practice. For instance, Daoistic references and Korean narratives apparent at Togakushi in the fifteenth century remind us of the need to consider elements in medieval



Figure 1-5 Iizuna gongen

These images are located by a pagoda (established in 1707) commemorating the self-immolation by the practitioner, Chōmei (see chapter four).

Japan that extend beyond Chinese Buddhism. The absence of autochthonous cultic worship, furthermore, problematizes previous studies regarding the ubiquity of Shintō and Buddhist combinatory practices throughout Japan at this time. Finally, a closer inspection of sources regarding female exclusion from medieval sites such as Togakushi presents a more opaque picture of this practice than has been previously acknowledged.

The case for Shugendō similarly deserves a second look. Previous scholarship situates its existence at Togakushi well before the fifteenth century—an assumption extended to many of the religious mountain centers across the country. The evidence provided in this chapter, however, calls into question the durability of that notion. While practices and gods that subsequently become associated with Shugendō certainly appear in the *Transmitted Account*, we should be careful not to impose later categories of religion that do not yet exist at this time.

Since we have considered elements at Togakushi that might be construed under the rubric of Shugendō, let us now turn toward what is absent. First, the lack of basic terms such as

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Shugendō, *shugen* (adjectival use), or even *yamabushi* (the practitioner of Shugendō) suggest that neither the concept nor the self-conscious identity of such a school exists. Second, no references to En no Gyōja appear. Without a founder, there is neither a lineage to organize members nor an archetypal model for practitioners to follow. In contrast, the mountain community traces itself back to Gakumon Gyōja, a decidedly nonsectarian figure whose hagiography draws from a blend of Mahāyāna concepts and Daoistic imagery. Third, there are no references to the unique attire, ritual implements, or positions of rank indicative of Shugendō—all elements of an institutional foundation. Finally, the doctrines and practices at the mountain that later become hallmarks of Shugendō could just as easily be identified with the Buddhist schools of Tendai or Shingon at this time. The twofold *mandala* superimposed onto the landscape for instance, was widespread in Japan during this time. Examples outside of what is usually associated with Shugendō include Mt. Kōya 高野 (Shingon Buddhist) and Ise (Buddhist-Shintō).

Ultimately, Togakushisan in the fifteenth century might be best understood under what William Lafleur (1983) referred to as the Buddhist episteme of medieval Japan. This hermeneutical approach encompasses the range of complex doctrines, esoteric culture, ascetic practices as well as the Tendai and Shingon temples present on the mountain at this time. The eclectic nature of this religious culture comes into sharper relief in chapter three when contrasted with the influence of what I argue to be a new, distinctive presence at Mt. Hiko in the sixteenth century—that of Shugendō. In this sense, the bedrock that has formed up through the fifteenth century serves only as a foundation upon which additional layers of religious thought and practice accumulate over time, dynamically altering the composition of the mountain in the process.

Notes

¹ Appearing frequently in premodern sources, the name “Kenkōji” 顯光寺 refers collectively to all of the temples and cloisters at Togakushisan.

The *jikkokusō* originated as a network of *nenbutsu* practitioners from Mt. Kōya that eventually spread to other parts of the country during the medieval period (Gorai 1980, 146–147). Ujō likely descended from this lineage and was settled at Togakushi when he compiled the *Transmitted Account*. The title of *jikkokusō* refers to a form of fasting in which a practitioner restricts himself to “ten grains.” A stricter diet of “five grains” (*gomoku* 五穀), commonly known as *mokujiki* 木食, in medieval and early modern asceticism consisted mainly of tree products (berries, leaves, bark, etc.). The restriction of ten food types added on a variety of staples such as barley, millet, soy and azuki beans, and potatoes (lists vary). For examples see Suzuki 2013, 322, n. 71 or Mochizuki, vol. 10, 765.

² The earliest extant copy of the *Transmitted Account* was transcribed in 1567 and is housed at the Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan.

³ These sections are respectively titled: *Buchū no koto* 峯中事, *Sanjūsan kasho reikutsu no koto* 三拾參箇所靈窟之事, *Bettō shokui no koto* 別當職位之事, and *Tōzan senyū hōki dōgu nado no koto* 當山施入法器道具等之事.

⁴ As an alternative possibility, both texts might have drawn from an earlier common source.

⁵ For an overview of Togakushi’s medieval estates, refer to Ihara Kesao 1997, 37–39.

⁶ Less common than Shō Kannon, this reading of Noble Avalokiteśvara as Shō Kanjizai originates from Xuanzang's translation (Nakamura 235a). The alignment of Benzaiten with Kuzuryū likely derives from the dragon's similar association with water.

⁷ In my use of the term *hongaku hōmon*, I follow Jacqueline Stone's argument regarding the modern term *hongaku shisō*, which she problematizes as alluding to a unitary category and emphasizing philosophy over practice (Stone 1995; 2000, 46–52).

⁸ The *hana no e* 花會 (Flower Festival) represents the direction of fruit to seed while the *hashira matsu* festival represented the direction of seed to fruit (see chapter three for further discussion).

⁹ Ubiquitous in esoteric Buddhism, the twofold *māṇḍala* consists of the Diamond Realm (*Kongōkai* 金剛界; Skt. *Vajradhātu*) and Womb Realm (*Taizōkai* 胎藏界; Skt. *garbhadhātu*).

¹⁰ According to Japanese historian Yoshida Kazuhiko, this reference to Kāśyapa Buddha may be the only instance of its kind among temple origin accounts in Japanese medieval literature (personal correspondence). Togakushi's proximity to the inland sea (and by extension, the Korean peninsula) may explain this connection.

¹¹ Michael Finch (2012, 179–187) provides translation, introduction, and annotation for this passage. Outside of the well-known manuscript carried back to Japan in the Imjin War (1592–1598), influence from the *Samguk yusa* in Japanese medieval literature is exceedingly rare. Further research is necessary to determine the existence of other cases.

¹² Although *honji suijaku* doctrine is commonly described as unique to Japan, the concept appears in earlier Chinese sources. Chapter Fourteen of the *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子 for instance,

discusses the six classics as traces. Analogized as “footprints” (*jì 蹤*), it is the former kings who represent the original shoes (*lǚ 履*). Zhiyǐ 智顥 (538–597) furthermore, later interprets the first half of the *Lotus Sūtra* as the “original teachings” (*běnmén 本門*) of the distant Śākyamuni while its second half serves as the “trace teachings” (*jī mén 迹門*) of his appearance in the world.

¹³ The Kurita 栗田 family became identified as the caretakers of the shrine, but even this claim does not appear in textual sources until the Edo period.

¹⁴ A preliminary search for Kōi 后妣 produced no results. The eight great *vajra* lads likely trace back to the Kii peninsula where they played a prominent role at Yoshino, Ōmine and Kumano (Miyake 1986, 39–40).

¹⁵ Tajikarao *no mikoto*, resident deity of Oku-no-in, is mentioned in the *Transmitted Account* (p. 309), but only in relationship to the origins of Togakushi’s name.

¹⁶ A passage from the *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* (p. 250) states that the *shuto* offer cooked rice and pears to Kuzuryū every morning throughout the year.

¹⁷ Representative studies include Ushiyama Yoshiyuki 1996 and 2009; Suzuki Masataka 2002; Max Moerman 2005, chap. 5; and Melissa McCormick 2012. Ushiyama 1994a and 1997 consider its historical development at Togakushi in particular.

¹⁸ The term *mishōtai* 御正躰 (divine true body) generally connotes a god, buddha, or bodhisattva. It is often associated with the image on a sacred mirror and sometimes understood as the original form of a deity in *honji suijaku* logic.

¹⁹ This orientation likely refers to the triad of buddhas and bodhisattvas at Togakushi associated with the three temples.

²⁰ It is unclear when the poem was written; however, it first appears in the *Fūga wakashū* (1349) before making its way into a number of other medieval compilations. For discussion on the subsequent influence of Izumi's account in medieval literature and *emaki* scrolls, see Tokuda Kazuo 1997, 81–85; R. Keller Kimbrough 2001; and Moerman 2005, 194–199. Both Kimbrough (2001, 71) and Moerman (2005, 195) provide English translations of the exchange between Izumi and the Kumano avatar.

²¹ I present the poems in reverse order from the original in order to match the chronological sequence of events.

²² Following from chapter 25 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, Kannon was widely believed to appear in thirty-three different manifestations, each of which allowed connection with different types of living beings. These appearances were sometimes associated with thirty-three geographical sites, as represented in the Togakushi caves or as pilgrimage circuits (like the Bandō Kannon route in the Kantō region).

²³ For archeological evidence on the caves, refer to Shinano Mainichi Shinbunsha 1971, 226–246 and Miyashita 1997, 22–27.

²⁴ The term *igen* also appears in medieval Nichiren thaumaturgical practices (Mochizuki, s.v. 佛驗, v. 10, 950c-951b).

²⁵ The so-called ninety-nine *ōji* of Kumano are discussed by Miyazaki and Yūki 1986, 101–102.

²⁶ The connection between En and the Katsuragi mountains first appears in the eighth century

Shoku Nihongi.

²⁷ Practitioners at sites such as Mt. Takao 高尾 continue to carry out the “waterfall practice”

(*takigyō* 滝行). In this ritual they align with Fudō *myōō* while chanting and performing hand *mudras* under a waterfall.

2 A Nine-headed Dragon Takes Residence

On the twenty-fourth day of the third month of 1847 (Kokka 4), a large earthquake struck the Zenkōji plain, leaving much of Nagano City and the surrounding towns leveled and upwards of 10,000 people dead (Omori 1908, 136–139; Ludwin and Smits 2007, 82–83). Subsequent disasters soon followed, involving landslides, flooding, and disruptions to vital water sources. Such events were commonly attributed to mysterious or supernatural forces and thus required divine support to counterpoise the harm inflicted. One such incident allegedly concerned a pond in the village of Aoni 青鬼 (present-day Hakuba Mura 白馬村) that had dried up after the earthquake. According to an account from a work known as the *Togakushi reigen ki* 戸隱靈驗談 (Reports on the numinous efficacy of Togakushi), a *shuto* from the Gyokusenin 玉泉院 cloister of Hōkōin was making his annual autumn visit to his patrons (*kaidan* 回檀) in the vicinity. After the villagers implored him for assistance in replenishing the water (needed for agriculture), he prepared an altar (*dan* 壇) in the center of the dry pond. While deeply contemplating Kuzuryū *gongen* 權現, he poured pure water into a tea bowl and performed rituals of empowerment (*kaji* 加持).¹ He then poured this water over the pond's water source and continued to pray. Water suddenly gushed out from the source, astounding the villagers (*Togakushi reigen ki*, 442–443).



Figure 2-1 Busshōin dragon *ofuda*

Edo period protective talisman from the Oku-no-in cloister of Busshōin 佛性院 with a combined image of Kurikara Fudō 俱利伽羅不動 (center) and Kuzuryū (as nine snakes). The design is modeled after the Kumano *goō hōin* 牛王寶印 (see for example, Miyake 2005, 66). (Nagano Kenritsu Rekishikan, archive no. 8.11.683.)

This account constitutes one of thirty-one miracles attributed to the powers of Kuzuryū, literally the “nine-headed dragon,” who serves as Togakushi’s tutelary deity.² Compiled at Togakushisan in the late Edo period, the reports in the *Togakushi reigen ki* were probably used by Togakushi *shuto* and *shugenja* to propagate the wonders of Kuzuryū.³ This collection and other contemporaneous sources reflect the central role that Kuzuryū had come to play in the identity and ritual culture of Togakushi by the latter half of the Tokugawa period. The dragon’s

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image, for example, was situated front and center on various talisman printed at Togakushi (figs. 2-1 to 2-3). Many of the rituals commissioned at the mountain moreover, were intended to invoke the dragon's power.⁴ People from across Honshū came to Togakushi to propitiate Kuzuryū.⁵ In addition, temple records state that a palanquin housing the dragon's spirit was frequently transported to Edo, allowing people in the capitol to venerate it for extended events known as "unveilings of the curtain" (*kaichō* 開帳).⁶ This rich cultic life contributed tremendously to the reputation, symbolic value and economic base of the temple complex at Togakushisan and continues to down to the present.⁷

Yet how did a nine-headed dragon come to exist as the mountain's central deity in the first place? What are its origins and what historical forces shaped it over time? By following this line of inquiry in the case of Kuzuryū, this chapter will explore the processes through which a local deity is created and in turn, how the construction of such deities fostered the production of numinous sites in premodern Japan. After reviewing some basic conceptions about dragons in different



Figure 2-2 Edo period *ofuda* of Kuzuryū *daigongen*

"*Go honji Benzaiten*" 御本地辨財天 inscribed on the left. (Nagano Kenritsu Rekishikan, archive no. 8.11.683.)

regions of Asia, we will analyze the formation of the nine-headed dragon from its initial appearance in Tang-period literature to its eventual installment at Togakushisan.

Dragons in Asia

Dragons have long been depicted across Asia as intimate companions of water. Often portrayed as supernatural snakes or serpents (visible in the images of Kuzuryū above), they dwelt wherever water existed: lakes, rivers, oceans, and by extension, the sky and the mountains—both of which serve as important watersheds. Control over such a valuable resource made dragons the object of worship at all levels of society and a common figure in literary and material cultures across regions. On the ancient Indian subcontinent, dragon kings (*nāga rājah*), took the shape of hooded cobras. Viewed as manipulating the ebb and flow of water, they factored centrally into ritual calendars concerning agriculture and fertility. Various genres of Buddhist literature (e.g., *jātaka* tales, *sūtras*, and the life story of Śākyamuni)



Figure 2-3 Meiji period *ofuda* of Kuzuryū as a great deity (*ōkami*)

(Courtesy of the private collection of Futazawa Hisaaki.)

portray these dragons as menacing, chaotic forces who are eventually subdued by Buddhist monks and converted into staunch guardians of the Buddha. Despite the lack of sources outside of Buddhist literature, scholars have speculated over the role of dragons in autochthonous cults and as symbols of sovereign power prior to their incorporation into Buddhism. Lowell Bloss (1973, 44–46) interprets the common literary trope of the unruly dragon-turned-guardian as a clue indicating the possible cooption of local cults (worshipping dragons) by translocal Buddhist entities. In contrast, Indian Buddhist scholar Richard Cohen (1998, 374–380) counters that the interactions between Buddhist monks and dragons in these narratives suggest a form of mutual gift exchange between two parties rather than a total subjugation of the local cult on the part of Buddhist monasteries.

In China, dragons predate the arrival of Buddhism as symbols of imperial power that like their Indic counterparts, controlled water necessary for agriculture and irrigation systems. One of the earliest myths involves Yǔ 禹, legendary founder of the Xia dynasty, who turns into a dragon. In this transformed state, he prevents a flood, erects a dam, and constructs a canal system. Influenced by such imperial tropes as well as the importation of Buddhist narratives, dragon kings (*lóngwáng* 龍王) began emerging across China as residents of regional rivers and lakes. Like their Indic predecessors, local dragon kings played the ambivalent role of either providing rainfall when needed or causing droughts by withholding it (Zhao 1989). Even in recent cases (from the 1970s), if a dragon was believed to be withholding rain, a clay or paper effigy of it was made and then beaten or destroyed. Chinese literature scholar Alvin Cohen (1978, 256–257) suggests that these acts of punishment may reflect the notion that a dragon has failed to perform its official duty—like that of a government bureaucrat.

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As we shall see in the case of the nine-headed dragon, Indian Tantric masters also translated ritual texts into Chinese from the sixth through eighth centuries and performed rain-making ceremonies on behalf of the Tang court (Ruppert 2002, 148–150). In contrast to the dragon kings in China and the Indian subcontinent that resided near local communities, the dragons in these ceremonies were positioned in the abstracted pantheon of esoteric divinities, occupying only mandalic diagrams and temporary ritual spaces.

Beliefs about dragons also found a niche on the Korean peninsula where snake-worshipping cults had long existed. The arrival of dragon narratives via Buddhist influences in the sixth century led to the notion that dragons were simply more potent, powerful versions of snakes. They also soon became symbols of national protection, especially as sea-dwelling creatures who collaborated with naval forces of the Silla dynasty (Inoue 1989, 43–49). Numerous tales from the *Samguk yusa* moreover, recount the voyages of monks who visited underwater dragon palaces in order to attain medicines and esoteric spells (Buswell 2009, 1061–1063).

Dragons gradually made their way to Japan in the ninth and tenth centuries. At a time when dragons were gaining popularity in connection to the major imperial shrines, Shingon monks used their expertise in esoteric ritual to perform major rain-making ceremonies for the court and aristocracy. The imperial garden of Shinzenen 神泉苑 and the mountain temple of Murōji 室生寺 in Nara became central ritual sites where the dragon queen Zennyo 善女 was invoked for rain (Ruppert 2002, 152–159). In the centuries that followed, dragons became increasingly incorporated into the origin accounts of mountain temples around the country. While their inclusion in esoteric rituals and origin accounts reflect the influence of the Tendai and Shingon schools, dragons also became the subjects of widely disseminated *setsuwa* (literally,

“explanatory tales”), appearing in collections such as the *Konjaku monogatari*, the *Hokke genki*, and the *Shintō shū*.⁸

Appearances of nine-headed dragons in Tang China

Despite the range of texts and places across Asia that mention dragons, most references appear at a particular site as an isolated event. These instances provide glimpses of dragons situated in a specific place in time, but they do not provide a long view of how the subjects of these tales might have evolved over an extended period of time. Sufficient sources are available however, for the case of Togakushi’s nine-headed dragon, beginning with numerous references in China.

Myths involving nine-headed creatures date far back in Chinese sources. Late Han (25–220 CE) stone reliefs and inscriptions depict a nine-headed beast known as a *kāimíng* 開明. (James 1983, 82; Loewe 1994, 52). Gōng Gōng 共工, the archenemy of the legendary emperor Yǔ moreover, is fabled in the *Shān hǎi jīng* 山海經 (Classic of the mountains and seas, Former Han) to control a nine-headed serpent (*jiǔtóu de shé* 九頭的蛇) (Lewis 2006, 68). The number “nine” in these instances signifies a totality or all-encompassing entity in Chinese numerology. As such, the *Book of Documents* (*Shūjīng* 書經) recounts that Yǔ establishes the so-called Nine Provinces, which represented an analogy for the entire world. The *kāimíng*, furthermore, guards the nine city gates on the mythical *axis mundi* peak of Mt. Kūnlún 崑崙.

Nine-headed dragons begin to appear prominently in Buddhist texts composed in the Tang period. Perhaps most common are esoteric ritual manuals that instruct one on how to summon a nine-headed dragon through the recitation of *mantra*, the formation of *mudrā* (making the nine-headed dragon hand sign, *jiǔtóu lóng yìn* 九頭龍印), or even by sketching the dragon’s image.⁹ Some of these texts refer to the nine-headed dragon for its rain-making capabilities, while others mention its ability to terminate rainfall. These scattered references situate the

dragon not in the narrative of events but in the realm of the abstract, existing among a mandalic pantheon of divinities enlisted for their power over precipitation.¹⁰

Contemporaneous miracle tales connected to the *Lotus Sūtra* by contrast, situate the nine-headed dragon at concrete locations among historical figures. Constituting a significant genre of literature that formed in China and later spread to Japan, these collections recount miraculous events that resulted from acts of devotion towards the *Lotus Sūtra*. They form part of a broader category of miracle tales connected with scriptures such as the Diamond (*Jīngāng jīng* 金剛經), the Flower Garland (*Huáyán jīng* 華嚴經), the Golden Light (*Jīn guāngmíng jīng* 金光明經) and the Pure Land *sūtras*. The nine-headed dragon first appears in two *Lotus Sūtra* collections from the early Tang period known as the *Hóngzàn fǎhuá zhuán* 弘贊法華傳 (Transmissions regarding the dissemination and praise of the *Lotus Sūtra*) and the *Fǎhuá zhuánjì* 法華傳記 (Transmitted accounts on the *Lotus Sūtra*). Both were compiled by a monk from Lángǔ 藍谷 (present-day Taiyuan county, Shanxi province) named Huìxiáng 慧詳 (ca. 639–706). Some of the stories originate from earlier collections of monk biographies and miracle tales while others most likely draw from oral accounts dating from the latter half of the seventh century (Stevenson 1995, 427–428). The *Fǎhuá zhuánjì* provides the following biography of the monk, Shì Zhìzǎo 釋智璪:

The year in which [Shì Zhìzǎo] received a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* he recited the words continuously without interruption and practiced without shame. He was deeply respected and loved by his relatives and neighbors. When he reached his seventeenth year, both of his parents died. [Later,] just after taking off his mourning clothes, he became ill. Over the years and months that passed no medicine was effective. Still on quiet evenings, he would take his cane and drag himself out to his courtyard, lie down and look up at the moon. With an attentive mind, he would recollect the bodhisattva Moonlight 月光

(Yuèguāng; Skt. Candraprabha). He hoped that [the bodhisattva's] great compassion could cure his illness. In this way, he always kept this recollection in mind. Several weeks passed by and in the middle of one night, he dreamt of someone with an extraordinary appearance.¹¹ From the east came a voice saying to Zǎo, “I come now to heal your illness.” [The bodhisattva] proceeded to breathe on Zǎo’s body and continued this for three nights. As a result, he recovered and understood that this aid for him was based on the Three Jewels [of Buddhism]. Accordingly, he decided to leave his secular life. Soon afterwards, he went to the temple of Ānjingsì 安靜寺, met the Dharma teacher Huípíng 慧憑 and became a disciple. It was there he heard about Zhìyǐ (Zhìzhě 智者) and how Zhìyǐ’s method and practice surpassed that of the best instructors in the world. He rode on a boat down great rapids that led him directly to Mt. Tiāntái (Táixiù 台岫). There he lay down and received the way. He then practiced repentance toward the *Lotus*, chanting the scripture and repenting day and night for two seven-day periods. [After,] he returned to the meditation platform. He was about to repose himself in seated position when he saw a nine-headed dragon rise up from the ground and ascend into the sky. The next day when he discussed this occurrence, [someone] said, “This reveals the nine paths [of liberation] for living beings that can be heard in the *Lotus Sūtra*. In a future life, one will shatter the basis of ignorance and enter into the emptiness of Dharma nature.”¹²

受法華經之歲、言無虛發、行不慚人。親里鄉隣、深加敬愛。年登十七、二親俱逝。慘服纔釋、便染病疾。頻經歲月、醫藥無効。仍於靜夜、策杖曳疾、出到中庭、向月而臥。至心專念月光菩薩。惟願大悲濟我沈痼。如是繫念。遂經旬朔、於中夜間、夢見一人、形色非常。從東方來、謂璪曰、我今故來、為汝治病。即以口就璪身。

次第吸嚥、三夜如此。因爾稍痊、深知三寶是我依救。遂求離俗。便投安靜寺慧憑法師、以為弟子。遂聞智者軌行超群、為世良導。即泛舸豐流、直指台岫。伏膺受道。乃遣行法華懺悔并誦經第二七日初夜懺訖。還就禪床。始欲宴坐、乃見九頭龍從地涌出、上昇虛空。明旦諮白曰、云此是表九道眾生、聞法華經。將來之世、破無明地、入法性空耳。(T51, no. 2068, p. 60, c25-p. 61, a11)

Indicative of this genre, the teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra* here are revealed to Zhìzǎo after he demonstrates his absolute faith in the scripture. The reference to nine paths incidentally, occurs not in the *Lotus Sūtra* but in the *Móhē zhǐguān* 摩訶止觀 (The great calming and contemplation), a work attributed to the putative founder of Tiantai 天台 Buddhism, Zhìyǐ (538–597) and edited by his disciple, Guàndǐng 灌頂 (561–632).¹³ This and other references (Mt. Tiāntái and Zhìyǐ) point toward the story's Tiantai roots.

The legend of Shì Zhìzǎo and the nine-headed dragon is repeated in numerous works over the course of the Tang and Song periods.¹⁴ Throughout these tales, it is noteworthy that the dragon remains symbolic and ephemeral rather than taking on a steady presence at Mt. Tiāntái. Even a later gazetteer (*Tiāntái shān fāng wài zhì* 天台山方外志), which records noteworthy people and historical events connected to the site, provides no further accounts of the dragon beyond the Shì Zhìzǎo biography.¹⁵ It is not until the narrative arrives in Japan that the nine-headed dragon takes on a life of its own as a resident deity.

From a nine-headed dragon to Kuzuryū

The formation of the nine-headed dragon as a tutelary deity in Japan begins in a number of origin narratives produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Below are the main texts that mention nine-headed dragons.

Table 2-1 Early instances of nine-headed dragons in origin accounts

Site	Earliest reference	Date	Description	Connected practitioner	Connected bodhisattva
Mt. Asō 阿蘇	<i>Hikosan ruki</i> 彦山流記	1213	a nine-headed, eight-faced great dragon (<i>hachimen dairyū</i> 八面大龍)	Gaken 獄驗	Eleven-faced Kannon
Hakusan 白山	<i>Taichō kashō denki</i> 泰澄和尚伝記	latter 12c. ¹⁶	a nine-headed dragon king	Taichō 泰澄	Eleven-faced Kannon
Hakone 箱根	<i>Hakonesan engi</i> 筈根山縁起	1191	a nine-headed poisonous dragon (<i>dokuryū</i> 毒龍)	Mangan Shōnin 萬卷上人	none
Togakushisan	<i>Asaba shō</i>	1279	a nine-headed, single-tailed <i>oni</i>	a scholastic practitioner (<i>gakumon shugyōsha</i> 學問修行者)	Shō Kannon

While full descriptions of these texts goes beyond the scope of this project, a number of similarities among them recall the biography of Shì Zhizǎo.¹⁷ First, all describe a scene in which a nine-headed dragon appears before a practitioner undertaking sustained acts of ritual devotion, including recitations of the *Lotus Sūtra* (with the exception of the *Taichō kashō denki*). Second, elements associated with Tendai Buddhism (i.e., sites, practitioners, ritual and doctrine) appear prominently in each of these texts. If their authors were indeed Tendai clerics, they were most likely acquainted the story of Zhizǎo.¹⁸ Finally, the dragons of these accounts all appear in the mountains, as was the case with the nine-headed dragon at Mt. Tiāntái.

These similarities suggest that the Shì Zhizǎo account may have provided the basis for their composition. Some variations, however, reveal ways in which the story was adapted to serve new purposes and contexts. The Japanese accounts for example, constitute the legendary origins of their respective sites, in which a traveling itinerant visits a mountain and then

witnesses the sight of a dragon. Shì Zhìzǎo by contrast, was visiting a well-established mountain in order to seek out the famous Zhìyǐ. The majority of the accounts moreover, develop an implicit connection between the dragon and the bodhisattva Kannon. As discussed in chapter one, the interpretative structure of *honji suijaku* explains the role of Kannon in these narratives. Kannon in particular, aligns well with the characteristics of the nine-headed dragon, given the bodhisattva's common attribute of multiple heads.¹⁹

Most interesting about these accounts is the role they play in the centuries that follow their composition. Perhaps with the exception of Aso, the nine-headed dragon is transformed over time into a powerful resident deity at each respective site. This process is most evident in the case of Togakushisan, given the variety of sources and later proliferation of the cult. The dragon at Togakushi first appears in the *Asaba shō*:

In the second year of the Kashō era [849], a scholastic practitioner spent seven days on Izunayama.²⁰ Facing west toward a great peak, he prayed. He threw a single-pronged [vajra] that took flight and then fell. He went to go see it. [It had landed] at a great stone cavern. At that site he chanted the *Lotus Sūtra*. During this time, a foul-smelling wind was exhaled from the south. A nine-headed, single-tailed *oni* arrived [and said,] “Who chants the *Lotus Sūtra*? Even though I had no intention of harm, when I came to listen to those who recited it in the past, they ended up dead after my noxious vapors reached them. I was the former administrator. I lived in greed and desire, carelessly using the donations of the faithful. As a result, I received this body. This place has been destroyed and toppled down over forty times. I rely on the virtue [of listening to you chant the *Lotus Sūtra*] and thus should able to attain awakening.” The scholastic replied,

A Nine-headed Dragon Takes Residence

“An *oni* hides its form.” Following these words, the *oni* returned to its original place. In that place, which is named “the dragon’s tail,” [the *oni*] entered into seclusion and sealed shut the door of the stone cavern. From within the ground, a great voice chanted,

“Take refuge in the assembly in which [I,] the honored Shō Kannon (Shō Kanjizai) eternally reside; as a great avatar, [I] provide benefits to living beings at the three sites.”

This mountain is known as the temple of “the door [behind which one] hides” (Togakushiji 戸隱寺), because it conceals the dragon-tailed *oni*. The door of the stone cavern thus led to the establishment [of the temple]. It is also said that the from Iizunayama, the [mountain’s] shape resembles a door.

嘉祥二年比、學問修行者、飯繩山七日之間、向_ニ西大嵩_ニ祈念、擲獨古飛墜、卽行見_ル之、在_ニ大石屋_ニ、於_ニ彼處_ニ誦_ニ法華經_ニ之間、自_ニ南方_ニ鳧風吹、而九頭一尾鬼來、何人誦_ニ法華_ニ哉、前祈者為_ニ聽聞_ニ來也、值_ニ我妻氣風_ニ、觸者雖_ル無_ニ害心_ニ、皆逝去畢、我前別當任_ニ貪欲_ニ處用_ニ信施_ニ、故受_ニ此身_ニ也、此處如_ル此破壞顛倒四十餘_ニ度也、我依_ル持_ニ功德_ニ、遂可_ル得_ニ菩提_ニ、學問云、鬼者隱形、隨_ル言還_ニ本處_ニ畢、彼所名曰_ニ龍尾_ニ、入籠_ニ石屋内_ニ畢、石屋之戶封、地中高聲唱云、南無常住界會聖觀自在尊三所利生大權現聖者、此山字可_ル曰_ニ戶隱寺_ニ、其故封_ニ龍尾鬼石室之戶而持_ニ建立故也、又反_ニ飯繩山_ニ前形如_ル立_ル戶故也。 (Asaba shō,

372–373)

Mirroring the Shì Zhìzǎo account, the *Asaba shō* describes a practitioner in the mountains chanting the *Lotus Sūtra* who then encounters a nine-headed dragon. The lead characters, however, have changed significantly. Unlike the hagiographical undertones in Zhìzǎo’s

biography, the *Asaba shō* simply describes someone (*sha*) devoted to scholarship (*gakumon*) and practice (*shugyō*). As Suzuki Masataka (2013, 250–251) has noted, he is anonymous at this stage, containing no defining characteristics or background.

The nine-headed dragon in turn is depicted as a long-term resident of Togakushi, unlike the ephemeral dragon witnessed by Zhìzǎo. Its lowly form moreover, remains a far cry from the majestic deity rising above Mt. Tiāntái. Even its ontological state—described not as a dragon but as “a nine-headed, single-tailed *oni*”—has been thrown into question. What accounts for this slippage in categories between that of dragon and *oni*?

Occupying an ambiguous position in Japanese literature and ritual, the term *oni* is commonly translated as “demon,” yet this is somewhat misleading. While *oni* often symbolize evil or wild forces, they can also be subverted into guardians of festivals or ritual spaces, placing them in close proximity with the category of protective deity (*kami*) in Japan. Straddling these two realms, the *oni* at Togakushi likewise predicts its own awakening and subsequently converts into protective deity. Minamoto no Shitagau’s 源順 early dictionary, the *Wamyō ruiju shō* 和名類聚抄 (ca. 931–938) moreover, defines the *oni* as creature that secludes itself. The entry continues that the term itself, derives from the glyph 隠 (pronounced as “on,” which later becomes “oni”) or “hidden” (Baba 2000, 32–33). This explanation conforms to the practitioner’s advice that “an *oni* hides its form” and forms the basis of the mountain’s name. We might even understand this usage as an alternative reading of the mountain’s name, i.e., the “mountain [where an] *oni* [hides behind] the door.”

Another possible source for the dragon’s ambiguity comes in an extended biography of Shì Zhìzǎo in the *Hóngzàn fāhuá zhuán* (mentioned above). In this account, Zhìzǎo later goes to the temple of Bǎolínshānsì 寶林山寺. While engaging in the practice of Lotus Samādhi (*fāhuā*

sānmei 法華三昧), a great evil spirit (*dà è guǐ* 大惡鬼) rattles on the door of the temple over a succession of several nights.²¹ Such was the threat of this spirit that the master of the temple repeatedly warned Zhizǎo to leave, and the king even dispatched an garrison of guards to protect him—all of which he rejected. For thirty-seven nights, he meditated in calm repose and chanted [the *Lotus Sūtra*] under candlelight. At the end of this period, a young boy in a blue robe appeared before him and praised his practice. The narrator explains that the boy and the evil spirit represent two “conditions” (*yuán* 緣), or outcomes of his past karma.²² Although no relationship exists between the nine-headed dragon and the evil spirit in this version, the appearance of an *oni* (which I translate as “spirit” from the Chinese but could also be rendered as “ghost”) and the motif of the door in both accounts suggests that the two creatures may have later been conflated when the story is applied to Togakushisan.

A final factor in the categorization of *oni* may relate to the *Asaba shō*’s genesis at the Tendai headquarters of Enryakuji on Hieizan. Rivaling the court and the aristocracy in measures of military and economic might, the sprawling temple complex commanded its own infantry of monastic militia (*sōhei*) and a vast network of estates. Japanese Folklorist Naitō Masatoshi (2009) has suggested that from this gaze of central authority, the *oni* resembles a barbarian entity situated on the periphery of civilization. Killing people with its noxious fumes and carrying out a wretched existence based on karmic retribution, it embodies a force that must be subdued and remade—a task acted out by the visiting practitioner. This implication of redemption and conversion, not to mention the prescription of a history on to Togakushi, metaphorically delivers the temple complex from the borderlands into a network of power relations defined by the Tendai school.

This initial representation of Togakushisan as home to a frightful *oni* inspires a number of narratives in the medieval period included in Noh drama, the *Shintō shū*, and several early modern Shinano texts.²³ These subsequent tales center on famous samurai who are dispatched by the emperor in order to slay the Togakushi *oni*—again, a trope symbolizing subjugation of the periphery by the civilized center (Komatsu 2003, Naitō 2009).

Parallel to this narrative trajectory, however, is a divergent trend at Togakushisan that depicts a powerful, divine creature who protects the region and showers vast benefits upon those who worship it. This transformation unfolds in the *Transmitted Account* (*Togakushisan Kenkōji ruki*, 1458), compiled at the mountain roughly two centuries after the *Asaba shō*. The content as well as matching sentences suggest that Ujō drew directly from the *Asaba shō* (or alternatively, both drew from a common source). The version in the *Transmitted Account* nevertheless expands significantly beyond the former, evident in the reconceptualization of the visiting practitioner as the mountain's legendary founder:

There was a man known as Gakumon Gyōja. The mysterious profundity of his origins and his rank among the worthies is difficult to estimate. He had accomplished all the practices. Embracing the bright moon, he ventured through the vast night. Replenished by the morning sun, he gazed in all directions. His wisdom and practice transcended that of his peers and his virtue and efficacy [in the magical arts] was superior in the world. Establishing a temple in every land, he spread benefits throughout the Dharma realm. It is said that his life ended by ascending into the sky without a burial. Thus he is regarded as the [response] body of the honored Śākyamuni and a responsive transformation of Kannon.

學門行者と云人あり。本地幽玄にして尊位計り難し。萬行悉く足れり。皓月を懐きて巨夜に届り、旭日を孕みて迷衢に臨む。然らば智行、群に転んで、徳驗世に秀で、伽藍を諸國に建て、利益を法界に周くし、終に虚空に騰り葬所なしと云々。粵に釋尊の分身、觀音の應化なるを知るのみ。*(Transmitted Account, 308)*²⁴

We might first note that the term, “gakumon” 學問 (i.e., using the glyph for “question”), in the earlier version now reads, “gakumon” 學門 (i.e., using the glyph for “gate”). Although subtle, this semiotic shift transforms what we might gloss as “someone” (*sha* 者) engaged in “scholarship” (*gakumon*) and “practice” (*shugyō*), or simply, “a scholarly practitioner,” into the appellation, Gakumon (literally, “gates of learning”) Gyōja. In effect, the anonymous itinerant from the *Asaba shō* has been recast as a historical figure named Gakumon Gyōja. Alongside this act of naming, the *Transmitted Account* provides Gakumon with supernatural abilities and an illustrious biography. With this hagiography in place, the temple complex establishes its own founder and the basis for a subsequent lineage of administrators.²⁵

In conjunction with the construction of a founder, a tutelary deity also emerges:

[Gakumon] went to go visit the light of the [*vajra*] sceptre. At the cave [where it landed], he wished to bring forth the resident deity. As he prayed, a voice came from the depths of the ground. The loud voice chanted,

“Take refuge in the assembly in which [I,] Shō Kannon of Great Compassion and Sympathy eternally reside with the avatars of the three sites. [In the form of our] original bodies, [we] radiate light and provide comfort from the four sites.”²⁶

It is said that the sound [of this voice] is endless, the light of Shō Kannon’s figure [continues to] emanate from [Shō Kannon’s] honored form from afar, and that Shō Kannon, Senju [Kannon], Shaka, and Jizō emerge from the luminous seats of a single

lotus plant on four pedestals. As joyful tears streamed down, [Gakumon] lowered his head in deep devotion and performed chants at the site.

That night a foul-smelling wind was exhaled from the south. A nine-headed, single-tailed dragon arrived and said, “A joyous practitioner came to this cave, chanting and rattling his staff. By repenting the six root [senses] and undergoing the four practices of ease and bliss (*shi anraku gyō* 四安樂行),²⁷ the poisonous vapors have all been vanquished and will no longer cause harm. You immediately receive me, [so] I will give you the full account [of this mountain’s history].

“This mountain has been destroyed over forty times. I have engaged in temple duties seven times, and the last administrator, Chōhan 澄範, was me. Because I carelessly used the possessions of the Buddha, I received this serpent-like body. From these [dragon] scales—that result of many eons of karma—I heard [your] staff and the sound of the Dharma [from your chants] and obtained liberation. I vow that from here on out I will guard and protect this mountain. You must maintain an awakened state of mind and quickly build a great temple.”

杵光を尋ね行き、この洞に住して地主を行顯せんと欲して、深く祈念するの處、聲地底にありて、高聲に唱へて曰はく、南無常住界會、大慈大悲、聖觀自在四所本軀、三所權現放光與樂と云々。この音未だ終らざるに聖觀音の像、光遠く尊容を照し、赫奕として一茎四杭の蓮華に坐し、聖觀音・千手・釋迦・地藏忽に以て涌出すと云々。歓喜の涙を流し、渴仰の首を低れ法施を致すの處に、その夜に及び遽に南方より臭き風烝吹きて、九頭一尾の大龍來つて曰はく、喜しき哉行者、この窟に至つて錫杖を振讀し、六根懺悔の四安樂の行を至すに依つて、毒氣皆沒

して更に物に害なし、直ちに我に遇ふ、我善く汝に語らん。當山は破壊已に四十
餘箇度なり。吾寺務を行ふこと七箇度なり。最後の別當澄範とは吾なり。佛物を
虛用せしに依りて蛇身を受く。多劫の今、業障の鱗の上に錫杖並びに法音を聞
きて、解脱することを得たり。然らば未來際に至るまで、この山を守護せんと誓
へり。汝須らく菩提心に住して、早く大伽藍を建つべし。*(Transmitted Account,*
308–309)

We now have a dragon who appears in response to Gakumon Gyōja’s quest to meet the mountain’s “resident deity” (*jinushi* 地主). Although still defiled by karma (as in the earlier version), Gakumon quickly absolves this condition and enables the dragon’s awakening. In the context of its enhanced role at Togakushi, the dragon takes on the identity of “Kuzuryū” and “Kuzu *gongen*” (the nine-headed avatar), as described later in illustrious terms. In other words, the nine-headed dragon-*oni*—depicted in ambiguous and unflattering terms in the previous narrative—reemerges here as the mountain’s divine resident.

Layered narratives and proliferating benefits

While the legend of Shì Zhīzǎo most likely provides the basis for Togakushi’s initial origin account, the *Transmitted Account* builds from a wide spectrum of Buddhist literature in the reconceptualization of Kuzuryū as the mountain’s tutelary deity. Central among these additions is Kuzuryū’s configuration with the goddess Benzaiten as the its original basis (*honji*). Benzaiten traces back to the Indian water goddess, Sarasvatī—a figure that complements the dragon’s control of water. The combination of these deities continues through the Edo period, as visible in extant *mandala*.²⁸ In contrast, Shō Kannon—who appears in sequence with the dragon in both origin accounts—becomes increasingly identified with the later arrival of the Japanese god, Tajikarao *no mikoto*.

Other allusions in the *Transmitted Account* project the past lives of Kuzuryū into distant ages and regions. One of the dragon's incarnations for example, is fabled to be that of the goose king (*gaō* 鶩王; Skt. *hamsa*)—an allusion to one of the Buddha's former lives as told in the *Javana-hamsa Jātaka*.²⁹ The *Lotus Sūtra* also continues to serve as a source for Kuzuryū's past. The dragon is said to have traveled to Vulture Peak where Śākyamuni first preached the *Sūtra*. It is also said to be a reincarnation of the Dragon Girl in the famous *Lotus* tale. This reference suggests the possibility of female patronage of Kuzuryū, given the message of potential buddhahood for women offered in this story.

Finally, a story from the *Samguk yusa* may inspire an element of Kuzuryū's interaction with Gakumon Gyōja in the *Transmitted Account*. The similarities linking the Gakumon account and the *Samguk yusa* story of the “Rock on which Kāśyapa Buddha Sat in Meditation” are discussed in chapter one. One additional connection, however, concerns King Chinhūng's encounter with a yellow dragon. In the narrative, Chinhūng is persuaded by the yellow dragon to erect a Buddhist temple at the site of what becomes Hwangnyongsa. In an expansion from the earlier passage in the *Asaba shō*, Gakumon is similarly implored by Kuzuryū to establish a great temple at Togakushi. In both scenarios in other words, it is a dragon who calls for the revival of Buddhism.

Beyond literary references, the *Transmitted Account* waxes on over the existential states and mystical powers of Kuzuryū. The dragon for example, performs the inner secret practice of a bodhisattva while bearing the outer appearance of a mystical serpent (*ryōda* 靈蛇). Likened to a buddha, it is equipped with buddha nature (*busshō* 佛性) and additionally contains the unhindered wisdom (*muge no chie* 無碍之知惠) of the world-honored one (*seson* 世尊), Śākyamuni. Among its powers, Kuzuryū offers magnificent fortune (*fukuden* 福田) to living

beings; enables them to transform (*kedō* 化導) into bodhisattvas; removes hindrances to liberation; brings beasts to the marvelous fruit (*myōka* 妙果) of awakening; drives off calamity and illness; and finally, increases longevity (*Transmitted Account*, 310–311). This array of benefits cast the nine-headed dragon into a mythic being whose qualities extend across the entire spectrum—spatial and temporal—of the Buddhist tradition.³⁰

Conclusion

Following the case of the nine-headed dragon from its debut in Tang China up to its development at Togakushisan places the origins of Togakushi into a broader East Asian context. Additionally, it offers an example of the process through which some local gods were constructed in premodern Japan. Its early appearance in esoteric rituals and *Lotus Sūtra* miracles situate it in the abstract space of ritual and symbol, detached from place and identity. As the biography of Shì Zhìzǎo crosses over to Japan, similar sightings at Tendai-associated mountains are written into origin accounts. Several of these narratives—demonstrated in the case of Togakushi—eventually provide the basis for concrete deities, venerated by their mountains' practitioners and patrons in return for material and soteriological benefits. Through this evolution, we see the creation of a tutelary deity from the abstract and ephemeral into the concrete and residential.

In addition, the journey of the nine-headed dragon points toward two elements in the making of Japan's local gods, first being the central medium of narrative. The account of Shì Zhìzǎo provides an initial story about the miraculous ways in which the teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra* appear in the world. The transmission of this account in the case of Togakushi inspires an origin tale on the part of the Tendai institution, which is then adopted and expanded at local sites. Even propagation of Kuzuryū in the Edo period—as demonstrated in the opening tale from the *Togakushi reigen ki*—operates at the level of storytelling.

Second, the two texts that sequentially shape Togakushi's legendary past, its founder (Gakumon Gyōja), and tutelary deity (Kuzuryū) contribute significantly toward its production as a numinous site. The incorporation of narratives into the making of religious sites is not unique to Japan or even Asia. Jonathan Z. Smith (1987, 74–95) for example, has demonstrated how the inscription of Christian myths on to sites in Jerusalem allowed Constantine to appropriate them into his expanding Christian empire. He concludes that “through a concentration on the associative dimensions of place together with the syntagmatic dimensions of narrative, a system was formulated that could be replicated away from the place” (p. 94). In similar fashion, the legend of the nine-headed dragon becomes a replicable model in Japan, deployed at multiple sites by affiliates of the Tendai school.

Togakushi's identity, culture and numinous characteristics in this sense, were produced in part through the telling and retelling of stories over centuries, molded by external and internal forces. The temple complex of course though, did not form solely on the basis of narrative construction. As we shall see in the next chapter, the importation of doctrine and ritual knowledge through Shugendō also played a major role in the development of the mountain's religious culture.

Notes

¹ The term *kaji* refers to an act of dependence upon a buddha, bodhisattva or deity, which thereby “adds to” (*ka*) and “maintains” (*ji*) the ritualist's own power. Variations of the practice commonly refer to a direct connection established by a practitioner with a divinity in esoteric Buddhism. In this passage, the *shuto* thus identifies himself with Kuzuryū in order to harness the dragon's ability to control water (thereby, returning water to the pond).

² In this chapter, I use “nine-headed dragon” as a term to describe the dragon in its earlier stages of formation and “Kuzuryū” as a proper name for the dragon that emerges as a deity at Togakushi and other sites in Japan.

³ The text fits into a larger genre of “numinous efficacy” (*reigen*) collections that center on miraculous events associated with particular deities or places. Most were composed in the nineteenth century and many were created as *emaki*. Other collections center on deities such as the Kasuga *gongen*, Sannō *gongen*, Kannon, and Jizō, as well as the sites of Hakone and the eighty-eight temple circuit of Shikoku.

⁴ For descriptions of rituals and *oshi* 御師 activity related to Kuzuryū from the Edo period up through the postwar period, see Miyata Noboru 1976 and Togakushi Jinja 2009, 56–59.

⁵ Iwahana 1992a has catalogued extant travel journals (*dōchūki*) connected with Togakushi and Zenkōji. While very little information is recorded about either site in this type of record, the most common reason cited for visiting Togakushisan is to pray at the Kuzuryū hall.

⁶ The journey to Zenkōji took one day. Kobayashi Keiichiro (2000, 366) estimates that from there, it normally took another six nights to Edo, making the entire trip from Togakushisan to Edo seven to eight days.

⁷ Although a study of contemporary worship of Kuzuryū extends beyond the scope of this chapter, the dragon remains to this day the most popular deity at Togakushisan. See for example, ethnographic studies by Miyata 1976 and Iwahana 1992b.

⁸ One story included in the *Konjaku monogatari* and the *Hokke genki* features a dragon who takes the form of a snake (Kelsey 1981). In the *Shintō shū*, the Dragon King of the South Sea appears in the story, *Gion daimyōjin no koto* 祇園大明神事 (no. 12).

⁹ Examples from *Mahāvairocana sūtra* literature include: T18, no. 852a, p. 122, a1-3; T39, no. 1796, p. 721, b28-c3; and X23, no. 438, p. 440, a8-10. Outside of this genre, a relevant passage appears in the *Bùkōng juànsuō shénbiàn zhēnyán jīng* 不空羈索神變真言經 (T20, no. 1092, p. 339, a4-6).

¹⁰ One description of a *mandala* in which the nine-headed dragon appears is the *Hokke mandara igi gyōshiki hō kyō* 法華曼荼羅威儀形色法經 (T19, no. 1001, p. 605, a19-22).

¹¹ I translate the term *xúnshuò* 旬朔 as “several weeks.” It literally refers to a period of time ranging from ten days to a month.

¹² In a later version of this story from the *Fózǔ tǒngjì* 佛祖統紀 (Complete chronicle of the buddhas and patriarchs, 1269), this statement is attributed to Zhìyǐ (T49, no. 2035, p. 129a-475c).

¹³ There are the thirty-four mental states that lead to awakening, as discussed in the *Móhē zhǐguān* 摩訶止觀 (T 1911.46.27c21–22). Among these, two categories of nine exist: the nine paths of liberations (*ku gedatsu dō* 九解脫道) and the nine unobstructed paths (*ku muken dō* 九無間道 in the *Kusharon*; *ku muge dō* 九無礙道 in the *Móhē zhǐguān*) (DDB s.v., 三十四心, 九無間道, 九解脫; Swanson 2013, 128). This classification system dates back to the *Kusharon* (Nakamura 347b, Mochizuki vol. 2, 1547c). In my translation, I have chosen the nine paths of liberations but the nine unobstructed paths is another possibility.

¹⁴ Examples include: T49, no. 2035, p. 197, c13-p. 198, a7; X75, no. 1513, p. 271, a8-b12; X78, no. 1540, p. 29, b6-22; and X78, no. 1541, p. 72, c3-10.

¹⁵ The earliest extant version dates only to 1894, though the colophon provides the year of 1603.

¹⁶ This time frame is proposed by Yoshida (2012, 19).

¹⁷ For transcription and analysis of the *Taichō kashō denki*, see Hongō 2001 as well as Yoshida's 2012 study. For scholarship on the *Hakonesan engi*, see Gorai 1983, 684–685 and Maeda 1987.

¹⁸ The *Hikosan ruki* contains numerous references to Hieizan, the Sannō *gongen*, and Tendai ritual and doctrine. Included among these references is the story of a practitioner from Hieizan who visits Hikosan and secludes himself in practice after the Sannō *gongen* informs him that Miroku exists there as the transformation of a stone tree (*ishi no zaimoku* 石ノ材木) (*Hikosan ruki*, 464a). The *Hakonesan engi* lists Jikaku *daishi* 慈観大師 (Ennin) as establishing a hall at Hakone and there are repeated references to Hieizan in the text. For early connections between Hieizan and Hakusan, see Yoshida 2012.

¹⁹ Although eleven is the most common number of heads for Kannon, images of a nine-headed Kannon (Ch. Guānyīn) from Hōryūji 法隆寺 as well as the Dunhuang Caves also exist (viewable at <http://library.artstor.org/library/#1>, search term “nine-headed,” accessed February 1, 2014).

²⁰ The date provided in the later *Transmitted Account* is Kashō 3 (850).

²¹ I use Paul Swanson's 2013 translation of the term. The Lotus Samādhi refers to a meditation practice in which one single-mindedly contemplates the Dharma realm.

²² T51, no. 2067, p. 23, a21-b26.

²³ Works include the Noh song, *Momiji gari* 紅葉狩 (Muromachi period); a sermon (*shōdō* 唱導) from the *Shintō shū* (ca. 1350s); the *Shinpu tōki* 信府統記 (Chronicles of the Shinano territory, 1724); and “Momiji gankutsu” 紅葉岩窟 from the *Shinano kishoku roku* 信濃奇勝錄 (Record of the wonders of Shinano, 1834).

²⁴ In this dissertation, I provide Suzuki Masataka’s transcription into *kakikudashi*, but in some instances I prefer the original *kanbun* version, as published in the *Shintō Taikei* volume.

²⁵ This lineage is further developed in a chronology of events at Togakushi, divided into administrator terms, under the section titled, *Bettō shokui no koto* (*Transmitted Account*, 313–314).

²⁶ The four bodhisattvas and buddhas mentioned in the next line represent these four sites.

²⁷ I use Daniel Stevenson’s translation of the term. The *shi anraku gyō* refers to a set of practices in Tendai Buddhism. It is originally based on chapter fourteen of the *Lotus Sūtra*. In this chapter, the practice is described as helping to free oneself from error and pursue awakening through the body, speech, intention, and a vow to save others.

²⁸ An example is the nineteenth century *Shihon hanzuri tensai shisho gongen honji mandara* 紙本版刷淡彩四所權現本地曼陀羅 (A light-color paper printing of a *mandala* of the avatars and origin bodies of the four sites) (reproduced in *Togakushi shinkō no sekai* 2003, 33).

²⁹ For the English translation, see Cowell and Rouse 2012, “Javana-Hamsa-Jataka.”

³⁰ It is noteworthy that references to the manipulation of water—either in the form of rain or prevention from water-related disasters—do not appear in conjunction with Kuzuryū in the

Transmitted Account. In contrast, the text presents Kuzuryū more as an omniscient, omnipotent deity than as a typical rain-making dragon.

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Shugendō in the Sixteenth Century

In the mid-1520s an encounter between Togakushisan's high-ranking clerics and an ascetic named Akyūbō Sokuden 阿吸房卽傳 (fl. c.1509–1558) proved pivotal in the subsequent development of Togakushi's religious culture. Sokuden had travelled from the distant mountain range of Hikosan which like Togakushi, constituted a vast complex of temples, ascetic practice sites, and agricultural estates. On this occasion, he allegedly provided the clerics with several ritual manuals, initiated them into a clandestine ritual for entering the mountains, and presented one of them with a certificate of course completion. At the heart of this exchange was the doctrine, practice and self-identity of a nascent school known as Shugendō.

Taking Sokuden's visit to Togakushi as a point of departure, this chapter considers the emergence of Shugendō at the two sites of Hiko and Togakushi in the first half of the sixteenth century. We begin with a collection of early sixteenth century texts from Hikosan that demonstrate some of the ways in which Shugendō took shape as a self-conscious school. After exploring the school's gestation through elements such as attire and lineage, we shift to its introduction to Togakushi. Consideration of its early emergence at the mountain raises a number of questions. How does Shugendō qualify as a distinct religious school at this time? How should we situate it in relationship to Buddhism? How is it contextualized at specific places (i.e.,

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Hiko and Togakushi) at this early stage? Perhaps most elusive but worth contemplating, what drove the emergence of Shugendō at this time as a self-conscious religious system?

Systematizing Shugendō

As chapter one illustrates, Togakushisan in the mid-fifteenth century constituted a variety of doctrines and practices cross-bedded into the religious landscape. Tying these components together, the contemporaneous *Transmitted Account* discusses in depth the historical narrative, divine residents and rituals of the mountain itself. In a sense, the work positions practice, thought and identity all at the intersection of place—i.e., the site of Togakushi. Texts compiled roughly half a century later on at the distant site of Mt. Hiko by contrast, take the school of Shugendō as their point of departure.

Located in northern Kyushu, Hikosan arose as one of the great centers of religious, economic and political power in medieval Japan.¹ The mountain's early origin account, *Hikosan ruki* (1213), describes an expansive temple complex, a mountainscape populated by numerous deities and bodhisattvas and among other natural features, and a practice circuit of forty-nine caves (a number symbolic of the future buddha, Maitreya).² The mountain's prestige is evident in allusions to its connections with other major sites such as Usa (Kyushu) and Hieizan (northeast of Kyoto). Its appearances in the *Shozan engi* (Origin of the mountains [of Yoshino, Ōmine and Kumanō], twelfth century) further confirms its high stature.

This prominence may explain Hikosan's role in the production of the first major treatises on Shugendō, compiled between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³ These works, hereafter referred to as the Hiko compilations, point to the emergence of Shugendō as a self-conscious tradition with its own distinct set of practice, thought, and sense of identity. In the case of Tendai Buddhism, doctrinal and ritual knowledge was transmitted orally (*kuden*) from

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instructor to student beginning probably in the eleventh century. It appears that by the mid-twelfth century at Hieizan, however, students began recording the teachings of their masters on loose paper and binding these together into collections known as *kirikami* (Stone 1999, 36). In the case of Hikosan, practitioners began compiling *kirikami* into comprehensive overviews of the rituals, doctrine, lineage, attire, ranks and so forth from at least the late fifteenth century.⁴

The most influential compiler of these works was Akyūbō Sokuden. While the details of his life are sparse, contemporaneous records from Hiko place him at the mountain between the years of 1509 (Eijō 6) and 1558 (Eiroku 1).⁵ Before this time, he served as a resident novice at Mt. Nikkō (*Hikosan shugen hiketsu inkō ketsu shū*, 517a; Miyake 1985, 87–93). Outside of his time at these two peaks, scattered references allude to his visits to mountains on Honshū such as Hakusan, Kinpusen, and Togakushi. Sokuden’s travel to various sites suggests a network of practitioners among the mountain centers that directed the flow of ideas, practices, and material culture. This network, furthermore, aided the diffusion of the Hiko compilations to other mountains around the country. Eventually, the inclusion of several of them in the woodblock-printed *Shugen Five Books* (*Shugen gosho* 五書), published first 1691 (Genroku 4) and reissued in 1798 (Kansei 10), elevated them to canonical status for the remainder of the Tokugawa period.⁶

Despite their centrality in the development of Shugendō, the Hiko compilations have been largely ignored in modern scholarship. This lack of attention can be attributed in part to the categorization of Shugendō within the field of folk studies. Under this approach, scholars consult doctrinal texts—beginning with the Hiko compilations—for historical parallels to contemporary practices while simultaneously dismissing them as removed from essence of Shugendō.

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This resistance to textual history has led to somewhat of a subterranean existence for the Hiko compilations in scholarship; however, some notable exceptions exist in the field. Their most thorough treatment was conducted by the prewar scholar, Murakami Toshio. His book, *Shugendō no hattatsu* (The development of Shugendō, 1943), provides a comprehensive overview of the major concepts and rituals set forth in the Hiko compilations. Treating them as definitive of Shugendō, he nonetheless tends to remove them from historical and geographical context.

Since Murakami, Miyake Hitoshi has written on Sokuden, and some of his work has been translated into English by Gaynor Sekimori (2005). Asada Masahiro, furthermore, has studied the Hiko compilations at length. He distinctly approaches them from a Tendai perspective—often appropriate, given the strong influence of Tendai doctrine on the formation of Shugendō (Togakushi and Hiko are both cases in point). His monograph, *Bukkyō kara mita shugen no sekai* (The world of Shugendō from a Buddhist perspective, 2000) provides modern translations and commentary on the thirty-three sections of the *Shugen sanjūsan tsūki* 修驗三十三通記 (Thirty-three *shugen* transmissions), a work compiled by Sokuden's predecessors at Hiko. Asada has also contributed a number of articles on the textual lineages of the compilations as well as later Edo period commentaries. Finally, Allan Grapard is responsible for introducing Sokuden and medieval Hikosan to an English-speaking audience through several essays that contain translations and analyses of passages from the texts (1998, 2000). Beyond these contributions, however, little from the Hiko compilations has been translated into modern languages (Japanese, English, etc.) and no serious studies since the prewar exist.

A comprehensive analysis of these texts exceeds the scope of this project. Instead, this chapter will consider elements that point toward a distinct school of Shugendō at Hiko before

tracking its passage to Togakushi. Discussion will draw mainly from the two texts that Sokuden reportedly transmitted to the clerics of Togakushi. First is the *Shugen sanjūsan tsūki* (hereafter referred to as the *Thirty-three Transmissions*), which comprises *kirikami* divided into thirty-three sections that outline *shugen* thought, ritual, and protocol.⁷ According to the preface of its publication in 1691 (Genroku 4), the work constitutes the “former oral transmissions and inner teachings” (*senshin no kuden shinkyō*) of the Hiko practitioners, Renkaku 蓮覓 and Chikō 智光 (Asada 2000, 23). While nothing is known of Renkaku outside of this passage, Chikō is listed in the *Hikosan shugen denpō kechimyaku* 彦山修驗傳法血脈 (Dharma lineage of the *shugen* transmission at Mt. Hiko) as two generations before Sokuden (p. 310b). Chikō’s immediate predecessor Yūkai 宥快 ascended to the rank of *daisendatsu* in 1482, probably placing Chikō in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century (Fukui 2000, 235–236).

The second work is the *Sanbu sōjō hōsoku mikki* 三峰相承法則密記 (Secret record of the transmissions and regulations concerning the Three Peaks [practice]), hereafter referred to as the *Three Peaks Record*.⁸ Sokuden writes in its final line that he completed it in the winter of 1525 (Daiei 5) at the temple of Natadera 那谷寺 at Hakusan. The *Three Peaks Record*, consisting of two fascicles, describes the fundamentals of Hiko “inner peak” (*buchū*) practice in 136 sections. The first fascicle comprises eighty-five entries on protocol for novices at the time of Peak Entry, the role of the *sendatsu*, and the sequence of rituals for the practice of Peak Entry (*nyūbu* 入峰; also pronounced *mineiri*). The second fascicle, consisting of fifty-one entries, begins with protocol for daily life, such as mealtimes and cleaning responsibilities, before laying out a detailed explanation of Peak Entry for the seasons of autumn, spring, and summer (i.e., the “three peaks”). While not included in the canonical *Shugen Five Books*, this text also disseminates across the country and becomes influential in the development of Shugendō.⁹

Buddhist influences

The school of Shugendō of course, was not produced in a vacuum but rather emerged from an integrated system of Buddhist concepts permeating medieval Japan. Original Awakening Doctrine (*hongaku hōmon*) alongside the notions of nonduality and the “attainment of buddhahood in one’s own body” (*sokushin jōbutsu* 卽身成佛) are deeply embedded in the Hiko compilations. While the following summary grossly simplifies these complex systems, I hope to at least sketch some basic concepts that arise in the translated passages we will consider in this chapter.

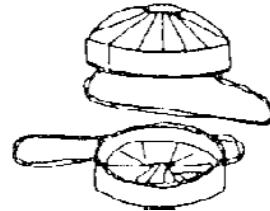
Original Awakening Doctrine traces back to Continental strands of thought before becoming the underlying logic of the Tendai and Shingon schools in medieval Japan.¹⁰ Within the earlier Mainstream Buddhist schools that developed on the Indian subcontinent, the path from a deluded state of mind toward a fully awakened one was typically understood to involve many lifetimes of committed Buddhist practice. In contrast to this gradual path, certain schools of thought emerged within the Mahāyāna tradition claiming that awakening was possible in a single lifetime. This position developed from the premise in Madhyamaka thought that all types of phenomena (*dharma*s) in the world are empty. By sharing this characteristic of emptiness, then everything must be identical, or in other words, nondual. Based on this ‘ultimate truth’ about the nature of reality (as opposed to the ‘conventional truth’ in Madhyamaka thought that differences among phenomena exist), there is no underlying distinction between subject and object. In respect to the mind, moreover, the mental states of delusion and awakening also become identical. Taking this notion of nonduality to its utmost conclusion, one must be identical to everything else in the universe, including the awakened state of a buddha. From this logic, Original Awakening Doctrine maintains that all beings in the world are primarily

endowed with buddha-nature—an idea known as *tathāgatagarbha* (i.e., the mind as the “womb of the *tathāgata*,” or the buddha).

Despite this underlying reality of existence, however, the polluted conditions of the world dilute the mind, leading one to ignorance and suffering. As a result, individuals must still practice diligently in order to return to an original state of awakening. Modes of applying this philosophy into practice varied among East Asian Buddhist schools (e.g., Chan/Sōn/Zen, Huayan, Chinese Tiantai). In Japanese esoteric Buddhism, the idea emerged that in a ritualized setting, one could rapidly “attain buddhahood in one’s own body” (*sokushin jōbutsu*). This notion is generally attributed to the founder of Shingon Buddhism, Kūkai 空海 (774–835), who argued that the ultimate goal of practice was to gain awakening in this lifetime. By ritualizing one’s body through *mudrās*, speech through *mantras*, and mind through meditation, Kūkai argued that the practitioner could align with a buddha and become one himself.¹¹ The buddha whose qualities best apply to this transformation of the practitioner is Dainichi 大日 (Skt. Mahāvairocana), whose all-encompassing essence was understood to pervade the cosmos, the world, and the self.

An analysis of passages from the Hiko compilations demonstrates that the school of Shugendō emerged within this broader discourse. Dainichi, for instance, frequently appears in reference to the practitioner and the natural world. At the same time, the terminology used in the texts hints at a sense of independence from established Buddhist traditions. Frequently repeated terms in the Hiko compilations include “Shugendō,” the adjectival *shugen*, *shugenja* and *yamabushi*, all of which suggest an autonomous identity among its members. In addition to this self-reflexive terminology, the texts contain the underlying attributes of an independent

religious school: attire and implements, lineage and founder, doctrine, institution, and practices. The following analysis will consider the examples of attire, founder and lineage.



Robed as a buddha

We might think of the attire of a religious group as performing two functions: first, it acts to reinforce community among members, and second, it projects an external identity outward toward the laity and other religious groups. Clothes can also indicate a transformation in the existential state of the wearer. These purposes come to the fore in the *Thirty-three Transmissions*, which devotes the entire first fascicle (out of two) to the uniform of the *yamabushi*. Twelve articles of attire are outlined in the text: the *hangai* 斑蓋 (a wide-brimmed straw hat), the *tokin* 頭襟 (a small black cap; fig. 3-1), the *suzukake* 鈴繫 (a two-piece set of garments), the *yuigesha* 結袈裟 (“connection” surplice; fig. 3-2), the *hora* 法螺 (a conch shell horn), the *saitakaku nenju* 最多角念珠 (the Buddhist string of 108 wooden beads), the *shakujō* 錫杖 (a ringed, short staff), the *katabako* 肩箱 (a small box containing ritual implements and written prayers), the *oi* 笥 (a portable shrine worn on the back), the *kongōzue* 金剛杖 (a *vajra* walking staff), the *hisshiki* 引敷 (an animal skin worn over the lower back), and the *kyahan* 脚半 (leggings). All of these items are described in the context of enrobing oneself as a buddha. Through the donning of these articles, one therefore puts into practice the doctrines of original awakening and attainment of buddhahood in one’s own body. The explanation for the *tokin* provides an example of this transformation.¹²

The *yamabushi* exists as the radiant, cognitive body of Dainichi. The ordinary body constitutes the awakened body of a buddha. In this sense, the *tokin* serves as the jeweled

crown of the five types of cognition (*gochi* 五智). These formed jewels reflect the complete and perfected inner realization (*naishō* 内證) of the five types of cognition.

夫山伏者。大日遍照ノ智身。凡身卽佛覺體也。故頭襟者。

卽五智ノ寶冠也。其形寶形彰_五智圓滿ノ内證_矣。

(*Thirty-three Transmissions*, 410b)

The five types of cognition here connote the five purified realms of a

buddha's wisdom.¹³ Given that the practitioner is understood to be a manifestation of Dainichi, the *tokin* reinforces this state of being by symbolizing his awakened mind as identical with that of Dainichi.

An additional example of this physical symbiosis with buddhahood is the *yuigesa*, a type of surplice worn over the robe. The term *yuigesa* can be broken into two parts: *yui* (connection) and *kesa*, a transliteration for the Sanskrit word for robe, *kāśāya*. Here the “connection robe,” or simply “surplice,” cloaks one in overlapping cosmic layers:

The nine connections (*ku yui* 九結) [of the *yuigesa*] constitute the nine realms. Living beings of the nine realms are [thus] connected to the nine panels worn by the practitioner... Because the practitioner is a buddha [i.e., the tenth] realm, it is referred to as the Ten Realm-Endowed Surplice.

It is also known as the Immovable Surplice. The Immovable Luminous King (*Fudō myōdō*) comprises the entire body of the ten Dharma realms. The ultimate state [of the body] is neither mundane nor sacred (*bonjō* 凡聖). Because the ten realms constitute a single reality (*ichijitsu* 一實), there is no difference between living beings and buddhas.

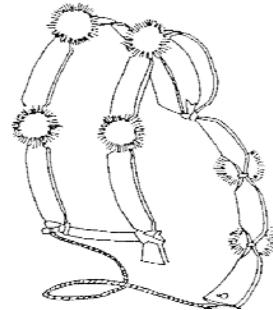


Figure 3-2 Illustration of the *yuigesa*
(Miyake 2001a, 82)

九結ハ九界也。結_二九界ノ衆生ヲ九條_一行者着_レ之。九條者九界也。行者ハ佛界也。
故或名_二十界具足ノ袈裟_一。或號_二不動袈裟_一。不動明王者十法界ノ總體。凡聖不
二ノ極位也。十界一實故無_二生佛ノ隔_一。(Thirty-three Transmissions, 412)

The number nine symbolizes two coexistent elements of buddhahood in this passage. First, it refers to the first nine of the ten realms (*jikkai* 十界) of living beings, a common categorization in Tendai Buddhism.¹⁴ The practitioner equals the tenth realm, i.e., a buddha. In this synthesis, the *yuigesa* reinforces the practitioner's state of buddhahood while keeping him connected to the descending nine realms of beings.¹⁵ Although not explicitly stated, the “nine panels” secondly allude to the nine assemblies of the Diamond realm *mandala*, of which Dainichi constitutes the center. By this logic, the wearer of the surplice situates himself in the center of the Diamond realm as Dainichi.

Withholding analysis of the other ten articles, the *tokin* and the *yuigesa* themselves represent a complex bricolage of symbols that construct layer upon layer of unification with buddhahood.¹⁶ The outfit of the *yamabushi* in this sense, not only makes the man, so to speak, but also the buddha. At the same time, the twelve articles play a definitive role in formation of Shugendō by stabilizing its visual identity inside and outside of the school.

Establishing a founder

In addition to the significance of uniform in Hiko Shugendō, the construction of a founder also plays a defining role in the emergence of Shugendō. While the term “constructed” may seem like a strange way to describe a founder, we should distinguish between a religious school’s internal narrative of its origins versus an historical analysis of how a founder comes to be seen as such over time.¹⁷ In the case of Shugendō, the seventh century ascetic En no Ozuno 役小角, or

more commonly known as En no Gyōja 役行者 (En the practitioner), becomes adopted as the school's founder.¹⁸

This transformation can be traced at Hikosan from the late fifteenth century into the early sixteenth century. Early reference to En no Gyōja can be found in the *Shugendō hiketsu kanjō kan* 修驗道秘決灌頂卷 (p. 564), a collection of *kirikami* attributed Yūkai (fl. ca. 1482). The text provides a brief biography of En, including his time in the Katsuragi mountains and his divine connections to Dainichi and famous figures from the Buddhist tradition (e.g., disciple of Śākyamuni, Kāśyapa and Buddhist exegete, Nāgārjuna). Significantly, it neither alludes to him as a founder nor suggests any association between him and Hiko. Within several generations of Yūkai, however, En becomes increasingly drawn into the mountain's legacy and legend. Hints of this role appear in the last lines of the *Thirty-three Transmissions*:

The enduring explanation of principle and phenomena as that which is not two arrived via our lofty founder (*kōso*), Layman En (En no ubasoku; Skt. *upāsaka*). [This teaching] has been passed down from mind to mind and transmitted from one vessel [practitioner] to the next. Truly, these ancient wise men utilized it with intention. It constitutes the great matter of our house's practice.

事理兩該非徒然ノ説。從高祖役優婆塞以來。心心相承器皿稟傳。實是古來先哲ノ用意。當家修行ノ大事也。 (*Thirty-three Transmissions*, 430b)

This single reference to En as “our lofty founder” reveals a nascent identification with him as the source of the mountain’s tradition. Yet it seems unusual that this line would stand alone as the only mention of such an esteemed individual within the entire *Thirty-three Transmissions*. This paucity of references might be explained by the placement of this passage within the compilation. Resembling more of a postscript than a description of doctrine or practice—as characteristic of

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the transmissions—it may have been written at the time that the *kirikami* were compiled into a single fascicle. If this is the case, En’s role as the founder of the mountain’s school may have been a very recent development. His new title of “lofty founder” again appears in the *Three Peaks Record* (p. 466a), which Sokuden compiled in 1525. Nonetheless, these references remain minimal, providing little justification for En’s newly acquired status.

Soon after this, however, a subsequent compilation cements his emerging role as founder by intricately weaving him into the history and practice of the mountain. This work, known as the *Shugen shūyō hiketsu shū* 修驗修要祕訣集 (Collected key secrets of *shugen* practice) is an expansion of the earlier *Thirty-three Transmissions* with seventeen additional transmissions.¹⁹ The resulting fifty transmissions, hereafter referred to as *Collected Key Secrets*, were probably compiled by Sokuden in the late 1520s.²⁰ Here En appears in numerous passages that recount his origins, divine transformations, and practice, as illustrated in the following example:²¹

Our lofty founder, Noble En, internally resided in the inner realization of the original awakening (*hongaku*) of Vairocana. From faraway he walked to this mountain range and practiced the secret method of sudden awakening in this very body (*sokushin tongo* 卽身頓悟). [En] externally relied on the sovereign seal (*inji* 印璽) of the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna in order to divine its trace from afar to this mountain. [Through this effort,] he magnificently expanded the recondite teachings of the “opened *stupa*” of the southern Indian region (*Nanten* 南天). How virtuous was his unification of the exoteric and esoteric practices and the mysterious concordance between the two laws of phenomena and principle! How valuable are the secret methods among methods and the innermost secrets within the most profound secrets [revealed in his transmission]!

爰以高祖役聖者。内ニハ住_二毗盧本覺ノ内證_一遠運_二步ヲ於峻嶺_一修_二即身頓悟ノ祕法_一。外ニハ依_二龍樹大士ノ印璽_一遙卜_二跡ヲ於當峯_一飽弘_二南天ノ開塔玄風_一矣。懿顯密之行業一揆事理二法冥契。貴故法之中ノ祕法深祕之中ノ極祕也。

(*Collected Key Secrets*, 396a)

In this significant development from earlier references, En has now traveled all the way to “this mountain,” ensuring the transmission of the teachings of Dainichi (Vairocana) via Nāgārjuna.²² This account establishes the existence of a legitimate lineage originating from Dainichi, setting up En as its patriarch. His alleged application of the secrets and methods of Shugendō in his attainment of awakening can additionally be interpreted as a model for all *yamabushi* to follow. Through the clandestine transmission of his ritual program, they too can realize their own awakening. With a founder now in place, Shugendō has a lineage and a portrait of the ideal practitioner.

Placing “this mountain”

The final description of En no Gyōja above could easily lead one to conclude that Sokuden is referring specifically to Hikosan in regard to En no Gyōja’s arrival. Interestingly though, neither Hiko nor are any of its affiliated peaks, practice sites, or temples are explicitly mentioned in the passage. In fact, the entire three-fascicle *Collected Key Secrets* appears to be void of specific places. We find instead simply the words, “this mountain” (*tōbu* 當峯).

How should we interpret this pronounced absence of specific places? Bernard Faure (1987) offers one theory for the relationship between place and religion in the case of Chan Buddhism during its gradual spread over the course of the Tang and Song periods. Under the notion of nonduality, all “phenomena” (*ji* 事) in the world can be reduced to the same “principle”

(*ri* 理), making the characteristics of a place obsolete. With this triumph over particularity, local cults and deities, in effect, lose ground under the universalizing force of Buddhist dogma. He continues, nevertheless, that locales regain their footing through the construction of relic worship sites. Despite the dictates of the philosophy, in other words, the concrete attributes of place ultimately shape the site and draw its patrons.

I would push this argument further by suggesting that doctrines such as nonduality have little impact on the complex endeavor of grounding ritual, thought, and tradition to place. In Sokuden's case, his disinterest in toponyms may simply derive from his position within a wider network of numinous peaks across the Japanese archipelago. This outlook might have taken shape through his relocation from Nikkō to Hiko as well as his sojourns to other mountains. Such activities, after all, required an underlying foundation of common practice and doctrine among mountain centers. In this sense, Sokuden might have understood Shugendō not as a lineage specific to Hiko or Kumano per se, but rather as a broad-based "way" (*dō*) that permeated the Japanese archipelago. Not only is he then writing for *yamabushi* at Hiko but also for a potentially much broader audience of practitioners. The passage from *Collected Key Secrets* therefore insinuates that En no Gyōja has not only traveled to Hikosan but the grounds of every other mountain fitting this discourse. Sokuden's abstraction of place in this sense, may have aided the school's diffusion to other mountains, including Togakushisan, which we turn to next.

Shugendō enters Togakushi

As demonstrated in chapter one, the *Transmitted Account* lacks any reference to Shugendō at Togakushisan in the mid-fifteenth century. While Sokuden's transmission in the 1520s may mark the birth of Shugendō at the mountain, this theory rests on the assumption that the event is

historically accurate and not simply a later embellishment. Confirmation of this question, however, may lie in a text titled the *Shugen mondō* 修驗問答 (*Inquiries and responses regarding Shugen[-dō]*).²³

The colophon of the *Shugen mondō*, hereafter referred to as *Shugen Inquiries*, provides the year of 1561 (Eiroku 4) for its composition. At this time, the legendary battles between Takeda Shingen 武田信玄 (1521–1573), approaching from the southern region of Kai (now Yamanashi Ken), and Uesugi Kenshin, defending his northern territory of Echigo (now comprising most of Niigata Ken), had engulfed the entire region. Situated in between these two areas, Togakushi fell into the midst of a succession of pitched battles lasting from 1553 to 1564. According to Jōin's *Togakushisan daigongen engi* 戸隱山代權現縁起 (1736?), many of the *shuto* evacuated the mountain (fleeing to Echigo) during a four-month battle in 1557 (Kōji 3, months 2–6).²⁴ Shingen's forces then staged a lasting takeover of the region in 1564 (Eiroku 7). This invasion forced the current administrator of Togakushi Ken'ei 賢栄 (and presumably an accompaniment of *shuto*) to flee to Echigo (Kenshin's territory) while approximately seventy *shuto* resettled in nearby Ikadagamine 筏ヶ峰 of Okawa 小川 (Shingen's territory). There the latter group established four miniature shrines representing the three temples and the Kuzuryū shrine and resumed their practice of Peak Entry at the nearby mountain of Kudosan 久渡山 (*Togakushisan daigongen engi*, 226). The mountain's evacuation lasted for roughly the next three decades.²⁵

This turbulent backdrop may indeed have prompted the writing of *Shugen Inquiries*. Faced with great loss at the mountain and the forced exile of its members, the creation of a textual record would have helped to provide some measure of continuity and preservation of the mountain's traditions. The oldest extant version of the *Transmitted Account*, copied six years

later in 1567, supports this theory. The absence of any earlier texts from Togakushi moreover, suggests that they might have been lost in battle.²⁶

That said, *Shugen Inquiries* takes the school of Shugendō rather than the site of Togakushi as its primary focus. This may be attributed to its classification as *mondō* (literally, “inquiries and responses”)—a genre that traces back as far as Confucian texts like the *Analects*. Chan writers later adopted the format. Composed in dialogic form, the responses elicited from the inquisitor often lay out the overarching doctrines and practices of the given religious school.

The scenario established in *Shugen Inquiries* depicts a traveling Buddhist priest visiting temples in various regions throughout the country. After stopping at Zenkōji in the plains below, he hikes up to Togakushi, where he prays at each of the temples and climbs to the mountain’s summit. Later in the day when a powerful storm engulfs the area, a *yamabushi* on the mountain provides him with shelter for the night.²⁷ Unfamiliar with the *yamabushi*’s attire and practice, the priest engages him in a heated discussion over the basic tenets of Shugendō. The tone of conversation between the two men is often antagonistic, apparent through the insults hurled from either side. At one point, the priest ridicules the school as “monkey business” (*enraku* 猿樂), whereupon the *yamabushi* mocks the priest as a naïve “auditor” (*shōmon* 聲聞), or one who merely memorizes Buddhist teachings without understanding them. The topics that arise through this back-and-forth banter cover a wide range of issues regarding Shugendō, including doctrine, attire and hair style, practices, deities, and transmission.

As for the source of this new school at Togakushi, terminology and passages regarding attire and lineage in the text follow almost identically from the earlier Hiko compilations. To begin with, *Shugen Inquiries* is abundant in lexicon found in the Hiko compilations but not in Togakushi’s fifteenth century *Transmitted Account*. Frequent terms include Shugendō,

yamabushi, shugen, sendatsu, and *nyūbu* (Peak Entry). One term deserving special attention is *sokushin sokubutsu* 卽身即佛 (*Shugen Inquiries*, 391). Translated as “one’s own body as a buddha,” this phrase varies from the more common *sokushin jōbutsu* (discussed above). While the latter appears in numerous medieval Japanese works related to Original Awakening Doctrine, the former phrase most likely originates in the Hiko compilations.²⁸ In addition to this link, the *Thirty-three Transmissions* and *Shugen Inquiries* quote identical passages from the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* and the *Treatise on the Bodhicitta*, revealing a common textual legacy.²⁹

Influence from the Hiko compilations also carries over in attire, as evidenced by mention of the *yuigesa*, *tokin*, *hangai*, and *suzukake* (*Shugen Inquiries*, 388, 391). Similar to the *Thirty-three Transmissions*, the robes are explained in the symbolic terms of wrapping oneself in the twofold *maṇḍala* in order to attain buddhahood.

Finally, an identical lineage confirms a shared textual history. *Shugen Inquiries* lists the following sequence: Dainichi *nyorai* → Nāgārjuna → En no Gyōja → Chikō no Gyōja (*Shugen Inquiries*, 391). As we have seen, the construction of this lineage is underway at Hiko in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century with En no Gyōja as its emergent founder. In the *Thirty-three Transmissions*, Dainichi, Nāgārjuna, and En appear in scattered instances throughout the text but are not yet arranged in any relational order.³⁰ In Sokuden’s *Collected Key Secrets*, however, they form a single lineage (p. 396a). Although the glyphs for these names have multiple variations in East Asian texts, they are nearly identical in *Collected Key Secrets* and *Shugen Inquiries*. The most obvious clue though is the inclusion of Chikō no Gyōja—a reference to Sokuden’s predecessor (by two generations) at Hiko and a compiler of the *Thirty-three Transmissions*.

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Taken together, the shared terminology, attire and lineage between the Hiko compilations and the subsequent *Shugen Inquiries* helps to substantiate Sokuden's transmission. How then, do the practices of Shugendō join the ritual program at Togakushi?

Attaining buddhahood in the mountains

Seasonal ritualized entries into the mountains became a common practice in the medieval period.³¹ Known as Peak Entry (*nyūbu* or *mineiri*) in Shugendō, the practice may predate the formation of the school. A textual comparison of Togakushi's mid-fifteenth century *Transmitted Account*, the Hiko compilations, and the subsequent *Shugen Inquiries* reveals how Peak Entry at Togakushi became imbued with the language, doctrine and ritual structure of the Shugendō school imported from Hiko. As the earliest of the three, a short passage from the *Transmitted Account* provides the following description:

On the Matter of the Inner Peaks:

There are many secret elements, such as the spontaneous emergence (*jinen yūshutsu*) of the Two Realm *mandala* as well as the luminous god, Takatsuma's crystal pagoda of abundant treasure (eight *shaku* tall) and the perfect mirror (eight *shaku* wide).³² [These secrets] cannot be easily reported. The details are recorded on separate paper.

峯中事、自然涌出の兩界の曼荼羅、高妻明神水精の多寶塔（高八尺）、圓鏡（徑八尺）これ等の如きは秘事これ多し、輒くは載すに能はず。委細別紙にある矣。

(*Transmitted Account*, 312)

We see here the notion of two peaks in the Togakushi region as comprising the Diamond and Womb realm *mandalas*. This superimposition of the twofold *mandala* over mountain ranges occurs at other mountain centers such as Kumano-Ōmine-Yoshino, Kōya, and Hiko during this time.³³ Although not named explicitly, the two mountains here most likely refer to Takatsuma

and the neighboring Ototsuma (both rising behind Mt. Togakushi), given the mention of Takatsuma here as well as their depiction as such in Edo period sources.³⁴

Outside of the purported numinous elements of these mountains, however, we receive little sense from the passage itself of what form of practice might have been associated with them. In contrast, Sokuden's *Three Peaks Record* provides a clear description of Peak Entry at Hikosan:

Number 112: The Distribution of the Three Peaks

¤ (vam) The northern mountain of Kamadosan 竈門山 constitutes the Diamond Realm.

From fruition, one turns back toward the seed. [Thus, it is the] “reverse peak” (*gyakubu*). [This is the] Autumn Peak [Entry], in which one descends [down to the world in order to] transform living beings.

¤ (hūm) The central mountain of Kamiyama 神山 constitutes the harmonious synthesis of practice between Womb and Diamond realms. [It is] neither seed nor fruition. The Summer Peak [Entry represents] the nonduality of going forward and backward and the unity between oneself and others.

¤ (ah) The southern mountain of Hiko constitutes the Womb realm. From seed one arrives at fruition. [Thus, it is] the “forward peak” (*junbu*). [This is the] Spring Peak [Entry], in which one ascends in pursuit of awakening.

The above “three peaks practice” refers to the practice of the *yamabushi*. It can also denote one *asamkhyā* (*sōgi* 僧祇) [eon of bodhisattva practice] for the *yamabushi*.³⁵ Peak Entry is performed as many as thirty-six times. Analogous to the mutual containment of the six root [senses], it constitutes the practice of three incalculable periods (*sangi* 三祇). This is recorded in the original record. Now, [I provide only] an abbreviated account.

第百十二 三峯相配事

北方龕門山金剛界 從果向因

逆峯 秋峯下化衆生

中央神山胎金和合 非因非果

順逆不二夏峯 自他一如

南方彦山胎藏界 從因至果

順峯 春峯上求菩提

右三峯修行ヲ名ニ修行ノ山伏一。或又號ニ一僧祇ノ山伏一也。入峯極數三十六度也。擬ニ互具六根一三祇修行ノ事具如ニ本記一。今略レこれ。*(Three Peaks Record, 488)*

This passage describes the Three Peaks Practice (*sanbu shugyō* 三峯修行) of the Hiko mountain range.³⁶ As in the *Transmitted Account*, the final line alludes to elements intentionally omitted. Nevertheless, the greater disclosure of details here points toward a high level of integration between doctrine and practice absent from fifteenth century Togakushi. Fully enacting the doctrines of Original Awakening and nonduality into ritual, the Three Peaks Practice lays out a practical course meant to eliminate the distinction between awakening and delusion: the Autumn Peak represents the path from realized awakening (fruition) back to potential awakening (seed); the Spring Peak represents the path of potential awakening to realized awakening; and the Summer Peak represents their nonduality, thereby uniting both realms of the twofold *mandala*. These doctrines have already been carefully integrated into the identity and existential state of the *yamabushi*, as illustrated earlier with the example of attire. Here they are realized through practice, further shaping Peak Entry as it is conducted in Shugendō.

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An additional feature of Shugendō practice found in this passage concerns the activity of a bodhisattva. Central to Mahāyāna Buddhism, bodhisattvas not only pursue the upward trajectory of awakening but also compassionately return to the world in order to save others. This two-directional course is manifested in the Three Peaks Practice: in the autumn, one moves downward to save living beings in the world; in the spring, one progresses towards awakening; and the summer illustrates the identical nature of both directions. Through this structure, the *yamabushi* symbolically engages in the bodhisattva path, seeking his own awakening while also helping others. This identification of the *yamabushi* as a bodhisattva becomes fundamental to the practice of Shugendō.

Finally, we might note the presence of what are known as seed syllables (Jpn. *shuji* 種子; Skt. *bīja*) in esoteric Buddhism. These letters are composed in *siddham*, a North Indian script that was used for writing Sanskrit. It was introduced to China in the eighth century and allegedly brought to Japan in the early ninth century by Kūkai. In esoteric ritual, seed syllables are often visualized or chanted. They also appear in *mandalas*, symbolizing specific buddhas and bodhisattvas. The seed syllables in this passage are associated with three of the so-called five buddhas of cognition (also represented earlier in the *tokin*): *vam* 文 with Dainichi, the central buddha of the group; *hūm* 虹 with Ashuku 阿闍闍 (Akṣobhya); and *ah* 哄 with Fukū Jōshū 不空成就 (Amogha-siddhiḥ). In this sense, each of the three peaks symbolizes an esoteric buddha in the Hiko schema.

Returning now to Togakushisan, a passage from *Shugen Inquiries* reveals the transformation of Peak Entry in the years following Sokuden's transmission.

First off, the spring is referred to as the Spring Peak. It signifies progression from seed to fruition and constitutes the practice of the Womb Realm. Its upward [direction] is the

‘form’ of activity (*jisō* 事相) that pursues awakening and [thus] is known as the forward peak [entry]. Moreover, the autumn is referred to as the Autumn Peak. It signifies turning from fruition back toward the seed and is the practice of the Diamond Realm. Its downward [direction] is the form of activity that transforms living beings and is known as the reverse peak [entry]. These constitute the two practices of the twofold [*manḍala*].

The coming and going (*kyoshi* 去至) of the flower offering (*hana no ku* 花供) [ritual] constitutes neither seed nor fruition [but rather] the practice of seed and fruition as one single body. [In this way,] the Womb and Diamond [realms] are nondualistic. One fully obtains the understanding of one’s own body as a buddha (*sokushin sokubutsu*) through this [ritual].

Upon the fourth completion of the Three Peaks Practice, one achieves [the rank of] *sendatsu*. He is then able to guide novices (*shinkyaku*), enabling them to attain perfect and complete buddhahood.

先春名_レ春峯_レ、從_レ曰_レ〔因〕至果義表_レ、胎藏界修行_レ、上求_レ菩薩_レ〔菩薩〕事相也、是順峯云、又秋名_レ秋峯_レ、從_レ果向_レ曰_レ義_レ、金剛界修行_レ、下化衆生事相_レ、是逆峯云_ヘリ、爰ニテハ兩部二行也、去至_レ花供_レ者非曰非果曰果一軀修行_レ、胎・金不二、即身即佛悉心得如_レ是。三峯修行畢テ四度目遂_レ先達_レ、引導_レ新客_レ、令_レ圓_レ滿即佛_レ。

(*Shugen Inquiries*, 388)

This near replication of the ritual program from the *Three Peaks Record* suggests a surprisingly high level of reception at Togakushi. It should be noted that this textual representation should not be interpreted as evidence of their actual implementation at the mountain (or areas of evacuation at this time). Nonetheless, this transformation of Peak Entry, alongside other

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influences from the Hiko compilations (lexicon, attire, and lineage), reveal that Sokuden's transmission of ritual and its underlying meaning have been embraced by practitioners at Togakushi.

Conclusion

This chapter provides concrete evidence of a specific time and place when the conceptualization and construction of Shugendō emerged as an independent religious school. From this finding, we might close by situating this new movement in relationship to Buddhism. After all, Buddhist ritual, doctrine, and material culture permeated every level of society in medieval Japan. As our evidence reveals, the school of Shugendō undoubtedly formed within this worldview.

Yamabushi thus followed the bodhisattva path, helping others while simultaneously realizing their own inner nature as buddhas. En no Gyōja, moreover, became situated in a lineage tracing back to Nāgārjuna and the buddha Vairocana. That said, the architects of Shugendō at both Hiko and Togakushi operated outside of traditional Buddhist parameters. Constructing an independent identity, they invented new vocabulary to explain their practices and community, distinguished themselves in appearance through unique garbs and unshaven hair, and developed ritual programs and doctrinal logic adapted specifically to the mountains. These distinctions collectively suggest a self-defined alterity for the school and its members.

What factors then drove the creation of this new school? One indication may appear in *Shugen Inquiries*. Throughout the dialogue, the traveling Buddhist priest interrogates the *yamabushi* on the latter's Buddhist credentials (e.g., attire, hair style, scriptural basis), using the so-called “eight or ten [Buddhist] schools” (*hachishū jūshū*) as the normative measure.³⁷ The *yamabushi* responds to each attack by distinguishing Shugendō from the traditional schools while legitimizing its inclusion in the broader Buddhist community. We might speculate that on a local level, the exchange could reflect tensions between the new movement of Shugendō at

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Togakushi and an established, conservative guard at the temple complex. On a broader scale moreover, the liminal social status of *yamabushi* may also play a role in the need for an assertive stance on legitimacy. As chapter five touches on, *yamabushi* worked as religious specialists existing largely outside of the walls of the professional priesthood. As a key point, the *yamabushi* in *Shugen Inquiries* does not define Shugendō as outside of Buddhism—a position that would simply reinforce its lower status. Instead, he carves out the school's own space within the Buddhist paradigm. At this stage of research, it is unclear if its formation at Hiko might have been similarly driven by an effort to justify *shugen* practices. If such an aim did factor into the Hiko compilations, however, then we might understand the emergence of Shugendō into a self-conscious school in part as an act of legitimization.

As a final element of consideration, how do we account for the near absence of Togakushi ritual culture and historical narratives in *Shugen Inquiries* that permeate its earlier origin accounts? Although the literary genre of *mondō* may provide part of the answer, the majority of the Hiko compilations as we have seen likewise pay little attention to their site of origin. Instead, a broad view of Shugendō is advanced in which simply the category of mountains serves as its place of existence.

This one-size-fits-all approach may explain why Hiko Shugendō remains largely intact at Togakushi roughly four decades after its introduction. One adaptation to the Three Peaks Practice at the mountain does, however, appear in *Shugen Inquiries*. While the “three peaks” of the Hiko ritual calendar are transferred to Togakushi as a comprehensive program of spring, summer and autumn practices, the Summer Peak becomes a “flower offering” (*hana no ku*) at Togakushi—a ritual most likely referring to the early summer “flower gathering” (*hana no e* 花會) mentioned a century earlier in the *Transmitted Account* (p. 310). This hint of continuity

suggests that the practitioners of Togakushi have adopted the main contours of Shugendō from Sokuden while retaining elements from their own preexisting ritual program. The next chapter will explore how this process of adaptation accelerates over the course of the Edo period as practitioners reimagine the mountain as an ancient site of Shugendō through subtle shifts in narrative, identity and practice.

Notes

¹ For representative scholarship on Hikosan's religious history, see Nakano Hatayoshi's 1977 edited volume and Nagano Tadashi 1987. Allan Grapard 1998 and 2000 has written several chapters on medieval period Hiko in English.

² For an English translation of the passage regarding the forty-nine caves, see Grapard 1998, 255.

³ These texts have been published in the *Shugendō shōso*, a collection of three volumes with an additional fourth volume of *kaidai* (introductions). The three volumes were originally published in the 48-volume *Nihon Daizōkyō* between 1916 and 1919 under the editorship of Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧 (1871–1934), who wrote the first *kaidai*. It was republished between 1973–1978 under the editorship of the Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木學術財團. Major additions to the *kaidai* were made at this time with Miyake Hitoshi serving as editor—a role he continued in the set's republication under Kokusho kankōkai in 2000.

⁴ The earliest extant collection came from Yūkai who was active in the late fifteenth century (Sasaki 2000, 247). The twenty-seven transmissions he passed down were compiled into a single text known as the *Shugendō hiketsu kanjō kan* in the first edition of the *Shugendō shōso*.

⁵ The earlier date appears in a Dharma transmission certificate (*Hō inshō jō* 法印證狀) from the *Hikosan shugen hiketsu injin kuketsu shū* 彦山修驗祕訣印信口決集, stating that Sokuden was

appointed to the rank of *daisendatsu* at the Hiko temple of Kezōin 華藏院 (p. 506a). Several other transmissions in the text are attributed to Sokuden in the year of 1558 (pp. 516b–517a). In addition, a passage from the *Hikosan buchū kanjō mitsu zō* 彦山峰中灌頂密藏 mentions his appointment to the rank of *gonshōsōzu* 権小僧都 at Kezōin in 1558 (Sasaki 2000, 239–240).

⁶ The *Shugen Five Books* (a.k.a., the *Ten Scrolls*) includes three Hiko works: *Thirty-three Transmissions* (2 fasc.), *Collected Key Secrets* (3 fasc.), and *Shugen tongaku sokushō shū* (2 fasc.). The additional two works include a sixteenth century text from Kumano titled *Shugen shi nan shō* 修驗指南紗 (1 fasc.) and a seventeenth century biography on En no Gyōja titled *En kun gyōsei ki* 役君形生記 (2 fasc.).

⁷ In the past there has been some confusion over the text's attribution, with some crediting Sokuden (e.g., Mochizuki, vol. 3, 2451a–2452b). This may stem from an error in the first edition of the *Shugendō shōso*, where the Introduction cites Chikō as the compiler but the Table of Contents cites Sokuden.

⁸ The modern edition is based primarily on a 1777 (Anei 6) manuscript from the Tōrinji 東林寺 temple of Kinpusen but cross-referenced with several other Edo period manuscripts (Sasaki 2000, 240).

⁹ In addition to its impact at Togakushi, variant manuscripts of the *Three Peaks Record* have been found at Shōgoin (headquarters to the Honzan branch of Shugendō) and Kinpusen (in Yoshino).

¹⁰ For its treatment by the Korean monk Wōnhyo 元曉 (617–686) see Robert Buswell and Wōnhyo 2007. Jacqueline Stone 1995 and 1999 outlines its development in Japan.

¹¹ Kūkai gives a full discussion of this practice in the *Sokushin jōbutsu gi* 卽身成佛義, translated into English by Hakeda Yoshito 1972, 225–233. For interpretation of the term by Saichō (founder of Japanese Tendai Buddhism), see Paul Groner 1992.

¹² For an introduction to the *yamabushi* uniform, refer to Miyake Hitoshi 2001a, 80–84; 2005, 97–99.

¹³ Interpretations of the five types of cognition vary according to esoteric tradition. In the Shingon school for example, they might align with five different buddhas or collectively with the Diamond *mandala* (DDB, s.v. 五智; Yamasaki 1988, 164).

¹⁴ The living beings of the ten realms are: hell-beings (*jigoku*), hungry ghosts (*gaki*), beasts (*chikushō*), asuras (*ashura*), humans (*ningen*), gods (*tenjō*), śrāvakas (*shōmon*), *pratyeka* buddhas (*engaku* 緣覺), bodhisattvas, and buddhas. For an analysis of Zhìyǐ’s treatment of the “ten dharma realms” (likely the textual precedent for “ten realms” thought in Japan), see Jacqueline Stone (1999, 179–181).

¹⁵ In Shugendō passage through the ten realms of existence is enacted on the mountain. In this set of rituals the practitioner moves through ten stages, each emblematic of one of the ten states of existence. Described in detail in the *Thirty-three Transmissions* (pp. 427b–429b), the practice first appears in Hiko sources but later becomes incorporated into many Shugendō sites around the country. The most well known of these is Mt. Haguro in Yamagata Prefecture, where it is still practiced today.

¹⁶ This notion of spiritual and physical transformation through garbs has earlier precedents in East Asia. See for example, Bernard Faure’s 2003 discussion of the *kesa* worn by Chan and Zen priests.

¹⁷ On this broader topic in Japanese religions, see Satō Hirō 2003 on Kūkai as founder of Shingon Buddhism and William Bodiford 2006b on Dōgen as founder of Sōtō Zen.

¹⁸ For treatment of En no Gyōja and the profuse body of literature that develops around his legend, see Miyake Hitoshi 2000b and Suzuki Shōei 2003, chapter 1.

¹⁹ The language and sequence of the thirty-three *kirikami* varies slightly between the *Thirty-three Transmissions* and *Collected Key Secrets*, suggesting that *Collected Key Secrets* may have been compiled separately or there may have been multiple versions of the *Thirty-three Transmissions*. Although both texts were included in the *Shugen Five Books*, more commentaries were written on *Collected Key Secrets* during the Edo period (Fukui 2000, 234).

²⁰ Sasaki Tetsuya (1977, 49) estimates its compilation as sometime during the Daiei period (1521–1527). I would add that it was likely written after 1524, or the year that Sokuden transmitted the *Thirty-three Transmissions* to Togakushi. If *Collected Key Secrets* had been completed at this time, he probably would have transmitted this extended version instead of the earlier *Thirty-three Transmissions*.

²¹ Other examples include *En no Gyōja ryaku engi no koto* 役行者略縁起事 (An abbreviated origin account of En no Gyōja; 400b–401b) and *En no Gyōja songyō no koto* 役行者尊形事 (The esteemed transformations of En no Gyōja; 401b–402a).

²² In East Asia, Nāgārjuna is credited with revealing the teachings of esoteric Buddhism. The *Kongōchō kyō giketsu* 金剛頂經義訣 (attributed to Amoghavajra) recounts that an iron *stūpa* housed the true scriptures of Vairocana (understood as superior to the exoteric teachings of Śākyamuni). Nāgārjuna unlocked this *stūpa* by performing the proper rituals and subsequently spread its esoteric teachings (T39, no. 1798, p. 808, a19-b28). Sokuden recounts this narrative

in the *Shugen tongaku sokushō shū* 修驗頓覺速証集 (pp. 442b–443a). For an introduction and English translation of the story, see Charles Orzech 1995.

²³ The original manuscript of *Shugen Inquiries* was lost to a fire in 1942 that burned down the Hisayama 久山 residence. As descendants of the mountain's last Tendai administrator Jikei 慈谿, they were in possession of many of the mountain's archives. A transcription *Shugen Inquiries* from 1931, however, exists. Extensive ruby marks retained in the transcription suggest that it was an important reference source for later generations. Despite its valuable evidence concerning late medieval Togakushi, the text has received almost no attention to date.

²⁴ The date for the *Engi* was provided by Kobayashi (1934b, 24). Unfortunately, it cannot be confirmed, as the text was lost in the Hisayama fire. The published edition was transcribed from an 1819 (Bunsei 2) copy by the priest, Eishō 栄照 of the Chūin sub-temple, Kakushōin 覚照院 (Sonehara 2001, no. 1, 26).

²⁵ This account is documented in a text known as the *Tokutake ke kako chō yurai* 德武家過去帳由来 (A record of the origins and past of the Tokutake clan). While Watanabe Kazuichi 1964 and Wakamori Tarō (1980, 419) have cited a late copy of it from the Bakumatsu period, the original manuscript was discovered in 2012, verifying its authenticity. According to its colophon, the text was composed in 1622 (Genwa 8) by Nishiyama Iemon Tominaga 西山伊右衛門富永, a descendant of the Tokutake clan.

²⁶ While the *Togakushi jakuji engi* 戸隱昔事縁起 was previously dated to the sixteenth century, it was more likely composed during or after Jōin's tenure (Suzuki 2013, 262).

²⁷ Besides the designation of *yamabushi*, he is also identified as a *kyaku* 客, the abbreviation for a novice practitioner (*shinkyaku* 新客) of Shugendō.

²⁸ The doctrinal explanation for variations of the term is laid out in the *Thirty-three Transmissions* (p. 430a).

²⁹ A line from the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (T18, no. 848, p. 54, c25-26) is quoted on p. 427b of the *Thirty-three Transmissions* and p. 389 of the *Shugen Inquires*. A line from the *Treatise on the Bodhicitta* (T18, no. 860, p. 188, a10-11) is quoted on p. 423a of the *Thirty-three Transmissions* and p. 389 of the *Shugen Inquires*. In addition to Shugendō, this text is central to the Shingon and Taimitsu lineages.

³⁰ They appear in the following pages: Dainichi (419a), Nāgārjuna (423a), and En (430b).

³¹ Much work has been conducted on the ritual of Peak Entry. Examples include Byron Earhart's (1985, chaps. 5–6) study of the Autumn Peak Entry at Mt. Haguro, Suzuki Masataka's 1991 research on mountain centers around the country, and parts 1-2 of Miyake Hitoshi 2011.

³² One *shaku* equals approximately 30cm.

³³ For representative scholarship, see Grapard 1982 and Elizabeth Ten Grotenhuis 1999.

³⁴ Examples include Jōin's *Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō mikki*, the *Zenkōji dō meisho zue*, and the *Shinshū Togakushisan sōryaku zue* (fig. 1-1).

³⁵ An alternative reading of *yamabushi* 山伏 in this passage could be, “[the practice of] lying down in the mountains.”

³⁶ The Three Peaks Practice first appears in sources dating to the mid-fifteenth century. For an overview of its early development, see Sasaki Tetsuya 1977, 44–54.

³⁷ The eight schools refers to the six scholastic disciplines of Buddhism studied in the ancient capitol of Nara (Kusha, Jōjitsu, Ritsu, Hossō, Sanron, and Kegon) with the additions of Tendai and Shingon Buddhism in the ninth century. The classification of ten adds Zen and divides the Ritsu (Vinaya) school into Mahāyāna and *hīnayāna*.

4 Embedding Shugendō into the Landscape

Previous scholarship often situates Shugendō as reaching a high point in the medieval period as an ascetic culture centered in the mountains of Kansai and the Kii peninsula and extending across much of the archipelago. This portrayal unfortunately sets up the early modern period to signal a decline, in which *shugenja* became mired in sectarian disputes, concerns over rank, and litigation. This narrative, however, becomes problematic when applied to specific sites such as Togakushisan. Archeological and textual evidence regarding the mountain's numerous caves and its Two Realm peaks indeed indicate that the mountain served as a center of ascetic rituals throughout the medieval period (chapter one). Yet as chapter three demonstrates, Shugendō as a self-conscious school only emerges at Togakushi in the sixteenth century. If we accept this later beginning, then the notion of a medieval golden period followed by a decline loses persuasiveness.

The textual and material evidence from the early modern period, in fact, reveals that the school of Shugendō at Togakushi not only became stronger but also became deeply integrated with the temple complex and surrounding region during this time. The present chapter explores this transformation by examining the inclusion of Shugendō into the mountain community's identity and historical narrative, the establishment of its own branch of Shugendō, and the integration of *shugen* practices and doctrine into its preexisting ritual calendar. My analysis of these components has two objectives: first, to delineate the specific processes of the school's

development at Togakushi; and second, to evaluate the underlying conditions (institutional and social) and motives (cultural and economic) that fostered its growth.

Embattlement to restoration

Togakushi faced a period of devastation followed by a major restoration from the latter half of the sixteenth century into the early seventeenth centuries. As noted in chapter three, the mountain became a central battle ground between the Uesugi Kenshin and Takeda Shingen forces from 1553 to 1564. The mountain's *shuto* took refuge on one of the two sides, where they remained for the next three decades. The mountain complex might not have recovered at all had it not been for the patronage of Uesugi Kagekatsu 上杉景勝 (1556–1623).¹ As successor to Kenshin and now a general under Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Kagekatsu was ordered by Hideyoshi to assemble troops and join the invasion of the Korean peninsula in 1593 (Bunroku 2). Before his departure via Nagoya 名護屋 Castle in Hizen (now on the border of Saga and Nagasaki Ken), he presented a pledge to the Togakushi administrator Ken'ei for safe passage there and back, vowing that he would restore the mountain complex should his request be granted. After returning safely to Nagoya later that year, he fulfilled his oath, providing Ken'ei, the mountain's *shuto* and additional support from Echigo with the means to carry out restoration of the temple complex.

The restoration of the Togakushi complex continued into the early seventeenth century.² In 1603 (Keichō 8), the sixth son of Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康 (1543–1616) and newly appointed *daimyō* of Shinano, Matsudaira Tadateru 松平忠輝 (1592–1683), allotted the mountain two hundred *koku*.³ Then in 1611 (Keichō 16), Ieyasu bestowed an additional eight hundred *koku*, bringing the total to one thousand. The vermilion seal he granted a year later effectively placed the mountain and its landholdings on par with the territory of a *daimyō* or

hatamoto (shogunal vassal) by removing it from the oversight of the *shugo* 守護 (provincial constable). While all cloisters were restored, the land entrustment was not distributed evenly. Of the one thousand *koku*, half was allotted to the administrator (*bettō*) of the mountain complex, three hundred went to the twelve cloisters affiliated with Oku-no-in, and the remainder went to the Hinomiko shrine. This left the twenty-four cloisters of Chūin and seventeen cloisters of Hōkōin with no landholdings to generate tax income.

Of course, Tokugawa Ieyasu's support of the Togakushi complex and other religious sites around the country came with strings attached. On a broad scale, the military government took significant steps to consolidate control over religious organizations in the early seventeenth century. Under the temple regulations (*jiin hatto* 寺院法度) imposed by Ieyasu, all Buddhist temples (with the initial exclusions of Nichirenshū, Jōdo Shinshū, and Jishū) were ordered to form officially sanctioned Buddhist denominations. Known as the *honmatsu* (root and branch) system, these denominations were organized vertically, with head temples (*honji* 本寺) on the outskirts of Edo administering intermediary and branch temples (*matsuji* 末寺). This system allowed the military government to disseminate regulations to all temples belonging to a given denomination. Once the Commissioner of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行) was established in 1635 (Kan'ei 13), it issued government regulations through temples known as *furegashira* 觸頭 (proxy head) which then disseminated them out through subsequent levels of hierarchy. Although the head temple of an institution was not necessarily the *furegashira*, this was the case for the Tendai institution, meaning that all government orders to Tendai temples were issued via Kan'eiji (Ōkuwa 1994).

Through this means of intervention, the scattered, autonomous lineages of the medieval period were suddenly reorganized into national institutions determined by school. Over the next

two centuries, each institution gradually established its own orthodox doctrines, lineage, and rites of initiation and ritual. The increased sectarianism that coincided with these trends dispersed the political and economic antagonism of the sects among themselves rather than toward the government. The new chains of command furthermore, gave the government a systematic means to disseminate information and regulations to temples of every size and scope throughout the country.

Early modern Shugendō

Through these measures, Shugendō likewise formed into two main groups during the Tokugawa period: the Tendai-affiliated Honzan group and the Shingon-affiliated Tōzan group. The Honzan group emerged sometime between the mid-fourteenth and fifteen centuries under the *monzeki* (royal) temple of Shōgoin, a sub-temple of Miidera 三井寺. Under the support of the Ashikaga shoguns, Shōgoin began appointing *kengyō* 檢校 (superintendents) in the late fourteenth century to administer the Kumano *sanzan* region.⁴ Once Shōgoin consolidated the Kumano *sendatsu* under its supervision, it began expanding its influence outward to other parts of the Kii peninsula (Miyake 2001b, 60–61). The Tōzan group in contrast, did not take shape until the late sixteenth century. A coalition of *sendatsu* had earlier self-organized in the Yoshino region as the Tōzan association (*kata* 方) but carried neither institutional backing nor strict adherence to a single form of Buddhism (e.g., Shingon, Tendai, or Hossō). They joined the Sanbōin 三寶院 *monzeki* of the Daigoji 醍醐寺 temple at the turn of the seventeenth century in order to fend off the encroaching power of Shōgoin (Sekiguchi 2009a, 211–237; 2009b, 105–106). This choice stemmed in part, from their identification with Shōbō 聖寶 (832–909), founder of Daigoji, as the founder of their own tradition.

Ieyasu radically altered the relationship between these two groups through the Shugendō regulations passed in 1613 (Keichō 18). By reconfiguring them into two equal branches of Shugendō, he effectively leveraged the authority of the Tōzan group as a counterbalance to that of the powerful Shōgoin (Sekiguchi 2009a, 236–237; Miyamoto 2010, 27–28). While the Honzan group remained dominant over the course of the Tokugawa period, the strategic alignment of two competing branches allowed the military government greater authority over both.

In the case of Shinano, the Honzan group began establishing a presence toward the end of the sixteenth century by dispatching *sendatsu* to the temples of Hokkedō 法華堂 (present-day Saku 佐久 City in central Nagano Ken) and the temple of Wagōin 和合院 (present-day Matsushiro 松代 in Nagano City). From that point forward, Shōgoin extended its reach across the province over the course of the Tokugawa period. By 1686 (Jōkyō 3) Wagōin administered 163 Honzan cloisters spread across the four surrounding districts, including Togakushi's county of Minochi. Slightly later records reveal that by the 1720s the Honzan branch claimed the greatest number of temples in central and southern Shinano, followed by the Tōzan branch. Only several Shugendō temples under Togakushisan by contrast, reached this far south in the province (Nagano Ken Shi Kankōkai 1987, 611–614).

As for the practices of Shugendō during this time, the work of Miyamoto Kesao has been pivotal in developing the field.⁵ Using the term, “Village Shugendō” (*sato* Shugendō), he argues that early modern Shugendō expanded into the countryside via the Honzan and Tōzan groups. He divides *shugenja* into two categories: those who continued to be affiliated with mountain complexes and those who operated chiefly in villages. Those based around a particular mountain worked as *oshi*, organizing *kō* 講 (confraternities) to whom they distributed *ofuda* 御札

(talismans) and seasonally guided to the mountain.⁶ Many of the large mountain temple complexes came under Tendai or Shingon administration in the Tokugawa period however, depriving Shōgoin and Sanbōin of direct access to them (Miyamoto 2010, 42–46). *Shugenja* resided in villages and cities near these centers thus may have held little connection with mountain-based practices. While identifying themselves as mountain ascetics on the surface, their practice in reality centered on the everyday needs of their fellow villagers. In addition to attending to the village's tutelary deity, they provided an array of ritual and prayer services related to pregnancy, childbirth, childrearing; healing of people and livestock, banishment of malevolent spirits, acts of divination, and so forth (Hardacre 1994, 147–148).

Togakushi joins the Tendai institution

The Tendai school and to a lesser extent, the Shingon school, shared lineages at Togakushisan throughout the medieval period. These ties, however, were largely based on the mutually beneficial economic administration of agricultural estates (*shōen*) rather than doctrinal or ritualistic connections (Ushiyama 1994b, 11). This regional autonomy was reshaped in the early seventeenth century, first by Ieyasu's vermillion seal and second, by the *honmatsu* system. Alongside the allotted landholdings and seal, the temple complex was now subject to a set of regulations under the vermillion seal. Titled the Togakushisan regulations (*hatto*), they state:⁷

Item 1: *Shuto* of the three temples (*san'in* 三院) of Kenkōji who have not received consecration (*kanjō*) will not be granted permission to reside in the cloisters (*bō* 坊). As an exception, clerics residing on the mountain who virtuously labored in its restoration will be permitted [to remain] for one generation.

Item 2: Even if [a disciple] receives a cloister from his master, he will be investigated if his conduct violates the rules. If he is ultimately exposed of a crime he will be expelled

from the temple.

Item 3: The act of carrying out the tasks of one cloister by another is entirely forbidden.

Item 4: In order to make repairs to a temple's ritual implements or to the temple grounds, it is necessary to gain permission from the main temple (*daibō* 大坊) [of the administrator].

Item 5: Rogue *shuto* who form alliances or factions that establish unauthorized protocol (*totō higi wo kuwadateru* 徒黨企非儀) will be immediately expelled.

The above articles are to be followed in strict accordance.

Keichō 17 (1612), fifth month, first day. Seal [of Tokugawa Ieyasu].

These regulations established a chain of command, rules of membership, and a set of punishments for violations. Issued directly from the shogun, they signified a shift in power away from the region toward the military government. As a means of accountability furthermore, the vermilion seal required reapproval by each successive shogun.

The implications of this new power structure began to take effect when Togakushisan was formally brought into the *honmatsu* system. In 1625 (Kan'ei 2) Tenkai 天海 (1536?–1643), architect of the early modern Tendai institution and formerly close advisor to Ieyasu, oversaw the completion of Kan'eiji. Based in Ueno on the northwest outskirts of Edo, this massive complex would serve as the administrative center of the Tendai institution. Referred to as Tōeizan 東叡山 (literally, Eastern Eizan in contrast to western site of Hieizan), Kan'eiji displaced the former power of Hieizan (though Hieizan remained the doctrinal center of Tendai Buddhism). In 1633 (Kan'ei 10) Tenkai formally brought Togakushisan into the newly defined Tendai hierarchy by making it a direct branch (*jikimatsu* 直末) of Kan'eiji. This configuration gave the administrator of Togakushi jurisdiction over all Tendai temples in the regions of

Shinano and Echigo while at the same time, making Togakushi more beholden to the authority of Kan'eiji.

The mountain's administrator moreover, was granted broad powers over the entire temple complex at Togakushi, as the regulations above reveal. While the basic structure of the community may not have varied significantly with the past, the source of delegation did. While administrators of the medieval period were selected by powerful regional families, they were now dispatched from Edo. This shift began with the appointment of Tenkai's disciple, Shunkai 俊海, in 1614 (Keichō 19) and continued until 1742 (Kanpō 2) (Sonehara 2001, no. 1, 5–7).⁸ These factors, alongside the five hundred *koku* allotted to the administrator's office, substantially shifted power away from the region toward the capital. As a result, the seventeenth century brought many changes to Togakushisan via these powerful administrators. Shunkai, for example, issued regulations on a new set of colored robes (blue and brown) in accordance with Tendai policy (Furukawa 1997, 65). When Shunkai's successor Sōkai 宗海 was appointed in 1646 (Shōhō 3), he immediately replaced the mountain's method of consecration (*kanjō* 灌頂) with a lineage from Hieizan known as the Hōman lineage (*hōman ryū* 法曼流) (Sonehara 2001, no. 1, 5). Further additions and alterations to its ritual calendar continued to be implemented in subsequent administrations toward the end of the century.⁹

Historicizing Shugendō at Togakushi

Previous scholars have taken this history to mean that the Tendai institution unilaterally imposed itself upon the temple complex in the early Edo period, effectively removing all traces of the Togakushi's former culture of Shugendō. This conclusion, however, rests on the perception of Shugendō as a paradigmatic system throughout the medieval period. Under such thinking, the mountain must have undergone a radical transformation toward Tendai in the Edo period. While

the impact of this new institutional presence was substantial indeed, it did not negate the parallel growth of Shugendō during this time.

Given the recent importation of Shugendō at Togakushi, the school first needed to be adjoined to the mountain's cultural identity and history. This historicization appears in the retelling of Togakushisan's mythic past through the insertion of En no Gyōja into its origin account. This process emerges first in *Shugen inquiries* (391) through the invention of a Shugendō lineage that passed from En no Gyōja to the Hikosan practitioner Chikō no Gyōja before eventually being transmitting to Togakushisan (see chapter three). The text does not, however, directly connect En with the site of Togakushi. The earliest evidence of this step comes some decades later in the Keichō era (1596–1615) with two extant Japanese cypress (*hinoki*) icons: one of En no Gyōja (125.5 cm in height) and one of Gakumon Gyōja (78.5 cm in height) (Kobayashi 1993, 59). The mutual resemblance of the pair suggests that they may have been portrayed as dual founders of the mountain's tradition. Although only these two icons have survived down to the present, extant registers of “treasured items” (*hōmotsu chō* 寶物帳) reveal that all three main temples hosted a pair of them in the Edo period.¹⁰ An inscription on the image of En, moreover, states that it was given a fresh coat of paint in 1700 (Genroku 13)—an act that we might understand as visually enhancing the presence of Shugendō a year before its official establishment at Togakushi (Kobayashi 1993, 59). By the time we reach the writings of the administrator Jōin, En no Gyōja has been fully incorporated into the mountain's history as its earliest visitor (explored further in chapter five).

Another major step in fusing Shugendō to Togakushi's origins involves its emergence with the mountain's central deity, Kuzuryū. This synthesis appears in a text titled the *Togakushisan Kenkōji ryaku engi* 戸隱山顯光寺略縁起 (Abbreviated origin account of the temple of Kenkōji

at Togakushisan).¹¹ The *Ryaku engi* was printed in *kakikudashi* (cursive script) by the Hōkōin cloister of Kōzen'in 廣善院 between the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century. Its production in woodblock suggests that it was most likely distributed in large volume to visitors of the mountain. The narrative more or less follows from the *Transmitted Account (Togakushisan Kenkōji ruki*, 1458) with one notable exception: concordant with the mountain's new emphasis on Shugendō, En no Gyōja now plays the role of Gakumon Gyōja in discovering the site.

In the preface, En's visit is described in vivid language as a treacherous ascent that mirrors Gakumon's ascent of Iizuna in the *Transmitted Account*. Rather than discovering a nine-headed dragon at Togakushi (as was the case with Gakumon), En appears to already be aware of Kuzuryū's existence at the site. In other words, his main objective for the journey is to directly encounter Kuzuryū—a motif developed in the story through various signs and appearances of the dragon he witnesses throughout the difficult climb. Amidst a snow storm halfway up the mountain for example, an avatar (*gongen*) appears in the form of a great serpent (*daija* 大蛇), instructing En to “open the mountain” in order to attain awakening. Although En is vomiting blood and close to death, he resolves to reach the dragon in order to reap its unending benefits. When he finally reaches Kuzuryū's cave, a small snake appears—another sign of the dragon. En secludes himself in the cave and afterwards carries out ascetic practices throughout the Togakushi mountains (Wakamori 1980, 401–02).¹²

We should note that the original tale of Gakumon Gyōja follows the account of En's journey in the *Ryaku engi*, thus preserving Gakumon's role in the site's history. His displacement by En nevertheless suggests that the widespread familiarity with En no Gyōja and Shugendō resonated with visitors more effectively than the local legend of Gakumon. In this sense, the incorporation of En no Gyōja into Togakushi's history exemplifies the production of

symbols, narrative, and identity that situate the mountain centrally in the cultural imagination of Shugendō. As a result, the Togakushi *shuto* and *yamabushi* were able to promote their mountain as a legendary site of Shugendō to an increasing pilgrimage base over the course of the Edo period. This domestication of Shugendō, however, does not simply replace the mountain's former narratives and gods. As we see, Gakumon remains a key figure in its origins as does Kuzuryū. Because the cult of Kuzuryū stretches across much of Honshu during this time (an area deserving further research), the text presumes an implicit awareness of the dragon among its audience. Following in the footsteps of the legendary En no Gyōja, pilgrims too travel from afar to pray directly to Kuzuryū and benefit from the dragon's powers. The story therefore, fuses Shugendō not only to the origins of Togakushisan but also to its most popular deity.

Instituting Togakushi Shugendō

Just as Togakushisan's historical narratives were adapted, clerics and practitioners at the mountain also integrated Shugendō along institutional and economic lines of interest. From the start of the Tokugawa period, the military government had organized its regulatory and legal system around institutional affiliation and rank (Hayashi 1994). Without affiliation, the *yamabushi* of Togakushi could not compete in terms of territorial privileges, patronage bases, or rights to practice certain rituals. In the early eighteenth century, they petitioned the administrator Shigi 子義 (appointed in 1702) for official status. Shigi lobbied Kan'eiji on their behalf and in 1707 (Hōei 4), Kan'eiji granted permission to establish the Togakushi group of *yamabushi* (*Togakushi ha yamabushi* 戸隱派山伏).

The formation of the Togakushi group followed the precedent of two other mountain centers of Shugendō: Hagurosan and Hikosan. Haguro's *yamabushi* had been given nominal independence by Kan'eiji when the mountain joined the Tendai institution in 1641 (Kan'ei 18),

bringing them under the administration of the Rinnōji 輪王寺 temple at Nikkō (Miyake 2001c, 455–459). Hikosan gained permission by the Commissioner of Shrines and Temples (*Jisha bugyō*) to establish its own branch half a century later (1695) after attempts by the Honzan group to exert control of its own *yamabushi* sub-temples (Mori 2012, 74–75). Although Shōgoin (Honzan headquarters) could not compete with the Tendai administration of Togakushisan’s inner temple complex, the mountain’s village *yamabushi* nonetheless faced competition from local Honzan *shugenja*, who had been steadily encroaching on the region (Wakamori 1980, 426).

While extant sources are scarce, initiates most likely underwent an extensive training regiment in doctrine and ritual as part of admission to the group.¹³ Entry culminated with consecration under Tendai’s lineage of Hōman lineage. Our main evidence on the structure of the group draws from Shigi’s promulgations, titled *Togakushi ha yamabushi ninkan no koto* 隠派山伏任官事 (Matter of appointment of the Togakushi group *yamabushi*, 1707).¹⁴ This document outlines specific ranks and monetary rates for admission. Of the two ranks established, the initial was referred to as the *gon risshi hōgen* 権律師法眼 and distinguished by a brown robe. The subsequent rank, referred to as the *gon daisōzu hōin* 権大僧都法印, was distinguished by a tan robe. Although differences in ritual privileges and income sources between ranks are omitted from this source, the regulations at least demonstrate that money played a significant role in the licensing process. The lower rank cost a combined sum of two *ryō* 両 (measured in currency by two coins containing gold) while the upper rank required a fee of three *ryō* and three *bun* 分 (four *bun* equaling one *ryō*).¹⁵ Once an applicant had gained affiliation with a *shuto* cloister and applied to the elder (*ichirō* —老) of the cloister and an administrative cleric (*yakusō* 役僧), then payment was delivered to the administrator’s temple (*honbō* 本坊). This system followed

Tendai protocol and the precedent of the Nikkō *yamabushi* operating under Rinnōji (Yoneyama 1978, 331; Wakamori 1980, 396, 423).

In terms of numbers, several temple registers provide a sense of how many *yamabushi* registered with the Togakushi group. These documents, classified as *betsuchō* 別帳 or *tomechō* 留帳, provide detailed lists of the Shugendō sub-temples, their locations, and the names and ages of their members. The sub-temples are each listed by affiliation with one of the fifty-three *shuto* cloisters on the mountain. The earliest register, titled the *Nengyōji Matsunagain yamabushi nyū betsuchō chō* 年行事松長院山伏入別帳頂 (*Yamabushi* register [belonging to] the Matsunagain cloister [that participates in] the annual rites), was recorded in 1790 (Kansei 2). In addition to the *yamabushi*, this register also provides information on the *shuto* cloisters and twenty-four Togakushi-affiliated temples that included Zen, Tendai, Jōdo and Ikkōshū 一向宗 (listed as a branch temple of the Jōdoshū head temple, Higashi Honganji). The Togakushi Shugendō group constituted thirty-six *yamabushi* residing among twenty-six cloisters. This number increased to forty-two in 1827 (Bunsei 10), according to the *Togakushi ryū yamabushi honin tomechō* 戸隱流山伏補任留帳 (Register of appointed *yamabushi* in the Togakushi branch). The slightly later *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* (1843, p. 252) supports this figure with an estimate of over thirty Togakushi *shugenja* dispersed among thirty to forty villages in Shinano and Echigo.¹⁶ Finally, the registers label the *shugenja* as married (*saitai* 妻帶), a status common in Shugendō. While their information is omitted, the wives of *shugenja* often played a central role in the performance of rituals and other professional activities.

At first glance, these registers give the impression that the Togakushi *yamabushi* and the Tendai *shuto* living in the mountain's cloisters comprised mutually exclusive categories. This division would seem conform to Miyamoto's model of Village Shugendō. In reality though,

Shugendō and Tendai were interconnected in such areas as lineage succession, material culture, and vocation. For one, the *shuto* committed themselves to a celibate lifestyle, denying themselves the possibilities of both marriage and offspring who could succeed them. As a result, they most likely recruited from the Togakushi *yamabushi*, meaning the majority of the complex's *shuto* would have grown up in *yamabushi* households and spent their early careers as *shugenja* (Yoneyama 1971, 40).¹⁷

Continuity between the two groups further is also evident in registers of “treasured items” (*hōmotsu chō*) recorded by the shrines and cloisters. Ranging from 1711 (Shōtoku 4) to 1837 (Tenpō 8), these documents list valuable possessions held by either a single cloister or a main temple. The extant registers concern the Oku-no-in cloisters (1711), the Hōkōin cloisters (1802), the Chūin cloisters (1802), and the Oku-no-in cloister of Tōsen'in 東泉院 (1837).¹⁸ The collections in general reflect a broad diversity of icons, texts, and ritual implements that cut across sectarian lines. Items connected to Shugendō are especially prevalent among all three temple clusters. They include *kesa* (surplices), *hakama* 裳 (baggy trousers), *sendatsu* garments (*shōzoku* or *sōzoku* 裝束), *horagai* 法螺貝 (conch shell horns), a “Shugendō scroll” (Shugendō *makimono*), and fifty-three *yamabushi kirikami*. As mentioned earlier, dual icons of Gakumon Gyōja and En no Gyōja are also registered with each main temple. While the ritual use of these items is unclear, their existence alone suggests that the *shuto* as administrators of the temples and cloisters did not separate themselves from the realm of Shugendō despite having risen to the higher rank of Tendai clerics.

Finally, the Togakushi *yamabushi* contributed significantly to the economic activity of the *shuto*. One example of this collaboration concerns the role of the *shuto* as *oshi*, or leaders of confraternities (*kō*) spread out through Shinano and Echigo. Because the cloisters of Chūin and

Hōkōin received no support from agricultural holdings (*koku*), they relied heavily on revenue from the members of their confraternities. While the cloisters of Oku-no-in were collectively allotted two hundred *koku*, they supplemented much of their income with confraternities as well. As *oshi*, they visited designated territories (*kasumi* 霞) in the winter and spring in order to deliver *ofuda* (woodblock printed talismans) from their respective cloister or temple to their patrons (*danna* 檀那).¹⁹ These objects were deemed to transmit numinous powers embodied in either iconic images or seed syllables (discussed in chapter three). While the latter seed syllables were often transmitted within elite esoteric lineages, the widespread distribution of *ofuda* in the Edo period provided a means for the uninitiated to gain exposure to them and their accompanying powers (Rambelli 1994, 396–397). In return, *oshi* and *yamabushi* received coins, rice, and other gifts they would transport home or if cumbersome, exchange for cash en route. According to figures from the late Edo period, the cloisters managed anywhere from 100 to 8000 *kō* members each, generating an annual income that ranged from 1 *ryō* to 25 *ryō* respectively (Hōgetsu 1978, 347). Given the large scale of these operations, the *shugenja* affiliated with each cloister undoubtedly played a key role in the distribution of *ofuda* (Hōgetsu 1978; Furukawa 1997, 88–91). From the operations described above, we can conclude that economic interests—both on the part of the *yamabushi* and the *shuto*—played a significant role in the institutionalization of Shugendō at Togakushisan.

Opening the mountains

The other significant economic alliance between the Togakushi *shugenja* and the *shuto* emerged when Togakushi's interior Two Realm mountains (*ryōkaizan* 兩界山) were opened to ordinary visitors in 1701 (Genroku 14). In step with many numinous peaks in the eighteenth century, the

temple complex took the unprecedented move of allowing pilgrims to enter the two interior peaks of Takatsuma and Ototsuma for a short time window during the summer months.²⁰

This terrain had been historically limited to the mountain's practitioners, who had performed ritualized Peak Entries (*nyūbu*) dating back to the medieval period. As discussed in chapter three, secret practices associated with the Two Realm peaks at Togakushisan first appear in the fifteenth century *Transmitted Account* and later become adapted to Shugendō doctrine and ritual in *Shugen Inquiries*. A document known as *Togakushi ha yamabushi ninkan no sadame* 隠派山伏任官之定 (Establishment of the rank of *yamabushi* at Togakushisan, 1701) states that peak entries were suspended amidst the battles of Takeda Kenshin and Uesugi Shingen but that they were restored under the administrator, Shunkai (appointed in 1614) (Wakamori 1980, 396).²¹ If the exclusive performance of Peak Entry by the mountain's *yamabushi* indeed took place for the duration of the seventeenth century, the new summer opening would have meant its end. Steeped in the rituals of entry and ascent nonetheless, the Togakushi *shugenja* would have been uniquely prepared to serve as guides for the Two Realm peaks. Established just six years before the Togakushi group of *yamabushi*, the opening may have in fact fueled interest in the formation of an official coalition that would have granted them privileged access to the mountains.

The regulations for the summer climbing season were issued by the administrator Ken'yū 見雄 (appointed in 1697; d. 1702) in a document titled the *Ryōkaizan sankei okite jōjō* 両界山參詣掲条々. Dated to the fifteenth day of the sixth month, their promulgation coincided with the first day of the climbing season (6/15), which lasted until the twentieth day of the seventh month. With people traveling from as far as Edo, Kyoto and Osaka, the limited time frame most likely would have elevated anticipation over the event (Hōgetsu 1978, 348). While any man could now

enter the double *mandala* embodied in these peaks (women were most likely forbidden entry), access was heavily regulated. As apparent in Ken'yū's document, revenue streams comprised a central objective of the new practice. The temples for instance, exacted fees in exchange for *ofuda* provided at a series of barriers (*sekisho* 關所) that were set up along the approach to the route. Additionally, the regulations stipulated services for luggage (storage during the climb or return transport by horseback to Zenkōji). Exact prices were set in the initial regulations although they most likely changed with subsequent inflation over the course of the Edo period (*Ryōkaizan sankei okite jōjō*, 791).

Togakushi *yamabushi* played a pivotal role in the operations by organizing groups, leading their patrons to accommodation at the cloisters and then guiding them into the Two Realm peaks. The organization of these ventures followed one of two methods. The first involved guiding members of their own confraternities who lived regionally (within a day's walk of the mountain). The second involved traveling beyond the Togakushi region in order to recruit patrons from further distances (Hōgetsu 1978, 349). In both cases, the *yamabushi* escorted visitors to the cloister of their own affiliation. The *shuto* of each respective cloister then accommodated the group overnight. The next day, the *yamabushi* guided them up Takatsuma and Ototsuma (Yoneyama 1971, 35–36; Wakamori 1980, 421).

While opening the Two Realm peaks presented an economic boon to the administrator, the *shuto* and the *yamabushi*, it also presented concerns among the local populace from the outset. Much of this anxiety may have stemmed from issues related to purity and pollution. Understood as rising above the mundane, quotidian world below, numinous mountains in Japan are described in texts dating back to the ninth century as rarified zones of purity.²² This underlying notion appears throughout the medieval and early modern periods in the identification of many of them

with the pure lands of buddhas and bodhisattvas (especially Amida and Kannon).²³ The Togakushi mountains were no exception, as evident in the diary of the substitute administrator (*daikan* 代官), Okawa Rokubē 小川六兵衛.²⁴ An entry on the date of 6/13 in the first year of the opening for instance, records a statement from one of the local townsman attributing with the current flooding in Kyoto. A later entry from the 7/22 further cites accusations by the commoners that the mountain opening caused high winds that damaged their crops (*Okawa hinamiki* 小川日次記). These reactions to the regulations illuminate the power—both efficacious and menacing—that villagers living outside of the temple complex attributed to the Togakushi mountains and its resident deities.

In determining how the opening of Takatsuma and Ototsuma affected the Togakushi *shugenja*, we might also consider the motivations of the pilgrims they guided. From the perspective of the visiting climbers, entrance into the Two Realm alpine *mandala* awarded both material and soteriological benefits. While it is unclear what knowledge and initiation the *shugenja* transmitted to their patrons, references in travel materials to the double *mandala* and other numinous aspects of the peaks provide a base layer of information they would have most likely learned before or during the ascent. The *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* (p. 252) for example, asserts that because the ground constitutes the Diamond and Womb *mandala*, pilgrims must change into *waraji* (woven straw sandals) at the entrance of the climb. As part of the traditional pilgrimage attire, the use of *waraji* signaled a shift from the mundane world to the cosmic alpine. In between the summits of Takatsuma and Ototsuma the guidebook continues, one prays at a stone where the cosmic buddha Dainichi resides. Finally, one reaches Ototsuma and prays at the “round mirror [and the] *mandala* stone” (*enkyō mandara ishi* 圓鏡曼陀羅石). Maps from the

Zenkōji dō meisho zue (pp. 253–255) as well as the *Shinshū Togakushisan sōryaku zue* (fig. 1-1) also highlight the locations of these and other sacred sites on the mountains.

Interwoven with the projection of a mandalic landscape were subtle hints that the two mountains brought one closer to—or even existed as—a pure land. Between 1701 (the first year of the mountain opening) and 1711, a series of stone markers leading from Hōkōin to Chūin and then on to Oku-no-in were carved and set along the main road. Adopting the distance schema laid out in the *Transmitted Account*, the stone markers were placed in increments of 1 *chō* (roughly 109 meters) for forty-eight *chō*, (*Togakushi shinkō no sekai*, 61). The correspondence of this number with Amida’s forty-eight vows would not have been lost to visiting pilgrims. Along the route up Takatsuma, they passed the “thirteen Buddhist divinities” (*jūsan butsu*), arriving finally at the site of Amida, situated on the summit. The *Shinshū Togakushisan sōryaku zue* likewise depicts Amida descending to both of the mountain tops (in triad formation beside Ototsuma and alone beside Takatsuma). This welcoming act, known as *raigō* 來迎, suggested that one could encounter Amida at the summit and set the stage for eventual deliverance to Amida’s western pure land.

Perhaps given these notions of purity attached to the mountain terrain, Ken’yū’s regulations stipulated that pilgrims take a hot water bath (*yudono gyō* 湯殿行) the night before the climb. Not only did this ritual mitigate the risk of polluting the alpine realm but served to purify the body in preparation for connecting to a pure land on the summit. Evidence of this latter aim appears in the language and ritual of purification associated with the mountain openings of Mt. Yudonosan 湯殿 and Ōyama, both of which similarly opened access to pilgrims in the eighteenth century (Wakamori 1980, 421; Ambros 2008, 124–125).

Climbing Togakushi's inner mountains also purportedly included this-worldly benefits.

The *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* (p. 252) describes for example, an unusual type of pine tree with branches resembling tall, slender vines located lower down on the mountain in the vicinity of Jizō (the fifth of the thirteen divinities leading up the path). According to the passage, picking the tree's short needles and bringing them home ensured easy childbirth and relieved toothaches.²⁵ These collective benefits—otherworldly and immediate—offered opportunities for the Togakushi *shugenja* to recruit and perform rituals on behalf of a growing clientele for the remainder of the Tokugawa period.

Integrating Shugendō into the ritual calendar

As the identity and institutional framework of Togakushisan became increasingly linked with Shugendō, so did its annual rituals. While extant materials are scarce on this subject, scattered evidence hints at the ways in which practitioners imported doctrine and practices to Togakushi culture to form a unique school of Shugendō.

A regulatory document probably composed in the early Edo period known as the *Togakushi hōryū no koto* 戸隱法流之事 demonstrates some of the ways in which Sokuden's transmissions from the early sixteenth century (see chapter three) influenced practices.²⁶ Borrowing from the ritual calendar outlined in the *Three Peaks Record* (ca. 1521–1528) of Hikosan, it states that “the three assemblies (*san'e* 三會) constitute the Three Peaks Practice.” While the underlying structure of Original Awakening Doctrine is retained in the assemblies, a new set of rituals has been applied:

Fourth month: The flower offering [festival] represents the Spring Peak in which [one] turns from fruition to seed.

Fifth month: The *saitō* 柴燈 [*goma* 護摩] represents the Summer Peak in which [one] is neither seed nor fruit.

Seventh month: The *hashira matsu* represents the Autumn Peak in which [one] turns from seed to fruition. (*Togakushi hōryū no koto*, 39)

The three-season ritual pattern and its conceptual framework clearly remain intact from the Hiko precedent, but the practice of Peak Entry (*nyūbu*) has been replaced. Two of the new rituals, the flower offering and *hashira matsu* festivals, can be traced back to earlier sources at Togakushisan. As noted in chapter three, the flower offering festival as the “summer peak” appears in the sixteenth century *Shugen Inquiries* (p. 388) as the *hana no ku*. In the mid-fifteenth century *Transmitted Account* (p. 312), it appears as the “flower assembly” (*hana no e*), taking place in the same seasonal timeframe (start of summer) and corresponding with the same Original Awakening direction of fruition to seed. The counterpart to the flower assembly is the late summer *hashira matsu* (discussed in chapter one), which signifies the direction of seed to fruit (*Transmitted Account*, 310). Thus we find two festivals from medieval Togakushi resituated in the adopted Hiko ritual calendar. In contrast to the earlier *Shugen Inquiries*—which contained very little on Togakushi thought and practices—this merging of the two systems demonstrates a notable progression in the integration of Shugendō with Togakushi rituals.

Finally, the *saitō goma*—the *shugen* version of the *goma* (Skt. *homa*) ritual taking place outdoors—first appears at Togakushi in this source. While the *hana no ku* and *hashira matsu* complement the spring and fall peaks of Hiko practice in terms of season and doctrinal implications, no precedent ritual in Togakushi’s annual program complements the seasonal timing or the notion of “neither cause nor effect.” The insertion of the *saitō goma* can be understood as filling this void. While *Shugen Inquiries* represents an early, rudimentary attempt

to synthesize the two systems, the introduction of this festival to Togakushi successfully integrates Hiko's Three Peaks Practice into their ritual program. Finally, the *Togakushi hōryū no koto* (p. 39) confirms the combination of both sets of rituals by explicitly stating that the three assemblies conform to the *Transmitted Account* (abbreviated as *Ruki*) and Sokuden's *Three Peaks Record* (alternatively titled *Buchō hōsoku* 峯中法則).

The next significant transformation we find in Togakushi's ritual program occurs with the establishment of the Togakushi group of *yamabushi*. Taking place annually on the eighteenth day of the fourth month, all *shugenja* and *shuto* of the mountain assembled at the outer nave (*gejin* 外陣) of Chūin for a festival of rituals performed mainly by the *shugenja*. Afterward, the *shugenja* would proceed to the administrator's temple (directly across from Chūin). There they received or renewed their licenses for the following year along with a document listing their rank, address, temple and cloister affiliation. This procedure both reaffirmed their status as Togakushi *yamabushi* and their subordinate position in relationship to the administrator.

A document known as the *Kajōsan no gyōji* 火定山の行事 (Rituals of the mountain of self-immolation) provides a more detailed account of the day's events.²⁷ They are listed as follows:

- 1: *Yamabushi* of the Togakushi Two Realm Branch (*Togakushi ryōkai ha*) assemble and receive ceremonial *konbu* (*ote konbu* 御手毘布) from the administrator. Then they (*matsu yamabushi* 松山伏) perform:
- 2: The hand lamp practice (*shutō no gyō* 手燈の行)
- 3: The practice of crossing the fire (*hi watari no gyō* 火渡りの行)

- 4: The practice of crossing the knife blades (*tsurugi no ha watari no gyō* 劍の刃渡りの行)
- 5: [They then] enter into the supervision of the cloisters (*Inka no goran ni hairu* 院家の御覧に入る)
- 6: The assembly to open the mountain (*kaizan e* 開山會) is strictly carried out.
- 7: The summer ritual to initiate the practice of Peak Entry [is undertaken.]
- 8: The revered mountain (*oyama* お山) [of Takatsuma] is climbed, ascending from the first station of Fudō [*myōōō*] to the tenth station of Amida *nyorai*.

According to this description, the day would begin with a number of events performed by the Togakushi *yamabushi*. Some of the more daring events (*shutō no gyō*, *hi watari no gyō*, and *tsurugi no ha watari*) are common forms of *genkurabe* 験競べ (competitions of special powers) in Shugendō. The events of *hi watari* (walking barefoot over a bed of coals) and *ha watari* (ascending a ladder of sword blades barefoot) in particular became common in *shugen*-connected festivals in the Edo period.²⁸

Further elements in the document above may draw from an account of self-immolation (*kajō* 火定) by the *nenbutsu* practitioner (*jikyōsha* 持經者) Chōmei 長明 at the mountain in the late eleventh century.²⁹ Self-immolation, ranging from fingers to the entire body, has a long history in East Asia. Among the various motivations, some practitioners hoped to directly deliver themselves to a bodhisattva's pure land.³⁰ In this vein, a passage in the early twelfth century *Shūi ōjō den* 拾遺往生傳 (p. 372) recounts a story in which Chōmei claimed to a passerby that he was a manifestation of Kigen Bosatsu 喜見菩薩, the bodhisattva who burns himself in homage to the Buddha in chapter 23 of the *Lotus Sūtra* (The Story of the Bodhisattva

Medicine King).³¹ Chōmei's vow was auspiciously made on the fifteenth day of the second month. Because the fifteenth day of each month has long signified the "day of connection" (*ennichi* 縁日) with Amida in Japan, this date was most likely intended to align his immolation with passage to Amida's Pure Land. He then carried through with the act on the eighteenth day of the second month, or the *ennichi* for Kannon (Ushiyama 1997, 7–9).

Within this context, the narrative of Chōmei may have contributed to the shaping of Shugendō thought and practice at Togakushi. The term *kajōsan* in *Kajōsan no gyōji* first of all, could be read as the "mountain where the self-immolation occurred." Secondly, Chōmei's act may have inspired the "hand lamp" (*shutō*) ritual noted above as a symbolic form of self-immolation. Mention of the practice is exceedingly rare in textual sources. Although it is not described in detail here, practices at Yudonosan and Ontake 御岳 indicate that it may have involved lighting lantern oil on the palm of one's hand, in effect, making a "hand lamp."³² Thirdly, the date of the eighteenth for the main festival matches the same day of the month as his act. Finally, interest in Chōmei appears to have been growing at the time, as evident by a pagoda at Togakushi with the engraving, *Chōmei kajō tō* 塔 (self-immolation pagoda of Chōmei). Erected in 1707 (Hōei 4), it was placed on the route to Takatsuma in the same year that the opening of the Two Realm peaks was established. This evidence hints at another way in which practitioners resituated legendary events at their mountain within the popular realm of Shugendō in the Edo period.

Conclusion

Previous scholarship commonly portrays early modern Shugendō at Togakushi as a school on its deathbed. In contrast to the perceived golden age of medieval asceticism, it is cast as a movement subsumed by the Tendai institution and reduced by the pettiness of rank and litigation.

This unflattering portrait is not particular to Togakushi but rather runs through the historiographical narrative of religious culture in early modern Japan. In the case of Shugendō, the typical periodization traces a rising arc and subsequent decline for mountain ascetic practices: a rise in the ancient period, climax in the medieval, and decline in the early modern.

Alternatively, if we locate the emergence of Shugendō as a definitive school in the sixteenth century instead of the Heian period (see chapter three), then early modern Shugendō can be understood as creatively expanding and rising in popularity. This growth concerned not only the growing presence of the Honzan and Tōzan groups but also the application of Shugendō doctrine, practice, and identity to regional sites like Togakushisan.

As this chapter argues, Shugendō thrived at Togakushi over the course of this period. Both the *shuto* of the cloisters and the *yamabushi* of the surrounding villages integrated *shugen* doctrine and practice into the ritual activities of Togakushi. Through this process, Shugendō became increasingly pertinent to the image of the mountain as a site of numinous efficacy and powerful deities. How did these trends coexist alongside the powerful presence of the Tendai institution at Togakushisan? We might note two factors supported this cooperation. First, religious groups in early modern Japan were not divided by the sectarian dimensions that characterize the modern world. It is true that the institutional hierarchies enforced by the military government as well as the canonization of texts, systematization of ritual, and construction of founders undertaken by many of the denominations reveal a rise in early modern sectarianism. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that all of these processes were in formative stages, allowing practitioners of high and low rank to shape discourse and practice amidst a multitude of possibilities. As such, no inherent contradiction lay in a *shugenja* ascending to the rank of Tendai *shuto* or for a *shuto* to be directly involved in *shugen* practices. This is illustrated

by the fact that even one of the mountain's administrators, became deeply committed to the expansion of Shugendō (see chapters 5–6 on Jōin).

The second reason for Shugendō to develop alongside Tendai at Togakushi was economic. Rather than being restricted by rigid institutional divisions, the mountain's wealth and popularity grew by creating new religious movements that appealed to a broader audience. The thousand *koku* allotted to Togakushisan at the beginning of the Edo period provided a nominal source of income but as noted above, less than a third of that went to the Oku-no-in cloisters and none went to the Chūin and Hōkōin cloisters. As a result, the mountain community heavily relied upon the *kō* associations run by the *shuto* and *yamabushi* as well as the growing numbers of independent pilgrims who visited the site over the course of the Edo period. While the percentage of income from pilgrimage is unclear, estimates suggest that revenue at Hagurosan came to exceed that of its landholdings (fifteen hundred *koku*) by the nineteenth century (Sekimori 2005, 206).

In contrast to a fixed allotment of landholdings moreover, there was an economic incentive to increase the mountain's patronage base by propagating the wonders of Togakushisan far and wide. As a result, its cultural identity and ritual program emerged intermittently with the school of Shugendō. At the same time, the government regulation of religious practice in Tokugawa period compelled the Togakushi *yamabushi*—and by extension the *shuto* who relied upon their efforts—to seek Tendai institutional recognition. The mountain's own branch of Shugendō (the product of this alliance) gave them the authority to compete effectively with other religious specialists in the region.

This formation of Togakushi Shugendō occurred organically through numerous adaptations and small steps that the mountain's practitioners instigated themselves. Considered

through this lens of local mediation, Shugendō at the mountain exemplifies one way in which religious schools gained traction at the regional level. Reciprocally, it demonstrates how such communities played a central role in the broader production of religious identity, institution, and ritual in early modern Japan.

Notes

¹ Kagekatsu was adopted by Uesugi Kenshin (his maternal uncle) after his father died when he was two years old.

² For overviews of this period, see Yoneyama 1971 and 1978, Furukawa 1997, and Sonehara (2001, no. 1: 3–7).

³ *Koku* was a unit for measuring rice in the Edo period. One *koku* represented the land necessary to yield one year's supply of rice for one man.

⁴ The *sanzan*, or “three mountains,” refer to the main sites of Hongū, Shingū 新宮, and Nachi 那智.

⁵ Other examples include Ambros 1994, Tamamuro 1987, and Yamamoto 1995.

⁶ For thorough treatment of Edo period *oshi*, see Ambros 2008.

⁷ The original document has been transcribed by Yoneyama (1971, 33–34).

⁸ The administrator Egon 慧含 was appointed in 1742 from the Tendai temple of Risshakuji 立石寺 in the Dewa Province (present-day Yamagata Ken). All subsequent appointments came from Enryakuji sub-temples. Further research is necessary to understand why this shift might have taken place.

⁹ See for example, Furukawa (1997, 72–73) for a description of the annual ritual calendar and revisions made to it in 1698 and 1701.

¹⁰ The dual icons are registered in the *Oku-no-in shinzen hōmotsu chō* (p. 797), *Hōkōin shinzen hōmotsu hikiwatashi chō* (p. 823), and *Chūin Hondō hōmotsu, dōgu shojō chō* (p. 826).

¹¹ Wakamori (1980, 401–02) provides a partial transcription of the text.

¹² An alternative version of this story is recounted in the *Togakushisan sanshō daigongen ryaku engi* 戸隱山三所大權現略縁起 (ST Jinja hen, vol. 24: 416–417).

¹³ Wakamori (1980, 428) refers to one document from the Edo period (no title or date provided) that lists the following curriculum: the Eighteen Paths (*jūhachi dō* 十八道), the Diamond and Womb *mandalas*, and four types of the *goma* ritual. Comparative research on similar cases (e.g., Nikkōsan, Hagurosan, or Hikosan) might yield a better sense of the training program at Togakushisan.

¹⁴ The document is discussed by Yoneyama and Wakamori but has since been lost.

¹⁵ Although one *ryō* was originally valued at one *koku* of rice in the mid-sixteenth century, the value of the unit dropped precipitously over the course of the Tokugawa period, making reasonable estimates difficult.

¹⁶ Wakamori (1980, 396) additionally mentions one register from 1828 (Bunsei 11) that lists 133 *yamabushi*. While the register includes women, this number seems suspiciously high when compared with the other sources.

¹⁷ This issue requires further research. Although Yoneyama makes the claim, he does not provide primary evidence to support it.

¹⁸ The registers (also listed in the bibliography) are respectively titled *Oku-no-in shinzen hōmotsu chō*; *Hōkōin shinzen hōbutsu hikiwatashi chō*; *Chūin Hondō hōmotsu, dōgu shojō chō*; and the *Oku-no-in Tōsen'in jihō jūki*.

¹⁹ See figures 2-1 to 2-3 for examples of *ofuda* bearing the image of Kuzuryū.

²⁰ Within the region for example, the shrine-temple complex of Sekiyamasha 關山社 and Hōzōin 寶藏院 across the border in Echigo established the practice for Mt. Myōkō 妙高. Conducted only on the date of 6/23, the mountain remained off-limits for the rest of the year. Extant records provide numbers of climbers that date back to 1712 (Shōtoku 2), but the practice likely began earlier (Kiyosawa 2010, 101–103). Ambros (2008, 123–128) has also written on the case of Ōyama.

The practice is often referred to in secondary literature as *yamabiraki* 山開き, or “opening of the mountain.” While I retain the English translation of “opening,” I avoid the term *yamabiraki* in the case of Togakushisan as it does not appear in extant sources from the mountain.

²¹ Passages from the text’s preface are transcribed by Wakamori. In reference to the restoration of Peak Entry, the term used is “former practice” (*kohō* 古法), which Wakamori treats as Peak Entry. The document is listed in the 1963 catalogue of the mountain’s extant materials (*Togakushisan shiryō mokuroku*) under the collection of the Oku-no-in *shuto* (no. 904). Unfortunately, it (and many other Oku-no-in documents) could not be found when I requested access to them.

²² Early examples appear in the *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記 (ca. 824) and the tenth century *Engishiki* 延喜式. For secondary scholarship see for example, Grapard 1998, 230–233 and Satō 2009, 90–97.

²³ Examples include Amida amidst the Tateyama mountains (which includes Mt. “Pure Land,” or Jōdosan 淨土山) or Kannon in the case of Nachi and Mt. Fudaraku 補陀落 (transliterated from Kannon’s pure land, Potalaka) of Nikkō mountains. The phenomenon appears in other parts of East Asia as well, as evident in the case of Mt. Pǔtúo 普陀 (Potalaka) in China.

²⁴ The *daikan* was appointed on a temporary basis to manage the daily operations of the temple complex between administrators. At the age of 19 Okawa took over when Ken’yū fell ill and remained after Ken’yū’s death until Shigi’s appointment as administrator in 1702.

²⁵ The reference to childbirth here is intriguing given its relevance to women. It could either suggest that men sought out the pine needles for their wives, daughters, or sisters or that *nyonin kekkai* was less strictly enforced than scholars generally posit.

²⁶ Although the document is undated, its regulatory nature likely positions it in the Edo period. Lack of any references to the 1707 regulations furthermore, place it before their enactment.

²⁷ With the original document now lost, my translation relies on Yoneyama’s edition. It is unclear whether he transcribed the text into *kakikudashi* or simply summarized its content.

²⁸ Generally speaking, *genkubabe* events were intended to display the supernatural powers that *shugenja* had accumulated through the practice of peak entry (Kanda 1986, 113–114). As such, the events took place only upon completion of the mountain austerities. The sources in the case of Togakushisan nevertheless diverge on this matter. The *Kajōsan no gyōji* for instance,

suggests that *genkurabe* preceded the mountain climb rather than followed it. In contrast, the *Zenkōji dō meisho zue* (p. 252) conforms to the standard format, stating that the *yamabushi* climbed the peaks on the seventeenth (the day before the festival). In either case, the combination of events likely served to showcase the strengths of the *yamabushi* and build anticipation for the summer ascent.

²⁹ According to the account in the *Shūi ōjō den*, the event occurred in the Eiho era (1081–1082). The title “Shaku” 釋 commonly appears alongside his name in secondary scholarship, but this is an Edo period accretion.

³⁰ As suggested by the glyph *jō* 定, *kajō* was likely performed in a state of deep meditation.

³¹ James Benn (2007, 58–62) discusses this incident in the context of self-immolation practices in China.

³² Nakamura (s.v., 手燈, 812c) mentions one Tokugawa period case at Yudonosan (present-day Yamagata Ken). Suzuki Masataka also described to me a practice at the nearby peak of Ontake that may have its roots in the ritual listed here. Up until recent times, practitioners would place a live ember on the palm of their hands as a show of their powers while performing Peak Entry.

5 Uplift and Fault Lines in the Formation of Shugendō

The final two chapters consider the thought and activity of Jōin (1682–1739), who served as the mountain’s administrator (*bettō*) from 1727 to 1738. More than any other individual in the early modern period, Jōin made a significant impact on the identity, historical narrative and religious community of Togakushisan. During his twelve years in office he played a major role in the conceptualization of Shugendō, launched a new school that combined disparate elements at Togakushi into a unified narrative for the mountain, and attempted a major regulatory overhaul in-line with his vision of Shugendō—the last of which resulted in his expulsion from the Togakushisan. Both his accomplishments and failures indicate the high stakes—economic, institutional, and political—involved in the early modern production of religion and place.

Given the complexities of Jōin’s work and its broader repercussions, this chapter begins with a brief biographical sketch, followed by a review of previous scholarship. The chapter then explores three basic questions. First, in what ways do Jōin’s writings on Shugendō contribute to its development at Togakushisan and reflect broader trends in the school’s early modern formation? Second, what was the impact of Jōin’s administrative efforts on the mountain’s religious community? Finally, how did this activity relate to the broader stability of the Tendai institution? Chapter six, in turn, will investigate the complex lineage that Jōin created at Togakushisan, paying special attention to its contribution to the cultural production of Togakushi as well as its implications for the symbolic power of the shogunate.

Jōin's life, writings, and time at Togakushisan

Jōin enjoyed a highly successful career leading up to his appointment at Togakushisan. After his ordination at Kan'eiji in 1694 (Genroku 7), he spent roughly a decade training under the high priest, Denbō Senzon 傳法宣存 (1639–1708). Senzon had served as the chief supervisor (*shittō* 執當) of Kan'eiji, abbot of Sensōji of Asakusa and supervisor of the Tōshōgū 東照宮 at Momijiyama 紅葉山 inside the Edo castle before taking the position of abbot at Kyōōin 教王院 on Hieizan. These posts placed Senzon at the pinnacle of the Tendai institution and coincided with his initiation into Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō, a lineage that provided the doctrinal foundation for the deification of Tokugawa Ieyasu as a divine avatar (*gongen*). Notably, Jōin was trained and inducted into this exclusive lineage during his time with Senzon, a subject taken up in chapter six. Besides this initiation, other activities also point to Jōin's entrance into Tendai's elite inner circle. He tutored the royal prelate, Dōnin 道仁 *hōshinnō* (1676–1733), who was subsequently appointed as head (*zasu* 座主) of the Tendai institution, and he officiated at the memorial service for Go-mizunoo 後水尾 *tennō* (1596–1680). Beginning in 1705 (Hōei 2) moreover, Jōin was appointed abbot to a succession of prestigious temples, initially at Hieizan and later at Kan'eiji (Sonehara 2001, no. 1, 8–10; Bodiford 2010, 242–243). Jōin's arrival at Mt. Togakushi in 1727 (Kyōho 12) served as the capstone to Jōin's career, evident in his corresponding ascension to the high clerical rank of *daisōzu* 大僧都. As administrator to the sprawling complex, he now held sweeping authority over the site's three main temples, fifty-three cloisters, adjoining shrine, affiliated temples outside of Tendai Buddhism, businesses and estates, and finally, the mountain's branch of Shugendō.

Despite this power, Jōin's time in office was tumultuous. Just three years into his appointment (1730), he found himself at odds with the *shuto* of Oku-no-in. Charged with

performing the mountain's major annual ceremonies, these clerics had traditionally resided year-round in cloisters at the foot of Togakushisan. The deep snow pack and difficult accessibility to their quarters in the winter led the administrator, Kōei 公栄 (appointed in 1714) to grant them permission to reside in village cloisters (*satobō* 里坊) near Chūin and Hōkōin for the winter months. Jōin, however, reversed this decision, mandating that they reside at their regular cloisters year-round. The *shuto* responded by lodging a formal complaint, which ultimately forced Jōin's hand in a compromise. Under the terms of the agreement, they would only spend the three-day new year's ritual of Shushōe 修正會 in their mountain cloisters and could continue to reside in the lower village for the rest of the winter (Furukawa 1997, 77).¹

This incident, however, pales in comparison to a later revolt by the entire temple complex in response to Jōin's apparent promulgation of major ritual and regulatory reforms at the mountain. According to a list of grievances issued by the *shuto* of all three temples in 1738 (Genbun 3), he attempted to replace the current set of regulations with an entirely new school of Shugendō that he devised during his time there (which I discuss later in detail). In the twelfth month of that same year, he was summoned to Edo to testify before the office of Ōoka Tadasuke 大岡忠相 (1677–1752), Commissioner of Temples and Shrines (*jisha bugyō*) in response to the charges. Deliberations followed among the chief supervisor of Kan'eiji, the shogun's Senior Council (*rōjū* 老中) and the Commissioner. In the first month of the new year (Genbun 4/1), he was found guilty and sentenced to exile on an island far south of Edo (Sonehara 2010, 31–36).² According to a document known as the *Kenkōji rekidai fu* 顯光寺歴代譜, he died on the island of Ōshima 大島 en route to his final destination (Futazawa 1997, 99).³

Although the majority of *shuto* at Togakushisan supported Jōin's ouster, evidence suggests that he accumulated a small number (records indicate at least seven) of disciples at the

mountain. Amidst the build-up and aftermath of Jōin's trial, however, they either publicly rescinded their support or were banished from the temple complex. Furthermore, all writings by Jōin and evidence of his presence at Togakushisan were ordered to be destroyed by Kan'eiji in the year following his exile (Kobayashi 1934a, 222; Sonehara 2010, 36–39).

In lieu of these events, the fact that his works survived into the twentieth century is impressive, perhaps even suggestive of continued underground support for him. The original texts were lost in a fire in 1942, but fortunately most had been fully or partially transcribed by scholars in the decades beforehand.⁴ For the purposes of our discussion, we will mostly consider his written works on the historical narrative of Togakushi.⁵ The *Togakushisan daigongen engi* (mentioned in chapter four) provides an illustrious account of the mountain's historical origins, events, gods and numinous elements. A later copy of it from 1819 (Bunsei 2) suggests that it had a lasting impact on the mountain community. Although very different in content, Jōin wrote another origin account titled *Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō mikki* 修驗一實靈宗神道密記 (Secret record of Shugen Single Reality Mystical Source Shintō). He composed the work (hereafter referred to as the *Secret Record*) in 1731 in an effort to unite various religious strands at the mountain alongside his own background in Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō into a single lineage (as I argue in chapter six). Jōin also produced a lineage chart, known as the *Shinano no kuni Togakushisan Reisō Shintō kechimyaku keizu* 信濃國戶隱山靈宗神道血脉系圖, that coincides with the narrative laid out in the *Secret Record*. Finally, he compiled extant sources into a history of the mountain known as the *Togakushisan shinryō ki* 戸隱山神領記 (Historical record of the divine territory of Mt. Togakushi). Transcriptions of sections from the *Transmitted Account* and other surviving documents provide a chronology of events divided by source or

subject. Although scholars often rely on it for historical information, I argue below that his own interpretation of events makes its content highly subjective.

Previous scholarship

Jōin's thought involves a high degree of hybridity, drawing upon various schools of Shintō as well as Shugendō, Daoism, Tendai Buddhism, and Japan's imperial mythology. The complex combination of these elements (investigated in chapter six) has resulted in a wide range of interpretations, beginning within the nationalistic milieu of prewar Japan. Katō Genchi (1917) likened Jōin's portrayal of the “wheel-turning sage king,” or *cakravartin* (*tenrin jōō* 轉輪聖王) to the Japanese emperor , as well as the Jewish concept of the *messiah*. The idea of emperor as *cakravartin* was furthered by Kamata Ryōken (1931). While the application of this Buddhist construct in regard to the emperor dates back to the medieval period, it is strange to draw upon Jōin's interpretation, which applied it not to the emperor but to the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu. Kamata nonetheless made lasting contributions to the field by compiling and editing many of Jōin's works.

These early interpretations were soon eclipsed by the influential work of the Shintō scholar, Kobayashi Kenzō. Traveling to Togakushisan, Kobayashi uncovered new texts and materials associated with Jōin, much of which were later lost in fire in 1942. While his investigation has been extremely useful for later scholars, he problematically overemphasizes Daoist features in Jōin's thought and practice, ultimately viewing them as the cause of Jōin's expulsion from Togakushi and subsequent exile. The majority of scholarship has since accepted this premise, either dismissing Jōin as a heretic or treating his work as a textbook case of the only incident of full-scale Daoism in the Japan's history.⁶

Among local studies on Togakushisan, Yoneyama Kazumasa and Wakamori Tarō each touch on Jōin's time at the mountain. In contrast to Kobayashi, Yoneyama (1971, 44–47) portrays Jōin as a revivalist attempting to restore medieval Shugendō to the mountain. Wakamori in turn, treats Jōin as an outsider who imposed a blend of Daoist worship and orthodox Shugendō onto the mountain that varied substantially from the local culture. Wakamori invokes this argument to explain Jōin's rejection by the mountain's *yamabushi* and *shuto* (1980, 425–426). However, his analysis relies heavily on Kobayashi, falling short of offering new supportive evidence.

Intellectual historian Sonehara Satoshi has made valuable advancements in the field by revising Kobayashi's thesis and investigating the various doctrinal sources influencing Jōin's thought. In separate studies, he considers Jōin's use of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō (1991), Reisō Shintō (1996), and Shugendō (2003). He has also edited, reprinted, and introduced many of Jōin's works in a two volume set on Togakushi for the *Zoku Shintō taikei* series (2001). Sonehara's most recent work (2010) uncovers evidence regarding Jōin's disciples at Togakushi.

Finally, Jōin has been introduced to English language scholarship through the work of William Bodiford. In his exploration of historical contexts in which the deity Matara 摩多羅 arose, Bodiford (2007) considers Jōin's ritual use of Matara in relation to its eradication from Tendai worship and doctrine in the 1730s. This study, alongside his research on the contemporaneous Anraku Reforms (2006), contextualizes the liberal, somewhat defiant nature of Jōin's thought within the broader climate of a new conservatism taking root in the Tendai institution at the time.

While the works described above have added tremendously to the field, a number of problematic issues among them draw concern. To begin with, the bricolage of religious elements

in Jōin's thought (especially in the *Secret Record*) have often been misconstrued by modern sectarian approaches. Katō and Kamata singled out Jōin's treatment of the *cakravartin*, Kobayashi situated him as a Daoist heretic and Yoneyama understood him as a revivalist of Shugendō (I propose the alternative view that he was actually involved in its construction). To understand Jōin's use of these different components, more attention needs to be paid to the fluid nature of religious thought and practice in the early modern period. Sonehara does this to some degree by tracing back the various strands embedded in Jōin's work to their respective doctrinal sources. His treatment of each strand in isolation from the others though, impedes a broader view at times. In contrast, chapter six considers how these parts act as a unified system in Jōin's thought.

Uncritical analyses of early modern sources also hinder our understanding of Jōin and the history of Togakushi. Given the relatively minor role of Daoism in Jōin's work (which I will discuss later), the origins of Kobayashi's thesis may lie in late Edo period texts. For instance, the *Saiten kaifuku shō* 祭典開覆章 (Essay on restoring the ritual doctrine, 1806) states that Jōin favored Lāozǐ's scriptures, chanted the *Dàodé jīng*, established a lay school (*ubasoku no ryū*), and grew his hair out (*Saiten kaifuku shō*, 361b). However, this was a text that was written several generations after Jōin's exile in highly polemical terms that neither reflect Jōin's work nor the time period in which he lived.

Yoneyama and others, moreover, commonly look to Jōin's descriptions of medieval Shugendō as credible sources. Fabrications like En no Gyōja's visit to Togakushi are easily overturned. Yet the way in which early modern practitioners such as Jōin recall their medieval predecessors in heavily romanticized terms tends to subtly slip into our own imagination and nostalgia of the past. Compounded by the dearth of sources dating earlier than the seventeenth

century, this outlook concerns not only Togakushisan but the broader study of Shugendō. Jōin's idealization of medieval Togakushi serves as one example of this trend in the Edo period, as we will see next.

Inventing a mythic past

Jōin's main initiative at Togakushisan involved the intellectual and institutional transformation of Shugendō. Although Shugendō was not part of his earlier Tendai-centered training, practice or thought, he came to fully embrace the school during his tenure at Togakushi. This endeavor began with his romantic projection of Shugendō into the distant past, a trend already underway at the mountain. One example of this trend was the addition of En no Gyōja as an early visitor to the mountain (see chapter four). Adopting this narrative, Jōin situates En as the initial transmitter of Shugendō, preceding even the traditional founding of the mountain complex by Gakumon Gyōja.

Following from this early entrance of Shugendō, Jōin imagines a sustained lineage transmitted through the generations from one administrator to the next. Interpreting Togakushi's history from this perspective, he locates a demise and subsequent rejuvenation of Shugendō in the late fifteenth century in several different writings. His *Togakushisan shinryō ki* for example, recounts the assassination of Tendai cleric and forty-first administrator Tōkōbō Senchō 東光房宣澄 allegedly instigated by the Shingon faction of the mountain over a dispute between the two sides.⁷ Jōin laments that the passage of the mountain's "profound and innermost secrets of Taimitsu Shugen[-dō]" were temporarily suspended with Senchō's death.⁸ He continues on to state that the lineage was restored when the forty-second administrator Senshū 宣秀 and his successor Gizōbō Eikei 義藏房榮快 received the transmission from Sokuden in 1524. This

transmission allegedly included the *Thirty-three Transmissions*, the *Three Peaks Record*, and a certificate from Sokuden for Eikei's completion of Peak Entry (*Togakushisan shinryō ki*, 462b).⁹

While the basic elements of this account are supported by corroborative sources, the way in which Jōin describes the episode reveals a particular reading of the mountain's historical relationship to Shugendō.¹⁰ It may well be that an esoteric lineage was lost with Senchō's unexpected death, yet Jōin's declaration that this lineage was centered on Shugendō demonstrates his assumption that such a school existed at Togakushi at this time and that Sokuden's visit therefore represents its recovery. As chapter three suggests, however, this transmission may mark not the restoration of Shugendō but rather its introduction to the mountain.

Jōin's vision of an ancient lineage of Shugendō at Togakushi incorporates not only events at the mountain but also medieval literature on the school. The most influential of these works were published in woodblock in 1691 (Genroku 4) in a compilation known as the *Shugen Five Books* (*Shugen goshō*) (introduced in chapter three). The widespread dissemination of this collection contributed significantly toward the early modern formation of an identity and historical narrative for Shugendō. Jōin's reliance on these textual representations in his construction of Togakushi's mythic past offers one example of this trend. Among the Hiko compilations, Jōin depends on *Collected Key Secrets* and possibly the *Thirty-three Transmissions*, which served as an earlier shorter precedent. Because *Collected Key Secrets* was not among the alleged texts transmitted by Sokuden, Jōin most likely relied on the seventeenth century woodblock edition.

Among the various incorporations of the Hiko compilations into his work, the following passage from the *Togakushisan daigongen engi* reveals how Sokuden informed Jōin's vision of Togakushi's past. Taken surreptitiously from *Collected Key Secrets* (396a–b), it states:¹¹

Our mountain [Togakushisan] constitutes the Womb and Diamond pure land (*jōsatsu* 浮刹). This twofold *mandala* was not made (*musa* 無作) and exists in its original state (*hon'u* 本有).¹² Its heavily forested ridges and summits comprise the nine courts of the Diamond *mandala*. Its verdant crags and hollows comprise the eight-petaled lotus blossom of the Womb [realm]. These mountains, rivers, grasses and trees are the direct realization of Vairocana. The alpine storms and echoes of the valleys constitute the teachings of [Vairocana's] Dharma body. The deities of the three divisions (*sanbu shōson* 三部諸尊) [of the Womb *mandala*] are positioned sequentially [throughout the mountain] as its countless beings.¹³ In this way, [the mountain enables you to] see and hear the colors and sounds in their original state of existence and [allows you to] transcend [the distinction of] subject and object in their true state (*hōni no kyōchi* 法爾ノ境智) of existence and emptiness (*ukū* 有空). As such, you know that the *mandala* exists in its spontaneous (*jinen* 自然) true state and the numinous mountains [allow you to] combine the three yogic mysteries (*sanmitsu yuga* 三密瑜伽).¹⁴

Our lofty founder, Noble En internally resided in the inner realization of the original awakening of Vairocana. From faraway he walked to this mountain range and practiced the secret method of sudden awakening in this very body. [En] externally relied on the sovereign seal of the bodhisattva Nāgārjuna in order to divine its trace from afar to this mountain. [Through this effort,] he magnificently expanded the recondite

teachings of the “opened *stūpa*” of the southern Indian region. How virtuous was his unification of the exoteric and esoteric practices and the mysterious concordance between the two laws of phenomena and principle! How valuable are the secret methods among methods and the innermost secrets within the most profound secrets [revealed in his transmission]!

Fellows have entered this peak in ordinary bodies unaltered from the lowest level of superficiality. Without delay, they climbed to the eight-petaled platform of the center of the Womb [realm]. Stepping on to this ground in untransformed bodies produced by a father and mother, they fully realized the indestructible Dharma body [of Vairocana] of the Diamond [realm]. How much more then is each activity (*jigo* 事業) [of the practitioner] ultimately the production (*sago* 作業) of all *tathāgatas*. Each category [of his speech] is an esoteric *mantra* (*himitsu no shingon* 祕密ノ眞言). You should know that [even] quieting speech does not lose its mysterious subtleties and suspending movement does not separate [one] from the Dharma realm. Even if the radiance of the Buddha’s wisdom is difficult [i.e., too bright] for ordinary eyes, how can living beings and buddhas be separate from one another? Even if your thinking is shallow and dull, you must not doubt the profound depth of *dharma* nature (*hosshō* 法性).¹⁵ Given these factors, the original eight petals spontaneously blossom and the letter “a” 阿 is revealed in its true state.¹⁶ As a path that is simple to cultivate and easy to realize, nothing exceeds the practice of Peak Entry. Truly, both phenomena and principle are recondite, inner realization is nondualistic, and this marvelous practice constitutes the one mind.

サレハ戸隱兩界山傳受灌頂之表白ニハ、夫レ當峯ト云ハ胎金兩部ノ浮刹無作本有之曼茶ナリ、森森タル嶺岳ハ金剛九會ノ圓壇、鬱鬱タル岩洞ハ胎藏八葉之蓮臺ナリ、山川卉木全ク遮那ノ眞體、嶺嵐谷響ハヲノヅカラ法身ノ説法ナリ、三部ノ諸尊ハ濟濟ト羅列シ、無數之聖衆ハ奇々安坐セリ、然ハ則、本有ノ色聲ハ見聞顯レ、法雨ノ一境地¹⁷ハ有空を絶ス、既二知ヌ、法爾自然ノ曼茶、三密瑜伽ノ靈峯ナリ、是ヲ以テ高祖役ノ聖者、内ニハ毗盧本覺之内證ニ住し遠く歩ヲ峻嶺ニ運テ頓悟即身ノ祕法を修し、外ニハ龍樹大士の印璽ニ依遙ニ跡ヲ當峯ニシメテ、飽迄南天開塔ノ玄風を弘ム、大成哉、顯密之行葉一揆之事理之二法冥契セリ、貴カナ、諸法ガ中之祕法深祕ガ中ノ極祕ナリ、

斯ノ峯ニ入輩ハ、薄地底下ノ凡體ヲ改スノ忽ニ胎藏八葉ノ中臺ニ登リ、此地ヲ踏者ハ父母所生之肉身ヲ轉セスノ金剛不壞ノ法身ヲ證ス、況ヤ又、一一ノ事葉ハ皆悉ク如來ノ作業、各各ノ名目ハ即是祕密眞言ナリ、語默玄微ヲ失セス、動靜法界を離ズ、當に知べし、無相三密之正底十界一如ノ極位眼ノ前ニ盡ヌ、凡見及ガタシト雖モ佛智之慧光豈ニ生佛ノ隔アランヤ、汝等淺慮短智ヲ以テ法性之源淵ヲ疑ベカラズ、若爾ハ本分ノ八葉自然ト開敷シ、心中之阿字法雨ト顯然、易修易證之道、入峯之行に超タルハナシ、誠ニ是事理俱密之法義、不二一心之妙行ナリ、ト云リ (*Togakushisan daigongen engi*, 194–195)¹⁸

Despite the passage's origination in Sokuden's *Collected Key Secrets*, Jōin titles it the *Togakushi ryōkaizan buchū denjū kanjō keibyaku* 戸隱兩界山傳受灌頂之表白 (Announcement on consecration of the inner mountain transmission of the Togakushi Two Realm peaks). Through this subtle redesignation of place, he effectively applies Sokuden's descriptions of a flourishing

medieval site of Shugendō to his own mountain. Togakushi's own two-realm peaks and the earlier addition of En no Gyōja to the narrative make this application an easy fit. The appropriation of the passage is further accommodated by the absence of direct references to Hikosan. Sokuden's expansive vision of Shugendō (discussed in chapter three) in other words, ultimately enables Jōin's own liberal rendering of Shugendō, allowing him to reinvent Togakushi's own ancient roots in this image.

Projecting Shugendō back to ancient China

Despite Kobayashi's enduring presentation of Jōin as a Daoist heretic, Jōin's writings reveal that he employs Daoistic terms mainly in reference to Shugendō. Much of Kobayashi's argument for example, rests on a line from the *Togakushisan daigongen engi* concerning a shrine called Jōshōgū 上清宮. Located in the village below the Togakushi complex, Jōin refers to a golden statue of Lǎozǐ (*daijō rōkun* 太上老君) at the shrine. Despite the singular instance of this reference and the absence of ritual context, Kobayashi concludes that Jōin erected this shrine in order to worship Lǎozǐ and chant the *Dàodé jīng* 道德經 (Kobayashi 1934a, 251).¹⁹

Consideration of the larger passage however, provides a more nuanced reading:

Since ancient times, the area of Togakushisan called Okami 御上 is known as a “forest for concentrating the mind” (*jōshin rin* 定心林).²⁰ In this vicinity exists a reflection of the Nachi three-tiered waterfall; [as such,] the Kumano *gongen* actually visits it. Now the shrine of Jōshōgū has been erected there. Referred to as [the place for] the number one path of contemplation in this divine country (*shinkoku dai ichi dōkan* 神國第一道觀), a golden statue of the Supreme Lord Lǎo (*daijō rōkun*) as he appears from the other

country is installed. Ultimately, En no Gyōja treading on this ground, undoubtedly visiting from Kumano.

ヲカミ
昔ヨリ戸隱山ノ内御上ト云處ニ定心林ト名ルアリ。其アタリニ那智三重ノ瀧ヲ寫シテ熊野權現ヲ勸請セルモ、ゲニ去コトゾカシ。今ハ上清宮ヲ建立シテ神國第一道觀ト號シテ、異朝傳來ノ太上老君ノ金像ヲ安置シ奉ル。凡ソ役ノ行者賜ツケノ地ニ必ス熊野ヲ勸請スル。(Togakushisan daigongen engi, 213)

Through the reference to Nachi, Jōin situates Jōshōgū in the landscape and gods of Kumano, the fountainhead of Shugendō. Later in the text, moreover, he states that En no Gyōja entered the world as the reappearance (*sairai* 再來) of Lǎozǐ, suggesting that the statue at Jōshōgū simultaneously represents the legendary founder of Daoism and En (as an incarnation of Lǎozǐ). Through these equations, Jōin takes the relatively nascent school of Shugendō and projects it back to ancient China.

If we further investigate this reference to a golden image of Lǎozǐ, another point becomes clear in Jōin's notion of Daoism. Later in the *Togakushisan daigongen engi* Jōin recalls the practices of Zhāng Liáng 張良 (d. 187 BCE), and Zhāng Dàolíng 張道陵 (second century). The first figure, Liáng, was the chief military strategist to the founding emperor of the Han dynasty. As an alleged early practitioner of Daoism, he was later reimagined as ancestor to Dàolíng, putative founder of the Way of Celestial Masters (Tiānshī Dào 天師道). Recounting this hagiographical lineage, Jōin states:

Reverence of the divine way (*shintō*) is not simply a matter of our country for the other country [of China] also applied it to prayers for peace under heaven.²¹ Chōryō [Zhāng Liáng], minister to the founder of the Han, became the Marquis of Liú (Ryū kō 留侯).

He was made a feudal lord, studied the way of the immortals (*shinsen* 神仙), and prayed for the eternity of heaven and earth (*tenchō chikyū* 天長地久). Chōryō's eighth generation descendant, Chō Dōryō (Zhāng Dàolíng), recited the *Dōtoku kyō* (*Dàodé jīng*) from the age of seven. He became a *shugen* practitioner, propitiated a golden image and recited the Buddhist scriptures. On this basis, he received the rank of Celestial Master from the eastern *tathāgata* (*tōhō no nyorai* 東方ノ如來) [Lǎozǐ] and Supreme Celestial Worthy (Daijō Tenson 太上天尊), as explained in the *Jōgen kyō* (*Shēngxuán jīng* 昇玄經) of the Daoist Canon (Dōzō 道藏).²² Later he secluded himself at Mt. Ryūko (Lónghǔ龍虎) of Shinshū (Xìngzhōu 信州) and transmitted [the lineage] to his descendants.²³ The position of celestial master has been passed down through unending succession and is revered by generation after generation of emperor.

神道ヲ貴ムハ唯タ我ガ朝ノミナラズ、異朝ニテハ天下泰平ヲ祈ルニハ是ヲ専ラトセリ。漢ノ高祖ノ臣下ノ張良ハ畱候ト云フ。諸侯ニ封セラレテ神仙ノ道ヲ學テ、天長地久ヲ願ヘリ。張良八世ノ孫張道陵ト云人、七歳ノ時ヨリ道德經ヲ讀誦シ修驗ノ行者ト成テ、金像ヲ供養ノ佛經ヲ轉讀スルユヘニ、東方ノ如來、太上天尊ニ告テ天師ノ位ヲ授ケ玉フ事、道藏ノ中ノ昇玄經等ニ説玉ヘリ。後ニ信州ノ龍虎山ニ隠居ノ子孫相續シ、永代嗣天師ノ職ヲ紹デ世々ノ一帝王モ崇敬シ玉。

(*Togakushisan daigongen engi*, 228)

From this passage it appears that Jōin's reference to the golden image follows the legendary precedent of Dàolíng's propitiation of a golden image. But is Dàolíng simply a Daoist in Jōin's mind? Similar to the earlier passage, Jōin's language is nested within the broader discourse of

Shugendō. By inserting *shugen* practices into the biography of Dàolíng, the early Chinese ascetic becomes proof of Shugendō's existence in the ancient practices of the Middle Kingdom.

One final passage worth consideration models Togakushisan and four other numinous mountains in Japan after the Chinese Five Peaks (*wǔyuè* 五嶽). Jōin aligns the two groups in the following order:

Table 5-1 Jōin's schema of the Five Peaks (adapted from *Togakushisan daigongen engi*, 202)

Direction	China	Japan
Eastern	Tàishān 泰山	Hagurosan
Southern	Héngshān 衡山 (alt., Nanyue 南嶽)	Kinpusen
Western	Huáshān 華山	Hikosan
Northern	Héngshān 恒山	Hakusan
Central	Sōngshān 嵩山	Togakushisan

China's Five Peaks emerged in the Han dynasty as an imperial cult. Expanded from an earlier group of four (symbolic of the parameters of the state in the four directions), the addition of Mt. Sōng both gave the group a central axis and aligned them with the five phases (*wǔxíng* 五行) (Kleeman 1994, 228; Robson 2009, chap. 2). Jōin's novel appropriation of the model for Japan—with Togakushisan naturally comprising the center—raised the status of its mountains to the precedence and legitimacy of the Chinese paradigm.

Contested visions

Jōin's portrayal of Shugendō as ancient school at Togakushi elevated both the reputation of the site and the status of Shugendō—most likely uncontroversial issues among the *shuto*. Nevertheless, textual and epigraphical evidence suggest that not all favored his administration of the mountain. As mentioned earlier, Jōin faced collective opposition from the *shuto* of Oku-no-in when in 1730, he attempted to rescind a recent policy permitting them to reside in the village

cloisters during the difficult winter months. This seasonal residence had greatly improved their access to essential supplies as well as visiting patrons. While Jōin's motives are not explicitly laid out, his image of the mountain's medieval ascetic roots (evident in his writing) suggests that he may have viewed the former custom as symbolic of historical precedence and austerity. For the *shuto* however, the policy reversal merely represented a disregard for their immediate logistic and economic concerns.

Hints of struggle with the community persist in the *Secret Record*, composed just one year later. In the final pages of the text, Jōin provides an exhaustive description of the role of administrator, backed with quotations from medieval works and historical examples of administrators at major temples and shrines (*Secret Record*, 102–104). Employing this evidence, he states:

Because the orders of the administrator are the orders of the government, they are sanctioned in the name of the emperor. For this reason, they are equivalent to imperial orders. Taking this into account, all under heaven treat this [matter] with gravity. If there is an instance where the commands of the administrator are violated, this crime is equal to disobeying imperial commands.

別當ノ下知ハ 廳マンドコロノ宣下ナレバ、天子ノ御名代トシテ裁許スル故ニ、勅宣ト同ジ事ナリ。依レ之、天下ノ人皆之ヲ重ズ。若シ別當ノ指揮ニ違背スル時ハ、勅諫ニ背クト同ジ罪ナリト云フ意ナリ。²⁴ (*Secret Record*, 102)

Without over-speculating, one might imagine that Jōin would only assert this argument if he felt that his authority was under threat.

Another indication of opposition against Jōin appears in a stele he erected outside of the administrative temple of Kanjuin which reads, “This territory is under the supervision of the mountain [administration]. The *shugo* may not enter” (fig. 5-1; Kobayashi 1934a, 214). Ever since the bestowal of the vermilion seal by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the mountain complex and its estates had operated outside of the legal jurisdiction and tax collection of the office of the regional *shugo*. With over a century having passed since this enactment though, the timing of such a reassertion raises the question as to whether or not he also faced opposition beyond the temple gates.

Disputes over the direction of the mountain complex finally culminated in Jōin’s last year at Togakushisan when he appears to have doubled down on his vision of the past. Evidence is limited to a formal letter of complaint issued by the mountain’s *shuto* on 9/19 of 1738. The document describes him as breaking radically with the mountain’s established customs and regulations.²⁵ Signed by three cloisters acting as representatives for the *shuto* of their respective temples (Oku-no-in, Chūin, and Hōkōin), it was sent to Kan’eiji’s administrative temples of



Figure 5-1 The stele outside of the former administrator’s temple.

Gannōin 願王院 and Kakuōin 覚王院. In the letter the *shuto* accuse Jōin of ending the former rituals (*korai no hōshiki* 古来之法式) of the mountain and mixing sanctioned methods (*seidō* 政道) with heretical ones (*hidō* 非道).²⁶ Morning and evening rituals for example, now include chanting the *Dàodé jīng* (*Dōtoku kyō*) and visualizing the five viscera (*gorinkan* 五輪觀).²⁷ The letter charges moreover, that some of the *shuto* have changed the color of their robes and Jōin has allegedly issued a dress code of “half lay” (*hanzoku* 半俗). It also accuses him of discontinuing the training and initiation of clerics into the temple complex. As such, novices no longer participate in the *daie ryūgi* 大會堅儀 (literally, the “great assembly of raising doctrines”), the standard examination that tested their knowledge of the scriptures through debate. What is more, they now wear white robes and receive a variant method of consecration (*kanjō*). The letter finally charges that Jōin has issued a set of regulations calling for the “enforcement of the one branch of the Shugen school” (*Kyōko Shugen ichiha no shikkō aitsutomu beshi* 向後修驗一派之執行可_相勤_) on the twenty-eighth day of the eighth month of that year.

If we accept the claims in this letter, then it would appear that Jōin was creating a novel school of Shugendō. The mention of white robes for instance, recalls the white robes typically worn by *yamabushi*. The precedent for this practice appears in a transmission from *Collected Key Secrets* (quoted by Jōin elsewhere) that describes the *yuigesa* as either black and white. The passage then clarifies that while black is worn by the novices (*shinkyaku*), the *yamabushi* wear white (p. 370).

In addition, the notion of “half lay” most likely refers to the common identification of the *yamabushi* as “half priest, half layman” (*hansō hanzoku* 半僧半俗), an issue that touches on their ambiguous status in society. Raising families instead of rising to the ranks of the celibate

priesthood, *yamabushi* often operated on the periphery of sanctioned religious communities. Doctrinal explanations however, demonstrate some of the ways in which they responded to this liminal position. In the sixteenth century dialogic *Shugen Inquiries* (see chapter three) for example, a traveling priest asks a *yamabushi* of Togakushisan why practitioners of Shugendō neither shave their heads nor wear dyed robes (another allusion to white robes). The *yamabushi* responds that they exist between the realms of renunciants (*shukke* 出家) and secular householders (*zokuke* 俗家), thereby uniting sacred and secular (*shinzoku ikki* 真俗一揆) (*Shugen Inquiries*, 393–394). In *Collected Key Secrets* moreover, the notion of nonduality of the sacred and profane (*bonjō funi* 凡聖不二) is regularly invoked to challenge the dichotomy between the clergy and the laity. As suggested in chapter three, these deployments of Buddhist logic may have sought to reduce the social and ideological gap separating the professional class of clergy from the lower-level *yamabushi*. This contentious field of identity and position in society nevertheless reminds us that Jōin’s sweeping implementation of Shugendō at Togakushisan would have been interpreted by many as a demotion of the mountain’s Tendai status.

Beyond a differentiation in status, Jōin’s project disrupted the currents levers of institutional and economic stability. As chapter four discusses, the *shuto* and *yamabushi* were already heavily invested in the established system of rank and consecration. After undergoing training and paying high fees for licensure and elevations in rank, their prestige and pedigree became visually encoded through a hierarchy of colored robes. Many *yamabushi* moreover, rose to the rank of *shuto*, another reflection of the social and institutional superiority granted to Tendai Buddhism over Shugendō. By enacting his romanticized notion of Shugendō into major

institutional policies, Jōin ultimately privileged a textualized image of the past over the present economic and institutional interests of the mountain community.

Upsetting Tendai order

While direct evidence of Jōin's ambitious project is limited to the letter described above, his subsequent summons by the Commissioner of Temples and Shrines, removal from Togakushi and exile thereafter confirm the gravity of the situation. The final verdict, cosigned by the Kan'eiji sub-temples of Gannōin and Engakuin 圓覺院, accused Jōin of opposing the oversight of Kan'eiji and the jurisdiction of the government by establishing heretic doctrines (*ihō* 異法) and favoring aberrant methods (*higi* 非義) (Kobayashi 1934, 243). This decision however, went beyond simply removing Jōin from his post. In an attempt to purge the temple complex entirely of his influence, Kan'eiji issued a letter with the following orders: Jōin's name was to be scrubbed from the mountain's list of administrators (engraved in stone); all disciples were to be banished from the mountain; and all policies issued under him were to be reversed (Furukawa 1997, 77–79). Finally, his writings were ordered to be burned. Perhaps in anticipation of the impending headwinds, some of Jōin's disciples had already switched sides in the months leading up to the mountain's formal complaint. The four remaining disciples were banished from Togakushisan after Jōin's exile (Kobayashi 1934a, 222; Sonehara 2010, 36–39).

The severity of Kan'eiji's response reflects the important position of Togakushisan in the greater hierarchy of the Tendai institution. Without the mountain's compliance in Tendai policy, Kan'eiji would have lost its reach over all branch temples in Shinano and Echigo. Regularly operating in concert with the Tendai institution, the military government also stood to lose substantial influence over the greater region.

While Kan'eiji took great pains to cleanse Togakushisan of Jōin's influence and return order to the temple complex, his impact on the consecration program proved less easy to resolve. Although our knowledge of his program remains limited, he describes it in a text known as *Shugendō shōshū* 修驗道正宗 (Orthodox teachings of Shugendō), composed on 3/28 of the year leading up to his exile.²⁸ In the document, he asserts that this method of consecration comprises the Sanmaya 三昧耶 (Skt. *samaya*) precepts and the “divine way of the coexisting twofold Womb and Diamond [realms]” (*taigon ryōbu shūgō shintō* 胎金兩部習合神道) of “this mountain” (*honzan* 本山, i.e., Togakushisan).²⁹ As mentioned earlier, the twofold realms refer to the double *mandala* superimposed over Togakushi's interior peaks, Takatsuma and Ototsuma. It remains unclear if the Sanmaya precepts date back to medieval Togakushisan as Jōin states, or whether he borrows them from elsewhere.³⁰ In either case, he concludes that this method of consecration is firmly rooted in Togakushi's past (Kobayashi 1934b, 41).

This vision nevertheless directly challenged recent Tendai regulations on consecration. While directives from Kan'eiji in the mid-seventeenth century had permitted multiple lineages of consecration, revised regulations in 1716 (Kyōho 1) and 1718 (Kyōho 3) initiated under the royal prelate Kōben *hosshinnō* 公辦法親王 (1669–1716) stipulated that all Tendai temples must adopt the Hōman lineage. Premised on the notion that the lineage traced back to Saichō (founder of Japanese Tendai), this orthodox position effectively unified all Tendai temples under one system of consecration (Hazama 1969, 252; Sonehara 1996, 397–400; Bodiford 2006). Because its transmission was fundamental to the training curriculum, licensure, and authority of clerics, the unification of consecration under Kan'eiji and Rinnōji represented a powerful consolidation of the Tendai institution. It should be noted that Togakushisan had already implemented the Hōman lineage via the administrator Sōkai, appointed in 1646 (Sonehara 2001, no. 1, 5). Given

its recent standardization though, Jōin's replacement of it reflects a high level of discordance with the overall direction of the Tendai institution at this time.

No system of consecration was reinstated after Jōin's expulsion. The administrator Chien 知遠 restored the Hōman lineage in 1771 (Meiwa 8) but it was lost again in 1780 (An'ei 9) in the wake of a dispute between Hōkōin and Chūin that ended in the expulsion of the Hōkōin *shuto*.³¹ In the final decade of the Tokugawa period, the administrator Jikei received permission to institute a training and consecration program under the supervision of Rinnōji.³² Its implementation was successfully carried out in 1866 (Keiō 2) only to be dismantled two years later when the temple complex was converted into a Shintō shrine under the new Meiji government (Furukawa 1997, 75–76).³³

Conclusion

Jōin's vision of Shugendō at Togakushisan exemplifies one of the ways in which practitioners attempted to provide the relatively recent school with a glorious and ancient past. Fundamental to this process was the historical integration of Shugendō at the mountain. To this effect, Jōin imagines Togakushi Shugendō as part of an ancient tradition tracing back to the very origins of civilization (i.e., China). We might understand this projection into the past as grounding the school in the present; in other words, such an endeavor situated it among the older, established traditions of Japan. As Mary Elizabeth Berry (2006, chap. four) has discussed, the invention of genealogies in the Tokugawa period became a standard way for social, political and occupational groups to elevate their status. In a similar way, the mythologies conceived by Jōin and his contemporaries constituted a vital component in the production of Togakushi Shugendō and the stature of the mountain.

Jōin nevertheless failed to align his reimagining of the mountain's history with the practical interests of his contemporaries at the site. The formation of Shugendō as a self-conscious school at Togakushi had up until then been guided by the interests of the mountain's practitioners alongside the corresponding regulations of Tendai-appointed administrators. As chapter four demonstrates, this process was enabled through the mutually inclusive structures of Shugendō and Tendai Buddhism; motivated by issues concerning identity and economic livelihood; and gradually implemented through adaptations to ritual, doctrine, and institution. In contrast, Jōin's aim to institute an entirely new set of protocol, training, and certification essentially turned the establishment upside down, threatening both the symbolic and material order of the community.

In closing, our examination of Shugendō as a recent entity that took much its shape in the early modern period might seem counterintuitive to the premise of previous scholarship which often situates Shugendō in the Heian period or earlier. Perceived within this long arc of development, Jōin's activity is often described as a “restoration” (*fukkō* 復興) of Shugendō.³⁴ Yet if Shugendō as a self-conscious school only emerges at Togakushisan in the early sixteenth century (as argued in chapter three) and continues to develop in the first half of the Tokugawa period, then Jōin should be understood as participating in the school's creation rather than restoration.

Notes

¹ The Shushōe is a Buddhist ritual performed at New Years for stability in the world for the coming year. It was conducted at major temples around Kyoto and Nara beginning in the mid-Heian period and continues at Tōdaiji down to the present (Mochizuki, 2470c–2471b, s.v. 修正會).

² Sources vary on the destination of his exile between the islands of Miyakejima 三宅島 and Hachijōjima 八丈島.

³ While scholars have generally accepted this record of his death, a later account composed in 1806 (Bunka 3) at Nikkōsan describes him as carrying out his life's work on the island of Hachijōjima past the age of eighty. There it said that he converts locals, administers herbal medicinals to the sick, and builds a small shrine for the people (*Saiten kaifuku shō*, 361b). Given the late date of composition and lack of corroborative evidence however, the credibility of this account is tenuous.

⁴ The fire burnt down the Hisayama residence (see chap. 3, n. 23). Kamata Ryōken and Kobayashi Kenzō edited and transcribed many of Jōin's works before the fire.

⁵ Jōin's writings, which extend to subjects including Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō, Shugendō doctrine, and his ritual practice at Togakushi, have been reprinted in the *Tendaishū zensho* (vol. 12) as well as the *Shintō Taikei* two-volume set, *Togakushi* (edited by Sonehara Satoshi).

⁶ Examples include Sugahara 1992, 224–237; Masuo 2000, 831; Miyake 2001b, 129–130 and Itō 2012, 263.

⁷ The *Togakushisan shinryō ki* is a history of the mountain complex that Jōin compiles from earlier sources. He states in the *Togakushisan daigongen engi* (p. 216) that the incident took place during the Ōnin and Bunmei eras (1467–1486), though Ushiyama Yoshiyuki (1999, 47) has revised this date to 1524 (Daiei 4) or shortly before.

⁸ The phrase, “profound and innermost secrets” (*shinpi kokuhī* 深秘極秘), also appears in Sokuden's writings. Taimitsu refers to Tendai esoteric lineages.

⁹ The *Shinryō ki* refers to the *Three Peaks Record* by its alternate title, *Himitsu buchū hōsoku* 秘密峯中法則 (Regulations of the secret inner peak [practice]), abbreviating this to *Buchū hōsoku*. Jōin transcribes the Certificate of Peak Entry (*Nyūbu inshō jō* 入峯印證狀) in the *Secret Record*, but its authenticity remains unclear for a number of reasons. First, it is also found verbatim (with proper names added in Jōin’s version) in Sokuden’s *Collected Key Secrets* (p. 397b)—a text from which Jōin quotes elsewhere. Second, Jōin’s transcription is the only evidence I have found that the certificate was actually implemented in practice.

¹⁰ Senchō’s death is evident from a memorial stone dedicated by his immediate disciples in the year following his death. The claim over Sokuden’s transmission is supported by evidence presented in chapter three.

¹¹ My translation comes from Sokuden’s version, though Jōin adapted the original *kanbun* into *kakikudashi* and made minor variations to some of the vocabulary. I incorporate the second paragraph of this passage into my analysis of Sokuden in chapter three as well.

¹² The term *musa* refers to one’s original natural state prior to any causes or conditions. It is used to describe the three bodies of the buddha in the *Thirty-three Transmissions* (424b; also see Asada 2000, 164–165). The term *hon’u* synonymously refers to an original natural state. It is used for instance, in the *Thirty-three Transmissions* (427a–b) to describe the transmission of consecration through the natural elements (e.g. rain, sunshine), all of which constitute Mahāvairocana (also see Asada 2000, 190). These concepts pertain to Original Awakening Doctrine.

¹³ The Womb *maṇḍala* and its respective pantheon are divided into three “clans” (Skt. *kula*): the Buddha, the Lotus, and the Diamond.

¹⁴ The “three mysteries” constitute the body, speech and mind of Mahāvairocana.

¹⁵ After alluding to practitioners as embodied *tathāgatas*, the text returns to the three methods (stated earlier as “three yogic mysteries”) by which one achieves buddhahood: *mantra* via speech, *mudrā* via physical movement, and meditation via the mind.

¹⁶ The letter and sound of “a” symbolizes several key concepts in esoteric Buddhism. In a narrow sense, it is the first letter in the Sanskrit *siddham* script, a negative particle and the first sound thought to be uttered by humans. In a broader sense, it constitutes the origin of all things in the cosmos and thus is identified with Mahāvairocana. As a negative particle, it represents the ultimate nonexistence of all things.

This passage moreover, describes the human heart. In its ordinary state, the heart is shaped as a closed lotus flower of eight petals (or ventricles). The realization of one’s own original awakening (*bodhicitta*) opens the heart into a fully blossomed lotus flower from which Mahāvairocana emerges. This portrayal of the heart appears for example, in Yixing’s *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana sūtra* (T. XXXIX 1796 iv 623a6–11). Thanks to Iyanaga Nobumi for introducing me to this passage.

¹⁷ I have changed “chi” 知 (i.e., the glyph, “to know”) to “chi” 地 (the glyph for “ground”) as written in Sokuden’s original.

¹⁸ Jōin alternates between *katakana* and *hiragana*, which I have left unchanged. I have added the paragraph breaks here to match my translation.

¹⁹ Supportive of this claim, Jōin indeed copied the *Dàodé jīng* during his time at Togakushisan. Kobayashi (1934a, 227) reported its existence, though it was later lost in the Hisayama fire. Kobayashi (1934a, 236) included a photograph its first page, which matches the first two pages

of the *Dàodé jīng*, confirming the source of Jōin’s copy. As a side note, Jōin also mentions the text in the last line of the *Secret Record* (p. 104): we “perform ceremonies and make offerings before the gods and chant the *Dàodé jīng*.²⁰

²⁰ The term *jōshin* refers to meditation. Okami, now spelled Okami 尾上, is situated in the village below the temple complex. According to Kobayashi (1934a, 251), the winter residence for the administrator was located there.

²¹ Jōin’s use of the term *shintō* should be taken literally as a “divine way” employed for rule rather than the modern notion of Shintō. In contrast, he refers explicitly to certain lineages of Shintō (e.g., Ichijitsu, Reisō) elsewhere (see chapter six).

²² Jōin cites the *Shēngxuán jīng* as the source of these short biographies, but he likely draws it from Fǎlín’s *Pòxié lùn* 破邪論 (Treatise refuting heresy, 622), which quotes from the non-extant *Shēngxuán jīng*.

²³ Lónghǔ Shān (Jianxi province) served as the home base of the Zhāng family and the Way of the Celestial Masters.

²⁴ The ruby “mandokoro” in this passage is provided by Jōin.

²⁵ Aspects of this letter have been discussed by Yoneyama 1971, 46; Furukawa 1997, 77–79 and Sonehara 2010, 36–37. Yoneyama and Sonehara refer to it by its catalogue number in the Togakushisan archives (*Oku-no-in shuto kyōyū monjo hachijūsan gō* 奥院衆徒共有文書八〇三号). I alternatively cite it by the title provided in the *Nagano kenshi* series (*San in shuto shingi hōshiki nanjū ni tsuki bettō meshikae gan*).

²⁶ The “former rituals” refer to the regulations enacted by Shunkai (Tenkai’s direct disciple; appointed in 1646) and Ken’yū in 1698 (Genroku 11).

²⁷ The meditative practice of *gorinkan* emerged in China as a visualization practice in both Daoist and Buddhist circles. In the case of the latter, the practitioner strove to achieve buddhahood by visualizing his body (crown of the head, face, chest, belly, and knees) as the five elements (earth, water, fire, wind, air) (Nakamura 510a, s.v. 五輪觀). Significantly, Sokuden also extends the practice to the *shugen* ritual of *tokogatame* 床堅 (see Grapard 2000, 117–120).

²⁸ Although the *Shugendō shōshū* was lost in the Hisayama fire, it was transcribed by Kobayashi (1934b, 40–41) and reprinted by Sonehara (1996, 404–405).

²⁹ The term *ryōbu shūgō shintō* first appears with Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱 (1435–1511), founder of Yoshida Shintō. It initially refers to the Shingon application of the twofold *manḍalas* on to the Inner and Outer shrines of Ise but eventually expands to a range of practices (Grapard and Yoshida 1992, 137).

³⁰ One likely source is the Kii peninsula, where the Sanmaya precepts were transmitted in consecration rituals at Mt. Jinzen 深仙 (Ōmine mountains) and in the Katsuragi mountains (Sueki 1986, 157).

³¹ Known as the *sori ikken* (snow sled incident), sixteen *shuto* were banished from the Hōkōin cloisters by orders of the Commissioner of Temples and Shrines after a confrontation erupted between the *shuto* of Hōkōin and Chūin over road use in front of Chūin (Furukawa 1997, 82–84).

³² Jikei's letters of request, composed in 1861 (Man'en 2), are transcribed in the *Nagano kenshi* series under the heading, *Togakushisan Kenkōji kanjō saikō gan*.

³³ All references to consecration at Togakushisan after Jōin's term draw from Jikei's letters to Kan'eiji in which he provides a history of the ritual at Togakushisan from the medieval period up to his time. This history however, should be viewed with caution given the document's late date.

³⁴ Examples include Yoneyama 1971, 46; Furukawa 1997, 77–79 and Suzuki 2013, 297–305.

6 Cross-bedding a Lineage, Fracturing the Shogun’s Shintō

During his tenure as administrator at Togakushi, Jōin sought major regulatory changes, much of which were fueled by his vision of Shugendō. Yet as this chapter argues, these efforts formed part of a deeper strategy to develop the cultural and historical identity of Togakushisan—a task involving the unification of various narratives into a school he called Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō 修驗一實靈宗神道, or “Shugen Single Reality Mystical Source Shintō.” This school combined emergent trends at the site such as Reisō Shintō, Shugendō, and one of Japan’s imperial myths. Drawing from his own ecclesiastic background, Jōin also included Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō, a lineage that deified Tokugawa Ieyasu into a god known as the Tōshō 東照 *daigongen* (literally, the “Great Avatar of Eastern Radiance”). Daoistic references also appear in the school but not nearly the extent to which Kobayashi Kenzō suggests.¹

The text that best lays out the gist and narrative of Jōin’s school is the *Secret Record* (introduced in chapter five). Here Jōin synthesizes its various components into the lineage of Shugen Ichijitsu Reisō Shintō; it thus provides a sense of how he understood all of the parts in relation to one another and as a unified whole. An analysis of Jōin’s strategies in merging multiple doctrines—particularly his use of lineage construction and divine alliances—reveals some of the methods by which early modern religious thinkers developed new schools of practice and thought. In the case of Jōin, we will consider how his construction of this school contributed to the cultural identity of the community and the mountain’s overall reputation.

Through this investigation, we will also look at the implications of his thought on the symbolic authority of the military government, namely through his use of the Tōshō *daigongen*.

Situating Jōin's project within the Tōshō cult

The Tōshō *daigongen* constitutes arguably the most important element in Jōin's school. We might understand his treatment of the deity as overlapping two broad aspects of the Tōshō cult in early modern Japan: politics and popular worship.² The political basis of the Tōshō *daigongen* rested on the doctrine of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō. Formerly known as Sannō Shintō (literally, the “divine way of the mountain king”) in the medieval period, the school acted to unify the local gods of Hieizan with buddhas imported by the Tendai school.³ Shortly after the death of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Tenkai appropriated the lineage from Hieizan and added the term *ichijitsu*, or “single reality.”⁴ He then formulated an origin account titled the *Tōshō daigongen engi*, placing the deified Tokugawa Ieyasu at the center of the triad of *daigongen*.⁵ Enshrined at Nikkōsan in eastern Japan, the *daigongen*'s “eastern radiance” (*tōshō*) rivaled Amaterasu’s 天照 “heavenly radiance,” emanating from Ise.

Primary beneficiaries of the new cult included the Tokugawa house as descendants of Ieyasu; the Tendai institution, entrusted with preservation of the lineage; and Nikkō as the site of the *daigongen*'s enshrinement. Aware of the need to maintain and reinvest in this vital form of symbolic capital, Ieyasu's descendants organized splendid pilgrimages to the shrine at Nikkō (Yamasawa 2011a). These affairs, in one sense, might be likened to what Habermas (1989, 9) has called “the publicity of representation” in early modern European displays of sovereignty. Their outward pageantry created a spectacle of power and pomp, reminding attending feudal lords and samurai that it was the shogun who occupied the center of the political realm. In another sense, the events reified each successive shogun's patrilineal and spiritual connection to

the Tōshō *daigongen*. The Tendai institution in turn, collaborated with the shogunate through a carefully orchestrated ritual calendar. The Togakushi complex for example, held memorial services for the *daigongen* and for Tenkai on the seventeenth day of each month (the day of Ieyasu's death). Nationwide memorial rites moreover, were organized and executed by the Tendai institution every fifty years at the Nikkō Tōshōgū and subsidiary Tōshōgū shrines in many of the provinces (Sonehara 2011). Seeking to expand this effort, the shogun Yoshimune (1684–1751) worked with Kan'eiji in compelling all provinces to establish a satellite Tōshōgū and enshrine images of the *daigongen* (Nakano 2008, 192). This plan was initiated in 1735 (Kyōho 20), demonstrating the ongoing political and institutional relevance of the deified shogun during Jōin's tenure at Togakushisan.

At the same time, worship of the Tōshō *daigongen* spilled over into the general population over the course of the Edo period, as recent studies have begun to demonstrate. Although the shrine at Nikkō remained off-limits to the public, countless independent Tōshōgū shrines emerged around the country, allowing ordinary people to pray to the *daigongen* for this-worldly benefits (Nakano 2008, 45). Worship and festivity became intertwined with semicentennial memorial ceremonies held at castle towns like Nagoya, Tottori, Sendai and Hiroshima. While the rituals of these events were exclusive affairs limited to feudal lords, vassals and priests, major festivals coalesced along the routes where the palanquin (*mikoshi*) housing the spirit of the Tōshō *daigongen* was paraded (Fukuhara 2011).⁶ Furthermore, popular devotion around Nikkō is evident in the activity of the mountain's *yamabushi*. Performing a practice known as the *daisendo* 大千渡, they circuited the mountain's numinous sites in homage to the shrine's three *daigongen*. Upon completion, the spiritual and material benefits received in return from the three *daigongen* (the Tōshō *daigongen* being the most popular) were imparted to

the respective confraternity (*kō*) members of the *yamabushi* (Yamasawa 2011b). Finally, the integration of the Tōshō *daigongen* into the broader society is revealed through a widely disseminated text known as the *Tōshōgū goikun* 東照宮御遺訓 (*The Testament of the Tōshōgū*). Purported to be the final words of Ieyasu, this apocryphal work became the object of worship itself from feudal lords down to peasants (Wakao 2001). These practices operated with little stimulus or oversight by the military government, thus expanding into an array of rituals and performances.

As his writings demonstrate, Jōin was situated between these two realms of the Tōshō cult. In a text prepared for the royal prelate Kōkan 公寛 titled the *Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō kuju gosōshō hiki*, he reveals a lucid understanding of the cult's political implications:⁷

[Sannō] Ichijitsu Shintō was transmitted from Jigen Daishi [i.e., Tenkai] to the Tōshō *daigongen*. It constitutes the great method for ensuring the prosperity of his revered descendants, the stability of the state, and immutability for countless ages to come.

抑モ一實神道トハ、慈眼大師所ノ奉玉フ傳 - 授シテ東照大神君ニ之ヲ。御子孫繁昌
國家安全萬世不易之大法ナリ。 (*Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō kuju gosōshō hiki*, 253a)⁸

The legitimacy of the lineage ultimately rested upon the Buddhist doctrine of the *cakravartin*, as originally laid out by Tenkai. Translated as “wheel-turning sage king,” the *cakravartin* was envisioned as a sovereign who enjoys universal rule by upholding Buddhist law. Under these implications, the doctrine had long served as a form of legitimacy to the throne across Asia. Tenkai had originally connected this notion to the Tōshō *daigongen*, but Jōin expands upon it in the *Secret Record* by drawing precedents from an abundance of texts.⁹ Works that he either cites or quotes include the *Abhidharmakośa* (*Kusha ron*俱舍論), the *Golden Light Sūtra*, the *Flower Garland Sūtra*, Fālín’s 法琳 (572–640) *Biānzhèng lùn* 辭正論 (Discerning

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Correct Reasoning), the Song period *Daoist Canon* (*Dàozàng jīng* 道藏經) as well as the Kamakura period *Shūgaishō* 拾芥抄 and *Genkō shaku sho* 元亨釋書. Through this exhaustive accounting, Jōin reaffirms that Tokugawa Ieyasu provides prosperity and political stability for the state even in his posthumous, divine existence.

These writings comprised one facet of Jōin's role in the maintenance and upkeep of the cult as an orthodox conduit of the deity's symbolic authority. The other facet concerned his position in the preservation of the *daigongen*'s divine lineage. In his exposition of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō to Kōkan, he recounts a single line of transmission from Tenkai to him and presents heirlooms of the lineage from both Tenkai and his predecessor, Senzon (Bodiford 2010, 243). This evidence, which appears to have gone uncontested by his contemporaries, suggests that the lineage passed through a single line of high priests, making Jōin the sole recipient in his generation and thereby a critical transmitter of the cult's underlying doctrine. As we shall see in the remainder of this chapter however, Jōin merged the *daigongen* with the regional religious culture of Togakushisan, effectively reshuffling the symbolic and geographical structure of the state-determined cult into the historical narrative, identity and culture of Togakushisan.

Constructing a lineage

During his tenure as administrator, Jōin incorporated a number of religious trends at mountain into a narrative that centered on the Tōshō *daigongen* and the site of Togakushisan. The following two sections will discuss each element in turn, beginning with Shugendō. As argued in chapter three, the school most likely reached Togakushi in the sixteenth century through the transmission of the Hiko practitioner, Sokuden. Jōin's *Secret Record* and *Shinryō ki* provide the earliest documentation of this transmission in the form of a transcription of Sokuden's certificate

for the completed ritual of Peak Entry (*nyūbu*) by Togakushi's administrator-in-line, Gizōbō Eikei.

Jōin builds from this history by layering Shugendō into his school, a process that begins with his replacement of “Sannō” with “Shugen.” The new title, Shugen Ichijitsu, traces back to a term in the Hiko-based *Thirty-three Transmissions* as well as Sokuden’s expanded version, *Collected Key Secrets* (Sonehara 2003). The singular term *ichijitsu* moreover, has a long history in East Asian Buddhist doctrine, notably in medieval Tendai theory on Sannō Shintō (Sugahara 1996, 68). Usage of *ichijitsu* and *shugen ichijitsu* in the Hiko compilations relates to the notion of “principle” (*ri*) as the singular, underlying logic to the universe. This idea is then applied to *shugen* practice at Hikosan:

True principle truly constitutes an undifferentiated *single reality*. It is the essence of the Peak Entry practice. (my italics)

誠是一實無差真理。入峯修行詮要也。(*Collected Key Secrets*, 371a)

In contrast to diverse “phenomena” (*ji*) in the world, *ichijitsu* represents the “single reality” of the cosmos—a truth that one awakens to through the practice of Peak Entry.

Jōin does not discuss doctrinal implications of the term, suggesting that his usage concerns more of a shift in identity away from Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō. This becomes further evident in the noted absence of the triad of *gongen* and buddhas at Nikkō in the *Secret Record*. Instead, Jōin situates Shugendō front and center in the newly imagined lineage. This influence, as chapters four and five demonstrate, concerns not simply Shugendō in the broader sense but rather Shugendō imagined in the particular context of Togakushisan. Jōin adopts this perspective by embracing the recent addition of En no Gyōja’s visit to the mountain’s historical account

(*Secret Record*, 94). He then affixes this connection to the Tōshō *daigongen* by arguing that En transmitted the *cakravartin* teachings alongside Shugendō:

The regulations for consecration within this mountain were established by En no Gyōja and are based upon the worldly laws of the *cakravartin* kings as exemplified in the *Flower Garland Sūtra*, the *Golden Light Sūtra*, and elsewhere. These esoteric teachings have been transmitted by *mudrās* and *mantras* and relied upon by successive generations of *sendatsu*.

此峯中灌頂ノ法則ハ役行者、華嚴經・金光明經等ノ中ノ轉輪聖王世間ノ法ニ依テ建立スル名目ニメ、秘契密言等ハ密教傳來ノ後、累代ノ先達等コレヲ補助スルナラン。 (*Secret Record*, 100)

It is worth noting that as a relatively recent school, Shugendō was never utilized as a legitimization for sovereignty. Jōin nevertheless packages *cakravartin* teachings into Shugendō doctrine in order to provide a point of origin for its eventual transmission to the Tōshō *daigongen*. As a result, the *cakravartin* nature of the *daigongen* now traces back to Shugendō and Togakushi's early history rather than Tenkai's formulation.

In addition to Shugendō, another significant component of Jōin's school is Reisō Shintō 精宗神道.¹⁰ This form of Shintō was established in the mid-seventeenth century at the Shimanokuni shrine of Izōgū 伊雜宮 (alt. Izawanomiya), an auxiliary shrine to the Inner Shrine at Ise. The school is expounded in the 72 fascicle *Sendai kuji hongi taisei kyō* 先代舊事本紀大成經 (abbreviated hereafter as *Taisei kyō*). Purported as a lost version of the ancient *Sendai kuji hongi*, it too was alleged to have been composed by Prince Shōtoku.¹¹ Just two years after its appearance in 1679, the government banned the text as apocryphal. Despite its prohibition,

however, Reisō Shintō as a new religious school continued to circulate over the course of the Tokugawa period.

The polemical nature of the *Taisei kyō* becomes clear in its preface through the assertion that Reisō Shintō exists as the superior combination of two established lines of Shintō: Sōgen 宗源 (a.k.a. Yoshida) Shintō, which constitutes the “utmost form of principle” (*rikyoku* 理極) within the sovereign way (*ōdō* 王道), and Saigen 齋元 (a.k.a., Inbe 齋部) Shintō, which constitutes the “utmost form of phenomena” (*jikyoku* 事極) within the sovereign way.¹² Reisō Shintō naturally is purported to combine both forms, enabling the possessor to grasp both the principle of utmost rule and its material implementation.¹³ In this sense, Reisō Shintō dovetails with Jōin’s use of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō and *cakravartin* law as another method that justifies the sovereign credentials of the Tōshō *daigongen*.

Following the pattern of Shugendō in Jōin’s school furthermore, Reisō Shintō had earlier reached Togakushi when Chōon Dōkai 潮音道海 (1628–1695)—one of the main authors of the *Taisei kyō*—journeyed there in 1686 (Jōkyō 3). On his visit, he allegedly prayed to Omohikane *no mikoto* and Tajikarao *no mikoto*, both enshrined on the mountain at the time. This would have been an important pilgrimage for Dōkai, as Omohikane is portrayed in the *Taisei kyō* as the original transmitter of Reisō Shintō. A 1703 re-edition (non-extant) of the fifteenth century *Transmitted Account* furthermore, quotes from the *Taisei kyō*, revealing its sway at the mountain at the time. Jōin also includes the text in a catalogue of works held at the temple complex (Kobayashi 1934a, 228–229).¹⁴

Adopting this emergent trend at Togakushisan, Jōin threads Reisō Shintō into the underlying fabric of his school, first by claim that Omohikane provided the original transmission

of Reisō Shintō to Togakushisan (*Secret Record*, 94). This move allows him to project Reisō Shintō back to the origins of the mountain, again through the visit of En no Gyōja:

In the Hakuhō period (673–686), Master En no Gyōja climbed this mountain and restored Reisō Shintō. Master En received the profound and ultimate secrets of both the hidden and revealed affairs from the *daishokkan*, Lord [Fujiwara] Kamatari (614–669). On this basis, he named it Shugen Single Reality Mystical Source Shintō and transmitted it to Gakumon Gyōja.¹⁵

白鳳年中、役君行者コノ山ニ攀ヂ登テ、靈宗神道ヲ中興セリ。役君ハ大織冠鎌足公ヨリ顯密二事ノ深秘極秘ヲ傳フ、因テ修驗一實靈宗神道ト名テ、是ヲ學門行者ニ傳授ス。(*Secret Record*, 94)

Through this combination of Shugendō, *cakravartin* law, and Reisō Shintō, Jōin configures the reimagined school as a powerful instrument for sovereignty. This aim is made explicit later in the text:

This [Shugen Single Reality] Mystical Source Shintō is not only revered in our country, but is also revered by the people of other countries as the way of our divine land. Luminous rulers and sage kings of all periods of restoration have employed this divine way to govern their countries under heaven.

此靈宗神道ハ、唯吾ガ朝ノミ是ヲ尊ムニ非ズ、異朝ノ人モ亦我ガ神國ノ道ヲ尊デ、中興ノ明君・聖主ハ皆神道ヲ以テ天下國家ヲ治メ給フ。(*Secret Record*, 95)¹⁶

Having established a “divine way” that has guided the great rulers of history through periods of prosperity, Jōin finally embeds the *daigongen* into the lineage:

It goes without saying that after his initiation into [Shugen] Single Reality [Mystical Source] Shintō, the Great Divine Ruler of Eastern Radiance set in place a foundation of divine bedrock for the security of all under heaven and the prosperity of his descendants.

況ヤ東照大神君ハ、一實神道ヲ傳受イマシテ、天下安全、御子孫繁昌ノ洪基ヲ天津磐根ニ鎮メ玉フ。 (*Secret Record*, 97)

Divine alliances

Jōin's reformulation of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō retains the Tōshō *daigongen* as its *raison d'être* while at the same time situating Togakushisan as its central location. As evident above, the manipulation of lineage is one way he reorients the school away from Nikkō toward Togakushi. Another way is by allying the *daigongen* with the mountain's own divine pantheon. This adaptation relies on the incorporation of several of Japan's founding gods as residents of Togakushi.

The placement of these gods themselves at the mountain occurs rather late. The earliest account of the site's origins, found in the *Asaba shō*, describe its name—literally “hidden [behind] the door”—as a reference to the concealment of the dragon Kuzuryū in a cave on Togakushi's slopes (see chapter two). The allusion however, shifts toward the ancient myth of the sun goddess Amaterasu *ōkami* beginning in the Muromachi period. In this famous legend, Amaterasu hides in a cave in the heavenly Central Kingdom of Bountiful Reed Plains (Toyo Ashihara no Nakatsukuni) after provocations by her brother—an event that brings darkness to the world. In order to lure her out, Takami Musubi *no mikoto*'s 高皇產靈尊 divine son, Omohikane *no mikoto*, devises a plan in which a young goddess performs a dance in front of the cave. When Amaterasu peeks out to have a look, Tajikarao *no mikoto* (another son of Takami Musubi) pulls back the boulder, exposing her light to the world. The first trace of this story at

Togakushi appears in one vague reference in the *Transmitted Account* (1458), which simply states that the mountain is named after the story in which “Tajikarao *no mikoto* places the heavenly boulder door down and hides it” (實は手力男命、天の岩戸を隠し置く) (*Transmitted Account*, 309). Most likely drawn from the *Nihon shoki*, it nevertheless provides no indication that any of these gods are considered to reside at the mountain at this time.¹⁷

In contrast, Jōin refers to a version from the *Taisei kyō*.¹⁸ Incidentally, his accounts in the *Secret Record* and the *Togakushisan daigongen engi* constitute the earliest sources to fully incorporate the myth into Togakushi’s origin narrative. Although evidence is extremely limited, one might even speculate that the version in the *Taisei kyō* inspired the importation of these deities to the mountain. It remains unclear, however, whether this development would have occurred following Chōon Dōkai’s visit and delivery of the text in 1686;¹⁹ with Jōin’s own work, or by the clerics of the mountain in the half century between Dōkai and Jōin. In any case, the version from the *Taisei kyō* asserts that the deity Tajikarao, in fact, hurls the boulder concealing Amaterasu from the gods’ residence in the heavenly Central Kingdom. Falling from the sky, it lands in the Shinano Province and forms the mountain of Togakushi. In Jōin’s retelling, we find that Omohikane now resides at Chūin as the manifestation of Śākyamuni; Tajikarao resides at Oku-no-in as a manifestation of Shō Kannon; and Uwaharu *no mikoto* (another child of Takami Musubi) resides at Hōkōin as the manifestation of Shōgun Jizō.²⁰ Between Togakushi’s interior peaks Takatsuma and Ototsuma moreover, Amaterasu *ōkami* serves as the manifestation of Dainichi *nyorai* in the Two Fold *mandala* realm.²¹ Finally, Takami Musubi is situated as the luminous king (*myōō*) of Takatsuma (*Secret Record*, 191–193).

Having assembled this pantheon at Togakushisan, Jōin then employs three of the deities to further link the Tōshō *daigongen*. Omohikane, as described earlier in connection with Reisō

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Shintō, serves as the progenitor of the lineage. Amaterasu moreover, appears in the following passage:

As Emperor Seiwa's [r. 858–876] twenty-sixth descendant, [the Tōshō *daigongen*] is undoubtedly the descendant of Amaterasu *ōkami*. For this reason, he serves the great jewel of the emperor, and through his governance of this country fulfills [her] divine proclamation: “My descendants must rule this reed plain land of fresh rice stalks for five hundred, thousand autumns. Indeed, my grandchildren hereafter will govern it. Based on the loftiness of the imperial rank, heaven and earth will not suffer.”

清和天皇二十六代ノ後胤ニテ、紛レナキ天照大神ノ御胤ニテマシマセバ、天子ノ大寶ニ冊セ給テ此國ヲ知メシ玉フ事モ正ク、葦原千五百秋之瑞穂國、是吾子孫可
レ王之地也、宜_レ爾後孫就而治_レ焉、寶祚之隆當興_レ天壤_レ無_レ窮、ト申ス神勅ニモ
叶セ玉フナルベシ。 (*Secret Record*, 96)

Quoting Amaterasu's famous oracle from the *Kogo shūi* 古語拾遺 (ca. 807), Jōin presents Ieyasu as a descendant of Amaterasu and thus eligible to fulfill her proclamation through rule of the country. Yet more than affirming the Tōshō *daigongen*'s mandate to rule, Amaterasu's residence in the Togakushi range provides one more point of contact between the *daigongen* and the mountain. Jōin cements this connection with Tajikarao:

The Great Divine Ruler of Eastern Radiance now prays to Tajikarao *no mikoto* for the security of all under heaven. He exists as the supreme founding deity of the [Tokugawa] rulers of this divine land.

今ノ東照太神君ハ、手力雄命ニ天下安全ヲ祈玉ヒテ、神國人君ノ太祖神ト成給ヘ
リ。 (*Secret Record*, 97)

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The residency of Tajikarao directly below the cliffs of Togakushi is of course, not lost to Jōin. In all, Jōin positions the Tōshō *daigongen* in the service of three deities at Togakushi: Amaterasu, who authorizes his rule through divine proclamation; Tajikarao, to whom he prays for successful governance; and Omohikane, the founder of his lineage.

While these threads interlacing Togakushisan and the Tōshō *daigongen* are subtly woven into the text of the *Secret Record*, Jōin reinforces their unification in a separate lineage chart titled the *Shinano no kuni Togakushisan Reisō Shintō kechimyaku keizu* (fig. 6-2). The lineage begins with cosmogenic gods from the *Taisei kyō*, followed by the four described above who are enshrined at Togakushisan: Takami Musubi *no mikoto*, Omohikane *no mikoto*, Tajikarao *no mikoto*, and Uwaharu *no mikoto*. From these divine origins, the chart moves on to human beings: first, En no Gyōja (written under his given name, En no Ozunu) and then Gakumon Gyōja before listing the succession of administrators that follows. It ends abruptly at the twenty-fourth administrator (Jōin being the fifty-fifth), thus reaching neither the later apotheosis of Tokugawa Ieyasu nor Jōin. Although it is unclear whether the project was never finished or whether part of it was lost, the chart nonetheless demonstrates Jōin's vision of Shugen Ichijitsu *Reisō Shintō* as a concrete lineage situated at Togakushisan.

While he does not explicitly enshrine the *daigongen* at Togakushi, Jōin's careful manipulation of lineage and divine alliances ultimately place the mountain as the central site for his reformulation of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō and the ruling presence of the *daigongen* (fig. 6-1).

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Figure 6-1 Components of Jōin's school

A diagram visualizing the separate components of Jōin's school. All unite at Togakushisan according to his formulation.

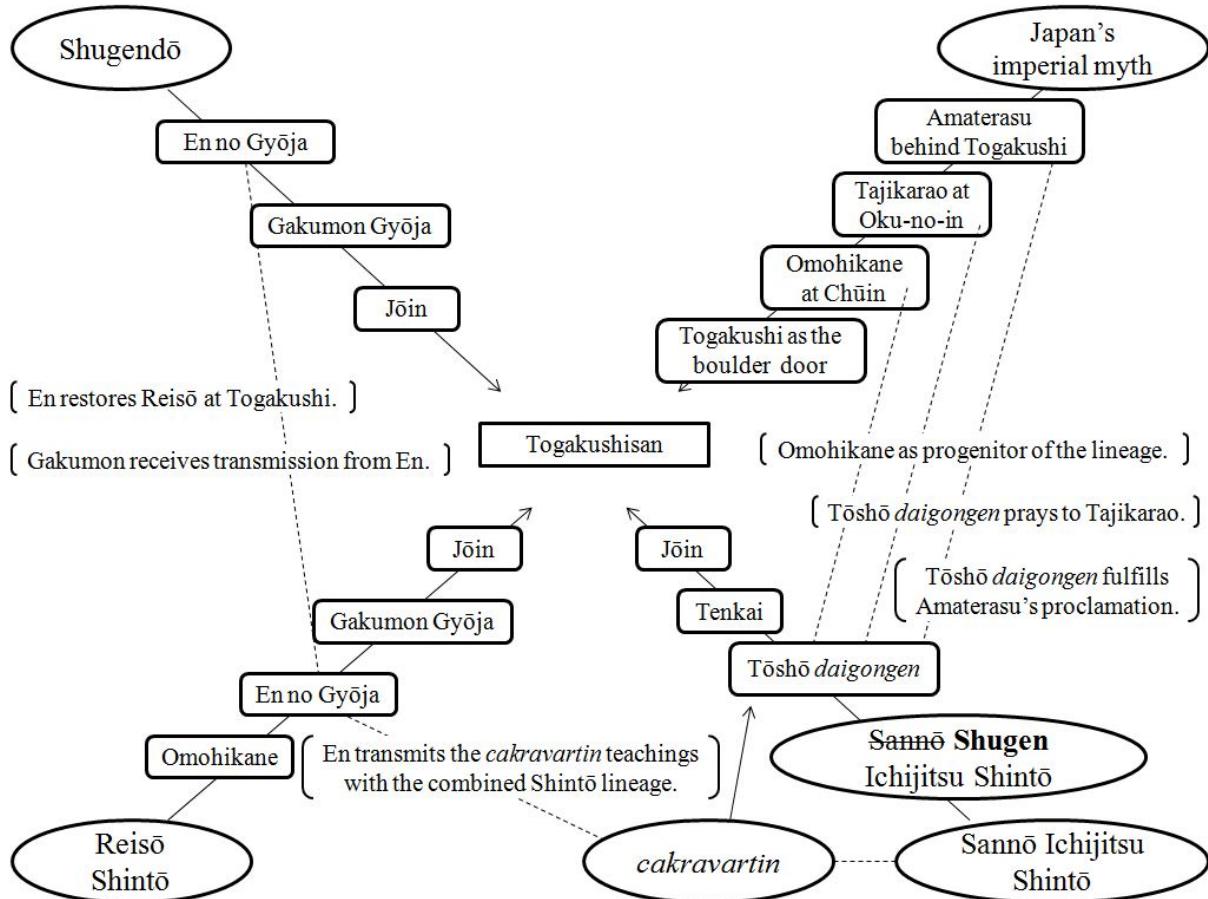


Figure 6-2 Jōin's lineage chart

國常立尊、國狹槌尊、豐斟渟尊、天御中主尊、天八下尊、天三下尊、天合尊、天八百日尊、天八十萬魂尊、

高皇靈尊（戸隱山高妻、大明神也）、天思兼尊（信濃國阿知祝祖、中院大權現）、天手力雄尊（戸隱山奥院、大權現也）、天表春命（信濃國阿知祝祖、寶光院大權現也）、役君小角、學門行者。

Transcription of Jōin's lineage up until Gakumon Gyōja. The first nine gods appear as cosmogenic deities in the *Taisei kyō*; the next four gods, also found in the *Taisei kyō*, are imported to Togakushisan; En no Gyōja (written as En no Ozunu) follows as the first human visitor and transmitter of Shugendō, followed finally by Gakumon Gyōja, who receives the full lineage from En no Gyōja.

Conclusion

Taking a step back to consider the broader picture, Jōin's intellectual undertakings, on the one hand, represent the fluidity of religious activity of his time. The manipulation of lineages and divine alliances alongside the widespread application of *honji suijaku* and the “unity of the three teachings” (*sankyō icchi* 三教一致) provided the connective tissue for the unification of existing modes of thought and practice. A culture of printing in the Edo period moreover, exposed formerly exclusive religious systems to a broader audience. As a result, Jōin was able to draw upon published lineages, doctrines and historical texts outside of his own tradition. Ultimately, his attempt to unify and embed various elements of Shintō, Shugendō, Buddhism and Japan's imperial mythology into the cultural landscape of Togakushisan exemplifies this intellectual milieu.

Jōin's work, on the other hand, concerns the realignment of religious systems toward a specific place. In this sense, the site of Togakushisan becomes a gathering point for legendary figures (e.g., En no Gyōja and Sokuden) and divinities (e.g., Omohikane, Tajikarao) in the production of an overarching narrative. The domestication of outside traditions at Togakushisan had been underway for centuries, but Jōin's thought escalated this process more than other phase in the mountain's history.

While Togakushi may have benefitted from this enhanced image, such manipulation created potential instability for governing and religious institutions, whose authority often rested on symbols of the divine and mythical. As evident in Jōin's pivot away from Nikkō toward Togakushi, the physical location of these structures was itself open to reinterpretation and contestation. Henri Lefebvre has discussed the social ramifications of place and space in what he refers to as “absolute space,” or sites identified for their nature features (e.g., caves,

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mountaintops, rivers) and eventually consecrated as sacred places. As temples and monuments are erected on these sites, they become inscribed with religious and political symbols that privilege certain lineages, bloodlines, and institutions. Referring to the premodern formation of these places, Lefebvre (2004, 48) notes that,

Absolute space, religious and political in character, was a product of the bonds of consanguinity, soil and language, but out of it evolved a space which was relativized and *historical*. Not that absolute space disappeared in the process; rather it survived as the bedrock of historical space and the basis of representational spaces (religious, magical, and political symbolisms). (original italics)

In premodern Japan territory, wealth and symbols of authority likewise relied on the superimposition of the divine onto physical sites, forged out of historical narratives and lineage. As signifiers of power, the gods nonetheless do not carry the best track record in Japan's long history. As quickly as they provided blessings, they could also act in unruly, irrational, and vengeful ways. Above all, they moved. A god's sudden appearance, temporary manifestation, or invitation by a priest—all modes of divine mobility in early modern Japan—could spell either opportunity or demise for institutions or individuals claiming primary access. Given that he was probably the sole recipient of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō operating in the highest circles of Tendai authority, Jōin's manipulations of the Tōshō *daigongen* were no small disruption.

Jōin, of course, was not the first to redesignate the gods and location of this lineage. Tenkai's earlier formulation of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō was achieved through his own ability to relocate Sannō Shintō and its pantheon of divinities from Hieizan to Nikkō. That said, the two figures were operating under vastly different political circumstances. As the main architect of

the early modern Tendai institution, Tenkai was able to successfully enshrine the Tōshō *daigongen* at Nikkō, even after its initial designation at Mt. Kunō 久能 (Boot 2000).

Jōin neither shared this degree of power nor lived in such a transformative age. Thus while his work may exemplify the fluidity of early modern religious thought, it was highly incongruous with his role inside the Sannō Ichijitsu lineage. Through his initiation, he served as the principle conduit for its transmission and his exegetical endeavors shaped its doctrinal ramifications for successive generations. Nonetheless, the *Secret Record* projects a fractured image of Nikkō as the *de facto* spiritual center of the state, replaced instead by a regional mountain far from the central nodes of political and institutional power.

Needless to say, the exile of Jōin ultimately contributed to the suspension of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō, as evident by later attempts of several Tendai clerics to restore it.²² The high-ranking cleric Jitō *daisōjō* 慈等大僧正 (d. 1819), for instance, blamed Jōin's heretic (*itan* 異端) teachings for its downfall (Hazama 1969, 262). Toward the end of the Edo period, moreover, another cleric named Kengyō 賢曉 cited a letter from the abbot of Kan'eiji addressed to Jōin during Jōin's tenure at Togakushi.²³ In the letter, the abbot laments:

You trained extensively under [Sen]zon in the past. Were you not initiated into the way [of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō] by your master? If you received this transmission, then why would you not diffuse it far and wide, virtuously extending its significance?

子存ニ事ルヲ久シ曾テ、斯ノ道ヲ師ニ傳ン否（ヤ）。若傳ルヲ有ラバ、則流傳弘通ス宜ク之意ヲ致タス。 (*Wakō Saiki*, 427a; adapted from the original *kanbun*).

If we presume this letter to be authentic, it suggests that the authorities of the Tendai institution deeply valued Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō and were gravely concerned about its treatment under Jōin. Ironically, Jōin's experimentation with the lineage beyond the elite confines of Sannō Ichijitsu

Shintō could have fostered its dissemination “far and wide.” This potential, however, was lost with his final demise under the very authorities who depended upon it.

Notes

¹ See my critique in chapter five.

² The first of these has received much attention in the past. Representative studies include Ooms 1985, 173–186; Boot 1990 and 2000; Sugahara 1992 197–237 and 1996; Sonehara 2008 and Nakano 2008.

³ The triad of buddhas in Sannō Shintō consisted of Shaka, Yakushi, and Amida.

⁴ Jōin later writes in the *Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō kuju gosōshō hiki* (p. 253a) that Tenkai was initiated into the lineage by the cleric Jitsuzen Shōnin 實全上人 of Shinzōji 神藏寺 on Hieizan.

⁵ Intending this work for a broad audience, Tenkai prepared versions in *kanbun* and *kana*.

⁶ Fukuhara discusses the development of these festivals over the course of the Edo period in the case of Hiroshima through an examination of *emaki*.

⁷ Kōkan *hōshinnō* served as *monzeki* to Rinnōji (Nikkō) from 1715 to 1738 and from 1718 onward as *zasu*.

⁸ I have adapted some *kaeriten* from the modern edition.

⁹ Jōin also gives the concept of the *cakravartin* extensive treatment in two earlier works: *Tenrin jōō shō* and *Tenrin jōō shō naiden*. For discussion, refer to Sonehara 1991, 34–38.

¹⁰ Reisō Shintō has been understudied in Japanese scholarship and to the best of my knowledge, received no attention in other languages.

¹¹ The original *Sendai kuji hongi* was considered legitimate until 1731 when it too was deemed apocryphal (Teeuwen 2007, 93).

¹² Both schools were officially recognized by the government at this time, though Yoshida had only been granted such status in 1665 (Hayashi 1994, 169).

¹³ The exact language states: 宗源者、是神道之理極、王道在是中、諸天物梁命所傳也。齋元者、又王道之事極、神道在此中、茲天太魂命所傳。靈宗者、神道、王道之束法。

¹⁴ The 1703 edition and Jōin's catalogue was lost in the Hisayama fire.

¹⁵ Jōin further embellishes this account in the *Togakushisan daigongen engi* (197–198).

¹⁶ Although I have inserted “Shugen Single Reality” into the text, it is clear from the larger context that Jōin is linking all components (Shugen, Sannō Ichijitsu, and Reisō) into one lineage.

¹⁷ The first lines in the preface of the *Transmitted Account* also come directly from *Nihon shoki*. The *Kojiki*, which became widely associated with the myth after Motoori Norinaga's transcription, was not in circulation at this time.

¹⁸ The myth is recounted in the second fascicle of the chapter, *Jingi hongi* 神祇本紀.

¹⁹ While Dōkai allegedly prays to Omohikane and Tajikarao when he visits Togakushisan, there is no corroborative evidence of this event. Furthermore, the exact circumstances of the event (i.e., whether Dōkai interpreted their existence at the mountain through his understanding of the *Taisei kyō* or whether their existence was widely believed at the time) is unknown.

²⁰ This assembly is depicted in a late Edo period *mandala* known as the *Shihon hanzuri tensai shisho gongen honji mandara* 紙本版刷淡彩四所權現本地曼陀羅 (*Togakushi shinkō no sekai* 2003, 33). Uwaharu *no mikoto* appears in the *Sendai kuji hongi* in the first fascicle of the chapter, *Tenjin hongi* 天神本紀. Uwaharu was also considered the founding deity of the Oku-no-miya temple complex of Achi 阿智 in southern Shinano; it remains unclear if the transfer to Togakushi is influenced by this nearby site or if it was a purely textual influence from the *Taisei kyō*. Incidentally, Jōin comes to closely identify himself with Achi, an issue that requires further investigation.

²¹ This pairing arises from their shared identity with the sun and occurs earlier at Ise.

²² Relevant texts include *Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō gen* 山王一實神道原, *Saiten kafuku shō*, and *Wakō Saiki*, all of which can be found in the *Tendaishū zensho* (vol. 12).

²³ Kengyō lived into the Meiji period, although his exact dates are unknown (Hazama 1969, 262).

Conclusion

In contrast to our earlier nineteenth century entry, if you visit Togakushisan in the present day, you will most likely travel by public bus (one hour) or car (forty-five minutes) from Nagano City. The road, which was built in anticipation of the 1988 Winter Olympics, ascends into the mountains along broad switchbacks. Reaching the high plains of the Kaminochi 上水内 district, it skirts the lower flanks of Iizunayama and passes a number of tourist stops before arriving at the village of Togakushi. The area now is an idyllic mountain enclave, supported by a moderate flow of visitors who come to see the leaves turn in October, strap on skis, snowboards, and snowshoes in the winter, camp and hike in the spring and summer and of course, eat the well-known Togakushi soba year-round. Many of the cloisters surrounding Hōkōsha and Chūsha remain active as assembly and worship spaces for their respective confraternities.¹ With membership numbers decreasing, they also function as inns (*ryōkan*) for ordinary visitors. Whether a first-time visitor or longtime patron of the cloisters, a favorite activity continues to be the two-kilometer approach to Okusha. Still free of automobile traffic, one strolls under the shade of giant conifers (planted in the early seventeenth century under Tokugawa Ieyasu's restoration) that line either side of the path. Midway down the path stands the Suijinmon 隨神門 gate (formerly *niōmon*), said to be the oldest surviving structure at Togakushi (built in 1710). The approach culminates with a steep incline before reaching the two inner shrines of Okusha and Kuzuryū sha.

Conclusion

Life at Togakushisan continues to interface with the past, both in the continuation of historical precedent and the implementation of new practices based on old concepts. Dragons like Kuzuryū for instance, have long been propitiated for the manipulation of rainfall in order to end droughts as well as floods. Thus it comes with little surprise that the dragon is now called upon in an early winter “reception of snow” (*yuki morai*) ritual. With the Togakushi ski resort (just northeast of Chūsha) serving as a modern-day economic base for the community, the priests petition Kuzuryū to blanket the slopes with generous amounts of powder snow (Iwahana 1992b, 33).

As in the past, other developments take shape at the mountain through beliefs and practices brought in by new visitors otherwise unconnected with the site, as evident in Togakushi’s recent designation as a “power spot” (*pawā supotto*). Originating in the 1960s in the United States and the United Kingdom, this is the idea that specific geological formations (e.g., unusual rock formations, impressive mountains, canyons and lakes) often connected to preexisting autochthonous beliefs serve as nodes of vitalistic energies transmitted by the Earth (Ivakhiv 2003). The trend began circulating in Japan in the mid-1990s under a broader shift away from activity deemed distinctly religious toward that of “spiritual care” (e.g., *supirichuaru kea* or *kokoro kea* in katakana) (McLaughlin 2013, 310–313). It surged in 2009 as a result of widespread television coverage and book releases by popular spiritualists. In particular, sites like Mt. Fuji and Kumano—long associated with pilgrimage—have been reimagined as landscapes laden with natural formations that transmit extraordinary healing powers (Amada 2012).

This new trend, popular especially among young women, has led to positive economic growth for the local communities surrounding these sites. Numbers of visitors to Ise in 2013 for

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instance, reached a new record—due in large part to the twenty-year reconstruction of the Inner Shrine (*jingū shikinen sengū* 神宮式年遷宮) but still millions higher than previous years of the event (Breen 2014). Togakushi Village likewise has experienced an influx of new visitors hoping to receive spiritual benefits from specific sites in the region. At this early stage, the longevity of this trend and its acceptance locally remains unclear. While the religious community has yet to embrace Togakushi’s alleged power spots into its own narrative and promotion of the region, we might look to its long history to better understand how various religious doctrines, rituals, and forms of identity were absorbed into the landscape over the course of the medieval and early modern periods.

The journey of the nine-headed dragon from Tang China to Togakushisan exemplifies one of the ways in which the subject of a narrative, circulating in Tendai discourse, took root at local sites on the medieval Japanese archipelago. The account’s rendering in the *Asaba shō* suggests a rhetorical assertion of power by priests at Enryakuji over Togakushi. Depicted as part *oni*, the passage situates the dragon not as a majestic deity but as the representation of an uncultivated land on the periphery of civilization. The community at Togakushi nevertheless inverts this characterization later on by transforming the dragon into a powerful tutelary deity, exhibiting a presence that becomes central to the mountain’s identity.

Shugendō also makes it way to the slopes of Togakushi but if we follow the parameters of a self-conscious school, not as early as previous estimations. The conspicuous absence of elements such as terminology, lineage and an overall sense of identity in the fifteenth century makes it difficult to imagine a presence, let alone conceptualization, of the school at this time. We see it emerge with clarity however, in the latter half of the sixteenth century through *Shugen Inquiries*, which draws on the doctrines, ritual practice and lineage of Hikosan. At this early

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stage of formation, Shugendō is envisioned at Hiko and Togakushi as a broad system of ascetic practice and doctrine, applied to the overarching category of mountains. This generalized template, alongside Togakushi's own culture of alpine austerities, helps explain its swift adoption at the mountain.

We might note that *Shugen Inquiries* contains little on Togakushi's earlier ritual culture, instead following almost identically the language and protocol of Hiko Shugendō. Over the course of the Edo period though, the mountain's practitioners shape Shugendō to the contours of their own demands and image of the school. Embedding its doctrines into Togakushi ritual, casting its founder into the mountain's historical narrative, and collaborating in its institutional formation, they root their identity in Shugendō and carve out an occupational niche for themselves.

The work of the eighteenth century administrator Jōin marks both a continuation and departure from these developments. At this time, Shugendō remained a relatively recent phenomenon and moreover, its practitioners fell into the lower ranks of the priestly class (exemplified by their identity as half priest and half layman). Continuing a project already underway at the mountain, Jōin elevates the stature of Shugendō, extending its origins back to the early Daoist immortals and replicating the model of China's Five Peaks in Japan. We can think of these embellishments as part of a larger drive to invent a tradition for a school lacking the precedence and prestige of the older Buddhist institutions. At the same time, Jōin's actions in his role as administrator sharply depart from the earlier incremental steps taken in the integration of Shugendō to the mountain. Based on the accusations of the mountain's *shuto*, he appears to have implemented an entirely new set of regulations for training, rank and consecration. While he might have understood this to be the culmination of a strengthening

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presence of Shugendō at Togakushi, his radical reformulation of the institution ultimately nullified the career trajectories, personal investments and legitimacy of the mountain's *shugenja* and *shuto*.

Setting aside his regulatory failures, Jōin's thought nevertheless informs us as much about the early modern development of Shugendō as it does about the production of numinous places. Weaving together multiple religious trends circulating at Togakushisan, Jōin formulated an overarching narrative for the site. This new identity must have added to Togakushi's mystique among the mountain's expanding patronage base—important for a community that increasingly gained its income from confraternities associated with the cloisters as well as independent travelers. Jōin may have, however, overextended the limits of this narrative when he imported the Tōshō *daigongen* into its fabric. Given the widespread worship of the Tōshōgū, this act would have most likely gone unnoticed by less prestigious clerics. Yet for the sole recipient of Sannō Ichijitsu Shintō to resituate the deified shogun from the official site of Nikkōsan to the periphery of the Tokugawa regime may have severely tested the carefully orchestrated symbolic order of the military government. Through this lens, the production of numinous places thus connoted not only a public creative space for identity and representation but also a political geography of authority and legitimacy.

...

The present study takes the above evidence from Togakushisan to suggest a path forward in better understanding the historical relationship between religious systems and the sites of their emergence. It is important for us to consider the ways in which a school like Shugendō or a cult like that surrounding Kuzuryū came into existence through numerous adaptations fueled by the practices, economies, and imagination of the host communities (practitioners, administration, and

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patrons). We might understand this process in turn, as reciprocally contributing to production of numinous places by investing them with multiple layers of meaning, divine attributes, and efficacious potentiality.

Given the limited scope of this project, I do not suggest that these results on Togakushi provide a comprehensive picture of Shugendō, the Tōshōgū cult, or early modern pilgrimage. Some previous place studies in Japanese religions have suggested that the investigation of one site can sufficiently exemplify trends at contemporaneous sites across premodern Japan. This assertion, however, may fall unwittingly into a modern perspective born out of the increasingly unified cultural landscape of the present day. On the one hand, the influence of mass media might qualify the so-called power spots at Togakushisan as typical of national trends. The high level of regional contextualization, idiosyncrasies, and mere element of chance that appear in Togakushi's history, on the other hand, make such broad assertions about the premodern period less tenable. Our study of Kuzuryū may suggest patterns in the creation of local gods but stops short of providing data on other types of deities or the contexts from which they arose. On the issue of female boundaries, the literature from medieval Togakushi problematizes assumptions on definitive borders at the time. How will future research from other mountain centers and religious sites inform the ambiguities at Togakushi? The apparent nonexistence of Shintō at the site prior to the seventeenth century moreover, challenges the perceived ubiquity of medieval relationships between purportedly native gods and buddhas or bodhisattvas. The extent to which various elements in the case of Jōin are unique or normative finally, opens up lines of further inquiry. Given the widespread diffusion of the Tōshōgū cult, what are examples of its successful adaptation to religious and political settings? In what contexts did Reisō Shintō

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continue to spread, despite the proscription of its authoritative text? How did Jōin's contemporaries treat the historicity of Shugendō or other emergent schools in the country?

Among the various schools, cults and movements that gain traction at Togakushi, this dissertation gives greatest attention to the field of Shugendō. By tracing its lines of formation at the mountain, it provides an alternative to the broad brush strokes in which Shugendō has been painted in the past. The serendipitous nature of the school's transmission there (via Sokuden) nevertheless does not position the mountain as a representative model—if such a model exists—for the development of Shugendō in other parts of the country. We might also ask to what extent the influences of Jōin's thought or the mountain's establishment of its own branch intensified the regionalization of the school. Alternatively, did Shugendō—even through the national groups of the Honzan and Tōzan—develop along identities and practices that were distinctive to the places where it took root? With the exception of Miyamoto's work (2010), we still have little knowledge of how these two groups formed on a local level.

As a final note, examination of Shugendō in the modern period exceeds the scope of this project yet remains vital to understanding its turbulent transition into the twentieth century. Despite its national proscription in 1872 (Meiji 5), Shugendō reemerged from the shadows in the postwar period and continues to expand in membership and region to this day.² How did *shugenja* respond to this development? Under what lines of transmission did it continue and in what form did it later resurface?

Leaving these questions aside for future research, this project has aimed to develop an alternative approach to the study of Shugendō and on a broader level, the way in which we navigate the category of place in the formation of religious systems. By paying attention to the mutual production of place and religion, we ultimately develop a better understanding of the

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historical significance of sites of practice, identity and community. An informed awareness of these issues in earlier contexts in turn, casts the nationalized context of place and religion indicative of our own time into sharper relief.

Notes

¹ See Iwahana's 1992b geographic study of Togakushi Village from 1975–1985.

² Miyake (2005, 90–94) provides a brief overview of this seventy year period. Sekimori 2009a discusses examples of two recent revivals of Shugendō at Nikkō and Koshikidake 飯岳.

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